













# SECRETUM SECRETORUM

VOLUME I • TEXT

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# SECRETUM SECRETORUM

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VERSIONS

EDITED BY  
M. A. MANZALAOUI

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M. A. M.

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# INTRODUCTION

## THE ARABIC TEXT

THE Latin pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum* (or, as in some copies, *Secreta secretorum*) is found in about five hundred manuscripts, dating from the twelfth century onwards. It is a translation of the Arabic *Kitāb sirr al-asrār* (*The Book of the Secret of Secrets*).<sup>1</sup> *Sirr al-asrār* is in fact the sub-title in the Arabic: the main title can be translated as *The Book of the Science of Government, on the Good Ordering of Statecraft*.<sup>2</sup>

The Arabic text has been edited by Professor Abdel Rahman Badawi, in vol. i (the only volume to appear) of *al-Uṣūl al-Yūnāniyyah lil-Naẓariyyāt al-Siyāsiyyah fil-'Islām* (*Greek Origins of Political Theories in Islam*), Cairo, 1954. A modern English translation of the Arabic, by Ismail Ali, had already appeared in Steele's edition of the Latin *Secretum*, which forms Fascicule V (1920) of *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, Oxford, 1909-40.

The Arabic work is extant in some fifty manuscripts; the earliest, a fragment, dates from A.D. 941/330 A.H.<sup>3</sup> The Proem to the *Sirr* describes it as the work of the well-known ninth-century translator Yaḥyā ibn-al-Biṭrīq (John son of the Patrician or of Patrick), working for the Caliph al-Ma'mūn in the great days of the movement of translation from Greek into Arabic.

The present editor is responsible for a full study of the known facts, and of the main problems, concerning the contents of the *Sirr* and its formation by a process of accretion, with some account

<sup>1</sup> The strict transliteration, showing accidentance fully and accurately, is *Kitābu sirri l-asrār* (*The Book of the Secret of Secrets*). If the noun *Kitāb*, which is in the construct state, is omitted, the noun *Sirr* ceases to be in the genitive case, and the strict transliteration is then *Sirru l-asrār*. In common with much current orientalist practice, I here use 'broad' transliteration and give the definite article the fixed form *al-* irrespective of the elision with the case-ending of the preceding noun.

<sup>2</sup> *Kitāb 'ilm al-siyāsa fī tadbīr al-riyāsa* (here again I give only a 'broad' transcription; ■ 'narrow' one would be *Kitābu 'ilmi s-siyāsati fī tadbiri r-riyāsa<sup>h</sup>*).

<sup>3</sup> B.L. MS. Or. 12070. This contains the Physiognomy only, but gives it in what is almost certainly a revised and shortened form, the form it takes in the later, or Long, recension of the *Sirr*: for the recensions of the Arabic see below, pp. x-xi.

of the Hellenic, Hellenistic, and later analogues of portions of the text. This is the article 'Kitāb *Sirr al-asrār*: Facts and Problems' (henceforward *FP*), *Oriens*, xxiii-xxiv, 1974 (for 1970-1), 148-257. Relevant information and opinions are given in the Preliminary Matter and Commentary in volume ii of the present edition. A summary review of the main facts is given below; the supporting evidence should be consulted in *FP*, since it is too bulky and diffuse to be reproduced here.

The *Sirr* purports to be an epistle from Aristotle to Alexander, dispatched to the latter during the course of his conquest of Persia, because Aristotle was too old to accompany him in person. It would seem to have been accepted by most medieval readers as a genuine Aristotelian text.

The first few pages of the First Discourse of the *Sirr*, corresponding to pp. 32 ff. of version III, the 'Ashmole' translation, as given below, correspond word for word to another Arabic pseudo-Aristotelian text, to which the later pages of the Discourse also bear a general resemblance. The text is the so-called *General Epistle* (*al-risālah al-'āmmiyyah*), part of a collection of pseudo-Aristotelian letters. The extant manuscripts of this are not earlier in date than the fourteenth century, but recent studies<sup>1</sup> suggest that this general Epistle belongs to the Umayyad court of the late eighth century. The first three Discourses of the *Sirr*, corresponding to 'Ashmole', pp. 32-46, 69-70, can be seen to owe a distant but recognizable debt to the *Nicomachean Ethics*.

There are two main recensions of the *Sirr*. One is in ten books; in his edition of the Latin, referred to above, Robert Steele named this the Eastern form, because he believed that manuscripts of this recension were associated with the eastern Arab world. In the present work it is named, more neutrally, the Long Form (*LF*). The other—Steele's 'Western Form'—is here referred to as the Short Form (*SF*): this itself is found in two variant forms, an eight-book one (*SF8*) and a seven-book one (*SF7*). The textual evidence suggests that almost certainly the Short Form, in its eight-book version, is the older form.

A text which had probably at first been exclusively a Mirror for Princes was, it would seem, turned into an encyclopedic manual by

<sup>1</sup> M. Grignaschi, 'Les Rasā'il 'Aristāṭalīsa 'ilā-l-Iskandar de Sālim Abū-l-'Alā' et l'activité culturelle à l'époque omayyade', *Bulletin d'Études Orientales de Damas*, xix (1965-6), 7-83.

the addition of a layer of scientific and occult material. In *SF* there is a solid block of this matter at the end of the work, divided up into several sections, each of which is given the Arabic name *bāb*.<sup>1</sup> This is not the term used for the major divisions on advice for princes, each of which is called a *maqālah*.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the *maqālahs*, the *bābs* are not numbered. In *LF*, the *bābs* have had their positions in the text reallocated. The bulk of the *bābs* corresponds to pp. 48–69 and 89–113 of the ‘Ashmole’ version as printed below (except that the Physiognomy in ‘Ashmole’ is enlarged from other sources).

It is probably to a later reviser than the inserter of the *bābs* that we owe the exchange of brief letters in the Proem, between Alexander and Aristotle (‘Ashmole’, pp. 28–9). This is not in the earlier and shorter of the two Latin translations, and was possibly missing from its Arabic original. It interrupts the matter, and even the Arabic syntax, of the Proem rather clumsily. It is found quoted as a separate entity by two tenth-century Arabic anthologists.

The revision of the Physiognomy *bāb*, earlier than A.D. 940, has already been referred to above. The next, and final, revision of the Arabic text is more important. In this, the reviser augmented the theoretical introduction at the head of each section (cf., e.g., ‘Ashmole’, pp. 69–71), and made lengthy additions of the same kind (cf. ‘Ashmole’, pp. 71–5). Almost all his more abstract additions, and some of those on more palpable topics, are to be found word for word in the Encyclopedia of the Ikhwān al-ṣafā, the Sincere Brethren, a name usually given in the faulty translation ‘Brethren of Purity’. This group wrote in the third quarter of the tenth century, compiling and circulating their *Epistles*, a *summa* of medieval knowledge incorporating a heterogeneous metaphysic and an ecumenical attitude based largely upon Plotinian teachings, yet at the same time serving as political propaganda for the Fatimid dynasty.

Where the English translations are sufficiently literal, it is useful to be able to indicate, when possible, which sections of the *Sirr* correspond to the sections of these texts. By giving alphabetical sigils to the sections, the form of any Arabic, Latin, or western

<sup>1</sup> The plural is *abwāb*: the primary meaning of *bāb* is ‘door’ or ‘gate’; hence Steele’s use of the term *Gate*.

<sup>2</sup> Plural *maqālāt*: *maqālah* literally means a *discourse*, and is the term employed today for a newspaper *article*.

vernacular manuscript can be identified and described fairly closely in 'shorthand' terms by listing the sigils of the sections it contains. Steele's Latin edition makes use of a system of section-by-section sigils: unfortunately, Steele's system places all sections on the same footing and does not indicate the subordination of subsections to main divisions, and the historical stratification of the portions of the *Secretum*. A system making use of sigils in different series in subordination to one another (capital, minuscule, and Greek letters) enables the reader both to hold in mind the subordination of sections within larger classifications, and the historical stratification of the sections of the *Secretum*. This is the method adopted in *FP*, and also used in the present edition. Notes relevant to the *Secretum* tradition as a whole, rather than to any individual English version, are given in the commentaries upon versions I and III: the use of the sigils in the *Commentary* in volume ii enables the reader who is studying another of the versions to consult the notes at the relevant point in its treatment of those two versions.

In order to make possible comparison with Steele's text and commentary, and with the Ismail Ali translation, as well as with the commentary in *FP*, the following table will be of help:

| <i>Contents</i>  | <i>Steele's<br/>section-letter</i> | <i>New sigil</i> |
|--|------------------------------------|------------------|
| [Proem of Philippus Tripolitanus and dedication to Guy de Vere, Bishop of Tripoli]                               | a                                  | S                |
| [Philippus' list of contents]  |                                    | z'               |
| Dedication to the Caliph al-Ma'mūn by Yaḥyā ibn al-Biṭrīq  | b                                  | t                |
| Recommendation of Aristotle  |                                    | u                |
| Alexander's letter to Aristotle  |                                    | v                |
| Aristotle's reply to Alexander   |                                    | w                |
| Proem of Yaḥyā   | c                                  | x                |
| Aristotle's prefatory letter   | d                                  | y                |
| Yaḥyā's List of Contents   | e                                  | z                |
| <i>Discourse I</i> : Kinds of King   | f                                  | A                |
| <i>Discourse II</i> : Conduct of a King  |                                    | B                |
| General instruction  | g                                  | a                |
| Apologia for astronomy   | h                                  | b                |
| [Proem of Johannes Hispaniensis, with dedication to Queen Tharasia, as sometimes inserted into full translation] |                                    | S'               |
| Hygiene  |                                    | c                |
| Theoretical proem  |                                    | a                |

| <i>Contents</i>  | <i>Steele's<br/>section-letter</i> | <i>New sigil</i> |
|--|------------------------------------|------------------|
| Conservation of Health   | k                                  | α'               |
| Daily routine  | „                                  | β                |
| Custom   | „                                  | β'               |
| The seasons  | „                                  | γ                |
| Natural heat (Philippus' duplication of part of ζ)                           | l                                  | ζ'               |
| parts of the body  | m                                  | δ                |
| recommendation of universal medicines  | n                                  | ε                |
| Natural heat; strengthening and debilitating factors                         | l                                  | ζ                |
| Diet; meats; fish; waters; wine  | o                                  | ηθι              |
| Strengthening and weakening of the body (Philippus' repetition of part of ζ) | p                                  | ζ''              |
| The bath   | q                                  | κ                |
| Diagnostics and early treatment in therapeutics                              | r                                  | λ                |
| Electuaries (nos. 1-3)   | „                                  | μ                |
| Electuaries (nos. 4-9, often omitted)  | „                                  | μ'               |
| [Viper: as added in some Latin manuscripts]                                  | s                                  | R                |
| Medical astrology  | t <sup>1</sup>                     | ν                |
| Spiritual Medicine (music) [omitted in the Latin]                            | u                                  | ξ                |
| Physiognomy  |                                    | Bd               |
| Theory and anecdote of Polemon   | v <sup>2</sup>                     | αβ               |
| Practical details  | w                                  | γ                |
| <i>Discourse III: Justice</i>  | A                                  | C                |
| Theory   |                                    | a                |
| Advice   |                                    | b                |
| <i>Discourse IV: Councillors</i>   |                                    | D                |
| Theory   | B                                  | a                |
| Advice   | C                                  | b                |
| Comparison of man and beasts   | D                                  | c                |
| Anecdote: the Magus and the Jew  | E                                  | d                |
| <i>Discourse V: Secretaries</i>  | F                                  | E                |
| <i>Discourse VI: Envoys</i>  | G                                  | F                |
| <i>Discourse VII: Governors</i>  | H                                  | G                |
| <i>Discourse VIII: Army commanders</i>                                       | I                                  | H                |
| General advice   | „                                  | a                |
| Instrument of Themistius   | „                                  | b                |

<sup>1</sup> Steele (p. 108) omits this sigil by error.

<sup>2</sup> In the text (p. 164) Steele, as is consistent with his classification, gives this section a miniscule v as sigil; in his Introduction (p. lxiii) he inconsistently gives the sigil as a capital V.

| <i>Contents</i>  | <i>Steele's<br/>section-letter</i> | <i>New sigil</i> |
|--|------------------------------------|------------------|
| <i>Discourse IX: Wars</i>  |                                    | I                |
| General advice   | K                                  | a                |
| Astrology of victory   | L                                  | b                |
| Onomantic calculation of victory from<br>the names of the commanders | M                                  | c                |
| <i>Discourse X: The Occult Sciences</i>                              |                                    | J                |
| Theory   | N                                  | a                |
| Powers of the planets  | O                                  | b                |
| Talismans, recipes, etc.   | „                                  | c                |
| The Philosopher's Stone  | O/P                                | d                |
| The Emerald Table of Hermes Tris-<br>megistus                        | O/P                                | e                |
| Lapidary   | P/R <sup>1</sup>                   | f                |
| Herbal   | „                                  | g                |

## THE LATIN VERSIONS

There are two Latin translations of the *Sirr*. The earlier is by Johannes Hispaniensis, and belongs to the middle of the twelfth century. Steele uses the form Hispalensis for this translator's name: the complicated question of the identity of the translator makes it more prudent to use the form found in the manuscripts of the *Secretum*, and not to suggest necessary identification of this Johannes (certainly responsible for a number of scientific texts) with Johannes Hispalensis, or John of Seville, a known translator of Arabic philosophical and quasi-philosophical works.<sup>2</sup> There are some 150 manuscripts of this version extant.<sup>3</sup> It consists of the

<sup>1</sup> By an oversight, Steele refers to the Lapidary and Herbal as P in his Introduction (p. lii), but as R in the body of the text (p. 118), where the sigil P is not allocated to any section. In the Ismail Ali text, P is used for my Jde, and R for my Jfg.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., Á. González Palencia, *El Arzobispo Don Raimundo de Toledo*, Barcelona, 1942; M. Alonso Alonso, 'Notas sobre los traductores toledanos Domingo Gundisalvo y Juan Hispano', *Al-Andalus*, viii (1943), 162ff.; idem, 'Traducciones del árabe al latín por Juan Hispano (Ibn Dawūd)', *Al-Andalus*, xvii (1952), 129-51; M. T. D'Alverny, 'Notes sur les traductions médiévales des œuvres philosophiques d'Avicenne', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, xix (1953), 337-58; L. Thorndyke, 'John of Seville', *Speculum*, xxxiv (1959), 20-38. For a summary of the controversy, and for his own views, see Richard Lemay, *Abu Ma'shar and Latin Aristotelianism in the Twelfth Century*, Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1962, pp. 9-16.

<sup>3</sup> Over sixty are listed in R. Förster, 'Handschriften und Ausgaben des pseudo-aristotelischen *Secretum secretorum*', *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, vi (1889). I hope to list the additional manuscripts in my study of the Latin version, mentioned below.

Latin translator's dedication and proem, and a translation of the major part of the Arabic proem, and of the earlier parts of the section on Hygiene, as found in *SF*. It thus takes the form: S'tuxyBcaa'ββ'γζ.

The Hispaniensis version has twice been edited: H. Suchier, *Denkmäler provenzalischer Literatur*, 2 vols., Halle, 1883, appendix, pp. 473–80; and J. Brinkmann, *Die apokryphen Gesundheitsregeln des Aristoteles für Alexander den Grossen in der Übersetzung des Johann von Toledo*, Leipzig, 1914.

There are two English versions of Hispaniensis: no. I below, *The Booke of Goode Governace and Guyding of þe Body*, and the Elizabethan version by Jankin Gwynne (who refers to the *Secretum* as *Tyrocaesar*—a distortion of *Sirr al-asrār*) which is printed as Appendix A (text no. X).

The full Latin translation belongs, in all probability, to the first half of the thirteenth century; it was known around the middle of the century to Roger Bacon, St. Albertus Magnus, Guibert de Tournai, Michael Scot, and the writer of the commentary on Boethius entitled *De consolatione et disciplina scolarium*.<sup>1</sup> A number of manuscripts belong to the thirteenth century. The translator was Philippus Tripolitanus, working for Guy de Vere of Valence, Bishop of Tripoli. Apart from the work of Stephanus of Pisa, this appears to be the only work translated from Arabic into Latin in Crusader lands,<sup>2</sup> the vast bulk of such translations having been carried out in Spain and in Sicily. The translation by Philippus has embedded in it part of Hispaniensis' translation of the Hygiene book, and partially repeats certain sections in new wording—hence the duplications indicated in the table of contents given above.

The Latin has twice been edited in modern times. The principal edition is that by Robert Steele. In his East German edition of the late thirteenth-century Middle High German version by the nun Hiltgart of Hürnheim, Reinhold Möller (1963) produced a fresh edition of the Latin, printed in parallel with the German, upon opposite pages.<sup>3</sup> Steele's Introduction, pp. vii–lxiii, remains the

<sup>1</sup> Steele, Introduction, pp. xviii f.

<sup>2</sup> Aldo Mieli, *La Science arabe et son rôle dans l'évolution scientifique mondiale* (Leiden, 1938), p. 225 n. 2. Adelard of Bath also visited the Levant and the Holy Land, even if his written works seem to belong to a later stage in his career (Mieli, pp. 224–5).

<sup>3</sup> Hiltgart von Hürnheim, ed. Reinhold Möller, *Mittelhochdeutsche Prosa-übersetzung des 'Secretum secretorum'*, Berlin, 1963.

fullest study of the Latin, and many of the assertions made here are derived from Steele.

The manuscripts of Philippus, including abbreviations and adaptations of his work, known to Förster (see p. xiv, n. 3) are listed by him as some 200 in number: now some 350 extant manuscripts are known. The manuscripts have recently been studied and classified with considerable thoroughness by Dr. Friedrich Wurms, *Studien zu den deutschen und den lateinischen Prosafassungen des pseudo-aristotelischen 'Secretum secretorum'*, Hamburg dissertation, 1970 (privately printed, Clausthal-Zellerfeld: Bonecke). With these manuscripts and with the details of the contents and history of the Latin text, I hope to deal further elsewhere: some of these matters are here summarized, sometimes without full connecting links, and sometimes without any detailing of the supporting evidence.

Philippus starts his translation with a proem containing an encomium upon his episcopal patron, thus adding to, and paralleling, the encomia upon Alexander by the pseudo-Aristotle, and upon the Caliph by the Arabic 'translator'. The Physiognomy is usually found at the end of the text, and the Occult section in its place immediately after Hygiene. A common form of the Philippus text is: Sz'tuvwxyABabcaa'ββ'γζ'δεζηθιζ''κλλ'μμ'νJ[a]bcdefgCabDabcdEFGHabIabBdaβγ. The recension of manuscripts of this general type has been named by Steele the 'Vulgate' *Secretum*.

The adaptations through which Philippus' versions passed are complex. They are examined in two unpublished dissertations: Willy Hermenau, 'Französische Bearbeitungen des Secretum Secretorum und ihr Verhältnis zu der lateinischen Übersetzung des Philippus Tripolitanus', Göttingen, 1922 (section I: 'Das lateinische Secretum Secretorum'), and Jacques Monfrin, *Le 'Secret des secrets': recherches sur les traductions françaises suivies du texte de Jofroi de Waterford et Servais Copale*, École des Chartes, Paris, 1947, part I (a summary is printed in the École des Chartes publication, *Positions des thèses soutenues par les élèves de la promotion de 1947 pour obtenir le diplôme d'archiviste paléographe*, pp. 94-9).

Wurms's systematic classification of the manuscripts largely, but not wholly, supersedes J. P. Gilson's work on Latin manuscripts of the *Secretum* in the British Library, as found in Steele, pp. xxv-xxviii. It is necessary here only to detail those forms and derivatives of Philippus which affect the translations in this volume, but

some account is also taken in the exposition which follows of matters germane to the easily accessible literal translations printed by Steele in his *Three Prose Versions of the Secreta Secretorum* (E.E.T.S., E.S. 74, 1898)—henceforth *3PV*—as well as to the fifteenth-century Scottish version by Sir Gilbert of the Haye (ed. J. H. Stevenson, *Gilbert of the Haye's Prose Manuscript*, S.T.S., 2 vols., 1900-14; vol. i).

A. Roger Bacon produced a glossed version, divided into four books in the place of Philippus' ten. He complains (Steele, p. 39) that certain 'stulti' have expurgated the work: it is true that the Onomancy (section M) does not appear in the Latin, and is likely to be the portion which gave offence, since it consists of a form of divination. There is some indication that the section was translated by Philippus as part of his text: this is afforded by the nature of text no. II below, the version in MS. Sloane 213, which consists of the Physiognomy as in the *Secretum*, together with a version of the Onomancy of the *Sirr*. Text no. II thus appears to by-pass the Vulgate recension of the *Secretum*. It should be noted, however, that the transcribing of the Physiognomy section of the Vulgate separately from the remainder of the text is a well-established habit, attested by many Latin manuscripts, e.g. British Library Sloane 1313 and Egerton 874, Bodley Douce 45 and Lat. class. d. 17, and MS. Arras 741. Manuscripts in this tradition belong to Wurms's class I.3.

B. Among noteworthy departures from the original, many manuscripts of the Vulgate form of Tripolitanus omit the recipes for the final six electuaries in the medical section (i.e. section Bcμ', corresponding to the content of Version IV, pp. 82-8 below). Manuscripts of this type are from Steele's class E (Steele, p. xxvi) and include St. John's College, Oxford, 178 (thirteenth century) and Florence Riccardiana 108 (fifteenth century), as well as the texts listed by Steele.

Wurms's classification specifies those manuscripts which are known to include the later electuaries; they form his classes I.2.a and I.2.c.

C. Certain manuscripts include not only, as in the Vulgate version, the text of Hispaniensis' medical injunctions, which Tripolitanus made use of for his translation (Bcζ'ζ''), but the title and dedication of Hispaniensis as well, i.e. section S' (e.g. Rawlinson C.274, f. 33: cf. Steele, p. xxvii).

D. The Vulgate *Secretum* and its derivation transfer the Physiognomy section, or make it the concluding portion of the work. Wurms's employment of this criterion to distinguish manuscripts of his class I.1 is misleading, since the same feature occurs in manuscripts of other classes, as, indeed, is clear from the descriptions he gives of his classes I.7.a and II.2.a.

E. Some manuscripts expand the Physiognomy, more particularly the section on Eyes, by combining with the Physiognomy of the *Sirr* two other texts, both of which can be found in vol. ii of Richard Förster, *Scriptores physiognomonici graeci et latini* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1893). The two texts are the *Anonymi de physiognomia liber* (Förster, pp. 3-145), and the relevant section of a medical treatise by Abū Bakr al-Rāzī, in the version by Gerard of Cremona, *Ababecri Rasis ad regem Mansorem de medicina* (Förster, pp. 163-79: cf. Wurms, class I.5).

F. One important feature is not noted by Steele. It is, however, taken into account by Hermenau (p. 7') and gives rise to what he terms the 'fehlerhaft' recension of the Vulgate. In the theoretical proem to the First Book (Section A), in the account of the constituents of successful rule, one manuscript tradition inverts the order of two consecutive portions of the exposition: the contents of Steele 42/8-24 are inserted immediately after Steele 41/3. Manuscripts of this type are B.L. Royal L2.E.xv, Berlin Hamilton 630, and Gdansk Marianus F.180. Of this type, too, is the text of the Vulgate printed by Greyff at Reutlingen, and attributed to the year 1483 (Hein. 1779, British Library I.A. 10756). Presumably, in a prototype manuscript, the passage here in question was on a small-sized leaf which was turned over back to front: both the passage and the section which it wrongly precedes begin with the word *Causa*. This is Wurms's class I.4, but Wurms does not place in this category all the manuscripts known to belong to it.

G. Since there is considerable evidence of composite origin, it is extremely difficult, if not futile, to disentangle recensions in a thorough manner. Both the inverting of the expository matter in Ba and the expansion of the Physiognomy are found in Royal 12 E.xv and Rawlinson C.274. Both the embedding of the Hispaniensis proem and the expansion of the Physiognomy are found in B.L. MSS. Sloane 3554 and Harley 399. Peculiar to Royal 12 E.xv, however, is that Roger Bacon's glosses are included in it, although the text and its divisions do not correspond to those of

Bacon's recension as found in the manuscripts upon which Steele bases his edition.

H. There are a number of abbreviated, truncated, or fragmentary versions, including some with commentaries (see Förster, p. 13), and some of the items in Wurms's class III, where, however, some copies of the Hispaniensis translation appear to be included.

One abbreviated recension, popular in the fifteenth century, and perhaps originating in that period, is of particular interest, because it provided the basis for most of the printed versions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and for many of the French and English versions. This abbreviated *Tripolitanus* (henceforward *AbTrip*) omits much of the theoretical material, turning the text back to something not unlike the form of the *Sirr* before the final Arabic revision. Omitted in such manuscripts are the dedication by Tripolitanus (S), all the Hygiene section subsequent to Baths (Bcλ'-γ), all the occult material (J), most of the theoretical proem to the section on Ministers (D) and all the Army section (HI).

The theoretical proem to Justice (Ca) and that to Ministers appear in an abbreviated form, conflated. For this section, the symbol C/Da will be employed. The sections of the book are divided into paragraphs with headlines of their own, which do not always correspond to the sub-divisions in the Vulgate. This fact leads, at a superficial glance, to some confusion: caution is particularly required in dealing with the Hygiene section.

Manuscripts of this type are Bibliothèque Nationale 3029 and 7031. This recension is Steele's class F (p. xxvi) and Wurms's class II. A usual form consists of a shortened version of section S, followed by: tuvwxvABabcaa'ββ'γζ''δεηθιζ''CaDbcEFGHaBdβγ.

I. Since the *Secretum* is an encyclopedic work, its contents are sufficiently varied to have interested readers in many different modes, and in very varied fields of intellectual activity. A rough gauge of this variety is constituted by the other texts with which copies of the *Secretum* are transcribed or bound up. The *Secretum* is found in volumes of the genuine works of Aristotle (e.g. Florence, Riccardiana 113), and with other Mirrors for Princes (B.L. Royal 12 D.xv); it is found, either in partial or in complete form, connected with alchemical texts (Florence, Riccardiana Palatino 951). Some of the manuscripts mentioned under A above (see p. xvii) as containing the Physiognomy section, associate it with other

Physiognomies: B.L. MS. Egerton 847 includes it with two other Physiognomies; Bodley MS. Douce 45 contains the Physiognomy of the *Secretum* followed (f. 63) by a single page of al-Rāzī's text. Presumably through association with it in the manuscript tradition, a text will also be found incorporated into the body of the *Secretum*. This conflation sometimes does not take place in the Latin, but in a vernacular version. The *Liber diaetarum universalium* of Isaac Judaeus is associated in manuscript with the Hispaniensis version in MS. All Souls College 74 (thirteenth century) and B.L. Sloane 282; it is embedded in the full Tripolitanus text, in the French version by Jofroi de Waterford and Servais Copale (Monfrin, *Positions de thèses*, p. 98); thence it appears as an integral part of James Yonge's translation (printed in *3PV*). The Tripolitanus text is associated in manuscript and early printed versions with Johannes Wallensis' treatise, the *Breviloquium de quattuor virtutibus cardinalibus*<sup>1</sup>: e.g. in MSS. Corpus Christi, Oxford, 39 and B.L. Burney 360, both of the fifteenth century. Both texts are already found together in MS. Toulouse 736, a fourteenth-century manuscript in which the treatise on the cardinal virtues is itself attributed to Aristotle. The Cologne edition of c. 1472 (B.L. I.A. 3209 and Magdalen College, Oxford; Steele, p. xxx, no. 1) which is apparently the *editio princeps*, associates the *Secretum* with the *Breviloquium* and with a second treatise by Wallensis. Again, the French of Waterford and Copale, and the English version by James Yonge, embed it in the text.

J. Manuscript association which is thematically more tenuous can sometimes be suspected of being the explanation of a later conjoining of topics or conflation of texts. It is worth noting here, particularly in view of one feature of Forrest's version of the *Secretum* as discussed later, that there is a manuscript association between the *Secretum* and treatises on the coronation of kings. Our text is added in a later hand to the opening pages (ff. 2-12) of the fifteenth-century B.L. MS. Additional 32097, which has as its third item (originally the second) a text entitled *Processus factus ad coronacionem regis Ricardi secundi* (ff. 13-20); the text *De coronatione regis*, which deals specifically with the coronation of Edward IV, is found on ff. 25-8 of Bodley Douce 95 (fifteenth century)

<sup>1</sup> This treatise is also known as *Liber de instructione principum per quatuor partes secundum quatuor virtutes cardinales* and *De virtutibus antiquorum principum et philosophorum*.

immediately preceding a text of the *Secretum*; in the fifteenth-century B.L. MS. Royal 12 D.iii, the *Secretum* is found (item 1, ff. 1-37) with the *Modus coronandi regem* (item 8), a copy of the text also found in B.L. Harley 2901 and (less closely agreeing as a text) Bodley Rawlinson C.425.

K. The ten-book division of the *Secretum* is altered into a four-part division in Bacon's recension, where Part I consists of all that precedes the Hygiene section (From S to Bb), Part II consists of the Hygiene (Bc), Part III, of all that follows this but precedes the Physiognomy in the Latin arrangement (J, C-I), and Part IV, of the *Physiognomy* (Bd). Bodley MS. Rawlinson C.274 is a good example of composite origin. It includes the Hispaniensis proem and the expanded Physiognomy, but (fols. 14 f.) has the opening theoretical passage in its correct order; it has embedded in it as part of the text some of Bacon's glosses; as an example of this, on f. 72 will be found Bacon's note on the scriptural authority for the classification of the ages of man, as in Steele, p. 131 n. 8 ('Nota quod distincio jam facta etatum . . .' etc.). The manuscript is divided into ten books, as in the Vulgate, yet at the end of the list of Contents (f. 10) it announces a four-book division, as in Bacon. The description of the hypothetical third and fourth books in this intended division, however, is less unambiguous than in Steele's edition of Bacon (p. 28), for it is not clear that the fourth book is identical with the Physiognomy: where the Bacon recension has

Quarta est de mirabili eleccione amicorum et bajulorum regis per naturales proprietates corporum; *et hec sciencia* vocatur Phisonomia.

Rawlinson C.274 reads

Quarta de mirabili electione amicorum & baiulorum regis per naturales proprietates corporum. et liber sciencia uocatur phisonomia.

This leaves it possible for a reader (and a later redactor) to conceive of the bulk of the fourth book in this hypothetical division as consisting of the sections on ministers, envoys, etc. (with the Physiognomy as an appendage to it), and to assume that the title of the third book (*de mirabilibus utilitatibus nature & artis & morum*) refers, not to those sections, but to the latter portions of the medical section.

L. As Steele (pp. xxiii-iv) points out, in 1501 the Humanist Alexander Achillini published in Bologna a text which all subsequent sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions followed, in

which he inserted passages on alchemy and talismans, and on lapidary knowledge, deriving from the Short Form of the *Sirr al-Asrār*. It is fairly certain that Achillini's insertions must derive from Yehūdā al-Ḥarīzī's Hebrew translation, *Sōd ha-Sodōt*, carried out in Spain around the year 1200. It should further be noted that Achillini's treatment of the Latin of Tripolitanus is elsewhere curiously paraphrastic, whether or not this be due to a conflatory rewriting that makes use of a knowledge of the wording of the Hebrew text.

#### THE FRENCH VERSIONS

The different forms and translations in French are discussed by Monfrin and by Hermenau. Apart from the translation of the full Vulgate, the different French forms of *Ab Trip* (henceforward *FrAb*) must be noted. Three French forms of the *Ab Trip* text can be distinguished. Two of them correspond to Hermenau's recensions B and C (Hermenau, pp. 44 ff.) and to the two final classes of Jacques Monfrin's 'Traductions par choix' (*Positions des thèses*, chapter ii, p. 96): they will henceforward be referred to here as *Ab TripB* and *Ab TripC*. (Monfrin's first class of 'Traductions par choix', which we may classify as *FrAbA*, appears to be a further derivative of *Ab Trip*.)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This form is closer to *FrAbB* than to *FrAbC*, and has no known English derivatives. It is represented by B.L. MS. Additional 18179. The eulogy upon Aristotle is lacking in its introductory material; it ends its Hygiene section with Baths, and proceeds directly to Justice. Presumably through a misreading of the word 'Tripoli' in its archetype, the Latin translator's name is given as 'Philippe de Thu': his patron's name is given as 'Guy de Valence'. With both *FrAbB* and *FrAbC* it shares the erroneous interpretation of the phrase concerning wisdom written out upon parchment. The translation, however, is in wording peculiar to it:

Et pour ce, beau filz, que tu m'as aultres fois requis, par aultres tes lettres, que tu desiroyes asauoir le mouuement et le cours des estoilles avec l'art de alsimé et l'art de constraindre nature et d'autres pluseurs choses que a-paines les pouroit comprendre esperit mortel . . . (Add. 18179, f. 6)

Among the features it shares with *FrAbB* as against *FrAbC* are the following:

B (3): the kingdom destroyed by excessive spending is not named:

. . . qu'il en aduint jadis en vng pays ou quel quant la grandeur des despens surmonta les reuenues [*ms. reuenuees*] les seigneurs estendirent leurs mains au bien du commun . . . (Add. 18179, f. 9<sup>v</sup>)

B (4): The kingdoms destroyed through oath-breaking are those of the *albanoyens* and *siciers* (Add. 18179, f. 22<sup>v</sup>).

B (5): The Magus is called a 'sarrasin' (Add. 18179, f. 56<sup>v</sup>).

B (6): Yahyā is named *Yehan fiz Patrice*.

B (7): The Physiognomy is omitted.

*FrAbB*, as in B.L. MS. Additional 18179 and St. John's College, Oxford, 102, is characterized by the following features:

B (1) As with all forms of *AbTrip* and *FrAb*, the theoretical proem to Justice is considerably cut down, and there is a mistranslation of Tripolitanus' phrase:

Preterea quod interrogasti et scire desideras est archanum tale quod humana pectora vix poterunt tollerare; quomodo ergo possunt in mortalibus pellibus depingi? (Steele, p. 40).

To take the wording of St. John's 102, this becomes

Et ce, beau filz, que tu m'as requis & que tu desires, a sauoir le mouuement & l'eure des estoilles, l'art d'A[*lk*]emie & l'art de contraindre natur & des aultres plusieurs choses, certes ce sont choses que a paine les pourroit comprendre humain entendement. Et comment doncque les pourroit comprendre aesprit mortel?

B (2) The omissions and errors peculiar to *FrAbC*, as noted below, do not occur. Thus this recension does contain the passage on the qualities of ministers (in Db) and the anecdote concerning the Jew (Dd).

B (3) The kingdom destroyed by excessive spending, as in Steele 44/19 (in A) is not named.

B (4) The two kingdoms destroyed as a result of oathbreaking, as in Steele 57/20-1 (in Ba), have names of the rough forms *aboniers* and *sorcies* (St. John's 102, f. 45<sup>v</sup>).

B (5) In the anecdote of the Jew and the Magus, the Magus has become a Saracen.

B (6) The translator, whose name is not transformed in the manner of *FrAbC* (see below) is named Iehan filz Patrice (St. John's 102, f. 35).

B (7) The Physiognomy is omitted.

B (8) After the comparison of man to the animals (Dc as in Steele 143), comes an interpolated passage in which man's body is compared to the heavenly bodies and to natural phenomena.

The abbreviated form to which I refer as *FrAbC* is represented by the texts in MSS. Cambridge Ff.1.33, B.L. Royal 16 F.x and Harley 219 and the version printed by Vérard, Paris, 1497. It has the following features:

C (1) It shares with *FrAbB* the cutting down of the theoretical proem to Justice (Ca), and the mistranslation of the phrase concerning the parchment upon which books are written (as quoted in

item no. 1 above). That it is a separate version of the original Latin *Ab Trip* can, however, be seen by comparing with the text as given above, the equivalent passage in Cambridge Ff.1.33, i.e. version VIA in the present volume:

Et saichez que ce que tu m'as demandé et que tu desires tant santir sont tieulx secrés que humaine pensee a grant poine les pourroit aprendre ne soubtenir: comment donc peut il ou cuer d'omme mortel estre deprimés ne entendu ce qui n'appartient assauoir ne soit licite ne conuenable a traitier? (270b/13 to 272b/14 below)

C (2) Aristotle is called 'filz de Mahommet' of Macedonia.

C (3) The finder and Arabic translator of the original text has become 'Philipe . . . filz de Paris' (VIA, 12/3).

C (4) In the anecdote concerning him, 'Philemon' has become 'Phisonomias' (Ff.1.33, f. 32).

C (5) The kingdom destroyed by excessive spending is England (VIA, 20/16).

C (6) The kingdoms destroyed as a result of oathbreaking are those of the *Imbres* and (*As*)*syriens*.

C (7) Instead of coming to the *oracle* of the Sun, built by Asclepius (Steele 39), the translator comes to 'la cougnouissance du soleil laquelle fit Exculapidos' (VIA, 12/10-11).

C (8) Following an error in the Latin recension which forms their basis, manuscripts of this recension state that the belief of some of Aristotle's followers is that he ascended to Heaven as a *dove* of fire (*\*columba ignis*), rather than in a column of fire (*in columna ignis*): thus, *en fourme d'une columbe de feu* (VIA, 9/24).

C (9) The passage on the qualities of ministers, the anecdote of the Jew and the Magus, etc., are omitted; the Physiognomy is retained.

#### ENGLISH VERSIONS

The present corpus consists of (1) one medieval translation of Hispaniensis and, in an appendix, a second one dating from the reign of Elizabeth I; (2) two translations of the full Latin form; (3) one fragmentary translation consisting of the Physiognomy and the Onomancy; (4) four medieval and early Tudor versions (two complete, two incomplete) of the French abbreviated texts, together with the relevant portion of the text of the French manuscript

almost certainly used by the translator of one of them: in conjunction with these, but in an appendix to the volume, can be read an early eighteenth-century translation of the Latin abbreviated version; (5) an early Tudor adaptation in rhyme royal. There are, thus, eight 'early English' translations (one from a printed text), one verse rehandling, and, in addition, one French and two 'early modern' English versions, reproduced as important ancillaries.

## I

*The Booke of Goode Governance & Guyding of the Body: the Middle English version of Johannes Hispaniensis' translation*

The only known Middle English version of the Hispaniensis text is contained in Bodleian MS. Rawlinson C.83.

The manuscript is a slim one of eight folios, on parchment, with parchment binding; 21.5 × 15 cm.; twenty lines, with wide margins. The hand is fifteenth-century; rubricated, with red strokes used to fill in the spaces between the pairs of black horizontal lines drawn at the end of each chapter; red ink is also used to fill in those letters which have rounded shapes—a characteristic also of MS. Lyell 36, described on p. xxviii below. After the incipit, the text proper (f. 2, l. 7) begins with an initial O containing a sketch in ink, about 3.5 × 4 cm. This shows Aristotle, kneeling, presenting the work to Alexander, enthroned; the two figures have their names (*Alexander, Aristotiles*) written within scrolls. The background shows the walls of a city or castle, and, beyond this, a field in which, above some hillocks, the heads, spears, and banner of a marching army can be seen, as well as what appears to be a horse, drawn full face.

The manuscript bears the scribe's name, *Wilhelmus*, on the front fly-leaf, followed by a monogram, apparently representing the letters M I, upon a black shield. At the end (f. 8<sup>v</sup>) is the inscription *W.M ~ > G scripsit*; in this the W no doubt represents the scribe's Christian name William: the remainder could, one presumes, stand for a surname such as *Manning*.

In the margins the remarks 'nota' and 'nota bene' occur once or twice. Against precept Four (f. 3<sup>v</sup>) is written 'incense Juniper' apparently as a gloss to the word 'Gale'; against precept Fourteen (f. 6) 'nota bene per dolorem capitis'. The manuscript has been

rendered partially illegible by scattered drops of liquid. An attempt has been made, for this edition, to read the stained portions under ultra-violet light.

## II

*Certeine Rewles of Phisnomy and A Calculacion to knowe by, of two Men feghtyng to-gidere, wheper sale be ouercomen*

The physiognomical section and the onomantic one are found translated together in B.L. MS. Sloane 213.

The text is on ff. 118<sup>v</sup>-21; 19.5 × 27 cm. The portion of the manuscript formed by ff. 47-131, i.e. items 7-15, is a single unit and is in a characteristically fourteenth-century hand; it should perhaps be assigned to the years around 1400.<sup>1</sup> The bulk of the manuscript is in a later hand belonging to the fifteenth century. Ff. 161; in columns; twenty-four items, in Latin, French, and English. Many of the items are medical: they also include herbal, lapidary, astrological, and geometrical matter, and a treatise (item 19) on accountancy ('tabil marchaunte for all manere acountes'). Item 16 is a treatise, mainly astrological, in eight chapters; the matter with which we are concerned forms chapters 7 and 8. The other chapters run as follows:

1. (f. 111) howe al the yere es rewlede by the firste day of Januere.
2. (f. 111<sup>v</sup>) what menes ilke thondere in the yere.
3. (f. 112<sup>v</sup>) of evele and forbodden dayes.
4. (f. 113) what kynde was ilke day of the moon.
5. (f. 115) howe the seven planetes are frendes and enemyes.
6. (f. 117) descripcion of the four elementes and of the four complexiones.

Item 17, also in English, is a geometrical treatise.

Headings, numerals, and opening words of certain sentences are in red. An inscription dated 1560, on f. 5, runs 'Ex Bibliotheca Petri de Cardonnet'.

<sup>1</sup> See the description of the language in volume ii. The old Sloane catalogue assigns some items in this section of the manuscript, including the *Phisnomy*, to the fourteenth century, but the *Index* to the Sloane collection more convincingly assigns to the fifteenth century ff. 51<sup>v</sup>-63<sup>v</sup> (Arnaldus de Villa Nova): s.v. *Villa Nova* in the *Index*.

## III

*The Secrete of Secretes*: as in Bodleian MSS. Ashmole 396 and Lyell 36

A full translation is contained in two fifteenth-century Bodleian manuscripts, Ashmole 396 and the recent acquisition Lyell 36. I refer to this anonymous translation as 'Ashmole', from the better of the two manuscripts.

Ashmole 396 is a mid fifteenth-century parchment manuscript: ff. 203, 27.5 × 20 cm. There are painted capitals (blue on red) throughout, with illuminated initials in the first of the texts, i.e. the *Secretum*, which takes up ff. 1-47. Headings in red ink. In binding, a London indenture of 1608 has been used as end-paper. There are a total of thirteen items in the manuscript, all English, dealing with medicine, arithmetic, and astrology. The second item begins on f. 48: it is an English version of the *Algorismus*, a treatise on arithmetic by Johannes de Sacro Bosco. This text has been printed, from this manuscript, by Robert Steele, in *The Earliest Arithmetics in English* (E.E.T.S., ES 118, 1922). Another item is a translation of an astronomical treatise by the fourteenth-century John Ashinden.

Catch-phrases are written within scrolls, at the ends of the gatherings:

- 8<sup>v</sup>: to humble obedience
- 16<sup>v</sup>: for taking of hote
- 24<sup>v</sup>: in his love
- 32<sup>v</sup>: be-fore by ordre
- 40<sup>v</sup>: shynnyng and lightly.

Throughout the *Secretum*, with very great frequency (more so than in the other texts in the manuscript) a seventeenth-century hand has underlined passages, and written in marginal comments to them. If this is the hand of Elias Ashmole, as Dr. Doyle has suggested to me, the question arises whether he intended to print the text. Marginal pointers have been inserted, to indicate passages of particular interest, in the form of a hand with a pointing index finger (f. 6), or, more regularly, of a mark resembling a Greek  $\theta$ , with the horizontal stroke extended outside the oval. These are so extremely frequent, averaging several to a page throughout, that they cannot be indicated here. In the outer margin

have also been added chapter numbers in arabic numerals, while marginalia and other signs of study indicate a knowledgeable reader.

Lyell 36: 19.5 × 13.5 cm.; 202 ff., with about 26 lines to the page; late fifteenth century; paper and parchment usually alternating. Limp parchment wrapper, with remains of thong. Described in Albinia de la Mare, *Catalogue of the Collection of Medieval Manuscripts bequeathed to the Bodleian Library Oxford by James P. R. Lyell*, Oxford, 1971: an earlier description is in R. W. Hunt, 'The Lyell Bequest', *Bodleian Library Record*, iii (1950), 63 ff. A collection of tracts, astrological, gynaecological, etc., Latin and English. On f. 51 a new hand, careless, and difficult to read, begins; this is not at the start of a new quire, and is continuous with the early part, sharing with it the alternation of paper and parchment. Red ink is used for pointing, in vertical strokes, and for paragraph marks, at the head and in the body of chapters, as well as for the cartouches in which some of the headings are enclosed. The opening words of chapters are sometimes underlined in red. Red ink is used to fill in the small space between the double horizontal lines drawn in black at the conclusion of paragraphs; the individual letters of words are occasionally filled in with red ink: both these features are also found in Rawlinson C.83, described on pp. xxv–xxvi above. On f. 51 of the manuscript begins a tract of which the first words are 'Luna prima omnibus rebus'; this is followed by some 'Prognostica' attributed to Pythagoras. The *Secrete* is on ff. 85–127. After it comes (f. 128) a gynaecological treatise in English, beginning 'Ye schal understand that women have las hete'. Finally comes a text 'Cautele algorismi' (f. 154). In the text of the *Secrete* are some catchwords, written within rectangular cartouches, and very erratically employed. They are found as follows: on f. 90<sup>v</sup>, which is apparently *not* the end of a gathering; on ff. 112<sup>v</sup>, not followed by a repetition of the words upon the first recto of the gathering which follows; on f. 117<sup>v</sup>, where the following recto is not the first of a new gathering and does not carry the catchword repeated.

The manuscript is defective: the opening of the text of the *Secretum* is lacking (for the misplacings in the text itself, see volume ii). The manuscript is, indeed, a wretched one, extremely unpleasant to use in every way: giving a disorderly text unintelligently transcribed in an ugly and careless hand, using ink

which has now faded, and leaving only narrow margins. The book is in a bad state of preservation, its binding flimsy and crumpled. A letter addressed by Charles Singer to the bookseller Davis dated 19 June 1940, and formerly inserted in the manuscript, tentatively identifies the obstetric text with that in 'British Museum Sloane 2463 from folio 194 verso onwards', to which Miss De la Mare adds MSS. Sloane 5 and Royal 18 A.vi. All three of these manuscripts belong to the fifteenth century.

Another modern list of the contents, written in French, and earlier in date than this letter, is also inserted within the manuscript. It asserts that some leaves are missing after f. 112: but the text, if one includes the catchwords on f. 112<sup>v</sup> (which are not reproduced on f. 113), is continuous, and corresponds with Ashmole 396, f. 30<sup>v</sup>.

'Ashmole' contains the inversion of the passage in the theoretical proem to the first Book, discussed above (p. xviii); it also has the Hispaniensis proem embedded in it, and its Physiognomy is expanded in the manner of the Latin recension discussed under item E on p. xviii above.

## IV

Johannes de Caritate, *De Priuuyté of Priuuyteis*

Another full version of the *Secretum* is found in a late fifteenth-century manuscript now the property of Mr. Robert B. Honeyman, Jr., of Rancho los Cerritos, San Juan Capistrano, California. My attention was drawn to this by Professor J. A. W. Bennett in 1950, when it was described (as item 237) in Catalogue no. 15 (Old Science and Medicine) of the late Ernst Weil of London, in the following terms:

Manuscript on Vellum . . .  $6\frac{3}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$  in. [16.2 × 22 cm.] 118 leaves in a bastard hand, single lines, 21-23 to a page. Ample margins, prickings visible. With a large number of initials in burnished gold or azure. Contemporary panelled binding of brown calf, over wooden boards. The central panel is formed by intersecting rectangular frames filled with roll tools. . . .<sup>1</sup> Back with raised bands (very slightly damaged); clasps missing.

The hand is characterized by peculiarly broad, stubby down-strokes.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Weil's reading of the letters in the tooling, here omitted, is inaccurate. See the description of the binding in the Preliminary Matter in volume ii.

Among the decorations are 'a fine initial A in burnished gold enclosing a thistle painted in varying shades of blue' (f. 40<sup>v</sup>), and some 'elaborate pen work in red and purple frequently extending to the full length of the border'.<sup>1</sup>

Weil states that the quires consisted originally of eight leaves each, except the last but one, which he describes—with the addition of an interrogation mark—as 'a gathering of ten'. A few leaves are missing, as Dr. Weil points out, 'probably on account of fine initials, the offprints of some [of which] are showing'. It is possible that these missing illuminations contained illustrations as well as initials. I have taken the missing folios into consideration in numbering the leaves of the manuscript: they are ff. 1, 8, 34, 61, and 73: all contained the opening passages of sections of the text, i.e. the proem and each of the four books into which the body of the work has been divided. Fols. 33<sup>v</sup> and 72 are blank, the recto of each containing the *explicit* to the Book which precedes. The missing folios enumerated above are the ones relevant to the textual study, and do not include fly-leaves. The full collation of the quires, however, is (to follow Weil, with one modification): 2 fly-leaves, 1<sup>6</sup> (first and last leaves missing),<sup>2</sup> 2<sup>8</sup>–4<sup>8</sup>, 5<sup>7</sup> (second leaf missing), 6<sup>8</sup>–7<sup>8</sup>, 8<sup>7</sup> (fifth leaf missing), 9<sup>8</sup>, 10<sup>7</sup> (first leaf missing), 11<sup>8</sup>–13<sup>8</sup>, 14<sup>3</sup> (last five leaves missing), 15<sup>8</sup>, 16<sup>7</sup>.<sup>3</sup>

The *Priuyté* occupies ff. \*1–107. There follows on ff. 109<sup>v</sup>–122: 'The chef werke or operacion of alle clergé þat may be wrought by man', an alchemical text, in the same hand.

The text of the *Priuyté*, though written in a clear hand, seems to have been transcribed hastily. The word 'capitil' is frequently missing in the headings to the chapters, leaving an ordinal numerical adjective with no noun following it. The chapter numbers in the body of the text do not correspond with the numbering

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Weil's surmise that the style of these suggests 'a date well before the middle of the century' is in patent contradiction with the reference in the manuscript (see p. 114), which he himself quotes, to the reign of Henry VI as belonging to the past. Far from this reference proving that 'this manuscript . . . must have been written between 1422 and 1461', it proves only that the translation was carried out between 1422 and 1461 (or in 1471) and that the manuscript itself belongs to a later period than the original translation.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Weil considers the first two leaves to be missing.

<sup>3</sup> To say with Dr. Weil that the last quire is a gathering of ten, with three leaves missing, seems to me an inadequate explanation of the manner in which the quire (in fact eight leaves with one missing) seems to consist partly of single leaves, to which no corresponding halves of bifolia were attached.

in the list of contents. The scribe has been through the manuscript, revising it, correcting words, adding letters above the line and phrases in the margin, and cancelling words and letters by erasure and expunction.

The *explicit* to Book I (ff. 33) reads:

Parisiensis / Explicit primus liber de Secretis secretorum, secundum translacionem Johannis de Caritate.

This name is not, *pace* Dr. Weil, that of the Latin translator, the Latin text followed being a recension of Tripolitanus. An inscription on the front end-paper reads 'Johannes de Charitate Doctor Parisiensis huius libri novissimus translator': but this is in a post-medieval hand, so that there is no justification for assuming that this attribution of a Paris doctorate to the translator is based upon anything other than an attempt to account for the presence (and syntactical function) of the word 'Parisiensis' in the *explicit*. It seems safe to assume that Johannes de Caritate was an Englishman: perhaps a John Charity, de Charité, Charté, Love or Lovelich, or perhaps a foundling named John, who was given the cognomen 'de Caritate'. The translation is dedicated to Sir Miles Stapleton of Norfolk. This will be further discussed in volume ii: it may be noted, in passing, that a letter possibly written by Margaret Paston, in 1466, in connection with the funeral of the writer's husband, mentions a 'Dom. John *Loveday*' who received 14s. 2d. for cloth for a riding cope.<sup>1</sup>

It is true that 'Parisiensis' could, conceivably, be the name of a person whom Johannes de Caritate had reason to consider in some way responsible for the *Latin* text of the *Secretum*: it could, arguably, be derived from the reference in one group of the *FrAb* texts to Philippus Tripolitanus as 'Philip of Paris', although this passage does not occur in the full Latin versions.

It is best, however, to assume that the wording of the *explicit* means that this portion of the manuscript was either produced by a scribe with the cognomen 'Parisiensis' or written out in Paris (or copied from one made there), and that it represents a translation by an Englishman of the name of Johannes de Caritate.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Blomefield, *Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (11 vols., 1805), vi. 485.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Weil posits a 'Jean de Charité' and adds 'he may come from the Cistercian abbey Charité in Franche-Comté or from Charité in Champagne'.

Back end-paper ii (verso) has some pen trials, and the inscription *Johannes Har.* . . . This is the name of John Harcourt found on the margin of f. 61, and elsewhere upon the end-papers when examined<sup>1</sup> under ultra-violet light. The importance of these inscriptions is discussed in the Commentary: there also, the dedication of the translation to Stapleton, the possible locating of the provenance of this text at Paris, and the owning of it by John Harcourt and its seventeenth-century owner Richard Elde, are linked together in a surmise which must, of course, remain mere guesswork.

The *Johannes de Caritate* version is given a four-book division. The sections are as follows: I: all that precedes Hygiene (S to Ba); II: Hygiene, (Bb–ci) as far as Wines; III: the remainder of Hygiene (Bcζ''–ν); IV: the remainder of the text, from the Herbal and Lapidary onwards, concluding with the Physiognomy (C–J, Bd). Thus, Bacon's fourfold division is not followed, but the classification is close to that which can be seen by a reader, translator, or redactor, as the intention of the ambiguously worded version of Bacon's division, which MS. Rawlinson C.274 contains (see pp. xxv–xxvi above). It is possible that the Latin original used by *Johannes* was one in which the fourfold division suggested by that rubric was actually employed in the text. It is further noticeable that *Johannes*' Book II ends at the point where the Hygiene of the *Ab Trip* recensions ends, suggesting a possible contamination with that tradition, through some acquaintance with it.

A summary-form indication of the manner in which *Johannes de Caritate* divides up the sections of *Philippus*' text which he apportions among his four books is the following—it is a skeleton which is necessarily incomplete because of the portions missing from the manuscript at the start of each book, and somewhat misleading owing to the fact that *Johannes* substitutes his own equivalents for *Philippus*' preliminary passages, rather than reproducing them:

Book I: [Sz']vwABa

Book II: Bbcaa'ββ'γζ'δζηθι

Book III: Bcζ''κλμμ'ν

Book IV: J[ab] cdefgCabDabcdEFGHaIabBdaβγ

<sup>1</sup> This examination was carried out for me by Miss Désirée Hirst.

*Decretum Aristotelis: pe secrete of secretes, and tresore incomperable* as in Bodleian MS. Ashmole 59, in the hand of John Shirley

Bodleian MS. Ashmole 59, in the hand of John Shirley, has been studied by several scholars. For description and studies see the catalogue of Ashmole manuscripts, and E. P. Hammond, articles in *Modern Language Notes*, xix (1904), 35, in *Anglia*, xxvii (1904), 36, and xxx (1907), 320; *English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey* (Durham, N.C., 1927), pp. 79 (n. 1), 192; *Chaucer: a Bibliographical Manual* (New York, 1933), pp. 515 ff.; O. Gärtner, *John Shirley: Sein Leben und Wirken* (Halle, 1904), pp. 22-25; F. N. Robinson, *Harvard Studies*, v (1896), 185; A. Brusendorff, *The Chaucer Tradition* (Oxford and Copenhagen, 1925), esp. pp. 207 ff. I have received help from Dr. A. I. Doyle, whose work on Shirley has now partly appeared in print.<sup>1</sup>

Ashmole 59 contains sixty-eight items. The section we are concerned with, i.e. that which is in Shirley's hand, consists of two parchment and 130 paper leaves, about thirty-three lines to the page, 27.5 × 19.5 cm. The manuscript contains Chaucer's *Complaynt to Pité*, works by Gower and Lydgate, prophetic texts, and gnomic writings in prose. For Shirley's 'device' on the title-page, see Hammond, *English Verse*, pp. 192-3; for his verses used as a bookplate, the same, together with the authorities referred to there, and H. S. Bennett, *Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 116-18. Fols. 130<sup>v</sup>-134<sup>v</sup> have additions by other hands.

The *Decretum Aristotelis* (this title, in the explicit, is almost certainly a slip for *Secretum* but it is retained here for its distinctiveness) is the opening item, on ff. 1-12<sup>v</sup>. A fragmentary version, it occupies a quire to itself, although Miss Hammond (*Anglia*, xxx) considers all of the 134 leaves to form a single production. Brusendorff notes that the *Decretum* text is on a separate quire, and further indicates the separate nature of the *third* portion of the 134 leaves (ff. 100-34). Miss Hammond herself (*MLN*, xix) notes that the table of contents in the manuscript does not belong to it. The text of the *Decretum* ends in the midst of the matter of the Hygiene book, with the explicit (f. 12<sup>v</sup>) 'Et sic explicit Decretum Aristo[te]lis'. This is followed by an incipit 'And begynneþe þabstracte brevyaire compyled of divers balades &c.'. In place of

<sup>1</sup> *Medium Ævum*, xxx (1962), 93-101.

the catchword which is usual on the versos of this manuscript, f. 12<sup>v</sup> (the end of cap. xv in this translation) carries the figure 'xiiij'. Although, as the manuscript stands, f. 13 is of course the following leaf, the numeral 'xiiij'—a quire-number, but written as though it were a catchword—has been crossed through, and the numeral 'I' substituted, and so on for the following gatherings. Ashmole 59 must earlier have been intended as a portion of a larger volume: Dr. Doyle has pointed out to me that similar changes affect the Shirley manuscripts in Trinity College and Sion College.

It is difficult to assess how far the three self-contained sections of the 134 leaves (that is ff. 1-12, ff. 13-99, ff. 100-34) must be regarded as separate products of separate dates. The identical nature of the paper could be explained by the hypothesis that a scriptorium of the size of Shirley's may have made use, over an extended period, of a large quantity of identical writing material, purchased wholesale.

Miss Hammond (*Anglia*, xxvii) notes the general carelessness and haste of the 134 leaves, and dates them between the death of Humphrey of Gloucester (1447) and the death, at a ripe old age, of Shirley (1456). But this evidence, together with a passage dating after Lydgate's death (in 1449 or later) only fixes the date of ff. 13-100.

That ff. 1-12 and ff. 100-34 are closely connected in time and authorship is shown by a curious feature which they have in common, and which has hitherto escaped notice. This is the use in both texts of acrostics consisting of the letters of the alphabet in their correct order, used as opening letters of consecutive chapters.

Ff. 100-30 contain the *Chronicles of þe three kinges of Coloyne*. In this, chapters i to ix have the arbitrary initials TTWiwABFP. From chapter x (f. 107) to chapter xxxiii, the initials run as follows: ABCDEFGHIKLMNOPQRSTUXY 3 followed by a cruciform ampersand, the abbreviation sign for *con-* and the the letter sign ≡, apparently to be read as 'tytell'.<sup>1</sup> This last is dragged in forcibly (f. 123<sup>v</sup>) by an orthographical interruption of the quasi-scriptural story. The true beginning of the chapter, on f. 124, is formed by the words:

Whane all þat was necessarie and oportune was desposed and ordeynde by þees thre kinges . . .

<sup>1</sup> The name *tytell* has been used for the horizontal abbreviation stroke: see Samuel A. Tannenbaum, *The Handwriting of the Renaissance* (1931), p. 120.

But these words are preceded by a passage which runs as follows:

[f. 123<sup>v</sup>] ðyttell tytelle: Tytelle is taken for a figur in diuers langages and principally taken in scriptures and langages of Latyne for þe more savoury sowne of þe wordes, and þer-fore it is sette [f. 124] in þabsee for þe more redy writing of all maner of langages, and þe prolacion<sup>1</sup> of hem.

The next four initials, again (ff. 125–8) form the series ABCD, but the subsequent, and final, one (f. 128<sup>v</sup>) is P.

Curiously enough, another version of *The Chronicles of þe three kinges*, in B.L. MS. Royal 18 A.x, edited by C. Horstmann as E.E.T.S. O.S. 85 (1886), also contains an acrostic: by a manipulation of the opening phrases of the paragraphs initials are produced which spell out the names of two women who were presumably the owners or patronesses of that manuscript.<sup>2</sup> This need not detain us: what is of concern here is that the *Decretum* in Ashmole 59 contains an exact parallel to this feature of the Shirleian copy of *The Chronicles of þe three kinges*. The opening of the text transforms Yaḥyā's name into 'Marmaduke þe sonne of Patryke'—possible reasons for this curious alteration are discussed in volume II: I have used this feature to distinguish this translation by giving it the cognomen 'Marmaduke'. The initials of the opening words of each chapter (excluding the opening section) run in alphabetical order. Chapter i starts with an A. There follows a section starting with B, given a title but no chapter number. A section opening with C is numbered 'Capitulum ij'—this has been emended to iii in the present edition. It is clear that a section which did not form a separate chapter in the prototype has been made such for the sake of the acrostic, but that the original numbering has slipped past uncorrected. Chapter iv bears its correct number;

<sup>1</sup> prolacion: pronunciation.

<sup>2</sup> The names given are Margareta Moningtown and Mawde de Stranlea. Dr. Doyle writes 'Both names [are] associable with the S. Wales Border (Herefordshire etc.) at the beginning of the fifteenth century . . . Shirley seems to have had connexions (and origins?) in the same region, but there is nothing to relate Roy. 18 A.x and its contents to him.' Horstmann refers to the *Mappula Angliae* in B.L. MS. Harley 4011 for an acrostic which gives Osbert Bokenham's name.

The text of the *Chronicles* printed by Horstmann is of a different grouping from that in Ashmole 59. The versions closely related to Ashmole 59 are in: Douce 301, Cambridge Ee.4.2 and Kk.1.3, Cotton Titus A.xxv, Cambridge Patrick Papers 43, and a Bedford manuscript, now B.L. Add. 36983. Horstmann does not print any variants from Ashmole 59.

from there to chapter xi each chapter is regularly entitled 'capitulum'; the series gives the letters D E F G H I. Chapters x and xi have titles, but no numbers (they have been added to them in the text below): these chapters begin, respectively, with K and L. Chapter xii is numbered, and starts with M. Chapter xiii, unnumbered, gives N; chapters xiv-xv, numbered, give O and P. With this chapter, before the awkward letter Q is reached, the text breaks off. The jockeying with initial words is only jarring in the case of P, for the sake of which the general discussion of hygiene has been made to open with the words (222/26 ff. below)

People were assembled and come to-geder of þe moste naturale and renomd philosophre[s] þane beeing on lyve, for to determyne for a principal conclusion medicinable.

It is perhaps a dubious compliment to pay the deviser of the acrostic to say that not only was it unnoticed by previous investigators, but the present writer, the first modern transcriber of the text, remained quite unaware of it until he had reached the letter P on the penultimate page.

The presence of both acrostics in one manuscript suggests that they were a whim of Shirley's or of a close associate of his. Dr. Doyle writes to me of one friend of Shirley's: 'John Cok, brother of St. Bartholomew's hospital, dabbled a little in ciphers', but he knows of no connexion between him and this manuscript.

The Marmaduke version is so fragmentary and so obviously remanipulated by the translator that it is difficult to fix its source with any certainty. The text reproduces no portions of the *Secretum* that are not in the *Ab Trip* recensions. On most of the points which distinguish *FrAbB* from *FrAbC*, Marmaduke omits or modifies the passage in such a way as to afford no evidence. On one point it is in agreement with *FrAbB*: the name of Guy de Valence is mentioned on f. 1. The probability is therefore that it belongs to the *FrAbB* tradition, as does the version by Gilbert of the Haye.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The affiliation of the Haye version to that recension cannot be doubted, since it shares the features summed up above under the numbering (1), (3), (5), (7-8); the two kingdoms in question under point no. (4) are named by Haye the realms of the *Albanois* and *Saciensis* (p. 105); the translator (p. 74) is called Fair Pateris, which is likely (see point no. (6) on p. xxiii above) to be based on a misreading of *Iean [filz] Patrice* as *Beau Patrice*. In MS. St. John's 102 *FrAbB* is associated with the *Livre de Chevalrie*, which is the fourth item in the manuscript. In Gilbert of the Haye's manuscript, the author's translations of the two texts are found together: curiously enough, J. H. Stephenson, editing both in

John Shirley, *The Governace of Kynges and of Prynces*, as in  
British Library MS. Add. 5467

Shirley's own translation is in B.L. MS. Add. 5467, ff. 211–224<sup>v</sup>. This is a small paper manuscript of the second half of the fifteenth century; 22.5 × 15.8 cm, ff. 225; usually twenty-six to thirty-two lines to the page, but sometimes as few as nineteen.<sup>1</sup> The incipit on f. 211 and the rubric on f. 213<sup>v</sup> are in a larger court hand, but by the same scribe as the bulk of the text, which is in a more cursive and angular script. Neither of the two hands of the volume is Shirley's. Each opening of our text contains the running title: [v] The governace of Kynges/[r] And of prynces. The lines of the text are short, and a wide outer margin contains the numbers of the chapters, and their titles: these form long narrow rubrics of two or three words to a line.

Other texts in this manuscript include:

- (1) Shirley's translation of *Le Livre de bonnes meurs*, translated, we are informed on f. 97, 'in his grete and last age the yere of oure lord a thousand foure hundreth Fourty', that is, when Shirley was about seventy-four years old. Ends on f. 211.
- (2) *The Cronycle of the Dethe of James Stewarde*, that is, of the reign and murder of James I of Scotland, translated by Shirley, as the colophon informs us 'oute of Latyne into oure moders Englysshe tong'. This has been printed three times: in vol. i of Pinkerton's *Antient Scottish Poems* (1756), in Glasgow in 1818, and, for the Maitland Club, in 1837. Ff. 72<sup>v</sup>–82<sup>v</sup>.

The translation of the *Secretum* is entitled *The Governace of Kynges and of Prynces, cleped The Secrete of Secretes*, and is written with catchwords to its rectos. On the final page, f. 225<sup>v</sup> as it stands, the text breaks off abruptly, after five lines of chapter xvi, but with a catchword, indicating that the text had been continued further, and perhaps completed.<sup>2</sup> The table of contents (ff. 211–13<sup>v</sup>) lists

one volume, fails to note anywhere the fact that a French version of the *Secretum* (let alone one of the type here named *Fr.AbB*) is in the St. John's manuscript, which he mentions in connection with the *Buke of Knychthede*.

<sup>1</sup> For a description of the manuscript and a full survey of its contents, see Gärtner, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–57.

<sup>2</sup> As mentioned in volume ii, the headings to chapter xlvii and further chapters are included in the list of contents, thus indicating that the translation had probably been continued.

fifty-eight chapters. The extant text reckons the preliminary material (f. 211 and verso), which precedes the table of contents, as a chapter, thereby turning the eulogy of Aristotle (chapter i in the table of contents) into chapter ii. There follow chapters iii to xv *in toto*, and the five lines of chapter xvi.

The table of contents omits all reference to the discourse on Justice. The position at which the heading should occur—since the *Governance* follows the arrangement of the *Ab Trip* recension—is at the very bottom of f. 213: omission in such a position may well be an oversight.

## VIA

*Le Secret des secrés*: Cambridge University Library  
MS. Ff.1.33

Shirley's translation is very close textually to a French version of the *Secretum* found in Cambridge MS. Ff.1.33. This manuscript carries the name of John Shirley repeatedly in its margins, with the characteristic injunction 'Nota per Shirley'.

Fol. 1<sup>v</sup>, apparently originally the front pastedown, contains Shirley's emblem. The Cambridge University Library Catalogue does not specifically state that Shirley owned the manuscript, but the fact is obvious.

The manuscript further contains a text of the *Livre de bonnes meurs*, Shirley's version of which, as we have seen, precedes the *Governance* in Add. 5467. The fourth item in the manuscript is the *Livre de eschez*, the translation by Jehan de Vignay of the *Ludus Scacchorum* of Jacobus de Cessolis: this explains<sup>1</sup> Shirley's attribution of the *Bonnes meurs* to him in his English translation. Assuming that Shirley's scriptorium produced version VI at a later date than his version V, i.e. not earlier than 1449, it should be noted that Shirley translated the *Bonnes meurs* some ten years before the *Secretum*, for, as noted above, he gives 1440 as the date of his version of the *Bonnes meurs*.

Internal evidence supports the supposition that the French *Secretum* in Cambridge Ff.1.33 is the original which Shirley used for his *Governance* (see further details in volume ii).

<sup>1</sup> See H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess*, Oxford, 1913, repr. 1962, pp. 545–6. I am indebted to the reader of the Oxford Press for this reference. Hoccleve's version of the *Secretum*, the *Regement for Princes*, includes matter from Jacobus de Cessolis' book.

The relevant section of this text has therefore been included in this corpus, printed opposite the text of the *Governance*. This enables the reader to have a glimpse of the original upon which Shirley worked, an opportunity of studying the workshop of a fifteenth-century book-producer.

MS. Ff.1.33 is a fine-looking octavo volume: 24 × 17 cm., 33 lines, foliated in two portions, ff. 106+76. It dates only some quarter of a century earlier than the English version: The scribe's colophon (pt. ii, f. 76) reads 'Et fut copié et escript à Bourges en Berry ou moys de may l'an de grace mil quatre cent et vingt.' The *Secret des secrés* takes up pp. 1-62.

In addition to the items mentioned, the manuscript contains *Le livre du gouvernement de santé que Ypocras fist et l'envoya a l'emperiere Sesar*.

## VII

*The Secrete of Secretes*, as in University College Oxford  
MS. 85

MS. Univ. 85, deposited in the Bodleian Library, is a large and fine folio-sized manuscript on vellum, 34 × 25 cm., ff. 90, with wide margins, and twenty-eight lines to each page. The hand is neat and the decoration noteworthy; each of the items has a large miniature at its beginning, occupying all but a few lines at the bottom of the page. The texts are all in English and all translations; they are, following the numbered pages of this volume (since University College manuscripts are paginated rather than foliated):

- p. 1: The *Quadrilogue* of Alain Chartier.
- p. 70: *The Secrete of Secretes*.
- p. 136: *Consideracions right necessarye to the good governance of a prince* [from Vegetius, Aegidius Colonna, and others].

The Chartier text has now been edited by Dr. Margaret S. Blayney in *Fifteenth-Century English Translations of Alain Chartier's 'Le Traité de l'Esperance' and 'Le Quadrilogue Invectif'*, E.E.T.S., 270, 1974.

There are decorations running down the left-hand margins at the beginnings of sections. Initials are regularly illuminated.

The hand of this manuscript has been identified with that of B.L. MS. Harley 4775 by Mr. Neil Ker and by Professor Auvo Kurvinen; to the latter I am grateful for bringing to my notice

most of the following facts. The Harleian manuscript, like Univ. 85, is a large folio in vellum of the second half of the fifteenth century. It contains a translation, earlier than Caxton's, of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea*. The translation is attributed to 1438 on the strength of the colophon in Bodleian MS. Douce 372: this manuscript was copied between 1438 and 1460, the latter being the date of its second colophon. The Harleian and Douce manuscripts agree so closely in wording and spelling as to make Miss Kurvinen consider them copies of one prototype manuscript, probably executed at about the same time: the Midland dialectal features are mild, and the extent of standardization suggests a London scriptorium. Miss Kurvinen's opinion upon the scribe, based mainly on a study of Harley 4775, is that 'he was a professional scribe who copied extremely faithfully, so that his text is likely to retain even some of the dialectal forms of his exempla' (private letter, 16 June 1955).

## VIII

Robert Copland's printed version, *The Secrete of Secretes*, 1528;  
reprint by Kitson, 1572

Copland's printed version of 1528 (STC 770) is preserved in a unique copy in the Cambridge University Library. This is now reproduced as no. 220 in the facsimile series *The English Experience* (Amsterdam, 1970). There is no title-page.

The final leaf, f. J4, carries Copland's device, preceded by the colophon:

Thus endeth the secrete of secretes of Arystotle *with* the governayle of prynces and euery maner of estate with rules of helthe for body and soule very prouffitable for euery man, and also veray good to teche chyldeyn to lerne to rede Englysshe. Newly translated & enprynted by Robert Copland at London in the flete-strete at the sygne of the Rose garlande the yere of our lorde. M.CCCC.xxviij. the .viij. day of August þe .xx. yere of the reygne of our mooste dradde soverayne and naturall kynge Henry the .viij. defender of the fayth.

Copland's first dated book bears the imprint 1515, the second belongs to 1521. The *Secret* is one of three bearing the date 1528.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For Copland see W. Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities* iii (1816), 111-26; H. R. Plomer, 'Robert Copland', *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, iii (1895-6), 211-25; E. Gordon Duff *et al.*, *Handlists of English Printers, 1501-1556*, Pt. ii; Copland is in the section on the years 1515-33, by H. R. Plomer.

Kitson's reprint of Copland's translation (STC 770a) is also extant in a unique copy, in the Folger Shakespeare Library.

The title-page runs as follows:

*THE SECRETE OF SE-/CRETES, CONTAINING THE / most excellent and learned instruction / of Aristotle the prince of Philosophers: / which he sent to the Emperour, King A-/lexander: very necessarye and profitable / for all maner of estates and degrees, / VVith some instructions in the / ende of this booke, touching / the iudgment of Phi-/sognomie.*

Lordes and maisters, wise and honourable,  
Of this said booke make all a loking glas:  
For ye shal finde it good and profitable,  
With wisdome to bring your nedes to passe:  
Make your entent, as the aut[oures] was,  
Which grounded it on right hie grauit[ie],  
Counselling you to lyue in equytie.<sup>1</sup>

A full study of Kitson's text is in T. P. Harrison, 'The Folger *Secret of Secrets*, 1572', *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies*, ed. J. G. McManaway, G. J. Dawson, and E. E. Willoughby (Washington, 1948), pp. 601-20.<sup>2</sup>

Robert Copland died about 1547, and was succeeded, at the same address, the Rose-garland in Fleet Street, by William Copland, whose imprint appears until 1553. Kitson's impression is identical with Copland's apart from changes in punctuation and spelling: it comes, of course, from a separate press. Some of the initial letters of Copland's edition (they consist of woodcuts with grotesques within the letters), are used again, though the pages are certainly reset in a different chase, if not entirely set up anew, and the spelling has been 'modernized', in a reprint of ff. D<sub>4</sub> to G<sub>3</sub> of Copland's text, that is, the portion of the *Secretum* which deals with Hygiene.<sup>3</sup> This was printed by Wyer in 1535 (STC 6837) under a title which is derived from that of the first of the chapters of this portion, 'Of the dyfference of astronomy'. His incipit runs:

Here begyn/neth the dyfference of a-/stronomy, with the gouer-/nayle to kepe mans body / in helth, all the foure / seasons of the/yeare.

<sup>1</sup> Bracketed portions are indistinct in the extant copy.

<sup>2</sup> My thanks are due to Mr. Giles Dawson for having brought Professor Harrison's article to my attention.

<sup>3</sup> Some upper-case letters of a different fount have been substituted.

Wyer's volume consists of five gatherings, A-D<sup>4</sup>, F<sup>5</sup>; f. E<sup>5</sup> bears the imprint:

Imprynted by / me Robert Wyer Dwellynge at the Syne / of Seynt John Euan-/gelyst, in Seynt Martyns Parysshe besyde / Charynge / Crose.

The copy in the British Library (C.40a 21) is, I believe, unique. It should be regarded as a reprint of this portion of Copland, and variants from it have been included in the textual footnotes below.

The Folger copy of Kitson's text bears the name of a seventeenth-century owner, R. Stephenson (sig. A<sub>2</sub>). Until the volume was acquired by the Folger Library, the reprint had been listed as a ghost, known only through having been mentioned as unobtainable in 1702, in the preface to the Walwyn version (see pp. xlv ff. below).

## IX

William Forrest, *The Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practise*, in British Library MS. Royal 17 D.iii, dated 1548

B.L. MS. Royal 17 D.iii, is fully described in the catalogue of the Royal manuscripts. It is a holograph manuscript of Sir William Forrest's *Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practise*, a rhyme royal version of the *Secretum*. Ff. 77, 25.5×18.4 cm; about three and a half stanzas of rhyme royal to the page. Chapter headings are in alternate black and red words.

After the unfinished text there are several blank but lined folios. Forrest's hand can be seen in his other holograph manuscripts: B.L. Add. 34791 (a metrical version of the Psalms); B.L. Royal 17 A.xxi (a later form of the same work, written out in 1551); MS. University College, Oxford 88 (Part I of his *History of Joseph the Chaiste*, together with some other works); B.L. Royal 18 C.xiii (Part II of *Joseph*, written out in 1569, but composed in 1545: see *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, iii (1950), 22 f.); Bodl. MS. Wood empt. 2 (his *History of Griseld the Second*).

W. D. Macray's edition of this last-mentioned work (1875) contains a full account of Forrest's life and works.

Forrest's poem was written in 1548 for presentation to the Duke of Somerset, and through him to Edward VI: the date is on f. 8. In this manuscript the poem is unfinished; although the manuscript is in the royal collection, one presumes that Somerset's fall, in

that year, came before Forrest could present it formally to him. Also originally dedicated to Somerset is Forrest's collection of Metrical Psalms, contained, as noted above, in a manuscript dated 1551. A full-page drawing (f. 7<sup>v</sup>) shows Forrest presenting the volume to Edward VI.

Of Forrest's interpolations one is, notably, an allegorized description of the coronation of an English king. This may be a spontaneous insertion, appropriate for the young Edward VI and for the months in which the poem must have been composed. In view, however, of the manuscript association of the *Secretum*, discussed above (pp. xx-xxi) with treatises on coronation ceremonial, it is at least a possibility that Forrest had at his disposal a Latin manuscript which included both a text of the *Secretum* and a description of the ceremonial.

Portions of the *Pleasaunt Poesye* have already appeared in print in S. J. Herrtage, *England in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth*, E.E.T.S., E.S. 32 (1878): these portions correspond to ll. 2570-3262 in the present edition.

## APPENDIX A: X

Jenkin Gwynne, *Tyrocaesar* (1569), in Wellcome Medical Historical Library MS. 71

MS. 71 in the Wellcome Medical Historical Library, Euston Road, London, is described in S. A. J. Moorat, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts on Medicine and Science in the Wellcome Historical Library*, vol. i, 1962. The manuscript consists of forty leaves, 27 × 21 cm; the contents are carefully written out on paper specially prepared with neat red ruling—about twenty lines of text to a page—with boldly defined margins, of which the outer one is particularly wide and is used for the author's own annotations. The manuscript is almost certainly the author's holograph, written out in the manner of Elizabethan texts prepared for the printers. Two hands, secretary and italic, are used—the latter being employed for emphasis.

The manuscript is dated 1569 (f. 4), and is dedicated to Sir Walter Mildmay, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer<sup>1</sup> and is

<sup>1</sup> Moorat (loc. cit.) writes that Mildmay was not Chancellor until 1574. But the *DNB* article on Mildmay gives the earlier date 1566 for the start of his occupancy of the post, while 1559 is given as the date by S. E. Lehmborg, *Sir Walter Mildmay and Tudor Government* (Austin, Texas, 1964), p. 48.

best known as the founder of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Gwynne was a clerk of the Exchequer. The manuscript presumably passed from Mildmay's son Anthony to Francis Fane, first Earl of Westmoreland, who married Walter Mildmay's granddaughter Mary: for a slip pasted into the inside of the binding reads 'The Earl of Westmoreland 1856'—the reference being to John Fane, the eleventh earl, d. 1859.

Ff. 3-4<sup>v</sup> contain a dedicatory letter, in which Gwynne speaks of repaying a debt of gratitude to Mildmay by translating the Latin text of *Hispaniensis* (or *Joannes Hispanus*, as he writes) for his patron. Many manuscripts of *Hispaniensis*, in the proem, transliterate the title *Sirr al-asrār* in some such form as *cyrotesrar*. In Gwynne's text this becomes *Tyrocaesar*.

The text of *Hispaniensis* is on ff. 5-8<sup>v</sup>.

Ff. 8<sup>v</sup>-16 contain a reproduction, with many gaps, of ll. 1240 to 2016 of the fifteenth-century rhyme royal version of the *Secretum* by John Lydgate and Benedict Burgh, the *Book of the Governauce of Kynges and of Prynces*, edited by Robert Steele under the title *Secrees of Old Philisoffris* as E.E.T.S., E.S. 66 (1894). This section of the poem corresponds with the portion of the *Sirr* translated by *Hispaniensis*. Gwynne identifies the lines only as 'a pece of the said epistill Englishshed by some auncient learnede man, whose name I colde not fynde' (f. 8<sup>v</sup>).

Fols. 16-22 contain Gwynne's own reflections upon the themes of the *Hispaniensis* text.

After the *Finis* which stands at the end of this section the remainder of the text, which is not here reproduced, consists of a series of alleged prophecies of events in the years and centuries to follow (ff. 22-40).

Gwynne states that he finds them 'not ympertinent to the matter' of man's health. A brief account of this section, and of the manuscript as a whole, is found in the present editor's article, 'Tyrocaesar: a manual for Sir Walter Mildmay', *Manuscripta*, xix (1975), 27-35.

#### APPENDIX B: XI

*Aristotles's Secret of Secrets Contracted*; The Walwyn version of  
1702

In 1702 there appeared a new English translation of *Ab Trip*. Only in a very restricted sense, by virtue of some of the remarks in the

preface, can this be said to usher in the modern scholarly study of the *Secretum*, which was to start with Douce's annotations in some of the copies he owned (i.e. Bodleian MSS. Douce 95 and 128). The 1702 translation continues, in much the same spirit, the manner of the late medieval and early modern English translators. This being so, and because this translation is known only through the unique copy in the British Library, the text is here printed as an appendix to this corpus.

A description is as follows:

ARISTOTLES's / Secret of Secrets / Contracted; / Being the Sum of his Advice / TO / *Alexander* the Great, / About / The Preservation of Health / and Government. / Formerly Translated out of the / Original *Greek* into *Latin*, and di-/vers other Languages; and being / very scarce, is now faithfully ren-/dred into *English*, / For the Good of Mankind. / [line] / LONDON, / Printed for *H. Walwyn*, at the three Legs in / the *Poultry*, 1702.

i Title-page; iii-viii, The Bookseller to the Reader; 1-87, text. A<sup>4</sup>, B-D<sup>12</sup>, GHI<sup>8</sup>.

The translator of the 'Walwyn' version informs us that he knew of an older English version, but that he translated from an abbreviated Latin printing, presumably one of those based upon *Ab Trip* (see Steele, pp. xxx f.), and from the edition of 1520. The latter is the Du Pré text (Paris, 16mo), which follows the Achillini text. Walwyn's version must therefore be considered an abbreviated conflation of *Ab Trip* and Achillini. As the critical apparatus below, and the Commentary to follow, will indicate, the obscurities in the Walwyn version often derive from a misreading or mistranslation either of a standard form of the Latin, or specifically of the Achillini wording.

#### INTER-RELATIONSHIP OF THE ENGLISH VERSIONS

The relationship of these English versions to their originals, to one another, and to the other known literal English versions, can be indicated in tabular form. In the table below, the three translations in 3PV, and Sir Gilbert of the Haye's version, have been included. Short titles are used for them, as follows:

Reg.: *The Book of the Governauce of Kyngis and of Pryncis, callid the Secrete of Secretes*; in B.L. MS. Royal 18 A.vii. Printed as item 1 in 3PV.

Yonge: James Yonge, *The Gouvernaunce of Prynces* (1422), as in Bodley MS. Rawlinson B.490 (and, fragmentarily, Trinity College, Dublin E.2.31). Item 3 in *3PV*.

Haye: Sir Gilbert of the Haye, *The Buke of the Gouvernaunce of Princis*.

Of the above, Lambeth is a version of the Vulgate, Reg. of *FrAbC*, and Haye, as discussed above, of *FrAbB*. Yonge's version, itself containing interpolations relevant to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to whom it is addressed, is a translation of the Waterford-Copale version, which has embedded in it the *Dietary* of Isaac Judaeus and the *Breviloquium* of Johannes Wallensis.

It is difficult to devise a stemmatic arrangement of the three unknown texts of *FrAbC* used respectively by Copland, and by the translators of Reg. and Univ., and to relate them to Cambridge Ff.1.33. The readings show no steady affiliations. Ff.1.33, Univ., and Copland all refer to the translator as 'Philip of Paris'; Reg. omits this particular passage. The kingdom destroyed through prodigality (in section A) is England in Ff.1.33 and in Univ.; the passage is omitted in Reg. and Copland. The peoples destroyed through oath-breaking (in section Ba) are *Imbres* and *Assyriens* in Ff.1.33, *Ymbres* and *Syriens* in Univ.; in Reg. the *Assiryenes* alone are mentioned; Copland omits them. In likening a king to natural phenomena, Univ. and Copland omit the wind, giving only the comparisons to rain and the changing seasons. In the table below, therefore, no more detailed affiliation is attempted than common derivation from French texts of the same recension as Ff.1.33.

Since it is not clear that any portion of the Walwyn version derives from a section of the Achillini text which is indebted to Harīzī's Hebrew translation, reference to Harīzī and to his source, the Short Form of the Arabic *Sirr*, is omitted in this table.

#### EDITORIAL POLICY: GENERAL REMARKS

The editor has attempted to produce a corpus of all known early English versions of the *Secretum* which have not already been edited. This embraces the fifteenth-century versions, and early-sixteenth-century versions both from manuscript and from printed sources. For the sake of completeness, variants from the 1572 reprinting of Copland's text and from Wyer's fragment have been included in the footnotes, and the Elizabethan manuscript version

Arabic *Sirr al-asvār*

Johannes Hispaniensis, *Secretum secretorum* Philippus Tripolitanus, *Secretum secretorum*

I RAWLINSON X (Appendix A) GWYNNE

Vulgate

II SLOANE

Achillini  
recension

Inverted-page  
recension

Full  
French  
translation  
*Lambeth*

IV JOHANNES  
DE CARITATE

Latin abbreviation  
(*Ab Trip*)

Jofroi de Waterford-  
Servais Copale

*James Yonge*

IX SIR  
WILLIAM  
FORREST

G. du Pré edition,  
Paris, 1520

III ASHMOLE

French abbreviation A  
(*Fr Ab A*)

French abbreviation B  
(*Fr Ab B*)

French abbreviation C  
(*Fr Ab C*)

XI (Appendix B)  
WALWYN

*Gilbert of the Haye* V MARMADUKE

VI A  
CAMBRIDGE  
Ff. r. 33

VI SHIRLEY Reg

VII UNIV. VIII ROBERT COPLAND

by Gwynne has been appended, together with the Walwyn version of 1702, which, far from constituting an early modern antiquarian effort, is by its nature a continuation of the medieval and Renaissance manner of treating the text.

In order to make it possible to study the parallel treatment of *FrAbC* by three English translators, the texts of the Univ. translation, and of the translations by Shirley and Copland, are printed side by side, together with the relevant portion of the French manuscript which the editor believes Shirley to have been following. When Shirley's text breaks off, the French text of Cambridge Ff.1.33 is cut short in this corpus, leaving the Univ. and Copland texts in parallel together. Readings from MS. Cambridge Ff.1.33 are also cited in the textual apparatus to the other English derivatives of *FrAbC*. The reader may also compare with these texts the Reg. version of *FrAbC* in *3PV*.

The Middle English version of Hispaniensis is given first, followed by the earliest, and fragmentary, version of Tripolitanus. Placed third, the full Ashmole version is made the basis of this edition, in so far as the notes in the Commentary in volume II, where they are of general concern to the whole *Secretum* tradition, usually occur in comment upon the details of this version.

The Gwynne and Walwyn texts are later in date than the period to which the activities of the Early English Text Society are devoted. Their vocabulary is therefore not included in the General Glossary; words requiring comment are noticed, exceptionally, in the notes to these texts. In the Glossary of Scientific Terms, however, words from these texts are included, since the main aim of this specialized glossary is to provide an instrument for study of the English vocabulary of the physical and arcane sciences in the pre-scientific and proto-scientific stages, in so far as the *Secretum* tradition illustrates this.

The spelling of the manuscript and early printed texts stands as it is, excepting of course, where emendation is necessary. Addition of words and portions of words is indicated by square brackets. Omission of words and portions of words is not indicated in the text, but is specified in the footnotes. A hyphen is used to join words which modern usage would combine, but which are separated in the original: also sometimes in words which are written more closely together in the manuscripts than is normal, for this closeness appears to me to be the equivalent of the modern use of

a hyphen. Punctuation is modernized: peculiarities of punctuation are pointed out in the separate discussions of the different texts, in the Preliminary Matter in volume ii, where further secondary information concerning the manuscripts will be found, to supplement the descriptions given in this Introduction.

Capital *I* is given as *ſ* where it represents the consonant. The double *ff* is reduced to a single *f* where it is clear that it represents nothing more than the scribe's grapheme for capital *F*, or, as in the case of the Johannes de Caritate manuscript, that it stands for a single *f* in all graphic contexts. The *þ* has been retained. In order to emphasize the continuity of the medieval tradition both in the printed books and in holograph manuscript works of the sixteenth century, the *y* of Copland and of Forrest has been represented by a *þ* where the dental fricative is intended. In the texts based upon printed books, i.e. those of Copland and of the 'Walwyn' version, the punctuation of the original edition is retained.

Most light downstrokes and other graphic signs added to final letters have been ignored, excepting where they patently represent a plural *-es/is*. Abbreviations have been silently expanded wherever a graphic sign has been interpreted as meaningful and not otiose. Expansion has sometimes been a matter of fairly arbitrary or subjective choice, since more than one possible reading has seemed equally persuasive; such doubtful cases are usually singled out in the footnotes. The abbreviations for the terminations *-es*, *-en*, *-eth* have been expanded as *-is*, *-in*, *-ith* where neighbouring scribal practice favours this. This has at times meant a change of policy within the course of a single text.

The editor's treatment of the signs which are sometimes contraction marks for *-n* and *-m* perhaps requires special mention. These signs are a straight horizontal stroke and, less often, a semi-circular horizontal curve with a dot beneath. These have sometimes been expanded, but, where they seemed to have no function, however boldly they are written, they have been treated as otiose. In many instances the straight horizontal stroke has seemed to the editor to indicate that the minims it surmounts represent a nasal and not a vowel, i.e. while it is not strictly otiose, its function in such cases appears to be confirmatory and not supplemental. This would make the function of this stroke the converse of its function in modern German script. In such cases, the sign has not been represented here in any way. Decisions, however, have been more

than usually difficult, and many readers, comparing the texts with their originals, may well disagree with the editor over specific instances.

The arbitrariness of decisions over expansions is particularly clear in the case of the mid-sixteenth-century holograph text of William Forrest, which combines italic hand with spelling of a particularly otiose type and an extremely generous use of contraction signs which an editor, in the interests of common sense as well as of compactness, is impelled, as far as possible, to treat as otiose. Forrest's is an example of a humanist manuscript text presenting a state of affairs halfway between that of a fifteenth-century text and that of an early printed book. His punctuation is of a more modern type than that of the other main texts, and as far as convenient it has been preserved. The elements which he uses (colon, semicolon, brackets) have been freely made use of in the editorial adjustments of the punctuation of his text. Forrest often joins words which are written separately today. Since his text is interesting as an example of authorial presentation, where I have separated such words the fact is, exceptionally, indicated in the footnotes.

Emendations are, where this is thought best, supported in the footnotes by citation of the Latin reading closest to the English translator's supposed original. Erroneous translations and readings requiring further explanation are, of course, treated in the Commentary in volume II: those which it is supposed might most cause the reader to hesitate are singled out in the footnotes in volume I by the cross-reference '*See n(ote)*'.

## TEXTS

In the critical apparatus, the following sigil is used:

B Roger Bacon, ed. Robert Steele, *Opera hactenus inedita*, fasc. v: *Secretum Secretorum*, Oxford, 1920.

In this apparatus, when a reading is given from a base text on its own, no sigil is used. When such a reading is followed in the same footnote by readings from other texts, the base text and all other texts are indicated by sigils which are listed on the introductory pages to the individual texts.



# I

## REGIMEN SANITATIS: THE BOOKE OF GOODE GOVERNANCE AND GUYDING OF þE BODY

A fifteenth-century version of Johannes Hispaniensis  
in Bodleian MS. *Rawlinson C. 83*

Regimen Sanitatis |

[f. 1<sup>v</sup>]

**This booke, made for the rule and gouernaunce of manniss body to kepe him in helth and goode disposicion of body, was sent fro þe grete philosophir Aristotill to the nobill prince King Alexander, of the which here begynnith the prologe.**

[f. 2]

5

**O nobil king, if thou wilt diligently rede and vnderstonde this litil booke and tretice, and rule thi selfe aftir the doctrine, rulis and preceptis in this booke or tretice writtin, thou shalt kepe thy selfe in helth and goode disposicion of body, and haue continuauce of long life. Yitt notwithstanding the doctrine of this booke, thy life may be shortid by othir chauncis, as of warre or othir perellis. To preserue the frome deth happyng by such meanis, this booke helpith not, but | onely to preserue the from deth which commith by sekenes. Here endith the prologe, and begynnith the booke of gouernaunce for the helth of manniss body, the which conteynith xv doctrines or preceptis, of þe which here begynnith the first doctrine.**

10

[f. 2<sup>v</sup>]

15

**WHen thou rysist fro slepe in þe morning, first stretch thy lymmis, þi leggys, thine armis, thy shuldris, thy necke, thyne hed. This availith to sett thy lymmis in dwe ordre. Aftir þat, kembe thine hed, for þat openith þe poris of þe hed, that fumositeis which ascendith fro þe stomake in tyme of slepe by opening of þe poris**

20

5 which] followed by begynnith written in red ink (which is used for the whole title) then crossed through in black ink

12 as] inserted above line

may departe fro the. This doone, if it be somir season, wesse thi hondis, bifore þu goist oute fro thi chambir, with colde watir, for þe coldenes of þe watir shettith þi naturell poris, and lettith þi naturell hete to passe from the, which wold passe if þi poris were not closid. And when þu commist fro thy chambre, walke temperatly a competent season bifore thou put thy self to any oþir occupacion.

**The second doctrine or precept :**

SE that thi clothis be precious and riȝt feire to the eye, for beauté and preciousenes of þe clothis liȝtenith and gladdith the spiritte of man, which gladnes of spiritte is cause of a continuance in helth like as heuynes of spiritte and sorow inducith sikenes. Hit causith also a man to be more quick in all his deedis, and þe bettir to execute all that perteynith to his office.

**15 The thridde doctrine or precept :**

Dayly in the morning rubbe and clense þi mouth, and rubbe þi teith with the leuis or barke of a soote tre and bitter withall, as with the barke or leuis of the bay tre. þis manir of doing clensith thy tieth and mouth, and resoluith flewme, by the meane wherof thou mayist more clerely speke withoute cowghing or speting. Also it excitith þine appetite to mete.

**The fourth doctrine or precepte :**

In þe m<orni>ng vse sum fumigacions. Let brenne such þingis a<s c>ausith a soote fume, as incense, juniper, gale or levis of þe baytre. And se þat þu receiue þe fume with þi nose, for þis openith þe clausuris of þi brayne and disposith well þi hede, it strengthith þi lymmis, þi shuldris and þi armis, it makith a<ll> þi face and thy countenance gladly, and prolongith þe from age, and lettith þe horenes of þe hede, and it conforteth <all> thy five bodely wittis.

**The v doctrine or precepte :**

Aftir all þis anointe þi selfe with precious oynementis and sweete, for sweete sauour is mete to the spiritte: it gladdith, refresshith and confortith þe <spirit>te like as holsum mete confortith þe body. Which conforting of þe spiritte causith þe hert to be glad and

<sup>1</sup> the] preceded by a long vertical stroke, crossed through <sup>12</sup> heuynes] damp has made this, and many other portions of the ms., illegible in normal light, this state being at its worst on ff. 3<sup>v</sup>-5. Most such portions become legible, wholly or partly, under ultra-violet radiation. Where certain enough of having deciphered the letters, I make no indication; otherwise words, or portions of words, are placed in angular brackets

makith þe bloode pl<aye>full to renne in to þe veynis for the delectacion of þe hert.

**The sixte doctrine or precept folowith :** |

In þe morning bifore þu <go>st furth, vse certeine electuaryis aftir [f. 4]  
þe counsell of men experte in phisike. Also þu shal <ta>ke of þe 5  
roote of rubarbe iij peny-<wezt> diuerce tymes in þe morning  
bifore þi going oute <a>mong þe peple. For þis medicin profitith  
gretely to purge and remoue flewme from þe mouth of þe stomake.  
Hit dryith away e<uyl> humours of þe body, it expellith and  
remouith fumo<site>is and wyndis within the body, it makith þi 10  
mouth to be well sauourid, and all þi persone. Entre thi counsell  
and provide what <is nee>din<ge> for þi comon w<eal>.

**The vijth precepte or doctrine.**

IF <it> cum to þe a grete appetite to et<e th>ough it be b<i>f<or>e  
þine oure acc<u>s<to>mid, yit <thou m>ay go to thi dyner <con>- 15  
uenient <acc>ording to þin< ap>petite when i<t c>ummith, if it  
be gret. For ellis shall þi naturall hete labour vpon corrupt <hu>-  
mours. This wise to folow þine ap<peti>te when it cummith if it be  
grete avail<ith> many <w>ysis. <It> st<re>nthith thi body and 19  
liztenit<h> it. It kindelith þe hete of þi stomak and | remouith [f. 4<sup>v</sup>]  
flewme. Which if thou wilt not ete when þi grete appetite cummith,  
it dullith þi stomak and destruith þin appetite ay<en>s anopir tyme.

**The viijth doctrine.**

When þu art sett att þi mete, se þi metis be holsum, and in plenté of  
diuerse kyndes of metis, and ete of þem þat þin appetite moste 25  
meuith þe to, but ete sumwhat lasse þen inowgh, and rise sumwhat  
with an appetite.

**The ixth doctrine :**

Ete þi liquid metis as potagis or sewis in þe bigyn<in>g of þi  
refeccion. If þu first ete þi substancial me<tis>, and aftir þi liquid 30  
metis, it sha<ll c>ause a confusion in þi stomak. And if þu shall  
[eit] a<t> one refeccion diuers potagis, sum rinning potagis and sum  
standing, ete first þi rinning potage, and aftir þi substanciall  
m<ete> in þe midd<ist>, and last þi standing potage, as ge<1>ysis  
and such opir last of all. Also se þi grete mete be et<in> first and 35  
receiuid in the botom of þi stomake, for þer is gretir hete þen in þe  
ouer parte of þi stomak, and þ<er>for lett lizt metis of digestion be  
lattir ete, for lesse hete is for | such metis sufficient. [f. 5]

18 appetite] *ms. wormeaten*  
(*verso of line 18 above, appetite*)

32 [eit] cum

34 mete] *ms. wormeaten*

**The xth. doctrine or precept.**

Also se þi brede be made of pure flour clene departid fro þe branne and sumwhat leuenid. But yitte in all þi diete for-gete not to leue with an appetite, for who so wille ete til he hath fulfillid his appetite hath more þen ynouȝh, and so shall his mete ly in þe botom of his stomak not digestid.

**The xjth doctrine or precepte :**

Se þu be no grete drinker: pough þi drink be neuir so pleasant, numbir þi drinkyngis. Se þey be not verray many in one diete, betwene þi drinkingis se þer be a competent space, and se þi draȝt be not our grete, but mesurable. And aftir þi mete biware þu drinke no watir, be it neuir so pleasaunt vnto þe, for drinking of watir aftir þi mete coldith þi stomak and quenchith þi naturall hete. But if þi desire be so grete aftir þi mete to drink watir, for grete hete of þe season, drink but litil, and se þe watir be well tastid and verry colde.

**þe xijth doctrine.**

[f. 5<sup>v</sup>] When þu art a-rise fro mete, walke a litil vpon soft gresse. | And if þu wilt slepe aftir þi dyner, lett þi slepe be litil and short, and begyn þi slepe vpon þi riȝt side a litil season, and þen turne on þi left side and so make an ende of þi slepe. And be ware þu slepe not bifore mete, for such slepe shall make þi body our leene, and dry þi moisture naturall. But moderate slepe aftir mete shall refresh þe, and kepe þe in goode disposicion of body.

**þe xiiijth doctrine.**

When þu hast ete þi mete, be ware þu ete not eftsonis, vn-til þi mete bifore receiuid be perfetely digestid. And when þat is, þu shalt knowe by .ij. tokenis. One is when þine appetite cummith to þe ayene after þi mete which þu hast receyuid. Anopir token: if þi spettel be sotel, and liztly will destende in to þi mouth. Iff þu take mete withoute appetite, þi naturall hete is feblid. And if þu haue a newe appetite, þi naturall hete is accendid.

**The xiiijth. doctrine.**

When þine appetite cummith, sone aftir, fall to þi mete, for if þu absteyne þe long fro þi mete aftir þine appetite is cum, þi stomake shalbe fillid with corrupt humouris which | he drawith to him of þe refuce and superfluité of þe mete bifore digestid, and of such corrupt humours receyuid in þe stomac by abstinence of mete aftir

pine appetite is cum, thine hed and pi brayne shall gretely be troublid by aking and oþir diseasis.

**The xvth doctrine tretith of þe iiij seasons of þe yere :**

THou must diligently take hede of iiij ceasons of þe yere which þis wise be namid: **Ver, Estas, Autumpnus, Hyemps.** First 5

**Ver** begynnith in March and continuith til þe hote somir begyn.

**Estas** begynnith in þe monnith of June and durith to þe middis of August. Then begynnith **Autumpnus**, callid Hervest, and durith

to þe middis of Nouembir. And þen begynnith **Hyemps** callid wintir, and durith til þe begynning of Ver. The disposicions of þies 10

iiij ceasons of þe yere ben þies: **Ver** is temperate, hote and moiste, like vnto þe eyer. þen begynnith mannis bloode to encrese. Diett

according for þat season be boylid capons and chicons. Also amongis herbis, letuce be holsum. Amongis liquouris þat | noris- 15

shith, gotis milke is riȝt norisshing. Among grete flessch, yong kidde and fatte. Also as for bloodeletting þat ceason callid Ver is

most according. þis season also is conuenient for laxis, and baynis drye and moiste, also to take aromatik pocions made with spices.

And if ony þing hath happenid in þe yer bifor, by wey of medicine or oþir, þis season may all be restorid and refourmid by þe menis 20

bifore rehercid. Then folowith a season callid **Estas** or summir, and is commonly excessifly hote and drie. And in þis season en-

crecith rede coler, and is like to fire which is excedingly hote and drye. In þis season þu hast nede to absteyne the fro replecion

of mete and drink, and in manir vse abstinence more þan in Ver, 25

and in especiall to absteine fro metis and drinkis þat be hote in wirking, and to vse metis þat be colde and moiste, and in sawcis to

vse vinagre and sorel savce, and in fruitis to vse such þat be sum- what egre, as orangis and pomegranatis, to vse moiste baynis

mesurably, and vttrily to eschiwe dry baynis for þat season, also 30

þen to be ware of letting of bloode, but if grete nede re-|quire, 35

walking and exercise moderately according, in þe morning and late towardis niȝt. Aftir þis folowith **Autumpnus** or harvest,

which is somewhat cold in þe regarde of þe summer, and also dry, and is like to þe erth, which is colde and drie. And in þis season

arisith and encrecith melancoly, callid in Latin Colera nigra. In þis season þu must absteine þe fro suche metis and frutis þat gendrith

melancoly, as fro olde towgh bef and moton, fro olde gotis flessch,

[f. 67]

15

20

25

30

[f. 7]

35

13 capons and chicons] both -ons terminations with presumably otiose contraction signs: intended forms possibly capouns and chicouns

and in þis season þu mayist vse baynis and also laxis to purge melancoly. Aftir þis folowith Hyems, callid wintir, which tyme is colde and moiste like to watir. It begynnith toward thende of Nouembre and continuith to Ver. In þis tyme of wintir conuenient  
 5 it is to ete hote metis and dry, as dove birdis, bakemetis well spicid, rostid gete, swanis, wilde foule, drink goode rede wyne and mizty. Also þe potagis se þat þei be hote in wirking and well spicid. Absteine fro laxis and letting of bloode, but if grete nede require. In  
 9 þis ceason þu mayist vse oynementis and anoint þi body, and aftir  
 [f. 7<sup>v</sup>] rubbe it ayenst þe fire and dry it ayene. In þis | season vse no grete abstinence from mete, for þen mannis digestion is strong and mizty.

NOw, mizty prince Alexander, kepe well this litill booke for þe gyding of þi body as a jvell precious, for by þis þu shalt kepe þi naturall moistor, and so folowith þi naturall hete, for so long  
 15 abydith naturall hete as doith naturall moistor, in so much as naturall hete is radicate and kept in naturall moistor as in his naturall fundament and ground. Thies ij, þat is to say, naturall hete and naturall moisture, well kepte, continuith bodyly helth and life. And age shall not gretely grow vpon þe. For man waxith  
 20 olde for one of ij causis. One cause is for wasting of naturall moysture, and grete drynes, wherof growith febilnes of body. A-nothir cause, which is accidentall, as by sekenes, wher vnto man fallith for lak of goode guying of his body, as in þis booke is shewid. Thies be þo þingis þat makith mannis body well flesschid  
 25 and not lene, but rapir moiste: to ete and drink moderaty metis  
 [f. 8] and drinkis þat be sumwhat sweete. | Att sum seasons to drink warme gotis milke is holsum, and it preseruith well naturall hete and moistor. Hit is also conuenient onis in a monith to provoke a vomitt; it clensith þe stomak fro corrupt and rottin humours. When  
 30 few humours be in þe stomak þen is þe body in goode confort, and is in goode disposicion to digest mete receyuid, and hath goode moistor. And þe bettir for helth and digestion if þe man haue ioy and gladnes, and with þat goode fortune, as glory, worship, fame and worship of þe peple, victory of his ennemyis. Also if he may  
 35 beholde beauteuous parsonis, and delectabil bookis, and here pleasaunt songis, and be in cumpany of such as a man louith, and to were goode clothis, and to be anoyntid with swete oynementis. And ayenwarde þies be þe þingis which chiefly disposith ill and feblith þe body: to ete litil and drink much, to laboure ouir much,

and stond oft in þe sonne, to walke ouir much, to slepe bifore  
mete, to slepe vpon hard strawe, to wassh in watir vnholsum, to ete  
salt mete and dry, as bacon or beefe, in especiall | such as hath [f. 8<sup>v</sup>]  
hongyd long in þe smoke, to d<ri>nke very old wyne, in speciall ny  
the lye, to be lette oft bloode, to haue þe cumpany of women oft, 5  
ofte to be in drede and to haue grete sorow. þies be such þing þat  
bringith a man soone to grete sikenes and febilnes of body and soone  
to his ende. Here endith the booke of goode gouernance and  
guyding of þe body, writtin by Aristotill to þe full nobill  
prince King Alexander, to kepe him in helth and to pre- 10  
serue him in long life.

.W. MA ~ >G. scripsit

4 drinke] *ms. wormeaten (verso of 8/26 above, sum)*

## II

# CERTEYNE REWLES OF PHISNOMY AND A CALCULACION TO KNOW BY OF TUO MEN FEGHTYNGE TOGIDERE, WHEPER SALE BE OUERCOMEN

From British Library MS. Sloane 213, ff. 118<sup>v</sup>-121<sup>r</sup>

[f. 118<sup>va</sup>] **Here sues certeyne rewles of phisnomy, to knowe by onely thought when men lokes on any man, of what condicions he es.**

ALixander þe grete conquerour in alle his conquest and werres was  
5 reuled by Aristotel þe worthiest philosopher þat euer was, whilk  
Aristotel, when he myght no lenger walk for age, wrote many  
bokes to þat same kyng Alixander, wher-by he suld gouerne hym,  
amonge whilk bokes he wrote one of fisnomy, þat Alixander myght  
knowe by onely sight þe condicyons of men when he sawe þem.  
10 Of whilk phisnomy here sues summe of þe rewles. And Aristotel  
sais howe þat in tyme of Ypocras þer was a philosopher hight  
Philomon, þat was chefe mayster and hiest doctur of þis science.  
[f. 118<sup>vb</sup>] And also he sais þe disciples of | Ypocras paynted þe fourme and  
schappe of Ypocras in parchemyne, and bare it to Philomon, and  
15 saide þus to him, 'Byholde þis figur, and deme and schewe to vs  
þe qualités of þe complexion of it.' And when he had inly sene it  
he saide þus, 'þis man es lucherus, deceitus, auarus and lufyng  
liccherie.' And for he saide so þei wolde haue slayne hym, and þei  
saide to him þus, 'A, you fole, þis es þe figur of þe worthyest and  
20 best man in al þis werlde!' **Philomon** þerfor peced þem and  
amendid his wordes and saide, 'þis es þe figure of þe wyse Ypocras,  
wher-to asked 3e þis of me to assay my science. Nowe I haue  
schewed 3owe þer-of what I fele as be my sciens.' Forþi when þei  
come to Ypocras þei tolde him what þei had done and howe Philo-  
25 mon saide to þem. And þan saide Ypocras, 'Trewly Philomon saide  
sothe, and he lafte noght of þe leste letter of þe treuthe. Neuer-

beles, sithen I biheld and knewe me schapli to þese thynges filthy  
 and reprouable, I ordeyned my soule kyng aboue my body, and  
 so I withdrewe my body fro þise thynges and I ouercome it in  
 wizholding of my foule luste.' þerfore sais Aristotel þus to Alixander: þis es þe praysyng and wisdom of þe werkes of Ypocras, for  
 5 phisik es nocht elles bot abstynens, and conquest of foule couetus  
 lustes. **þerfore** Aristotil to Alixander ordeyned certeyne reules of  
 Philomones sciens whilk schortly and compendiusly, þat es to say  
 profitably, sues here. Lyuyd culoure, þat es like lede, and flauē  
 colour, þat es to say þalo as falowe leues, es token of littelyd defyeng. 10  
 Fle þerfore ilk lyuyd and flauē man, for he es bowyng and buxome  
 to vices and to liccherie. If þou se any man haunte to loke on þe,  
 and when þou lokes vp-on him he es sumdele agaste þer-of and  
 blenches, namely if þou be wrothe, he sighes and teres schewes in 14  
 his eighne, | þat man lufes and dredes þe; and if þe contrary hap- [f. 119<sup>ra</sup>]  
 pen, þan þat man has envy to þe and despises þe. Be war and right  
 wele warre fro ilk man euele schapen and litteled, yf þer be in any  
 lymme [lessnyng], right als þou suld be warre fro þi dedly enemy.  
 þat man es euenest and best tempred whilk acordes in meneté, þat  
 es to say noþer to longe ne to schorte, noþer to thyk ne to thynne, 20  
 noþer to brode ne to narowe, noþer to mykel ne to litel, noþer to  
 white ne to blak ne to rede, bot faire broune rody, with blak eyghne,  
 blak heres and roundenes of visage, euenes of stature, with holnes  
 of body, whose wordes are selden bot when nede askes, mediocrité  
 of voyce, þat es to say noþer to smalle ne to grete, mediocrité also 25  
 of heuede whose colour es lufly white rody broune. Haue þat man  
 with þe and truyst to him for he es trewe. **Many heres and softe**  
 signyfyf buxomnes and coldnes of braynes. Many heres vpon  
 aiper schuldre signyfyf foly. Many heres in þe brest and in þe  
 wombe, signyfyf horribilté and syngulerté of kynde and littelynge 30  
 of sone conceuyng, and luf of wronges. Forsothe ruf colour, þat  
 es to say like to fyne golde, es token of foly and of mekil wrath, and  
 of gylus waytynges. Blak here sygnyfyf euenes and luf of right-  
 wisnes. Medioker colour bitwene ruf and blak es lufly rody broune,  
 and þat signyfyf luf of pece. **Forsothe þat es an envious man** 35  
 þat has grete eyghne and also he es vnschameful, slowe, sleuthfull  
 and vnbuxome, namely if his grete eyghne be lyuyd. He þat has  
 eyghne of heuenli colour or blak, namely blak broune, if þei be  
 medioker, þat es nouþer to mykel ne to litel, he es persable sone and  
 light of vnderstondyng, curius and trewe. He þat has extencion, 40

þat es to say strechyng oute o brode his eyghne, and extencion  
 [f. 119<sup>rb</sup>] of sembelande, es wicked and gylusly | waytyng. Who þat has  
 eyghne like an asse, he es a fole and of harde kynde and dulle.  
 Whose eyghne meues swiftly and his sight es scharpe, he es gylus,  
 5 vnfaithfull and theuysch. Whose eighne are rede, he es hardy  
 willy, stronge and myghty. þat man es werst of alle and moste  
 reprobable and moste to be fledde, whose eyghne haue alle  
 aboute spottes, white, rede or blak. **Browes of many heares**  
 signify vnconabilté of spekyng. þat es an envious man whose  
 10 browes are straght to þe temples. þat man es light of vnderstand-  
 yng, whose browes are grete and thynne and medioker in length  
 and schortnes. **Nose when it es sotyl and smalle**, he þat owes  
 it es wrathfull and angry. Who þat has a longe nose straght to þe  
 mouthe he es gentill, worthy and hardy. Whose nose es like an ape,  
 15 he es hasty. Schorte nose toknes a schrewe, and if þe noseholes be  
 wyde also, þat es a synger and liccherous. Whose nose holes has  
 grete openyng, he es hard and wrathfull; and when þe nose es brode  
 in þe mydell and goyng to heght, þat man es wordefull and lufyng to  
 lye and lyenge. þat man es euenest and best, whose nose es medioker  
 20 in length, and medioker in brede at þe ende, and þe holes are  
 nocht to mykel. **þe face þat es playne** with outen rounde hilles,  
 signifyes a stryuefull man, truandous, wrongewyse and vnclene.  
 And who þat has a medioker face in iowes and temples, sum-  
 dele tornyng to fatnes, he es sothfast trewe, lufyng, vndirstan-  
 25 dyng, seruysh and wyse-witty and wele made. He þat has a  
 wyde mouthe es batus and hardy. Grete lippes ar tokene of a  
 folische man. And who þat es fleschy and right fat on face,  
 he es litel wyse, vnbyhofull and lyeng. And who þat has a smalle  
 [f. 119<sup>va</sup>] face and sumdele lene, he es sotille of vnderstandyng | and cir-  
 30 cumspect, þat es to say vmbseyn, in his werkes. And who þat has  
 a litel face sumdele colored as safferon, he es dronkelewe, deceytous,  
 right vicious and werst. And who þat has a longe face, he es  
 wrongefull. **Who þat has grete swellyng temples and full**  
**iowes**, he es right angry and wrathfull. Who þat has right mekil  
 35 eares he es foltisch, saue he es of gode mynde and nocht forgetefull.  
 Who þat has right litel eares he es foltisch, theuysch and liccherous.  
 Eares in þe mene bitokenes vertues. Who þat has a grete voyce and  
 wele souned, he es batus and eloquent, þat es to say pertly spekyng.

15-16 Schorte . . . liccherous] *misplaced between folische man. and And who (l. 27 below)*

To smalle voyce tokenes foly and wommanhede. Whose voyce es medioker he es wise, puruyous, sothfast and rightwyse. Who þat spekes swiftly, namely if þe voyce be smalle, he es hasty, vncurtas, foltische, vnbihofull and besely lyeng. If þe voyce be to grete, he es angry, wrathfull, ouerthrowyng godenes, and euel of kynde. 5  
 And he þat has a swete voyce es envious and suspicious. Also a faire voyce signyfyf foly, vnwisdome, mekil wille and oftesithes liccherie. Who þat meues ofte, namely with þe hondes, when he spekes, he es vnclene, eloquente and deceytus. Who þat es abstynent from meuyng of his handes, nameli when he has grete 10  
 cause to be stered, he es perfite of vndirstondyng, wele disposed, hole and gode of councele. **Who þat has a longe smalle nek,** he es foltisch and sonoure, þat es to say wele sounede. Who þat has a right schort nek, he es ful queynte, sotel, gylous and fraudus. Who þat has a grete nek, he es foltis, glotenous and grete eter. 15  
 Who þat has a grete wombe, he es indiscrete, foltisch, proude, and lufyng liccheri. Mediokerte of wombe and straitnes of breste, signyfyf heght of vnderstondyng and of gode councele. Brede of breste and gretenes of schuldres and of | rigge signyfyf worthynes, [f. 119<sup>vb</sup>] 20  
 gentilnes, hardynes, heuenes of vnderstondyng and of wisdome. Sotilté and smalnes of þe rigge signyfyf a discordus man. Mediokerte of breste and euenes of rigge es approued þe best signe of all. Grete fyngres and schorte, signyfyf foly and vnwisdome. **Grete fleschy fete** signyfyf foly and luf of wrongwisnes. Litel fete and lene are sumdele vertuus, þaugh oftesithe þei signyfyf pride. 25  
 Medioker fete are best. Sotilté and smalnes of legges signyfyf ignoraunce and vnconny[n]gnes. Gretenes of legges, signyfyf hardynes and strength. Brode toos signyfyf strength of þe body. Mekil flesch in þe knees signyfyf febilnes, vertue and vnderstondyng. Whose passes ar wyde, longe and late he sale spede and 30  
 be welthy in alle his wayes, werkes and dedes. Whose passes ar schorte, he es hasty, wodisch inpacient, suspicius, vnmyghty in his werkes and of euel wille. **þat man es best of mynde and wele made in kynde** who has medioker moyste nesch flesch, nocht to longe ne to schorte, white sumdele rody, þat is to say white rody 35  
 broune, meke and lufly sembelande, | playne and medioker blak [f. 120<sup>ra</sup>] heares, þat es to say nocht to thik ne to thynne, and auburn rounde

22 After all 18 ll. left blank, possibly for an illustration  
 27 vnconnyngnes] vnconnyngnes with g as corr. over (or badly ligatured with) the n here preceding it

blak eighne, medioker heuede and nek, aper wele disposed to  
 oper, sumdele brode schuldres, noght to fleschly in þe knees and  
 oper ioyntes, clere voyce with mediokerte þer-of. Skilfull longe  
 handes with longe sutile fynGRES, litel laghyng and sone done, bot  
 5 lest scornynG or none at alle, for mekil laghyng namely loude, longe  
 and ofte, with litel cause, schewes a wicked man and a fole. And  
 scornynG, lispynG, stameryng, and gamen at harme schewes a right  
 wicked and deceytus man. Also it es gode when þe semblance of  
 man es medeled sumdele with honest schorte myrth, gladnes and  
 10 ioy. **Neuerþeles, sais Aristotil to Alixander, I gif þe reules by**  
**departyng of mans body, and temper þou þem in þin inwitt by**  
**gode discrecion of vnderstandyng. And set noght þi sentence ne**  
**dome in one of þese signes allone, bot gader þe wittenes to-gider of**  
**ilk one. And where þe tokenes gifes þe dyuerse and ouerthwert**  
 15 **domes, go þou euer to þe better and more prouable party. And þus**  
**þer þou knowes þi self or any oper schaply and bowable to any**  
**vice by way of þi compleccion, do þi self and councele oper to do**  
**as Ypocras did, and make þi soule to reule þi body by gode resone**  
**and discrecion, withstandyng by vertue þo vyces to whilke þou art**  
 20 **conable borne of compleccion, and þan þou sale be prayed and**  
**holden wyse bifore God mekil more þan if þe making of þi com-**  
**pleccion wer gyuen al to vertue. For he þat es made moste brothil**  
**and stondes strengest, sal moste be thanked of God. Here-to acordes**  
 25 **seynt Poule, sayeng on þis maner, 'No man sale be crowned, bot**  
**als he has lawfully and stalworthly stryueue.'**

[f. 120<sup>rb</sup>] **Here sues a calculacion to | knowe by of tuo men feghtyng  
to-gidere, wheþer sale be ouercomen.**

TAKE tuo names of men whilk are gyuen þem in þeir birthe, if þou  
 wille wite of þem tuo feghtyng to-gider or stryuyng wheþer sale  
 30 ouercome, or of tuo folkes weddede wheþer sale lenger life, or of  
 tuo folk goyng any viage wheþer sale come ageyne, or of a seke man  
 wheþer he sale dye or life. Counte þe name of ilkone of þem by  
 þe letteres of þe Abc þat sues in þe ende of þis chapiter, and by þe  
 noumber þat es on ilk letter þer-of. And when þou has so done de-  
 35 parte al þe hole by nene, saue of þem þat are weddid, by seuene  
 loke þou departe. And by þe ouerplus of þo nene or of þo seuene,  
 þou salt se by one of þise eghte reules, who sale ouercome, who  
 sale raper dye, who sale raper come ageyne. And if you wille wite  
 of any seke wheþer he sale dye or life of þat sekene, take þan þe

name of þat seke and of þe lune and of þe day in whilk he toke his  
 sekene, and acounte as we taght bifore: and if þe seke mans name  
 ouercomes he sale life, and if þe lune ouercome, with-outen doute  
 he sale dye. By þis experiment Alixander þe grettest conqueroure  
 þat euer was ouercome many batayles. Wherfore þe first reule es 5  
 þis: **One and one**: þe lesse sale ouercome. One and tuo: he þat  
 has tuo sale ouercome. One and thre: he þat has one sale ouercome.  
 One and foure: he þat has foure sale ouercome. One and fyue: he  
 þat has one sale ouercome. One and sex: he þat has sex sale  
 ouercome. One and seuene: he þat has one sale ouercome. One 10  
 and eghte: he þat has eghte sale ouercome. One and nyne: he þat  
 has one sale ouercome. **Tuo and tuo**: þe strengre sale | ouercome. [f. 120<sup>va</sup>]  
 Tuo and thre: he þat has thre sale ouercome. Tuo and foure: who  
 has tuo sale ouercome. Tuo and fyue: who has fyue sale ouercome.  
 Two and sex: who has tuo sale ouercome. Tuo and seuen: who 15  
 has seuen sale ouercome. Tuo and eghte: who has tuo sale ouer-  
 come. Tuo and nyne: who has nyne sale ouercome. **Thre and  
 thre**: þe lesse sale ouercome. Thre and foure: who has foure sale  
 ouercome. Thre and fyue: who has thre sale ouercome. Thre and  
 sex: who has sex sal ouercome. Thre and seuen: who has thre 20  
 sale ouercome. Thre and eght: who has eght sale ouercome. Thre  
 and nyne: who has thre sale ouercome. **Foure and foure**: þe  
 strengre sale ouercome. Foure and fyue: who has fyue sale ouer-  
 come. Foure and sex: who has foure sale ouercome. Foure and  
 seuen: who has seuene sale ouercome. Foure and eghte: who has 25  
 foure sale ouercome. Foure and nyne: who has nyne sale ouercome.  
**Fyue and fyue**: þe les sale ouercome. Fyue and sex: who has  
 sex sale ouercome. Fyue and seuen: who has fyue sale ouercome.  
 Fyue and eght: who has eght sale ouercome. Fyue and nyne: who  
 has fyue sale ouercome. **Sex and sex**: þe strengre sale ouercome. 30  
 Sex and seuene: who has seuen sale ouercome. Sex and eght:  
 who has sex sale ouercome. Sex and nyne: who has nyne sale  
 ouercome. **Seuen and seuen**: þe les sal ouercome. Seuene and  
 eght: who has eght sale ouercome. Seuene and nyne: who has seuene  
 sale ouercome. **Eght and eght**: þe strengre sale ouercome. Eght 35  
 and nyne: who has nyne sale ouercome. **Nyne and nyne**: þe lesse  
 sale ouercome. Nowe after þe reules go we se þe Abece of þis  
 crafte, wher-by, as we bifore hight, þise countes sale be caste.  
**A:3. B:3. C:22. D:14. E:25. F:3. G:7. H:6. J:15. K:15. L:22.**  
**M:23. N:15. O:8. P:13. Q:21. R:13. S:11. T:8. V:5. X:6.** 40

[f. 120<sup>vb</sup>] Y:3. Z:4. Also here sues | anoper Abece, wher-by if þou acounte wel þou may also wite of a man and his wife wheþer sale soner dye. Take þe names of þem bothe, and acounte þe letteres of þo names by þe noumbre of þis suyng Abece, and when þou has done, if  
 5 al þe hole noumbre be euene, with-ouen doute þe man sale dye, and if it be odde, þan es it þe womman. A:1. B:4. C:4. D:4. E:4. F:4. G:2. H:2. J:2. K:2. L:3. M:2. N:2. O:1. P:1. Q:3. R:3. S:1. T:2. V:2. X:3. Z:4. Also here sues anoper Abece where-by þou may knowe of what planet ilk man es.

|    |             |             |          |     |
|----|-------------|-------------|----------|-----|
| 10 | .1.         | .2.         | .3.      |     |
|    | A. E. J. S. | B. K. Q. R. | G. L.    |     |
|    | .4.         | .5.         | .6.      | .7. |
|    | D. M. T.    | N.          | C. O. V. | Z.  |
|    | .8.         | .9.         |          |     |
| 15 | F.P.        | X.          |          |     |

Departe þis by nene vnto an hondreth, and if one or 8 be ouer, þan þe sonne es his planet. If 2 or 9 be ouer, þan Venus es his planet. If 3, þan he es of Mercurie. If 4, þan he es of þe mone. If 5, þan he es of Saturne. If 6, þan he es of Jupiter. If 7, þan he  
 20 es of Mars.

|          |        |         |       |
|----------|--------|---------|-------|
| .1.      | .1.    | .6.     | .3.   |
| Adam     | Andreu | Aldene  | Anfos |
| .9.      | .9.    | .9.     |       |
| Benaster | Bec    | Daueide |       |

25 Also here sues anoper Abece to knowe by of what signe in þe Zodiak ilk man es, þat es to say, vnder whilk signe he es borne, and to whilk signe he es moste like. Also her by you may knowe his fortune and þe moneth in whilk he sale dye. Also her-by you may knowe þe fortune and infortune of many thynges, tounes,  
 30 cites and castelles. A:2. B:21. C:20. D:41. E:5. F:24. G:3. H:20. J:10. K:13. L:42. M:12. N:22. O:13. P:21. Q:20.

8 X:3] foll. by Y crossed out in red ink, with the space after it left blank  
 16 Departe . . . and] run on opposite final items of table 22 Aldene] Aldon:  
 see n. 24 Benaster] Benastru: see n. Daueide] Dauide: see n. 25 Also . . .  
 anoper] the text from Also to the an of anoper is run on opposite final items of table

R:27. S:22. T:41. V:13. X:20. Y:10. Z:7. Wherfor, if þou wilt knowe by þis Abece any man, als it es saide bifore, take | his name [f. 121<sup>ra</sup>] and his moderes name, and also if [þ]ou wilt knowe of any toun by þis Abece, as it es saide bifore, þan take þat tounes name and þe name of þe cite Jerusalem, for þat es moder of alle tounes, and þan 5  
 acounte þe letteres of þo names by þe noumber of his Abece. And when þou hast alle done, departe it by eght and twenty. And if one or tuo leue ouer, þan þat þou sekes longes to þe Weþer. And if thre, foure or fyue leue ouer, þan þat þou sekes longes to þe Bole. And if sex or seuen, þan longes it to þe Gemyns. And if 10  
 eght or nyne, þan longes it to þe Canker. And if ten, elleuene or tuelfe, þan longes it to þe Lyon. And if thrittene or fourtene, þan longes it to þe Virgyn. And if fiffen or sexten, þan longes it to þe Liber. And if seuentene, eghtene or nyntene, þan longes it to þe Scorpion. And if twenti, or one and twenti, þan longes it to þe 15  
 Sagittari. And if tuo and twenti, or thre and twenti, þan longes it to þe Capricorn. And if four and twenti, fyue and twenti, or sex and twenti, þan longes it to þe Aquari. And if seuen and twenti, or eght and twenty, þan longes it to þe Fisches.

3 þou] you

### III

## THE 'ASHMOLE' VERSION THE SECRETE OF SECRETES

Fifteenth-century version (written perhaps soon after 1445) of the augmented Latin recension represented by Bodleian MS. Rawlinson C.274 and B.L. MS. Royal 12 E.xv. Contained in late fifteenth-century Bodleian MSS. Ashmole 396 and Lyell 36.

Critical text based on Ashmole 396, with emendations from Lyell 36, and with selected parallel readings in the footnotes from manuscript and printed sources indicated, and from B.

A = Ashmole 396

L = Lyell 36

R = Rawlinson C.274

S = vol. ii of Richard Förster, *Scriptores physiognomnici graeci et latini*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1893, extracts therefrom being from the following texts:

- (1) *Anonymi de physiognomonia liber* (pp. 3-145)
- (2) *Abubecri Rasis ad regem Mansorem de re medicina liber II translatus ex arabico in latinum a Gerardo Cremonensi* (pp. 163-79)
- (3) The physiognomical portion of the *Sirr* itself (pp. 183-222)

[f. 1] **TO his most excellent lord, and in worshipping of Cristen religion hardiest, Guy of Valence, the gracious Bisshop of Tripolis, Philipp of his clerkes the lest, hymself and his seruice he offreth to his trew devocion.**

And by asmoche as the mone is brighter than other sterres and  
5 thurgh the good radiacion of the sonne more shynyng, in so moche the clernesse of [y]our engyne and science passeth all others in littratures that ben in this side of the Mediterrayn See, as wele

1 All of version in Lyell 36 missing, until matter of p. 35 below  
(poss. intended reading)

4 his] this

barbares as Latines. For ther is none of hole mynde that may more  
 swetly saver in science than he. With largesse of graces by Hym of  
 Whom all godes proceden and alle yiftes ben destrubuyt, it semeth  
 that vnto the fulnesse of science and of grace he hath give. For  
 sothly in these ben founde the vniuersall graces of the faders be- 5  
 fore, that is to sey, Noe-is shamfastnesse, Abraham-is trouth,  
 Isaac-is confidence, Jacob-is longa[n]y[m]yté, Moyses-is suf-  
 fraunce, Josue-is stablenesse, Job-is pacience, Ely-is deuocion,  
 Elisé-is profession, Daudid-is benignité, Salomon-is wisedom,  
 Danyel-is chastité, Isaye-is faire speche, perseuerance and fourme 10  
 with other seyntes vertues, dwellen fully in Thy Holynesse, more-  
 ouer in liberall sciences best lettred, in Holy Chirch lawe most  
 perfite, and in dyvyne and mortall lawes best taught. Therfor  
 it is worth that youre mekenesse have this present boke in the  
 which of all science some profite is conteyned, for whan Y was 15  
 with yow at Antioch, and this precious margarite ther found, it  
 plesed youre lordship that I shold translate it out of Arabik into  
 Latyne. And forsoth Y was he that coveyted youre comaundement  
 to obeye, and to youre wille, for the obedience that I owe to youre  
 sage wolle serve, this boke, that Latynes lakked, and is so rare 20  
 that it is hadde but with full fewe Arabies, I have translated, and  
 that with full grete labour, and light speche, fro Arabik speche  
 into Latyne vnto youre magnitude and honoure, chesyng out  
 omwhile a letter of a letter, omwhile sense of sense, that is to sey,  
 wysedome of wisedom, sithen that Arabies have oo maner of 25  
 speche, and Latyne men another. The which boke | the most [f. 1<sup>v</sup>]  
 perfite philosophier Aristotiles made, at the request and desire of  
 kyng Alisaundre his disciple, that desired of hym to write what  
 shold happe or betyde hym, and that he wolde shewe hym the  
 secretes of certeyn actes and konnynges, that is to sey, the maner 30  
 of comparacion and pousté of sterres by astronomye, and the art  
 of alkymye by nature, and the art of constreynyng and naturell  
 worchyng in [in]cantacions and aerymancie, piromancy, ydro-  
 mancy, and geomancie. The which fully he myght not at fulle de-  
 clare, for croked age and bodely vanyté. And how be it that he 35  
 purposed tho science and the secretes of theym in full privé wise,  
 natheles to the wille and askyng of so grete a lord neyther he  
 shuld ne durst not gayn seye. Willyng forsoth in parcell openly

7 longanymyté] longamynyte  
corrected from cc

9 profession] ss apparently

satisfye and declare, and in parcell speke couertly, he made this boke spekyng by apparaunces, examples and signes, techyng outward, by littrature, philosophik and phisik doctrine, pertenyng vnto lordes for keypyng of the helth of their bodies, and vnto  
 5 ineffabill profite in knowlechyng of the hevenly bodies. Inward, fully to purpose, he shewith by apparence secretly to his prynce Alexaundre the pryncipall purpose instantly of that that he asketh of hym, dyvydyng this boke in x distinctions or bookes, of the which euery of hem conteyneth chapiters and terminat parcels or  
 10 articles, that vndre certeyn titles the purpose of thasker may be found, and specially for the profite of the reders. Therfor, the begynnyng of this boke and of all the x bookes, and the titules of all the chapiters therof [Y shewe]. To your most prudence, most meke fader, of the new Y translate this werk to your glory and honoure,  
 15 to thentent that my mynde and memorye may the stedfastlyer abide and endure in service at the deuocion of your mynde, bisechyng full mekely that yf ought in this werk may be found profitable or acceptable to youre plesaunce, that the thanke therof be referred to Hym that taught it me, of Whom all grace cometh,  
 20 and to Aristotell that made it. And yf ought vtterly be found or inconveniently, that vnto my vnknowyng I pray yow may be deputed, rather than to malice. Nathelesse youre assured speche and certaynté in interpretacion and spekyng in propreté that so  
 [f. 2] lightly haboundeth | I beseche to full-fille it there I want, and  
 25 correct there as Y lak, thurgh godly mekenesse the which you longe kepe sauf and sownde vnto trewe men-is glory and honoure. And after full longe tyme space, graunt He vs to eterne blisse by mercy graciously to come.

### Here begynneth the chapiters of the [booke]

|   |   |                |
|---|---|----------------|
| 30  | [Chapter-heading in actual text]                                  | [Page in text] |
| Of the prologe of John that translated this booke | Of a prohemy of a worthy doctoure of the comendacion of Aristotle | 27             |

13 Y shewe] collegi et descripsi B 27 29 of the booke] of the comendacion of the prohemy of the doctour in comendacion of Aristotle. (*The words of the comendacion rendered otiose by the words of the prohemy . . . comendacion while entire phrase is presumably the title of the first chapter, rendered redundant as part of the list of contents by the chapter heading of ll. 32 f.: of the prologe . . . booke.*) 33 translated] intended form perh. translated

|  |   |    |    |
|--|---|----|----|
| Of the epistle of Aristotle sent at the petition of Kyng Alexandre         | The Boke of the most perfite Aristotle, in the which boke he aunswered vnto the petitions of Kyng Alexandre | 29 | 5  |
| Of kynges largesse and scar-senes, and of other vertues apropered to thaym | Of kynges and their maners aboute larges and avaryce  | 32 | 10 |
| Of Aristotle[s] doctrine in vices and vertues                              |   |    |    |
| Of the fynall intencion that kynges oweth to have                          |   |    |    |
| Of the harmes that foloweth fleshly appetite                               |   |    |    |
| Of prudence  | Of prudence   | 35 | 15 |
| Of kynges sapience   |   |    |    |
| Of kynges religion   |   |    |    |
| Of kynges providence   | Of kynges providence  | 36 |    |
| Of kynges arraye and ornamentes  |   |    |    |
| Of kynges contynence   | Of kynges contynence  | 37 | 20 |
| Of kynges consuetude   | Of kynges consuetude  | 37 |    |
| Of kynges justice  |   |    |    |
| Of fynall intencion  | Of finall intencion of a kyng   | 38 | 25 |
| Of kynges chastité   |   |    |    |
| Of kynges solas and discrecion   | Of kynges disport and solas   | 39 |    |
|  | Of kynges discrecion  | 39 |    |
| Of kynges reverence  | Of kynges reverence   | 40 |    |
| Of kynges worthynesse  | Of kynges worthynesse and symylytude  | 40 | 30 |
| Of kynges lykenesse and symylytude   |   |    |    |
| Of kynges aides and subuencion   | Of kynges subuencion  | 41 |    |
| Of kynges mercy  | Of kynges mercy and miserecorde   | 42 | 35 |
|  | Of kynges memorye and mynde   | 42 |    |
| Of the trewe kepyng of feith   | Of kynges feithe to be kepte  | 43 |    |

|                      |   |   |    |
|----------------------|---|---|----|
|                      | Of promovyng of study   | Of promocion of studies<br>and of scoles  | 44 |
|                      | Of keypyng of the body  | Of keypyng of body  | 45 |
|                      | Of an houre to be chosen  | Of houres to be chosen by<br>astronomye   | 46 |
| 5                    | Of the profite of astronomye<br>and of kynges helthe                            |   |    |
|                      |   | The prologe of the Seconde<br>Booke   | 48 |
|                      | Of conservacion of helthe   | Of conservancie of helthe<br>In how many maners is<br>helthe conserved  | 48 |
| 10                   | and in how many maners  |   |    |
| [f. 2 <sup>v</sup> ] | Of an epistle of vnestimable<br>pris for to kepe helth and a<br>rule to lyve by | Here foloweth a full and<br>profitable epistle of full<br>grete price, yevyng a rule<br>to lyve for conservacion of<br>helthe [i.e. Third Book] | 51 |
| 15                   |   |   |    |
|                      | Of the maner of slepyng   | Of the maner and wise of<br>slepyng   | 53 |
|                      | Of observance of custume  | Of keypyng of vsage or of<br>custume  | 54 |
| 20                   |   |   |    |
|                      | Of the 4 tymes and sesons of<br>the yere, of their qualitees<br>and dyversitees | The 4 Boke, that treteth of<br>the 4 tymes of þe yere   | 55 |
|                      | Of prime temps [or] veer  | Of veere  | 56 |
| 25                   | Of the somer  | Of somer  | 57 |
|                      | Of hervest  | Of hervest  | 57 |
|                      | Of the wynter   | Of the wynter   | 58 |
|                      |   | <i>For next item in text, see<br/>p. 23, l. 7</i>   |    |
| 30                   |   | A rewle of Ypocras  | 60 |
|                      | Of the knowyng of the 4<br>principall membres                                   | The 5 Boke of the 4 pryn-<br>cipall lymmes, and first of<br>the passions and sikenesse<br>of the hede and his re-<br>medies                     | 60 |
|                      | Of siknesse of the hede and<br>his remedies                                     |   |    |
| 35                   |   |   |    |
|                      | Of the infirmitees of the<br>coddess and thaire remedies                        | Of syknesse of the brest<br>and his remedies  | 61 |
|                      | Of sikenesse of the brest<br>with his remedies                                  | Of sikenesse of the geny-<br>taill and thair medecyne   | 61 |

|   |                        |   |          |
|---|------------------------|---|----------|
|   |                        | Oppynyons of philosophers   | 61       |
| Of knowyng of metes                             |                        | Of knowyng of metes   | 62       |
| Of knowyng of waters                            | } <i>[Not in text]</i> | <i>[For next item in text, see below, l. 29]</i>                                    |          |
| Of knowyng of wynes                             |                        |   | 5        |
| Of that wher thurgh the body waxeth fatte       | }                      | Of thynges that fatten the body and maken it lene                                   | 59       |
| Of that that maketh it lene and voydeth it      |                        |   |          |
|   |                        | Of takyng of medycynes and houres therto competent                                  | 10<br>63 |
|   |                        | Of yevyng of medecynes and of the houres therto approped                            | 64 15    |
| Of disposicion of vaynes                        | }                      | <i>[Not in text]</i>  |          |
| Of makyng of hony for medycynes                 |                        |   |          |
| Of the first medycyne                           |                        |   |          |
| Of the seconde                                  |                        |   | 20       |
| Of the thirde                                   |                        |   |          |
| Of the fourthe                                  |                        |   |          |
| Of the fyveth                                   |                        |   |          |
| Of the sixt                                     |                        |   |          |
| Of the seventh                                  | 25                     |   |          |
| Of the eyght                                    |                        |   |          |
| Of the most last and fynall medycyne            |                        |   |          |
| Of blode-lettyng and of houres accordyng therto |                        | Of blode-lettyng by fleobotomye, and of houres therto competent                     | 30<br>63 |
|   |                        | The [6] Boke of the nature of certeyn herbes and stones, and of Aristotles secretes | 64 35    |
|   |                        | <i>[For next item in text see below, p. 26, l. 11]</i>                              |          |
| Of knowlechyng of the qualities of men          |                        | Here begynneth the Boke, of Phisonomye, to  | 10       |

|        |   |     |
|--------|---|-----|
|        | know therby 3e qualitees of men, after the outward parties of hym | 89  |
|        | Of blode and colours and of thaire significacions                 | 90  |
| 5      | Of thayre heeres  |     |
|        | Of heres and thaire significacions                                | 92  |
|        | Of the hede and of his significacions                             | 93  |
| 10     | Of the forhede and of his significacions                          | 94  |
| [f. 3] | Of theyre eighen  |     |
|        | Of eyen lyddes and thaire significacions                          | 94  |
|        | Of eyen, aplis therof, brewys, and vp-on thaire significacions    | 95  |
| 15     | Of eyen lokyng vp and downe depressed                             | 96  |
|        | Of eyen depe and holowe   | 96  |
| 20     | Of eyen sette high and bolnyng out                                | 97  |
|        | Of eyen moche shakyng   | 97  |
|        | Of derke eyen   | 98  |
|        | Of bright eyen  | 98  |
| 25     | Of eyen sharply lokyng  | 98  |
|        | Of laughteryng eyen   | 99  |
|        | Of hevy eyen  | 100 |
|        | Of eyen shewyng and open  | 100 |
|        | Of eyen standyng  | 101 |
| 30     | Of eyen lightly movyng  | 101 |
|        | Of slowe eyen and late movyng                                     | 101 |
|        | Of eyen glavk or whittissh  | 102 |
|        | Of the applis of eyen   | 103 |
| 35     | Of theyre browes  |     |
|        | Of thaire nooses  |     |
|        | Of significacions of the noose and of the nostrelles              | 105 |
|        | Of movthe   |     |
|        | Of significacion of the movthe, lippes, and of teth               | 105 |
| 40     | Of faace  |     |
|        | [see 25/10 below]   |     |

|                            |  |        |
|----------------------------|--|--------|
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|                            | Of chekes and of thaire significacions                     | 107    |
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[Book 1]

**Of a prohemy of a worthy doctoure of the comendacion of Aristotle**

God almyghty kepe oure kynge to the glorie of trew Cristen men in bileve, and conferme his kyngdom in keypyng of Goddes lawe and yeve hym enduryng to the honoure and lavde of all good men. I, serving as a seruant, have executed the charge that was yeve me, and Y have put me in peyne to inquire after the morall boke of gouernaill of prynces, that is cleped 'The Secrete of Secretes', the whiche boke made the prince of philosophiers, Aristotle the sonne of Nichomach to his disciple the grete Emperoure Alexaundre, the sone of Philipp, Kyng of Grekis, the which Alexandre, as it is seid, had two hornes. The which boke he made in his age, whan he wax febill in bodyly strengthes, and myght not bere dayly labours, neyther a-bide and suffre the juparties

22-3 Of<sup>1</sup> . . . Aristotle] written as though constituting two items in continuation of the preceding list of contents, each with illuminated initial, the second starting with Of the comendacion

and perilles of waies, neyther kyngly besynesse dayly exercisse. And Alexandre hym as his maister he chose and gretely loved for bicause he was a man of grete, profounde, hole and holsome counseile, and of litterature, of full grete and penetratif intellect,  
 5 wakyng in lawfull studies, in kynde thewes and spirituell sciences and contemplatif charitees, he was discrete, humble, and a lover of justice, a seyer of trouth. And therfor many of the philosophiers trowed that he was of the nombre of prophetes. And it was founde  
 10 in an olde boke of Greges that almyghty God sent to hym his aungell seying that, 'Rather Y wolle name the an aungell than a man'. Truly he had many tokens, and many myracles and straunge he dud, that wold be to longe to telle them all by ordure. Wherfor of his deth there ben dyuers oppynyons. For some secte that is called Peripatatik seith that he assended vnto the emperiall  
 15 heven in a piller of fire. For he caused that Alexandre lyved so longe, thurgh obseruance of his counseill, and keypyng of his comaundement, and therby he wanne citees and gate the tryvmpe and victorie of many regions, and of all the world there as he came he allone helde and had the monarchie. His fame ranne thurgh  
 20 all the clymates of the world. Many peples and dyuers nacions be-came subgettis to his comaundement and empire, bothe Arabiens and Persiens. There was none that durst resiste or gaynsey hym in worde or dede. For sothe many moralis made and wrote Aristotle, for the grete love of hert, and to have accomplished his  
 25 secrete purposes. One of his epistles is that he wrote to Alexandre vpon a-nother he wrote to hym, whan he had wonne Perse and putte theire lordes in captiuité, and wrote to Aristotle thus:

O worthy doctour and of justice gouernoure, I signifie to the that thurgh prudence I have founde in the lande of Perse a certeyn  
 30 peple that have reson and penetrable intellect, that studyen how they may lordship purchase, and to gete the reame. Wherfor we  
 [f. 4] purpose to | do in all thyng with thaim as thou wilt decree vs by thy wrytyng signatif.

Vnto whom Aristotle aunswered thus:

35 Yf thow maist chaunge the ayer of that contree into water, and also the disposicion of the citees, thow shalt have thy wille and purpose with them. And yf thow may not, lordship there vpon

2 Alexandre] Alexandre *unusual use of abbreviation, occurring at end of line*

9 Greges] gges                      13 secte] secretes

hem with goodnesse and graciously hire them with benignité,  
and make theym trust the. And I hope that thurgh Goddes helpe  
they all shall be to thy plesance and likyng subgettis, and obeye  
thy comaundementis, and that by the love that they shall have to  
the. And so pesibly shalt thou lordship them with tryvmphe and  
victory. 5

Alexandre this epistle resceyved, and diligently the counseils  
therof dud and folowed, so that the Persiens were aboue all other  
nacions most obedient to his empire.

John the sone of Patrik, þe most perfite interpretatour and 10  
truest, that translated this boke, seide that he left neyther place  
ne temple in the whiche philosophiers weren woned to leve their  
secrete labours and worchynges, the whiche þat he sought not,  
so ferre that he visited euery konnyng man that was noysed or  
knowe, that medled with wrytyng of philosophers in ferre contrees 15  
about. So that at the last he come to the oratorye of the sone, and  
there reuerence giwe to the stappes of the foote, by devocion there  
he founde a man solitary that ay had studyed in philosophie and  
was perfitest, vnto whom he humbled hym, in as moche as possible  
was to a seruant, diligently and deuoutly besought that he wold 20  
shewe hym the secretes of that oratory, the which frely graunted  
hym his desires. After his longe labour and taryng there, and his  
entent accomplished, with joye he retourned home, yeldyng many-  
fold thanks to God his Maker, and than, at the peticion of this  
honourable prynce, he laboured, studied, and translated this boke, 25  
first fro Grewe to Caldee speche, and fro þat into Arrabike.

**All the first, therfor, as Y have found in that boke, I have  
translated the Boke of the most p[er]fite Aristotle, in the  
which boke | he aunswered vnto the petitions of Kyng [f. 4<sup>v</sup>]  
Alexandre vndre þis fourme :** 30

O sonne, gloriosest Emperour rightfullest, God conferme the in  
the way of knowlechyng, and in the pathe of trouthe, and represe  
thy bestiall appetites, and strength He thy reame, and illumyne  
He thy engyne to His service and honoure. An epistle reuerently,  
as it was sittyng, I have resceyved, and fully vndrestonde how ye 35  
desire my persone to be with yow, and mervaile why Y am absent  
fro yow, and reprove me for Y have litell care for youre grete  
werkes. Therfor Y purpose to hast me in makyng of a rule and

28 perfite] profite

36 mervaile] a badly formed, over a corr.

canon to Youre Highnesse, that shall be as a balance forto weye  
 with all thy werkes, in shewing of my good wille to you as a rule  
 most sure to all thyng that thou wilt, and that that Y shold shewe  
 the yf Y were ther with the present, mervailyng why thou blamest  
 5 me for myne absence, for ye know wele, or shold knowe, that I  
 abiured never for no contempt to come to youre most leef glory,  
 but croked age and feblenesse of body have bisaged me, and made  
 me vnlusty and vnable forto goo or ride. Wherfor askest thou and  
 desirest to know, suche secretes that with vnnethes manes brest  
 10 may conseyyve or vndrestande thy high desires and petitions,  
 therfor, how myght it be depeynted or wryten in a dede skynne?  
 That thou askest, and that it sitteth the to aske and knowe, and  
 it is lefull to me to entrete and trete of, I owe and am bound to  
 aunswere, as thou art bounde of duté and discrecion to aske me  
 15 no more but that that [I deliuer the] in the secretes of this boke.  
 Yf thou hede it wele, rede it wele, and vndrestande it wele, thou  
 shalt fully fynde it. And I wene ther shall be none obstakell be-  
 twix the and it, or it and [the]. For God hath yeve the so grete an  
 vnderstandyng, a swyftnesse of engyne, and knowlechying of lit-  
 20 terature and science, and specially by my precedent doctryne that  
 Y gaf you be-fore this, that by thy-self thou shalt reprove and  
 figuratyfly vndrestande all that thou desirest, and teche it forthe  
 to whom thou wilt. For the desire of thy fervent wille shall open  
 [f. 5] to the | the way to the accomplysshying of thy purpose to brynge  
 [f. 5 ll. 16ff.] it to the ende desired, oure Lorde grauntyng. | The cause and the  
 26 substaunce, why by feures I telle the my secrete, spekyng with  
 the by examples, signes and apperaunces, [is] for [that] I drede  
 gretly that this boke shall come to vntrewe men-is handes, and  
 to the power of proude men, and so shuld come to them þe last  
 30 good and Goddes pryveté, vnto the whiche the high God demed  
 them vn-able to have it and vnworthy, I fully a trespasser of  
 dyvyne grace and a maker open and a bewrier of heavenly secretes  
 and preuités. Therfor, vndre attestacion of dyvyne judgement Y  
 detect and open this sacrament, in the wise as it was tolde me.  
 35 Wete thou wele therfor, that who so openeth and [un]buryeth  
 hid thynges and privetees, hym full sone after many infortunes

11 depeynted] *second e badly formed* 15 I deliuer the] tradidi B 40 18 the] it  
 25 The cause] *preceded by passage written in red as chapter heading: [b]y sparyng  
 taxes and talages of thy subgitz and by rew[t]he, and by a number of lines  
 (f. 5, ll. 3-16), here reassigned to normal position in text of Secretum (31/25 to  
 32/3): see n.* 27 is for that] for

foloweth. Wherfor thou maist not be sure fro contyngencijs and badnesse a-comyng, if thow do so, wherfro oure Lord the kepe fro all suche, and fro all werk vn-honest fro hens forth. And before all other thynges I reduce to thy mynde that hoolefull techyng, that at all tymes I was accustomed to expone to the, and to enfourme thy noble saule therwith. And that shall be to the thy solas and heleful myrroure. It sitteth euery kyng of necessité to have | sustynauce to maynteyne with his reame, and strength of men to defende it with, and to comfort it. For he most gouerne rightfully, and have lordship vpon his subgettis, and thay subgettes vnyformely obey to his lordship. For ooftymes thurgh inobedience of subgettes, the pousté of lordship is febled, and subgettes wolle wayte to be maisters. And I shall shewe yow the cause why and wherfor subgettes ben enduced to obeye lordes. The cause is double, one is outward, and that other is ynward. And it is not longe sithe that Y declared to the the cause outward, that is to sey, to spende wysely thy good amonge theym, and exercise thow largesse amonge theym, rewardyng euery accordyng to his demerites and seruice. And with this a kyng most have a-nother cautell of the which here-after I purpose to make mension, in the chapiter of richesse &c, and of aides &c, to induce them all to his entente. And this is in the first degree. And this maner of aide hath two causes, inward and outward. [Out]ward is that a kyng exercise justice aboute taxe talages and pensions vpon his subgettes and trew men | [b]y sparyng thaides, taxes and talages of [his] subgitz, and by rew[t]he. The cause inward is the secrete of philosophers and of rightfull men, whom the holy God hath before other chosen and His holy sentence commended. And Y comende it to the for a secrete, with others that thou shall fynde in this boke vndre dyuerse tytles, in the whiche outward the grete philosophie, as it entendeth, thow shalt fynde, and doctryne. Inward forsothe, the cause fynall is conteyned: there is thy fynall and pryncipall purpose. Whan therfor thow perceyvest the techyng of decrees and þe demonstracion of discrete men tha[n] perfityly and fully shalt thou brynge aboute thy desire. Wherfor the most

18 one] with A retribuendo singulis B 42      23 Outward] Inward A: see n.  
 25-6 by sparyng . . . rewthe] written as rubric to section, followed by substance of 31/26 (The cause inward . . .) to 32/3 (. . . fynde theryn), all being placed on f. 5, ll. 3-16, preceding substance of text as given above, 30/25 to 31/25  
 Misplacement probably already in Latin original: see n.      25 by] y      26 his] thy  
 rewthe] rewhe      31 philosophie] foll. by finall: see n.      34 than] that

wyset and gloriosest God, illumyne He thy reson, and so clere  
 He thyne intellect that thow maist perceyve the sacrament of this  
 [f. 5<sup>v</sup>, l. 21] science, that thou fynde theryn [that that thou desyrest,] | desyryng  
 rychesse there as it is, and ay callyng to His helpe, That departeth  
 5 His rychesse habondantly into the soules of wise men, and to  
 studyantis geveth grace and comfort. For at Hym is no thyng  
 harde, with out Whom it is full harde to have possession.

### Of kynges and their maners aboute larges and avaryce

There ben 4 maners of kynges, a kyng that is large to hym-  
 10 self and to his subgettes, a kyng nygard to hym-self and to his  
 subgettes, a kyng nygard to hym-self, and large to his subgettes,  
 and a kyng large to hym-self and nygard to his subgettes. The  
 Italyens holden oppynyon that it is no vice to a kyng to be  
 nygardus to hym-self, and large to his subgettes. The Indiens  
 15 seyen, that he is good that is avareus to his subgettis. The Per-  
 siens gayn-seyen the Indiens, for they holde the kyng nought  
 worth, but yf he be large to hym-self and to his subgettes. But  
 [f. 6] amonge all, after my sentence, he is worst | and of merite to be  
 reprovéd, he that is large to hym-self, and nygard to his subgettes,  
 20 for sone his reigne is like to be destroyed. Ther-for it is full neces-  
 sarye subtilly forto enquire of these vertues and vices, and forto  
 shewe what thyng is largesse or scantnesse, and where the errour  
 of largesse is, and what myschief foloweth the withdrawyng  
 therof. Forsothe it is openly knowen that qualitees ben reprob-  
 25 able, and specially whan they discorden and breken in the myddell.  
 Also we knowen that the obseruance of largesse is full harde, and  
 his contrarie full light. For to exercise avarice and prodigalité is no  
 maistrye; forto contynue in largesse is and wolle be harde. Therfor  
 yf thow wilt gete largesse, considre thy power, pousté and myght,  
 30 and the tyme of necessitee, and the desertes and merites of men.  
 Therefore shalt thow give thy goodes after thy power, and that  
 with mesure vnto nedy and to worthy men. Who-so euer yeveth  
 his goodes to ydiotes, he trespasseth ayenst the rule of largesse.  
 For yf he yeveth his godes to hym that nedeth it not, therfor geteth  
 35 he neyther lavde nor thanke. And yf he yeve it to indigne and vn-  
 worthy folkes it is lost. And who inordinatly yeveth away his  
 goodes and richesse, he shall sone come to the bitter strone of

3 theryn . . . desirest] theryn, *ending misplaced passage, f. 5, l. 16* desyryng]  
*text returns to f. 5<sup>v</sup>, l. 21*

pouertee. And he is like to hym that wolde of his victorie make a supersedeas to his enemye. Who-so euer yeveth of his good in tyme of necessité to indigent and nedy men, such a kynge is large to hym-self, and to his subgettes, [and] his reame shall be wele prepared, stuffed and arraied, his comaundementes shall be obeyed, observed, and kept. Of antecien tyme suche kynges had lavde in the peple, and were cleped vertuuous, large and moderat. But who-so shewith out his goodes immoderatly or inordinatly to vnworthy, and not to nedy folkes, suche kynge is reputed for a was-tour of the comvne wele, and for a destroyer of the reame, for his prudence and providence is ferre fro his kyngdome. Forsothe the name of avarice accordeth not to a kynge, for it is disconvenient to his reame magesté. And yf any kyng have eyther of these 2 vices, that is to sey, avarice or prodigalité, he oweth thurgh thryfty counsell and full grete diligence, to purveye to gete | vndre hym a discrete, trew, chosen man, vnto whom he shall commytte þe disposicion of the comone wele, and to gouverne wele the richesse of the reame.

Alexandre, stedfastly I sey to the, that euery kyngdome that contynueth yiftes and expenses aboute the ferme and extent therof more þan it may bere, the kyng therof is destroyed, and he destroyeth. I sey to the ayene, and wille not sesse to sey it, vnto the mekenesse that thow hast of God, that declinacion fro prodigalité and avarice, and acquisicion of largesse ben kynges glorye, and the enduryng of reames, and this namely whan he absteyneth hym, and withdraweth his hondes fro the goodes and the possessions of his subgettes. For it is found writen by auctorité, that high and verray goodnesse, clareté of intellect, and full perfeccion of lawe is verryfied in a kynge, whan he absteyneth hym fro his subgettes money and possessions. For the cause of distruccion of reames is superfluyté of expenses aboute the revenves and rentes of citees. And so failyng the kynges expenses, he streccheth his handes in the goodes and rentes of his subgettes. And they cryen vnto the most highest and gloriosest God. And He suffreth immyssions of bad aungels to scorge thaym, so that the peple riseth ayenst her gouernoures, and ny by putteth out thaire names out of the erthe, as it happed late in Inde, and had not the glorious God holpen, that contrey had be fully destroyed. Vnderstondeth wele that richesse causeth enduryng of the soule animall, and is part therof, and without richesse it may not endure. Therefore shvnnne superfluous

4 and] of

D

habundant expenses, and lette temperaunce rewle largesse, for euer folissh and superfluous yiftes is to be shoned of the substaunce of largesse. And it is vertuous to leve it, and not to be-wayle it, for that is the privyté of secretes. And reduce not to mynde suche  
 5 foule largesse in yiftes, but thynke on that it is of the kynde of goodnesse, and of the substaunce of vertues to rewarde them that have deserued it, to be mercyfull and to for-geve omwhile inyvries, to honoure hem that shold be honoured and to yeve  
 9 reuerence to them that ben worth, to helpe þe symple and the  
 [f. 7] nedy, and further them that lakketh, and aunswere | innocentes yf they salue the, repress thy tonge, amende wronges, flee foly and ignorance. I have taught the all wayes as Y dud before, and into thy brest Y wolle sowe bothe trust and lernyng, that it may be in all thy wayes and werkes charité superfluant and science sufficient  
 15 to thy gouernaile for terme of all thy lyf. And trewly I sey to the now wisedam of philosophie abreyvat, and yf Y had seid to the never no more, if thou had folowed that, it had be sufficient to gyde the, in all thy werkes in this world and in that other.

Therfor wete wele, that intellect, or vnderstandyng, is the hede  
 20 of gouernaile, the helthe of the soule, the conseruacion of vertue, the spie of vyces. There-in forsoth we may spye that thyng that we shold shonne and flee. Be it wele chesen, that, þat shold be chosen, for there is in [it] the rote and begynnyng of vertue and of all lavdable and honourable goodes. And the first instrument of  
 25 intellect is desire of good fame. For who so euer desireth it effectually, he is like to be famous and gracious. And who it desireth feyntly or feynnygly, thurgh sclaudre and defame he is like to be confounded. Fame therfor is that thyng that pryncipally and fully is delited to be had by hym-self, for no man joyeth ne hath appetite  
 30 to come to kyng or reame, that lakketh good fame. Therefore the begynnyng of wisdom and vndrestandyng is for to have good fame, wherethurgh all kyngdomes and lordshippes ben gat and kept. For yf they be goten other-wise or kept, it is thurgh envie, and envie engendreth lesynges, the whiche is the mater and moder  
 35 of all reprovabyl vices. Envy also engendreth detraction. Detraction engendreth hate. Haate engendreth wronge; wronge, defences and pretynacy ther-in. Pretynacy engendreth wraethe; wraethe, despisyng and defences; defences, repugnant enemytés. Enemytees engendreth bataille; bataille, deth and destruccion of citees, and that  
 40 is contrarie to nature, for thurgh resisistence and repugnacie is

destroyed nature. Studye therfor, and love and desire goode fame.  
 For reson thurgh good fame chesith trouthe, and trouthe is the  
 rote and mater of all laudable werkes and goodnesse, and is the  
 contrarie to lesynges, and it engendreth justice. Justice engendreth  
 trust and confidence; | and confidence, largesse; and largesse, 5  
 famularité and service; famularité, frendship; frendship, coun- [f. 7<sup>v</sup>]  
 seill and helpe. For these causes the world was, and lawes to men  
 establisshed. And this accordeth with reson. And thus it is open,  
 that who desireth gouernaile for good fame, it is goode and durable.

O Alexaundre, declyne fro bestiall desires and likynges, for 10  
 they ben correptible. And carnell appetites enclynen the inwitte of  
 man to corruptible foule lust, and lykyng of the bestiall soule, ne  
 discrecion had before. And therof the body is corrupted, also  
 thurgh many-fold harmes that foloweth the carnall appetites.  
 Vndrestonde therfor that fleshly lust and lykyng engendreth 15  
 carnell love, carnell love engendreth avarice, avarice engendreth  
 richesse, richesse shamelesnesse, shamelesnesse presumpcion,  
 presumpcion vntrouth, vntrouth theft, theft shame and reproff,  
 that ledeth hym to prison and captiuité, and to execucion of the  
 lawe-is rigour, and to destruccion of famularité, and to rvyne of 20  
 all. And that is contrarye to nature.

### Of Prudence

First and pryncipally it sitteth to a kynge as touchyng hym-self,  
 that his laudable wisdomes be knowen in the peple, and so the 25  
 fame of his name rynne abrode, and that he with his men be homely  
 seyn amonge them, and reyson them. And that shall cause hym to  
 have honoure and lavde of them, and to be dreded whan they  
 wolle se hym in wisdomes, eloquent, and prudently doying.  
 Sorowfull Y am that by certeyn signes me may knowe whether 30  
 wisdom or dulnesse ben strongest in a kynge. For what kyng  
 vndresetteth his reame to the law of God, he is worthy to reigne  
 and honourably forto lordship. And forsoth who suffreth his lawes  
 to be in seruage, and not executyng it by justice, ther-yn he is

3 and goodnesse] and *ins. above* 12 corruptible] L (f. 85) *begins here,*  
*with corruptabull* 23 hym-self] *hys selfe* L 25 rynne] *renyth* L  
 27-8 they wolle se] *þat þay se* L 29 me] *þe* L (*impersonal me regularly*  
*represented in L by þe or other personal pronoun; this variant will not normally*  
*be indicated hereafter*) 31 to reigne] *for to regne* L 32 who] *who so* L  
 lawes] *lawys* L 33 ther-yn] *And ther yn* A *þer in* L

a transgressour of trouthe, and a dispiser of his law. And who so  
 dispiseth his lawe of men shall be dispised, for he is condempned  
 in the lawe. Ayene I sey that wise dyvyne philosophiers seyn, that  
 at the begynnyng it sitteth that reame magisté be attempted with  
 5 lawfull institutis, and not by fayned apparences, but in dede  
 [f. 8] doynges, and that | they know hym forto drede the most highest  
 God, and forto be subgette to dyvyne power, &c. For whan they  
 se hym to drede and worship God, they all wille love and drede  
 bothe. But yf he shewe hym outward to be religious, and his  
 10 werkes to be bad inward, of God he is reprovab, and of men des-  
 pisable. For it wolle be to harde to kepe privé bad werkes, but  
 the peple wolle sone know them. And so thurgh synne his empire  
 shall be dymynued, and the diademe of his glorye, and lak his  
 honoure. What more to sey or to do, sithen ther is no price ne no  
 15 tresour to by tham therwith ayene? Moreouer it sitteth to a kyng  
 to worship konnyng men of lawe, to reuerence religious, to reise vp  
 wise men, and to speke with them, and to meve doutfull questions,  
 honestly to aske and discretly to aunswere, hys wyser and his  
 nobler gretly to honoure, euey man after his degré and state.  
 20 Also it is sittyng to a kyng to know thynges a-comyng, and to  
 mynde vpon tham, and by prudencye to put defences ayenst  
 chaunces a-comyng, or the more patiently suffre them yf other  
 prouision or helpe may not be had.

### Of kynges providence

25 It sitteth to a kynge to have pité, and to can refrayne the wrath  
 and the movyng of the soule, that he may escape all sodeyne con-  
 tencions, and no thyng to do with-out avisement, and resonably to  
 know his errour, and wisely to revoke it. For it is a full high wise-  
 dome in a kyng to gouerne hym-self, and whan he wolle se ony  
 30 good or profitable thyng that oweth to be do, he to do it, and that  
 with discrecion, not to hasty neyther to slowe, þat he be not re-  
 puted to hasty neyther to slowe in the peple, as impetuous other  
 remiss. It sitteth to his dignité honorably to be clothed, and euer in  
 faire garnementis and robes passyng oþer in fairenesse. And he  
 35 shold were dere, riche and straunge ornamentes. Sittyng also it is

1 dispiser] r *indistinct* A dyspysar L      3 that . . . seyn] Hyt ys wyse  
 diuine Philosophers saying L      6 forto drede] to drede L      10 bad]  
 made L      14 ne] nother L      22 the] else L      26 movyng] mornyng L  
 escape] scape L      sodeyne] maner L      31 be] may L      32 in] to L

for a kyng to have a pr[e]rogatif in his arraie above all others,  
 wherby his dignité is worshiped and made faire, his pousté or  
 myght not hurt, and due reuerence to hym at all tyme yeve. It  
 sitteth a kyng to be wele faukened, out-spekyng clere voice havyng,  
 the which is moche worth and profitable, and specialy in tyme of 5  
 bataille. |

### Of kynges contynence

[f. 8<sup>v</sup>]

O Alexandre, full faire and honourable it is a kyng to absteyne  
 hym fro moche speche, but yf nede asketh it. For it is trewe that  
 the eeres of men ben all-wey thristyng to hir kynges to speke fre. 10  
 Thurgh his speche lightly they ben satisfied, for gladly they wolde  
 hire hym.

### Of kynges consuetude

It sitteth a kyng to absteyne hym and not moche vse the feliship  
 of his subgettes and specially of vile persones, for to moche famu- 15  
 lierité bryngeth contempt. And therfor full faire is the condicion  
 of Indiens in disposicion of their kyngdome and in ordination of  
 kynges, for they have establisshed that thaire kynges ones a-yere  
 shall appere and be seyn amonge his peple, in kyngly apparail and  
 with host armed, sitting nobly vpon a courser arraied in his fairest 20  
 array of armes. And they maketh the comone peple [stand] a  
 goode way of, and the states of nobles and barons to be aboute hym.  
 Than vsen they to expe[di]te and spede high causes and besynesse  
 and many [workes], and than declaren they actes and gestes of  
 tyme passed, and what peyn and charge the kyng hath had for the 25  
 comone weel, and how trewly and lovyngly he hath demened hym  
 to and for thaim. And that day to yeve grete yiftes, and to pardon  
 surfetes, and to lose prisoners, and releve pouer folkes, and to tell  
 what werkes he hath made and wille do. And whan the sermon is  
 done, the kyng shall sitte, and of his most principall consellers, 30  
 one shall stonde vp that is right wise and wele favkoned and de-  
 clare his honour and comende hym, yevyng lavde and thanks to  
 the glorious God, that ordeyned so good a prynce vpon so laudable  
 peple and so obeisant as they Indiens be. And after laudes geven  
 to God, and the kynges comendacion made, he shall turne to the 35

1 prerogatif] prorogatif with abbreviation sign for ro A prerogatyf L in . .  
 arraie] be for oper in hus aray L 2 worshiped] d corr. from s 9 hym]  
 hym sylf L 14 a] to a L vse] to vse L 23 expedite] explete AL  
 24 workes] et preteritis rerum eventus declarare B 49 28 lose] lawse L  
 35 made] y-made L

peple, and preyse theire good maners, joying for their beyng there  
 [f. 9] present, inducyng theym out-ward by resons | to humble obedience,  
 love and reuerence of the kyng. That endit, the peple shall studie  
 how they may yeve to the kyng most lavde, havse his name and  
 5 good werkes, and comende his wisedame, pray to God for his lyf  
 and welfare, and that thurgh citees and townes, and teche and  
 induce thair childre, fro infancie, to love, worship and drede the  
 kyng. And this is the principalist wise, wher-thurgh in that contré  
 the good name and fame of the kyng is enhanced, b[o]t[h] prively  
 10 and openly. At that tyme he vsed also forto punyssh wikked men,  
 as robbers, men-sleers and way-kepers, and correct others. That  
 tyme he vsed also to reles part of his tributis, and dispense with  
 marchantis of theire customes, and other rentes in parcell relese,  
 and tham truly kepe and defende. And this [is] a speciall cause why  
 15 that Inde is so full of peple and richesse, for theder rynne all mer-  
 chauntes fro euery side of the world. There be they wele reconied,  
 and there wynnen they, bothe riche and poore, bothe denizines  
 and foreyns. Therof groweth the kynges tributes and rentes so  
 grete, for there is none that dare offende by wronge a merchaunt.  
 20 They maketh them to bere theire good name and fame thurgh all  
 the world, for there shall euery man have his duté. And that  
 stuffeth and kepeth their citees, multiplieth their rentes, and  
 accreseth therby the kynges honoure and glory, wherfor quaken the  
 enemyes and dare not stere. So lyveth the kyng suerly and pesibly,  
 25 and hath the desires of his wille.

### Of finall intencion of a kyng

O Alexandre, coveyte not þat thyng that is corruptible and  
 transitorye, and that thou most sone leve. Aske after incorruptible  
 richesse, the euer-lastyng lyf, the eterne kyngdome and durable  
 30 glorie. Dresse therfor thy thoughtes all-wayses in goodnesse, take  
 on the to be manly and glorious, eschewe the waies of leons and  
 bestes in their vnclennesse, be not incredible and inflexible to  
 spare them that thow hast had victorye of. Thynke on thynges a-  
 comyng, and be ware of sodayn chaunces, for thow wotest not  
 35 what to-morow wolle brynge yn. Folowe not thy desires in etyng,  
 drynkyng, wyvyng and in dayly slepe. |

1 there] in L

9 both] but AL

inflexible] vncredible an vnflexibile L

8 principalist wise] principall vse L

11 men-sleers] mansleers L

36 slepe] slepe. slepe. slepe. L

that] this L

32 incredible and

## Of kynges disport and solas

[f. 9<sup>v</sup>]

To the magisté imperiall it sitteth trew [to haue] priuat men with whom he shall delite with dyuers maners of instrumentes, and kyndes of orgaynes, at what tyme he woll be hevy or vnlusty. Man-is soule naturelly in such thynges delyteth, his wittes resteth, 5 his besynesse and other curiosité varyssheth. All his body therby is strengthed. If thy nature therfore wolle delite in such thynges, at the most vse it a 3 or 4 dayes for recreacion, as ye thynke that it is to do. But most honest and best it is to do it secretly and seld. And whan thou art in that pleasaunce absteine the fro drynke, and 10 suffre others to spare it not, and lette hem drynke atavnt, and out-drynke other. And fayne the hurt of the wyne, and than shalt thou here and see many secretes. But vse this not oft: but twyes or thryes in a yere. Thow shalt have all-so about the of thy meynyall seruantes and speciall that sholl brynge to the trew report of what is 15 seid and done in thy reame. Whan thow art amonge thy barons, honoure wise men, and them that thow seest owith to be honoured. Mayntene euery man after his degré is. Pray one to come to the to-day, and another to-morow, and brynge them in as their degree asketh, and so honour them. Loke that ther be none of thyne 20 astates or nobles, high ne pouere, but þat thow make hym know thy largesse, by the clemence of thy magisté open to all men, and the noblesse of thy liberall witte.

## Of kynges discrecion

It sitteth a kyng, more-ouer, to have discrecion, contynence and 25 sapience, and to be ware of grennyng and of laughteryng. For oft laughteryng putteth a-way reuerence, and engendreth age. Also wete wele, that a kyng is more owe to honoure men in his court, and in his consistory and lawe places, than elles-where, for there hath honoure his interest. Yf any do wronge, he is to be pvnysshed 30 after the qualité of his persone, that others may be ferded [per-] with, and lerne to leve wronge. For ther is a punysshment appropred to the nobles and estates, another to the juges, merchantes and rich men, and another to the comoners and subgettis. Good

2 to haue] and AL                      6 other] eny L                      8 that it is] hit for L  
 14 a yere] þe ere L                      15 speciall] specially L                      18 after . . . is] is om. L  
 20 honour them] honoreth þam as þer degree askyth L                      26 of] ins. above  
 31 that] and L                      31-2 þer-with] þer supplied from L                      33 merchantes] and  
 marchawyndes L                      34 comoners] second o badly formed, apparently over corr. e

it is þerefore to kepe rigour and contynence, that betwix the kyng  
 [f. 10] and his subgettes | may be distynccions of persones. For is writen  
 in Esculapius-is boke, that he is a lavdable and able-to-be-  
 beloved kyng, that is like to an egle lordshippyng a-monge hi[r]  
 5 briddes and other fovles, for she is not like to none other brid  
 that is subgette to her. Therfor, in thy court or presence yf any  
 be that doth, or presumeth to do, any offence, wronge or iniury,  
 it is to be considred with what sprite he doth it with, other by pley  
 and casuelly, or in contempt and derogacion of thy magesté and  
 10 dignité royall. Yf it happ by the first maner, lightly it oweth to be  
 corrected, and yf by the seconde maner, suffre hym deye.

### Of kynges reverence

O Alexandre, the obedience of lordship is attended in 4 maners,  
 that is to sey, in religion, love, curialité and reuerence. O Alexandre,  
 15 convert to the the good wille of thy subgettes, putte away jnyvries  
 and wronges fro tham, and yeve neuer to men occasion to speke  
 ill by the. For lightly the people wille be moved, for to do and to  
 sey ill. Therfor have contynence with the, and yeve no cause to sey  
 bad by the, and so shalt thow eschewe her evell doying. Wonder-  
 20 stande wele that ripe discrecion, wele handled, is glory of magesté,  
 of dignité, of lordly reuerence, and exaltacion of the reame. For  
 soth it is the hiest prudence, that thy reuerence remayne more in  
 the hertis of thy subgettes than thy love.

### Of kynges worthynesse and symylytude

It is rad that a kyng in his reame is as rayne in the erthe, the  
 which of Goddes grace is called the blissyng of the heven, the lyf  
 of the erthe, of lyvyng thynges the helpe and keypyng. For thurgh  
 rayne the erthe is arrayed, it helpeþ in journeyes the merchantes, to  
 bylders it fauoureth and yeveth solace. Nathelesse, of rayne cometh  
 30 thundres in the aier, layte falleth, waters swelleth, the sees tem-  
 pesteth, and many harmes oft cometh wher-thurgh many lyvyng  
 thynges ben perished. For all that, forsoth, men ben bounde to  
 worship the grete God in His magisté, the badde accidentes not-  
 withstandyng, consideryng the tokens of grace, and the yiftes of

3-4 able-to-be-beloved] abull to be say to be louyd L      4 hir] his A þis  
 L      5 she] sche L      6 her] hyr L      17 by] of L      18 to sey] to  
 ins. above A to om. L      19-20 Wonderstande] Vnderstandyng L      25 as]  
 as a L      34 tokens] werkes L

mercy. For thurgh rayne all vegetable thyng is quicned and buddeth, and to all thyng wexyng, or growyng, that is lyvyng | is [f. 10<sup>v</sup>] shad God-is blissyng. And therfor oft men have yeve lavde to God, and for-yete harmes past that happed to them. And example of the kynge is accordant to example of wyndes, that the most highest 5 God sendeth out, and streccheth them fro the tresoure of His mercy, and by them ben clowdes enduced, that bryngeth forth cornes, and frute of trees ben ripe, and resumeth spirit and strength of the whiche the thyng desired is had, the waies opened in the see, and many other goodes foloweth. And of wyndes also dyuers 10 impedimentis and perilles happeth both in see and land. Outward doloures it enduceth to the entrayles of the hertes. With w[av]es it discovereth and spratlith the riches of men. Therby ben in the aier corrupcions engendred, mortall venymes ben norished and many-fold vnprofites foloweth. Nathelesse the lower creatures be- 15 secheth the clemencie of God the Maker to take fro them tho badnesse. That notwithstanding, He susteyneth wyndes to kepe and reduce their cours, as he ordeyned them, that eury thyng purgh His wisdom by even weight and certeyn ordure ordeyned and stabled, that it shold serve His seruaunt. And this come of His 20 immense mercy and in-effabill goodnesse. This forsothe is the same parable in wynter and somer, the coldes and the hetes whereof by His high prouidence inevitably [He] hath stablished to generation, propagacion and durabilité of thynges naturell. Nathelesse many-fold inconvenientes and mortell perill hath come of colde 25 in the wynter and of hete in the somer. In like wise happeth in a kyng, for full many vnprofites cometh fro hym to his subgettes that displeseth them and maketh them speke greuously. For all that, in tham is many and grete profites that shall shew wele.

### Of kynges subuencion

30

O Alexandre, be ware of pouerté, honger, and of wrecched necessité, and of debilité of sike folkes, and fede them. Helpe the nedy in their indigence, of thy clemencie. Chese the an eloquent man knowyng all or many speches, and a lover | of justice, that [f. 11]

4 happed to them] appeth þam L 6 streccheth] strengyth L 12 With waves] With wyfes A þat wyfys L 17-18 kepe and reduce] kepe L 19 ordure ordeyned] order orden L 20 seruant] seruantes L this come] þis come L 22 coldes] clowdes L 22-3 wherof by] wher by L 26 in the (ace)] of L 31 pouerté, honger] of hunger and pouerte L 33 clemencie] Clemens L 34 or] oper L

he may fulfille thy while and absence, and love and gouerne them. In that standeth the obseruance of the law, the gladnesse of men, and God-is plesyng. O Alexandre, make store and tresour of many-fold greynes and seedes, profitable for men-is fode, ar the  
 5 yere of hunger come, so that whan it cometh, thy providence may helpe all thy peple. For in tyme of necessité thow sholdest helpe thy citezenis and open vp thy celers and garners, and see that it be publissed in the citees of all thy reame the plenté of thy stuffe, store and tresour. This wool be hold a grete cautile, a gretter  
 10 providence, an helpe of the reame, helth of the peple, and a keypyng of the citees. Than shall thy preceptes be obeyed, thy dedes have prosperité and þi good fame reysed. Than shall they all know that thy eyen sawe ferre of and fro, and than wolle they preise thy clemencie, and drede for to offende thy magisté.

### 15 Of kynges mercy and myserecorde

O Alexandre, full oft have Y taught the, and now teche, that thow kepe mercy, and my techyng. For yf thow do so, thow shalt bryng about thy purpose, and thy kingdom shall be permanent: that is for to sey, spare to shede the blode of mankynde. That is  
 20 convenient allone to God for to do, for he knoweth the secrete[s] and the hid thynges of men-is hertis. Therfor take neuer vpon the Goddes office, for it is not yeve to the to know Goddes pryvetés, in asmoch as thou maist therfor shede not man-is blode For the grete doctour Hermogenes wrote thus, 'Whan a creature  
 25 sleeth a creature like to hym, all the vertues of the heven cryen to God-is magesté seying, "Lord, Lord, Thy seruauant wolle be like to The!" And yf he sle wrongfully, the highest Maker of all wolle aunswere, "Suffre ye hym, for who sleeth shall be slayne! To Me the vengeance is, and Y shall rewarde". And so oftymes the  
 30 vertues of heven shall represent in thair lavde the deth of hym slayn, tille vengeance be take vpon the sleer of hym, the which shall be one of the perseuerantes in eterne peynes.' |

[f. 11<sup>v</sup>]

### Of kynges memorye and mynde

O Alexandre, of all peynes have mynde and notice. Many-folde

1 while] wyll qwyl L    2 the law] þi law L    4 fode] fodys L    5 whan] when þat L    cometh] come L    7 citezenis] citezenys L    12-13 they all] all they L    13 sawe] see L    14 clemencie] clemence L    for to] to L (this regular variant not recorded hereafter)    17 For] om. L    19 to shede] om. L    20 secretes] secrete A secretes L: see n.    21 take neuer] neuyr take L

kynde of badnesse by experiment hast thou lerned. Reduce to mynde the dedes of thy parentes and of thy elders be-fore the, and discusse diligently their annales, out of the which thou shalt draw out many good examples that thou may exercice. Dispise not the lest of thy subgettis, for how be it that he be lytell and vile, for 5 some by euer he may ascende to richesse and honoure, and than he wolle be worthyer and myghtier to noye and to be noyed.

### Of kynges feithe to be kept

Most meke Emperour, be ware that thou breke not thy feith giwe, neyther thy bonde confermed, for that is appropred to vntrew 10 folkes and to ill lyvers, to yonglynes and to stottes. Kepe truly thy promysse, for a bad ende wolle folow all vntrowth, and how be it that of broken promysse some profite may happe, nathelesse the spice therof is bad, it is an example reprovabell and of the kynde of badnesse. For vndrestonde wele that thurgh feith is 15 had congregacion of men, inhabitation of citees, of peple comvnicacion, and of kynges dominacion. Thurgh feith castels ben kept, citees defended, and kynges lordshippen. If feith were had away, than wold all men turne [agayn] to their first estate, to be as brute bestes. Most truest kyng, shone therfor forto breke thy 20 promysse and feith, and kepe thyn othes and thy bondes yf they bere charge, witnessyng Hermogene that thou wotest not but þat the two sprites or aungels, that kepeth the, one on thy right, and that other on thy left side, that knowen all the privetees of thy werkes that thou decreest to be done, wolle declare them to the 25 Maker of all. Of and in trouthe this o thyng alone shold and is y-now to withdrawe the and all others from all inhonest werkes. Who is he that compelleth the so oft to swere? It oweth not to be do, but of full grete nede. Forsothe a kyng yf if he were gretly prayed or desired to, he shold not swere. Thou wotest wele þat it 30 is not convenient to the dignyté and magisté of a kyng for to swere, and whan he doth it he doth derogacion to his honour. | It is [f. 12] accustomed to subgettes and seruantes for to swere. And yf thou aske what was the distruccion of the Vngariens, of the Scithes, and of the Barbares, and of the Assiriens, me may aunswere the, for 35

2 be-fore the] by-for thys L      5 and] or L      12 a bad . . . vntrowth]  
all vntrowth wolle folow the contrarye therof a bad ende A (*and, substant. L*):  
see n.      13 profite] thyng L      15 For] and L      18 had] kept L  
19 agayn] *supplied from a-gayn L*      estate] state L      24 that . . thy] a noþer  
att þe L      35 Assiriens] sisiares L

that their kynges vseden othes to fraude and decepcion of the peple,  
 and brake the feith and bondes that was made bitwene theire  
 negburhes in the next citees to hem for the helth and welfare of all  
 mankynde. They, as wikked and vntrew, abused theire othes to  
 5 their negburghes subuersion, and therfor the equité of the most  
 rightfullest God myght suffre them no lenger. O best taught sone  
 Alexandre, Y wille that thou wete that in ordinacion of the empire  
 and gouernaill, there ben certayn speciall techynges full morall  
 perteynyng to the, touchyng thy meynyall feleship and comone  
 10 peple-is gouernaunce, but here is no place therfor. Nathelesse, in  
 a certeyn place of this boke, I shall sette it for thy helthfull  
 techyng shortly and profitably, in obseruance wherof, God  
 grauntyng, thou shalt have long prosperité. Grucche never for  
 thyng past, for that is apropred to feble men and to women. Shewe  
 15 thy manhode, kepe curialité, exercise goodnesse. In this is protec-  
 tion of the reame, and distruccon of enemyes.

#### Of promocion of studies and of scoles

O Emperour full worthy, ordeyne scolehouses and stabliss  
 studies in th[e] citees of thy reame, and suffre them, and comaunde  
 20 thy men that they teche their children to studie in sciences of  
 litterature and of chyvalrye, and in liberall and noble konnynges,  
 and ther prudence shall helpe tham in that that is necessarie  
 and behouffull for tham. And yeve prerogatifes to good studiers and  
 lerners that profiten, so that ther-by other scolers may take an  
 25 example and a mater to wacche and lerne. Graciously hire their  
 petitions and epistles, and receyve them and hede tham, yevyng  
 lavde to lavdable folkes, and rewardyng that that deserueth it.  
 In this, and by it, shalt thou stere litter[a]ted to enhance their  
 worshippes, and to make thy gestes by wrytynges perpetuell. This  
 30 is a full comendable maner, this prudence is laudable; in this is  
 honoured the empire, all thy reame is made faire, the court of the  
 emperour is lighted, the kinges anuall gestes the better ben re-  
 [f. 12<sup>v</sup>] comended | to mynde. Who reised the kyngdome of Greke[s], who  
 2 betwene] be-twyx L      4 and] and as L      7 wete] schuldyst wete L  
 14 feble . . . women] a febleman and to woman L      17 This chapter, and  
 matter that follows, preceded in L by the section on Justice, corresponding to pp.  
 69-71, which have been displaced and are inserted at this point in that ms.  
 18 worthy, ordeyne] wel ordayn L      19 the] thy A þe L      20 sciences]  
 science L      23 studiers] corrected from studies A      25 example] Ensampull  
 L      27 folkes] folke L      28 litterated] littereted A letterated L  
 28-9 enhance their worshippes] Enehawynce to wurschyppe L      31 thy] þis L

bare their gestes to be perpetued aboute in the world? Suerly  
 that made the diligence of studiantes, the provesse of wisemen  
 that most effectuely loveden sciences. Sothely a mayden in an  
 husbandman-is hous thurgh grete studie knew the cours of the  
 yere and of all the planettes, the festes and solempnytés of monthes 5  
 a-comyng, the planettes places, the cause of shortnesse of the day  
 and of nyghtes, and the revolucion of Pliades and of Boetes, the  
 cercle and the shortnesse of particuler daies, and the signes of the  
 sterres, the jugementes of thynges a-comyng, and infinite other  
 thynges that perteyneth to the art of the bodies above. 10

### Of keyping of body

O Alexandre, at no tyme trust the werkes and seruices of women.  
 Comytte the not to them. And yf nede artith it, comytte the to her  
 that thow supposeth is trewest to the, and loveth the best, for doute 15  
 it not, that all that tyme thy lyf standeth in her handes. O Alexandre,  
 be wele ware of mortell venyme, for it is not late syn men vseden  
 to empoison. It is knowen what multitude of kynges and of other  
 lordes have hasted the dayes of her deth thurgh pocions of venyme.  
 O good Alexandre, trust never to o phisicien or lech, for one is  
 myghty y-now to anoye the, [and] lightly dare he presume to do 20  
 wikkednesse and brynge it about. And yf it may be, have about  
 the at the lest x of tham. And are thow take ony medecyne, make  
 them accorde into one, and do by the counsell of the more partie.  
 And for to gedre the medcynes in tyme and seson due, thow  
 sholdest have one þat is trewe and konnyng in knowyng of the 25  
 kyndes of spices and thair qualitees after phisiciens counsell, and  
 compone them vndre certayn weight and mesure as it is accordant.  
 O Alexandre, mynde wele on that, that the Quene of Inde sent to  
 [yow] for frendship presentes and many full faire yiftes, and,  
 a-monge other, one of the full most faire mayden, that fro her 30  
 infancie was norisshed vp with venyme of | serpentis. And had [f. 13]  
 not I at that hovre loked the wyselyer for [cavtel] her þurgh, and  
 by art magik, and saw her shamles boldnesse, and how vncessyngly  
 she beheld euery man in the face, wherby Y perceyved that thurgh

2 that] he that L                      14 supposeth] suppose L                      16 not] *om.* L  
 20 the, and ] the The A þe L et de facili audet B59                      21 and brynge] to  
 bryng L                      24 in] be L                      seson due] dew seson L                      25 sholdest] schalt L  
 28 that, that] þat L                      29 many . . yiftes] mony fold gyftes L                      30 faire  
 mayden] fayryst mayd L                      32-3 I . . . saw] þat and lokyd the wyse for hyr  
 thow3th and be hur magike and see L

her infected lookes, or thurgh etyng with her, she wold have slayn men, as by experiment thow proved wele afterward. And yf Y had [not] certainly i-shewed the that, thy deth shold have come to the thurgh the ardure that thow sholdest have in fleshly delyng  
 5 with her. O Alexandre, kepe therfor thy full noble soule that is full high and angelyke, that is comended to the, not for to be dishonested, but forto be glorified, and not to be of the condicion of vnclene spirites, but of the nombre of clene and wise.

### Of houres to be chosen by astronomye

10 O Kyng most meke, yf it may be, rise not neyther sitte not, ete not, neyther drynke not, neyther in maner no thyng do, with-out the counsell of a perfite astronomyer. And vnderstond certaynly that the gracious God made never thyng voide and ydell in nature, but all thyng He made with a cause probable, and by the most  
 15 certayn reson. And by inqysicion of that resonable way, kn[e]w our most perfite doctour Plato the nature of parties, and of thynges componed of contrarie qualitees and colours, in thair generacions, by comparison to thynges componed. And therby he gate knowlech of sterres, comates, of Ideis, and other thynges fourmed. Yeve no  
 20 feith, good Prynce, to the seiying of fooles and ill-willed folkes, that seyne that the science of planetes is so hard that no man may canne it or atteyne it. They woten not what they seith, for at the power of vndrestandyng is no thyng hard, and euery thyng is konable and lerneable by wey of reson. Also ther ben others not  
 25 small fooles, that seyn that God all thyng before sawe, and be-fore from the begynnyng ordeyned, wherfor they seith, that there is no profite in the precognition therof. Sithen they shall be of nede, therfor, what avayleth the science of sterres? Also tho badly erren.  
 29 I sey, how be it that it is necessarye that some thynges come, [f. 13<sup>v</sup>] neuertheles | yf me knewe it ar it come, me myght the lightlyer suffre it, or the prudentlier decline fro it, and so in maner eschewe it and escape it. For in that, that in forsight Y know whan and what shall come, thurgh good provision Y receyve them and discretly

2 as . . . proved] and by experiment *per* *providet* L 6 high] *heȝth* L  
 13 in nature] in *natures* A (*and, substant. L*); in *naturis* B 6o 14 with a  
 cause] *om.* L 15 knew] *know* (*cf. l. 30 and footnote*) A *vowel indistinct* L:  
*see n.* 18 knowlech] *knowyng* L 21-2 no . . . or] *per* may no body  
 kunne to *hit* & L 24 wey] *the way* L 30 knewe] *medial e apparently*  
*corr. from o* (*cf. l. 15 and footnote*) A *knew* (*vowel indistinct*) L 31 fro it]  
*hit* fro L (*this variant due to postposition will not be recorded hereafter*)

suffre them passe with-out molestyng or grete grevaunce. **Example  
in grace**: Whan m[e]n knowen that they shall have a cold wynter,  
they arrayeth their howses hote, purveith them of clothes, and  
geteth them coles and wode, and stuffeth them with many other  
thynges, wher-thurgh whan the wynter cometh, the colde of hit 5  
hurteth hem not. And in hote somer tyme, thurgh colde metes and  
drynkes, and colde herbes and spices, they escapeth the malice of  
the hete of hit. In like wise, when they see byfore the yere of  
honger and of indigence, thurgh conseruacion of cornes by fore-  
sight, and of other thynges lightly and with eesy grevaunce, they 10  
shaken of that tyme. It is also full gretly helpyng to know thynges  
a-comyng, for me may the better shone tham, and to the Sender  
therof, that is to sey, to the most high Kyng, me may praye that  
He of His high myght wolle put a-way all such badnesse from tham,  
and other wise ordeyne it. For He predestineth neuer so þat shold 15  
in any thyng be derogacion to His power. Forsothe, men may pray  
to God-is clemencie with orisons, praiers and deuocions, by fastyng,  
sacrafice, almesse, and by many-fold other goodes, for oure giltes  
askyng pardone, and for our surfetes punycion or penaunce. And  
than it is full lyke that God almyghty wolle putte away that that 20  
they dreden or feeren. Therfor turne we ayene to the begone  
sermon, and vnderstonde wele that astronomye is dyvyded in 3  
parties, that is to sey, in ordinacion of hevenes and speres, and in  
disposicion of the planetes, in division of the signes, and in longac-  
cion of the planetes fro þe sone, and in their movynges. That part 25  
of astronomye is cleped the science. The second part is of the  
qualité and of the maner to know the movyng of the firmament  
vpon the rysyng of the signes and treteth of thynges in beyng, or  
they happe or come vndre the firmament of the moone. And this 29  
part is cleped astrologie or | science of jugementes. And the more [f. 14]  
worthy part of astronomye is the science of the thirde, that is to sey,  
of the planettes, speres and signes. And vnderstonde wele that there  
ben of fix sterres in the firmament [M and] 22, and 7 planettes,  
of the which Y shall yeve playn informacion in oo part of this  
booke. 35

1-2 Example in grace] *here and passim: see n.*      2 me] man A men L  
4 coles and wode] wode & col L      11 gretly] grete L      12 shone]  
escheue L      15 wise] wayes L      ordeyne] ordynat L      predestineth]  
predestinate L      26 cleped] called L      30 part] *written pt with -er*  
*contraction*      31 science] L      sciences A: *see n.*

## The Prologe of the Seconde Booke

For sothe now Y wille teche the medycynes and other privitees that shall be sufficient y-now to the conservacion of thy helthe, so that thou shalt nede none other leche, the which conservacion  
 5 of sanyté and of helthe is better and precioser than any medecyne, and they ben full necessarie to the, and to the gouernaill of the worlde.

## Of conservancie of helthe

And vnderstonde wele that ther is no way to do no thyng by, ney-  
 10 ther to gete no thyng by, but only by myght and potencie. And potencie is not had but by helthe. And ther is no helth, but there as egalnesse is of complexions. And that may not be had with-out attempraunce of humours and conservancie of sanité, and in getyng of many other thynges. And revelacion þerof was made to  
 15 holy philosophers, the servantes of God, and to rightfull and to prophetis such as were chosen and lighted with the spirite of dyvyne sapience, and endowed them with yiftes of science. Of them the other philosophres that have be sithe toke thair begynnyng, bothe Indiens, Persiens, Grekes, and Latynes, and wrote  
 20 vpon thair principles, of artis and sciences the secretes, for in their wrytyng is no thyng founed, no thyng reprovod, but of full wise men approved. Who-so-euer is cause of perdicion of hym-self, thurgh moch spekyng, he may be cause of perdicion of others. For we chese that that we love, and asken that that we intenden. For  
 25 soth, wete þow shalt that the most highest God and gloriosest, amonge all oþer philosophres most He illumyned the Grekes, and inflamed them with knowyng and getyng of sciences and of the privitees of naturell thynges. Of these elleswhere Y made feith  
 [f. 14<sup>v</sup>] to the, wherfor here-after Y entende | to procede and purpose to  
 30 determyne in this booke, our Lord therto grauntyng. Accorded for sothe ben all wise and naturel philosophres, that a man is componed of opposed elementes, and of 4 contrarye humours, that at all tymes nedith norisshyng and drynkes, the which yf he lak, the man is corrupted in his substaunce. And yf he vse that to

2 now . . . the] syn Y wull teche þe now the L      8 conservancie] Con-  
 servacion L      10 potencie] potencyon L      12 of] of his L      13 attem-  
 praunce] a temporans L      conservancie] conseruaunce L      sanité] sante L  
 19 Indiens] iudiciens (or indiciens?) L      21 founed] fownd L      27 know-  
 yng] connyng L      sciences] science L      28 elleswhere] wele far L  
 30 determyne] determe L      34 the man] he L

oft or to scarce, he rynneth debilité of siknesse, and other inconvenientes many. And yf he vse it temperatly, he shall fynde helpe of lyf, bodely strength, and of all his substance helth. Fully therfore they ben accorded, that who trespasseth the due maner hereof, full or fastyng, slepyng or wakyng, in movyng or rest, in 5  
dissolucion or extencion of the wombe, or in blode-lettyng, he shall not escape stronge siknesse, and wexyng infirmytees, of the which all and euery Y purpose to determyne vndre short congruyté, yevyng a full certayne doctryne vpon the kyndes of siknesse, and vpon thaire remedies. Also they all accorden that who can be ware 10  
of to moch and of to lytell, conservyng an evenesse and temperance in dyetyng, he shall have helth and longe lyf. For Y founde [never] there philosophres that discorded fro this, that is to sey, how that all delites and plesances of this world, honoures and fleshly lustes, naturely desireth to endure, wherfor 15  
who coueyteth forto lyve, studye he to gete to thynges þat ben aproppred to enduryng, and tho that kepeth lyf, and renovnce he the lustes of his propre wille and fleshly desires, and be ware all way of superfluous and crapulous surfetes in etyng [and] drynkyng. For Y herde sey that Ypocras kept a diete and surfete therby in 20  
maner of feblenesse of his body, and a disciple of hys spake thus to hym, 'O worthy doctour, yf thow woldest ete wele, thow sholdest not suffre so moche feblenesse of thy body.' Ypocras aunswered thus, 'Sone, Y ete for to lyve, but Y lyve not for to ete. Foode is had forto endure with, not enduryng for foode.' 25  
'Truly,' seid he, 'I have know full many that while they lyved they dem[y]n[u]ed þ[ai]r foode, and absteyned tham fro comes-tions and of other fleshly appetites, sparyng glotonye, lyvyng temperatly by dyetyng, wher-|thurgh they were of the most [f. 15]  
holdest of body, of good operacion, of longe lyf, of assured appetite, and of good movyng.' And this [is] openly proved in the 30  
Arrabiens and in tham that oft walked in wilderness and desertis.

|   |                                   |   |
|---|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1 debilité] the debylyte L                                    | 4 trespasseth] trespas L          | 8 determyne]  |
| determe L   | 9 the] all L                      | 10 who] so who L  |
| 13 founde nevere  | 17-18 he the lustes] his lystes L | 19 etyng and drynkyng] etynges and drynkynges L             |
| 23 sholdest] schuld L   | 24 ete] eyte þus but for L        | 26 I have know] Y knev L                                    |
| that while] qwen L  | 27 demynued] demunyed             | A nine minims between de and ed, presumably for deminiued L |
| pair] poor  | A per L                           | 30 holdest] helyng L  |
| 31 this is] possibly this on its own is intended construction | proved] prouyth L                 | 32 walked] walkyth L  |

Therfor it is an open argument that abstinence fro comestions, fro constipacions and superfluyté, is the hyghest helthe.

### In how many maners is helthe conserved

O Alexandre, in medecynes is conteyned the most certeyn and  
 5 most veray techyng, that the conseruance of helth standeth principally in 2 thynges. First that a man vse convenient metes accordyng to his age, to the seson and tyme of the yere, and to the custume of his nature, that is to sey, that he vse such metes and drynkes with the which he hath be brought forth before, the which  
 10 confermed his nature, þat is to say, that accordeth with his complexion. Secondly, that he be purged of all superfluous and corruptif humours. And vnderstande wele that the bodies of men, that ben receptacles of mete and drynke, ben thynned and resolued, as wele the bodies resceyvyng as the foode that is resceyved.  
 15 At the first they ben resolued by the hete naturell that drieth vp the moisture of the bodies, and is norisshed and fedde with the same humydité. Resolued they ben also by the hete of the sone and of wynde, that drieth vp all the moistur of bodies and of floodes. For whan the body is hote and vaporable, than is good to  
 20 vse grete metes, for that that is dissolved, and passeth fro the body, wolle be of grete quantité and of grose substance, for the grete hetes and vapoures of the body. And whan the bodies ben thynne and drye, than sotell and moist metes ben good. For that that is dissolved fro the body shall be of smale quantité, for his  
 25 streite issues. Certeyn therfor be it a techyng to conseruacion of helthe, that a man vse metes conuenient to his complexion. **Example of grace:** if any be of hote nature, vse he temperatly hote metes, and if he be of cold nature, vse he temperatly colde metes. The same sey Y of a moist and drye bodye. Therfor yf hete  
 30 be augmented and in-flame with to grete a swellyng, that is, than, other for hote metis and strong, other for hete outward lordship-  
 [f. 15<sup>v</sup>] pyng and | myghtyest, than opposed and contrarye metes helpen, that is to sey, coolde. For grosse metes and stronge ben good to a stronge and an hote stomak, for it fareth as a stronge fire, that

|                         |                    |                  |                |
|-------------------------|--------------------|------------------|----------------|
| 1 an open argument]     | a-pon argumentes L | 2 constipacions] | constipacion L |
| L hyghest]              | most L             | 5 most]          | þe most L      |
| L forth before]         | furst a-for L      | 9 hath be]       | hase byn L     |
| 11 superfluous]         | superfluites L     | 13 recep-        | tacles]        |
| receptakyl L            | 15 resolued]       | resolutyd L      | 16 bodies]     |
| 20 fro] then fro L      | 22 hetes]          | hete L           | 27 Example]    |
| 28 he temperatly colde] | he of cold L       | 30 in-flame]     | enflame L      |

hath myght to brenne grete wode. But whan the stomak is cold  
 and feble, than vse he sotell and light metes, for that stomak is  
 likened to a fire that brenneth but reedis, lockers and sotell wode.  
 The tokens of a good stomak ben lightnesse of the body, clernesse  
 of vnderstandyng, mevyng, and good appetite. The signes of a 5  
 bad stomak is: that [it] is feble of digestion by hevynesse of body,  
 nesshnesse of flessch, sleuthe, swellyng of face, oft openyng of his  
 mouth, gref of eyen, foule and bad rechyng and the savour to be  
 sowre, dol, bitter, aiselly, watery other stynkyng, and therof ben  
 engendred wyndes and swellynges in the wombe, and his appetite 10  
 is lost. Yf the thyng be in grete quantité, therof cometh spetyng  
 and strecchyng of the extremytees, reflexions of lymes, quakyng of  
 the body, gapyng of the mouthe, and many other harmes that ben  
 contrary to helth, and ben destructifes of the body and corruptifes  
 of nature. Therfor, most clement Emperour and Kyng, thow 15  
 sholdest full diligently kepe the fro the forseid inconveniences.

## [Book 3]

Here foloweth a full profitable epistle of full grete price,  
 vevyng a rule to lyve, for conservacion of helthe, in the  
 which ben many necessaries of the secretes of medicyne. 20  
 Some clepen this epistle a booke by hym-self, and it hath  
 the prologe of John of Spayn that translated it out of Grewe  
 and Arrabik into Latyn and sende it to Dame Thephayne,  
 Quene of Spayn, vndre þis fourme: To Dame Thephayne,  
 Quene of Spayn, John of Spayne sendeth gretynge, or 25  
 helthe, &c.

O Alexandre, sith the body is corruptible, and corrupcion hap-  
 peth therto of opposicion of complexion and of humours that ben  
 ther-yn, it is sitting to me by this present werk to write vnto the  
 some maner of profites, and at all necessary, and of secretis of the 30  
 art of medicyne. With the which be gretly contented, sithen it is  
 vn honest that a leche shold know all the infirmytys of kynges. If  
 diligently thow be-hold this exampler, and after the order of this  
 full precious booke, while thow lyvest shalt nede | no leche, but yf [f. 16]  
 plage of pestilence other woundes in fyghtyng or bataill happe tham, 35

2 he] *om.* L    4 clernesse] and clerenesse L    6 it] *supplied from yt* L  
 7 of face] of his face L    9 bitter] bitter and L    other] and euery L  
 16 inconveniences] *inconuenientes* L    20 necessaries] necessary L    medicyne]  
 medycynys L    23 to] vn-to L    25 gretynge or] gretyth or L    27 the] thy L  
 35 other] and other A (*and, substant., L*)    or] and L    tham] þan L

omwhile all may not [be] shoned. Therefore, Alexandre, it behoveth the, whan thow risest fro slepe, walke esely and strecche thy lymes and kembe thyn hede, for of strecchyng of thy lymmes is thy body strengthed, and the combyng of thy hede draweth  
 5 out and putteth a-way all the vapours that while thow slepest assendeth to thyn hede. In somer wassh with colde water, and in wynter with hote, for tho thynges constreyneth and holden the vapourantes hetes of þe hede or body, and therof wolle grow desire of appetites to ete wele. Than clothe the with the best and softest  
 10 clothes and array the with the best garnementis, for naturelly thy lyf is gladed therwith, and thy vertue and myght with fairenesse and shynyng of clothes is deltyed and comforted. Than shalt thow froyte thy tethe and gomes with leves wele sauoured and hote and drye [of] nature, other with leves of grene trees of bitter nature or  
 15 sovre. That helpeth and profiteth moch. They clenen the tethe and the mouthe. It melteth fleme, it clenseth the tonge and clereth the speche. More-ouer, it stereth appetites and wille to eete. Than reseveye the fvme of appropred fumygacions to the seson of the yere. Tha[t] profiteth moche, that openeth the closes of the brayn,  
 20 and yeveth wexyng to the armes, maketh the nek fatte. It clarefieth þe visage and the sight, it strengtheth the 5 wittes, it shonnet and tarieth hoorenesse. After that, vse the best vngementis in wirchyng and sauour, accordyng to the seson of the yere, for with good odoure is the soule plesed and refeid, for that is his foode, and the soule  
 25 comforted, the body is strengthed, the bloode rynneth and conforteth all the vaynes thurgh the plesaunce of the soule. Afterward take a pocion of a lectuary made of aloes citryn and of rvbarb of 4 peny-weight, for that moche profiteth: it draweth flewme fro the mouthe of the stomak, it moveth coller, it putteth a-way ventosité,  
 30 and yeldeth the movthe wele savoured. Afterward sitte with nobles and estates, and speke with wise men, after the custume of kynges and of prynces. And do that, that sitteth the forto do [first] whan wille of etyng cometh to the, about the hovre that thow hast vsed  
 [f. 16<sup>v</sup>] afore. | Than meve thy body with esy labour as in goyng or  
 35 rydyng, other by some oþer exercise, for therof wolle growe moch profite to the body and mervelously helpeth it. It veseth a-way and

3 of strecchyng] of þe strachyng L      15-16 the tethe and the mouthe]  
 þi tethe and þi mowth L      19 That] than A þen L      24 refeid] refeyt L  
 27 citryn] cicatud L      28 peny-weight] peny worth L      32 first] supplied  
 from furst L

breketh all ventositees, it streng[e]th the body and lighteth it, it kyndli[t]h hete in the stomak, it constreyneth the joyntes of the body, and breketh the superflue humours, and maketh flevme descende to the stomak, that is a-boylng with mete by hote and drye. Afterward se that many metes come before the, and of such as  
 5 thow likest and kanst chese, ete thow accordyng to thyn appetite, with brede lightly reised, wele and perfityly lavayned and new and wele bake, and wele fro bran sarsed, meenly with salt savoured, setting before that that shold be sette afore. **Example of grace :** yf thow take dissoluyng potages, it dissolueth, and retentif potages  
 10 constreynen; but yf the resoluer be take be-fore, the constreyner, take after, is slippered and make light degestion and goode egestion. And yf thow vse the restreynyng first, the dissolver, for because of his soft workyng, sheweth ill after, and in maner confoundeth both. And yf thow vse in oone mete many nesshe and  
 15 sleper potages that wolle sone be digested, necessarye it is that he take first the potage retentif, that the hete of the bothom of the stomake may there leve his car[n]osité, for the hete that is there is caused of the nyghnesse of the lyver, that maketh decoccion there. This done, me most be ware of to moche etyng, be the mete never  
 20 so good, and withdraw the hand, while he hath appetit and desire to ete. For of superfluyté of mete is the stomak stopped, the body greved, the inwitte hurt, and the mete vndigested abideth in the bothom noyovs, and vndified. Also restrayne the, and be ware of drynkyng of water vpon thy mete, lest thow accustume it, for it  
 25 coldeth the stomak, and restrayneth the fire, and quencheth the hete of digestion, confoundeth the mete, and gendreth impediment, specially if moch be dronke, for ther is no thyng worse than it to the helthe of mannes body. And yf it may [not] come otherwise but nede arteth the to drynke water, as for hethe of the tyme,  
 30 oþer | for takyng of hote metes, other for hete of body other of stomak, lette it be cold, and lytell in quantité. [f. 17]

### Of the maner and wise of slepyng

Whan thow risest from thy mete, in a sete, other in a covche, vpon soft strawed clothes and sotell straw, rest the, and slepe temperatly, 35

2 kyndlith hete] kyndlich heteth A (*and, substant., L*): see n. 10 retentif]  
 retentatyf L 12 make] so also L 15 sleper] slyder L 17 first]  
*ins. above A* 18 carnosité] caroiosite A coriosite (*with ri altered from n*) L  
 for] therfor A (*and, substant., L*) 20 me] 3e L 21 he hath] 3e have L  
 28 specially] and specyallych L

first on thy right side, and after on the left, and theron full-fille thy slepe, for the lift side is colder, and nedeth þerfor more calefaccion. But yf thow fele eny greuance in thy stomak or wombe, than take a necessarye medecyne. Put on thy wombe an hevy, hote  
 5 shert, and gripe or hull in thyn armes a fair hote maiden. And yf thow reche sourely, wete wele that thy stomak is coldred. To remedy that, drynke hote water with some eygre sirope, and it wolle purge vp the emprisoned mete corrupted and vndigested, that causeth grete distruccion of the body. Movyng and exercise  
 10 before mete stirreth to the stomak naturell hete. But after mete it noyeth, for than descendith esely the mete vndecoct to the lower part of the stomak, and therof is gendred inclusion of wyndes, and many-fold of other badnesse and vnprofites. Vnderstande also wele, that slepyng before mete maketh a body thynne, and dryeth  
 15 vp his moysture and consumeth it. But after mete mervelously it refressheth the body, filleth it, strengtheth it, and norissheth it, for while the man slepeth the body resteth, and than the naturell hete that ronnet[th] thurgh all the body, is drawn inward to the stomak and to his bothom. Than is the stomak strengthed in de-  
 20 coccion of the mete, than the resonable vertue asketh his rest. And þerfor some philosophres seid, that eve suppers more profiteth the body þan noone metes, for the noone mele resceyveth the hete of the day whan all wittes worcheth, and the inwitte is waxed, so that what me hireth than, it is roted neyþer resoned, and that for  
 25 man-is many-fold thoughtes, and many other vnprofitable inconveniences that cometh aboute hym thurgh hete and movyng.  
 [f. 17<sup>v</sup>] And at merydie, the naturell hete is shad by all the outward | part of the body, wherby the stomak is febled to digest the mete. And sothly in the eve souper happeth the contrarye, for the body may  
 30 have tranquyllité of his labour, and than may rest body and soule. And also the nyght naturelly is cold, that dreveth the naturell hete to the inward part, or to the lowest, of the stomak.

### Of keypyng of vsage or of custume

Also it is not [to be unwyst], that who that vseth to ete twyes a

1 the left] þi lyfte syde L      14 body] manys body L      15 after mete]  
*written as one word, and separated by vertical stroke*      18 ronnet] Ronne A  
 Rennyth L      20 the mete] his mete L      24-6 so that . . . inconveniences]  
 and so that my herith ys rotyd noþer resoned and þat for mony-fold-ys mannys  
 thourth and mony old vnprofitabull conuenientes L: see n.      32 to<sup>1</sup>] in to L  
 34 to be unwyst] ignorare tu non debes B 75: see n.      | twyes] ij tymys L

day, if he wold kepe o certayn houre and o certayne mele, sothly he shall suffre therby ano[y]. And so shall he that now eteth but ones a day, and before he was vsed to ete twies, for his stomak may not, ne wille not, diffie and digest his mete, and it norisssheth hym not. For who-so-euer all-ways before obserued a certayn houre in 5 etyng and drynkyng, and he sodeynly chaungeth that houre to a-nother, he shall mow sone perceyve that it profiteth not his nature but hurteth it. For custume is a-nother nature. Therfor yf any necessitee that hath no lawe compelleth the to change thyn vsage, thy dyet in etyng, do it discretly and wisely, that the 10 change be by lytell and lytell, o tyme after a-nother, and so with the helpe of God it shall be wele. And be wele ware er thow ete eft sones, that thy stomak be clene and voide fro the first mete, and that shalt thow know by thy appetite and hungry desires, and by thynnesse of thy spetell that sotelly wille rynne in thy mouthe. 15 For who so euer taketh mete habondantly without nede of his body, that is with-out wille and appetite, the last eten mete shall fynde the naturell hete as a gellé, for the plenté of coold humours that vndefieth the mete. So is the stomak wexed that the last take mete fyndeth no hete, for to moche intendencyng or beyngre ther-to-gedre. 20 For many thynges intended, the witte is the lasse to euery of them. But who-so-euer eteth with good wille, desire and appetit, than þe mete fyndeth hete in the stomak, as fire kendeled and redy to boyle and digest it. And whan euer [in] thy stomak good appetite | cometh to the, forth-with yf thow maist, ete and aunswere it. For [f. 18] 26 els ille humours wolle descende in to it, and draw downe to them all the superfluyté of the body, that shall trouble the brayn with fulle badde vapours, and afterward, whan hete cometh, the mete in the stomak shall be but tepide hote and vndigest, and not profi- 30 teth the body, but rather noyeth it and sleeth it.

#### The 4 Boke that treteth of the 4 tymes of þe yere Of veer, somer, heruest and wynter

Oure intencion in this booke is shortly for to determyne of and vp-on the 4 tymes of the yere, vpon the qualité and propreté

|       |                        |   |                   |               |                       |
|-------|------------------------|---|-------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| 1     | o certayn] a certeyn L | o certayne] a certeyn L                         | 2                 | anoy] anoþer  |                       |
| AL    | 4                      | ne wille . . . digest] well degeste and defye L | 9                 | lawe] lay L   |                       |
| 15    | sotelly] soffly L      | 18  | a gellé] gely L   | 20            | ther-to-gedre] therto |
| gedre | 22                     | desire and] seiser or L                         | 26                | ille] euyll L | them] hyt L           |
| 29-30 | profiteth] profit L    | 30  | sleeth] stryyth L |               |                       |

of euery tyme of them, and of thair variance. For sothe, Alexandre, thow sholdest suerly kepe tho 4 tymes of the yere that ben thus distingued.

### Of veere

5 Ueer begynneth whan the sonne entreth the signe of Aries, and dureth 93 daies, 23 houres and 15 minutes of an houre, that is to sey, it begynneth the 11 day of March and endith the 13 day of Juyn. At his begynnyng, day and nyght ben even of oo length. In regions, the tyme waxyng swete, the aier waxeth clere, softly  
 10 blowen the wyndes, snowes dissoluen, ryvers rynnen. Amonge montaynes walleth welles, moysture is exhauenced to the tree toppe, braunches budden, sedes rysen, cornes wexen, medowes wexen grene. Faire and fressh ben flovres, clad with newe leues ben trees, the soile is arraied with herbes and grasses. Engendren bestes,  
 15 pastures ben arraied and resumen a newe strength, briddes syngen, the nyghtyngale sovneth and resonett. The erth all fully rescceyve[th] his garnementis and fairenesse, and is as a faire spouse and a full specious damysell arraied with broches, and clad with many-fold coloures that she may appere to me in the day of hir  
 20 mariage. Veer also is a tyme that is hote and moist, and that [f. 18<sup>v</sup>] temperatly, and is lyke to the aier. And | in it is the blode meved, and is shad thurgh all the parties of the body, and ther-in profiteth all thyng that is lyke and even of complexions, that is to sey, temperat. And so most thy diete be in that tyme. Italiens tha[n]  
 25 vsen to ete chekons, corlewes, egges (not passyng v at a mele), wilde betis that Arabiens clepen scariol, and then vse they to drynke gotis mylke. No seson of the yere is better than he, neyther profitabler to lettyng of blode. It is not bad to vse women ther-yn, so it be not ayenst the lawe, and to meve þe body, and to lose the  
 30 wombe, to entre and to vse bathes and swetis, to drynke spices for digestion. And than purgacions shold be take. What-euer errorr happe in þe medicynes, whether be it by digestion or dimi-  
 nvacion, other of to moche digestion other of inanycion, this seson with his humydité and habilité in party restoreth.

2 sholdest] schalt L      8 oo] oon L      11 toppe] topp̃ A toppe (*perhaps for toppes*) L      16-17 rescceyve[th] rescceyved A rescceyve L      17 garnementis] garmentes L      19 me] þe L      23 complexions] complexions A complexion L      24 than] that A (*and, substant.,*) L      32 happe] happ̃ (*cf. happe 60/27*) A happe L      þe] *ins. above*

## Of somer

Somer begynneth whan the sonne entreth the signe of the Crabbe, and dureth 93 dayes, 9 houres, 20 minutes of an houre, that is to sey [it begynneth] the [xiii] day of June and durith till the 14 day of Septembre. In this tyme ben the dayes at the lengest, 5 and nyghtes in all regions discreten, hetes cresen, wyndes swollen, tranquyllité in the [s]ee, clernes in the aier, cornes dryen and rypen, serpentes comen forth, venymes ben shad, bodily vertues ben strengthened, and þe world is as a spouse full in the body and age, with hetes swellyng. Somer tyme is hote and drye, wher-in collir 10 stirreth. Me most in that seson be ware and absteyne fro all thyng that is hote and drye in complexion, for they wolle stirr collir. Fro to hote metes and drynkes, and fro crapulous etyng, me most absteyne, lest the naturell hete queynt therby. Ete that tyme all thyng that is colde and moist of complexion, as veel, with vynegre, 15 or eysell, cucurbitis and pulletis ensayned, potage also made vp on barly floure, and frutis of egre savour, as soure apples, pome garnatis. | And vse scarcely veneryen actis, fro all bledyng be ware, [f. 19] and specially in pryncipall veynes, but yf nede art it, and scarcely also entre bathes. Therfor ete in that tyme, as be-fore is rehersed, 20 cold and moiste metes, so that with coldnesse the violence of hete, and with moisture the malice of drynesse, may be repressed. In like wise thurgh all the sesons of the yere me most with contrari[e]s cure contraries.

## Of heruest

25

Hervest begynneth whan the sone entreth the signe of Libra and conteyneth 89 [dayes], 6 houres. This is fro the 14 day of Septembre vnto the 12 day of Decembre. In this tyme dayes and nyghtes ben lyke longe, in the seconde tourne. And here-in the nyght accreseth, the aier wexeth cold, the northern wyndes 30 blowen, the tymes chaungen, the flodes decresen, welles dymynven, greves wydreth, frutis enden, the face of therth lakketh fairenesse, voules asken hote regions, bestes thaire dennes, serpentes crepen in thair holes, and theder gadre foode for the wynter. The world is like a woman of full age lakkyng clothes, [l]evyng yougth 35

|                               |                     |   |                        |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|---|------------------------|
| 4 xiii] ix AL                 | 5 14] xij L         | 6 hetes] and hettes L                   | wyndes] and wyndes     |
| L                             | 7 see] yere A 3ee L | 14 queynt] qwenche L                    | 23 contraries]         |
| contrarious A contraryes L    |                     | 27 conteyneth] continuyth L             | 14] ix L               |
| 28 vnto] in to L              | 29 lyke] elyke L    |   | 31 welles] þe welles L |
| 35 levyng] yevyng A 3evuyng L |                     | [yought] yowthys followed by canc. la L |                        |

and hastyng to age. The heruest is colde and drye, wheryn ryseth malencoly. Me most therfor in þat seson vse hote and moiste metes as chekons, lambe, wyne olde and sotell, and swete grapes. Be ware of all thyng that gendreth malancolie, movyng of the body, and  
 5 vsyng of veneryne actes, more than in somer. Vse þan baynes. And purgacions, yf nede be, in this tyme may be had and take. In this seson, yf me nede, me may take vomytes, and that meenly, about noone or whan þe day is hottest, for in such houres ben engendred and gadereth all superfluytees in man. Purgacion of the wombe or  
 10 of the body shall be take that tyme, and perismon and agnaricon and all other thynges that draweth blak collir and repressen the humours of melancoly.

### Of the wynter

[f. 19<sup>v</sup>] The wynter begynneth whan the sone entreth the signe of | Capry-  
 15 corne and conteyneth 88 dayes, 15 houres, 14 minutes, that is to sey, from the 12 day of Decembre, tille the 11 day of Marche. In this tyme the nyght is longest and the dayes shortest, colde hath myght, wyndes ben sharp, the leues of trees [all] fallen [down], all grene thynges dyen and waxen hard as stones, the most part of  
 20 bestiall kepe tham in caves of montayns, for the most cold and moisture þat is than, the aier is derk, the tyme blak, the bestes quaken, for the seson febleth the vertues of thaire bodies. And than is the worlde as an olde woman, greued and decreped in age, lakkyng clothes, neygh to deth. The wynter is colde and moist, wher-in  
 25 flevme is augmented, wher-in me most chaunge oure dietyng. Than turne to hote metes of hote matir and nature, as coluer peions, moton, and rosted metes, and all fat soupyng and hote metes, as figis, nottis and fyne rede wyne and hote letuaries. Absteyne thein fro lousyng of the body and lettyng of blode, but yf it nede the  
 30 more. Vse not to moche mete, noþer venereyn actes, lest that digestion be febled. Than me most chaunge thaire. In chafyng of þe body, in enoyntyng therof, and frotyng, [vse] oynementis hote. And vse temperat bathes. It noyeth not moche in that seson to vse women, movyng of body, grete drynkyng, moch etyng, for because  
 35 of cold outward the naturell hete draweth inward and causeth

|                                 |   |                       |
|---------------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| 3 lambe] lombes L               | 10 perismon] perisiom L                     | 13 the] om. L         |
| 15 conteyneth] continuth L      | 17 dayes] day L                             | 18 all fallen down]   |
| supplied from all fallyn down L | 21 þat] ins. above A                        | the aier . . . black] |
| þe ayr ys blacke and dricke L   | 26 matir and nature] natur and hote mater L |                       |
| 28 thein] þe L                  | 34 for because] for cawse L                 |                       |

good digestion. In veer and somer, the wombe is colde, and the povres open, and the hete is shad thurgh all the body, and the stomake hath litell perof, and so digestion is letted and the humours moved. Vnderstande þis wele, and God kepe the, and farewell. O Alexandre, kepe wele þis precious prefixed diet and hede every part therof. Conserve naturell hete, for as longe as temperat hete is in a man, and moisture not passyng the myddell, than therof cometh naturell hete, and than helth in lyf is like to abide, and so sanyté may be longe kept. For in 2 maners age cometh. In that one by due law and cours of nature, in wexyng colde, and the body wastyng and drying, and so destroying the creature. A-nother maner accidentall, as of sikenesse and of other causes, and bad cures and hedynges. |

**Of thynges that fatten the body and maken it lene** [f. 20]

These fatten and moysten the body: sureté, fulsomnes of swete metes and of dyuerse drynkes that ben swete, as mylke and meth, hote drenkes other sharp, and slepyng after mete vpon soft beddes and the place wele savoured, accordyng to the tyme, in colde places and moist, and seeld entré into swete bathes of fressh water and litell taryng ther-in, that the body take moisture of the bathe and not the bathe of the body, for thurgh taryng there the body wold be febled. All redolent herbes that accordeth with the helthe of the body loke that they be in it, as, in the wynter, wermode that is of hote nature; roses also and violettes, and all colde herbes, in the somer. A vomyte also wassheth the body and purgeth the stomak of all bad humours and putrified. And whan fewe humours be in the stomak the hete is comforted forto digest and forto dewe the body and yeve it humydité and fatnesse. And moche the more and profitabler yf he be mery and glad, and yf he myght have resonable glory and honoure, and of his enemyes victorye, hope and trust in the peple, in pleyes and sightes to delyte, to se faire faces and vesages, and beholde delitable bokes, and to here swete songes and delitable, to laugh amonge tham that loven hym, to be clad in the best clothyng of colour and teyntour, and to be wele an-oyned with the best accordyng oynementis to the tyme. Of

3 letted] lyttyd L      12 as] ys as L      18 wele] the place wele A (*and, substant., L*); supra stramenta mollia et odorifera in locis ac temporibus convenientibus B 82      23 the body] manys body L      33 delitable] delicius L hym] þe L      34 clothyng . . . teyntour] clopyng colours and tinctoris L

the contrarye these dryen, feblen and maken leene the body:  
 to ete and drynk lytell, labour oft, and to moche stonde in the sone,  
 with-out mesure walke, slepe before mete vpon hard beddes, to be  
 5 vexed in mynd, to entre bathes there as sulphure water is, and sitte  
 olde wyne oft, to take and make many seeges, oft to lette blode and  
 to lak mesure ther-in, to be to besy in venerien actis, to be vexed  
 with bad thoughtes, to have drede oft and sorow. All these and  
 many other dryen and feblen the body.

10

### A rewle of Ypocras

If any man constipat or replete entreth bayn, or bath, the dolour |  
 [f. 20<sup>v</sup>] of ydropesye, other of the intestines and bowels, he may be sure of.  
 Also who deliteth with a woman the belly full, he shall be paraletik  
 yf he vse it moch. Neither is good than to rynne ne to ride moche.  
 15 Who to-geder oft eteth fyssh and drynketh mylke with-all, lepre or  
 perell in his eye it disposeth. Wyne and mylke in like wise worchen.  
 This litell werk vnto Kyng Alexandre, the prynce of leches wrote,  
 that he, thurgh the tenoure therof and the maners obserued, shold  
 nede none other leche.

20 Here foloweth the 5 Boke of the 4 pryncipall lymmes, and  
 first of the passions and sikenesse of the hede and his  
 remedies

The body is dyvyded in 4 parties. The first part is the hede. Whan  
 any superfluyté is gendred ther-in, thow maist know it by these  
 25 signes: that is to sey, by dazovnesse of eyen, hevynes of browes,  
 repercussion of the tymples, the sownyng of the eeres and stoppyng  
 of the nastrels. Who-so-euer feele this happe to hym, take and  
 boyle efros in pelletes in swete wyne, with the rootes of pullege,  
 and wast half, and of the residue euery mornyng put a sponefull  
 30 in thi mouth, till thow fele that it profiteth the. And vse with thy  
 mete mvstard sede of a peny weight, wele poudred, with confitis  
 thurgh xij oignementes: that he vse to slepe with. If he leve that

2 stonde] to stand L                      5 ete] to ete L                      6 to take] and to take L  
 13 who] who so L                      14 moche] to much L                      16 in his eye] in yen L  
 28 effros in pelletes] i. pelletes *in outer margin in scribe's hand, with no indica-*  
*tion of precise insertion-point* A eufrace and pellatory L effresim pullei R f. 43  
 esdentum B 84: *see n.* with the rootes of pullege] *om.* L & radicibus pullegei  
 R f. 43 cum radicibus pullegii B 84: *see n.*                      32 thurgh] *with* L                      that he  
 vse to] to make hym to vse L cum pulvere confecto ex xii unguentis, et hoc  
 in dormitacione sua utatur B 84

and for-yitte it, it is to be doughted of perieleus siknesse, that is to sey, corrupcion of his sight, dolour of his brayn, and many other infirmittees, fro the whiche at all tymes God kepe the.

### Of syknesse of the brest and his remedies

The brest is the 2 part. If ther-in be gendred superfluytees, these 5 signes foloweth: the tonge is hevvy, the movth bitter, in the stomak moch sowrenesse, and he felith the cough. Me most therfor lisse etyng and drynkyng, vse vomytes, and ther-after take sugre roset, with a stik of aloes, and shave it, and after that take the quantité of a notte of the grete electuarye that is made with ligne 10 aloes, vt supra.

And yf thow do not so thow may lightly cacche the passions of thy side and reynes and rynne into an excesse and into other sicknesses.

### Of siknesse of the gentytail and thair medecyne | 15

The coddess ben [þe oþer] parties. And yf any superfluyté be [f. 21] gadered in tham, or impediment, to lak appetit is the signe therof. Who feleth hym greved ther-in, he most take 2 herbes, drochachen and arianes, and boyle herbe and rote in white wyne, and euery mornyng vse it, tempered with water and hony, and absteine fro 20 moche etyng and drynkyng.

And yf he leve behynde this medecyne, he may be aferde of dolour of coddiss, of the longis, and of the stone.

### Oppynyons of philosophers

It is writte in olde storyes that a myghty kyng brought to-gedre 25 the best leches of Indiens, Grekis, and Medis, and Persiens, and enyoynd them to make hym a medecyne that, it vsed, me shall nede none other medecyne. Holsomly, seid the Greke, that who wold take euery mornyng hote water, other rose water 2 sponefull seuerelly, it wille cause helth and that he shall nede none other 30 medecyne. And the Persien seid that it profiteth moche to take, fastyng, of the greynes of myle. I for sothe sey that who slepeth so moch that he fyndeth no ponderosité in his body, and specially

3 at all tymes] al þe tyme L      5 2] second L      11 vt supra] *badly drawn horizontal stroke partly under, partly through, these words, perh. cancelling them.*  
 16 þe oþer parties] L parties 2 A      17 gadered] genduryd L  
 18 drochachen] drochiachen L      28 Holsomly] *see n.*

wombe, he nedeth not to be a-ferd. And who eteth euery mornyng  
 7 dragmes of radissh, bake, wele sweted, he nede not fere no sike-  
 nesse of flewme neyther govt, his mynde therby wolle be amended,  
 his intellect lighted. And who in tyme convenient vseth it accord-  
 5 yng to his complexion, he shall be sure and have no cause to drede  
 feure quartayn. And who vseth to ete nvttes with fyges and with  
 a fewe braunches of rewe, venyme that day shall not anoye hym.  
 O high Kyng, studye in all wise to kepe and hold thy naturell hete.  
 For as longe as temperat hete is in the man, and moisture naturell,  
 10 the hete is tempered and strengthed, for helthe restoreth in tham  
 twayn. And vndrestande wele in this place that destruccion and  
 corrupcion of the body cometh of 2 causes, that one is naturell,  
 that other innaturell. Naturell cometh of repugnancie and contra-  
 14 diccion of 4 contrarie qualitees, as thus drynesse lordshippeth the  
 [f. 21<sup>v</sup>] body. Corruption for-sothe | cometh a-yenst kynde, of some actuell  
 or accidentall cause, as of bataill, or spornyng with a stone, other  
 of other chaunces, by siknesse oþer ill counseill.

### Of knowyng of metes

Of metes some ben sotell, some grosse, and some meen. Sotell  
 20 engendreth clere blode and good, and they ben white, chekons of  
 hennes wele norisshed and fatte, and egges. For-sothe, grosse  
 metes ben good to hote men, and labourers, and for diners to them  
 that slepen after noone. Meene metes engendren none inflam-  
 macion, neither superfluyté, as lambe, kyd, wether castrot, and all  
 25 flesh that ben hote and moist. Nathelesse it semeth that moisture  
 faileth in these fleshis whan they ben rosted and wexen hard, and  
 so hote and drye. Therfor yf any such flesh be rosted, ete it hote  
 and sone, and specially whan any spices is rosted with them, for  
 than it is best. Metes that engendren malencoly ben bugles, befes,  
 30 kyne, and suche other grosse flessh. Nathelesse bestes of that nature,  
 wele fed and yonge, brought forth in watery and moist shadowed  
 pasture, ben best, swetest, and holsomest. The same may me sey  
 of fisshes. And vndrestand wele that fisshes of smale substaunce,  
 of sotell skynne, and light to be chaved, the which ben brought  
 35 forth in salt water rynnyng, ben lightest and best. Nathelesse the

|                                     |  |                             |
|-------------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| 3 wolle be amended]                 | will be well a-mendyth L               | 7 shall not anoye]          |
| non schall ny L                     | 8 wise] wayes L                        | 13 repugnancie] repugnans L |
| 14 as thus] see n.                  | 16 or spornyng with] off spurnyng of L | 29-30 bugles,               |
| befes, kyne] bugill bestes & kyne L | 30 nature] L                           | natures A                   |
| bestes L                            | 33 of fisshes] in fyschys L            | 32 best]                    |
|                                     |  | 35 best] bestes L           |

fiſſhes that ben engendred in the ſee and brought out of it, ben  
 holsomeſt. Me moſt beware of tho fiſſhes that ben of grete ſub-  
 ſtance, and of hard ſkynne, for ſuch fiſſhes comonly ben vene-  
 mous. And at this tyme of fiſſhes this is ſufficiant, for in the boke  
 that Y made the of potages and medecynes, thou ſhalt fynd this 5  
 mater ſufficiantly determynd.

### Of blode-lettyng by flebotomye, and of houres therto competent

Yf thou wolt lette blode, ſe that the moone be aſſendyng and paſt  
 the coniuncion and the ſones orbe, and ſe that ſhe be not in the 10  
 Crabbe, Fiſſhes, neither Yonglynes. And more be ware þat the  
 moone applie to the ſone of none aſpect, and ſpecially 4le or  
 oppoſicion. And be ware that the mone make no coniuncion bad  
 in watry ſignes, and ſe that Mercury be not in thascendent,  
 neyther in the 7 houſ. The ſame ſey Y of Saturne. And vndreſtond 15  
 that the laſt half of the mones mo[n]the is better to lette blode in  
 than is the firſt. And | lette the moone be in Libra or Scorpion, [f. 22]  
 with-out aſpect or raies of the noyous planetes, other of bad  
 ſterres fix, for and ſhe be in the ſecond half reproued or infor-  
 tuned, than is ſhe weſt of all. But in kutting or garsyng of the 20  
 fleſſh, lette the mone be accreſyng to his light without loke of ony  
 noyous ſterre, and not oppoſid to Mercury, but joynd with Venus,  
 other biholdyng Venus and Mercury of frendlineſſe. Whan the  
 moone happeth in thascendent, than hath ſhe domynacion there,  
 and ſo ſhe hath in euery of the 12 houſes, aduerbially, now good, 25  
 now bad, now ſtrong, now feble. But euer be ware of hir in thaſ-  
 cendent.

### Of takyng of medecynes, and houres therto competent

Whan thou wolt take ony medecyne laxatif, ſette the mone in the  
 Scorpion, Libra, other in Piſces. But be ware that ſhe neygh not to 30  
 Saturne, for than congeleth ſhe the humours and the medecyne  
 in the body. And the ferther ſhe be fro Saturne, the better it is.  
 But drede not her beyng with Mercury. Therfor thinke that þe  
 begynnyng of thi werk, and the ſureneſſe of thy body, after the

9 lette] be lett L    paſt] paſſe L    12 4le] for quartile cf. 89/14  
 14 in thascendent] aſcendyng L    16 monthe] movthe A (and, ſubſtant., L)  
 20 kutting or garsyng] kittying or carvyng, garcyng L    32 ſhe] that ſche  
 L    34 thy] y written over e A þe L

good constellacion of the moone, and her absence fro noyous sterres and after her prosperité in her ascense.

### Of yevyng of medecynes and of houres therto appropred

Ar thow yeve medecyne, se in what signe the sone is. And yf it be  
 5 in a colerik signe, me most make sharper the medecyne. And yf in  
 a melancolik signe, moche more. And yf in a flevmatik signe, moch  
 lasse. After the qualité and reson of the signe when it is hurt and  
 constreynd, the nature of the wombe is to be lax. More-ouer,  
 thow most se in like wise yf the mone be in a colerik, flevmatik,  
 10 other malancolik signe. And yf the bothe luminaries be-hold and  
 resceyve other in colerik signes, the medecyne than yeve shall  
 some men litell anoye, and yf they in malencolik signes do so,  
 moche lasse, for it is but seld vsed. But yf they bothe be in flev-  
 matik signes, the medecyne take lightly worcheth, and specially  
 15 yf the moone be accresyng.

### The [6] booke, of the nature of certayn herbes and stones, and of Aristotles secretes. |

[f. 22<sup>v</sup>] [O]f the qualité, propreté and vertue of some herbes, and of thair  
 profites by short trete in this chapiter &c, I wolde determyne, but  
 20 in oure other booke fully of thaire propreté and of the strengthes  
 of herbes, and natures of plantis, we have declared. And therfor  
 what we sey now of plantes and stones, as touchyng þis werk it is  
 now. But now, Alexandre, thow shalt wele vndrestand that as in  
 plantes ben dyvers natures and strengthes, so in stones beth many  
 25 kyndes and vertues. The price of thair fairenesse and the profites  
 ben inestimable, and specially they be convenient to the magesté  
 roiall of a prince, for they maken faire the diademes of kynges, þei  
 comferten the sight of the eyen, they plesen the soule. It arraieth  
 the dignité. And [by] thair vertues full gracious, siknesse ben ex-  
 30 pelled fro men-is bodies, and with-out them litell worth is mede-  
 cyne, and specially where me wold have grevous siknesse put a-way.  
 Full grete and marvelous vertue is bothe in plantes and in stones,

5 sharper] scharpe L                      5-6 in a melancolik] it be in malencoly L  
 6 yf in a flevmatik] yff hit be in fleumatycke L                      7 qualité] over erasure A  
 9 a colerik] in colerike signe L                      10 other malancolik signe] or malencolye L  
 12 malencolik signes] malencolye signe L                      16 L omits all from here to the  
 section Of Justice, as given below pp. 69-71, and places that section before the section  
 Of promocion of studies and of scoles, as on p. 44 above. At this point, L proceeds  
 with the Eighth Book as on p. 71 below                      The 6] The 5                      18 Of] Yf A

but fro mankynd they ben hid. But we in oure boke of stones and  
 plantes have peir propretees and vertues more fully exponed. In  
**primis**, therfor, O Alexandre, I wolle yeve the amonge the  
 secretes the grettest þat þurgh Goddes myght shall helpe the  
 to bryng about thy purpose, and to kepe secré the priveté. Therfor 5  
 take the stone animal, vegetable, and mynerall, the which is no  
 stone, neither hath the nature of a stone. And this stone is like  
 in maner to stones of montaynes, of mynes, and of plantes animal,  
 and it is founde in euery place, in euery tyme, in euery man, and  
 it is conuertible to all colours, and ther-in ben contened all 10  
 elementes, and it is cleped the litell world. And Y wolle name hym  
 by his propre name, as þe comone peple calleth it, that is to sey,  
 the terme of an egge, that is to sey, the philosophers egge. Dyvyde  
 hym therfor in 4 parties, for euery part hath o nature, and than  
 compone hym egally and proporcionly, so that ther be no dyvysion 15  
 ther-in neyther repugnance, and thow shalt have thy purpose,  
 God grauntyng it the. This maner is profitable, but Y wolle  
 dyvyde hym | to the in speciall operacions. Dyvyde it in 4, and 2 [f. 23]  
 maners may be do wele, and with-out corrupcion. Therfor, whan  
 thow hast water of the aier, and aier of fire, and fire of erthe, than 20  
 shalt thou have fully this craft. Dispose therfor thy aiery sub-  
 stance by discrecion, and dispose the substance, by cause, by  
 moisture, and hete, till þei accorde and joyne, and discorde nether  
 deceuere not. And than joyne to them 2 vertues operatifes, water  
 and fire, and than is thy werk accomplisshed. For and thow medled 25  
 it with water soole, it will make it white, and yf thow medle it  
 with fire, it wolle be rede, God grauntyng. Oure fader Hermogenes,  
 that is cleped treble in philosophie, he spoke best ther-in, seiying:  
 Trouth hath hym so, and it is no doute, that the lover to the heigher,  
 and the heigher to the lower aunsweren. The worcher forsoth of 30  
 all myracles is the one and sool God, of and fro Whom cometh  
 all meruelous operacions. So all thynges were created of o soole  
 substance, and of o soole disposicion, the fader wherof is the  
 sone, and the moone moder, that brought hym forth by blast or  
 aier in the wombe, the erthe taken fro it, to whom is seid the increat 35  
 fader, tresour of myracles, and yever of vertues. Of fire is made  
 erthe. Depart the erthe fro the fire, for the sotiller is worthier than  
 the more grosse, and the thynne thyng than the thik. This most  
 be do wisely and discretly. It ascendith fro the erth into þe heven,

29 lover] o *corr. from e*

and falleth fro heven to the erthe, and therof sleith the higher and the lower vertue. And [pus] it lordship[pes] in þe lower and in the heigher, and thow shalt lordship aboue and beneth, which forsoth is the light of lightes, and therfor fro the wolle fle all derknesse.

5 The higher vertue ouer-cometh all, for sothe all thynne thyng doth in dense thynges. After the disposicion of the more world rynneth this worchyng. And for this prophetisying of the trynyté of God Hermogenes i[s] called **Triplex**, trebill in philosophie, as Aristotle  
9 seith. Of the mervailles of this world is that stone, that fighteth  
[f. 23<sup>v</sup>] with waters and wyndes. Thow shalt se | hym rise vp on the water, whan the waters rynneth with wyndes. And it is born in the Mediterrayn See. His propreté is this: yf thow take this stone and put hym in a-nother stone, and bere hym with the, this is impos-  
15 sible: that any host shall endure ayenst the, other resist ayenst the, but fle hedyngly before the. Ther ben 2 stones of mervelous vertue, that ben found in derk places, of the which one is white, that other is rede, and ben found in spotillish waters. Thair operacions ben these: the white begynneth to appere vpon the water in the fallyng of the sone, and abideth vpon the water till mydnyght, and than  
20 begynneth to discende downward, and at the sone rysyng she is at the bothome. The rede stone worcheth contrarye, for whan the sone ariseth she begynneth to appere, and so to mydday, and than begynneth to descende tille the sone-fallyng. The propretees of the 2 stones also ben these: yf thou woldest honge of the rede stone  
25 a weight of a car[a]t vpon one of the hors of thyne host, the hors of thyn host shall not cesse neying tille þu put the stone a-way. The operacion of the white stone is the contrarie, for the horse that bere it shall never nye tille thow remove it a-way. Therfor they be good to stere thretyng, and to werkes of hostes. The propretees of the  
30 stones also ben these: yf two stryve to-gedre, put the white stone in one of thair mouthes, and yf he be in the right he shall anon speke, and yf he be not, he shall wex dombe as long as it is in his mouth. The rede stone worcheth to the contrarye. And Y wille determyne to the the propretees and vertues of stones in enchaunte-  
35 mentis, and of some [plantes], in the next tretys. Thow hast fully of the precedentes knowen, whan Y treted to the [of] nature[s] and secretis of kynde, of thair degrees, of disposicion of plantes, and of disposicion of mynerall after the essence and beyng therof, and

2 pus] yf            8 is] it            18 vpon] *over erasure*            25 carat] pondus  
denarii B 118; *blank left for word* R f. 63            36 of natures] and naturell

whan it resceyveth his propre fourme after his nature and begyn-  
nyng, fro the natures above, that is myghtyest and lordshipping  
there-in. And in plantis water is myghtyest in nature, and in  
mynerall the erthe, and in | stones. Plantes resceyveth their nature [f. 24]  
of water by extension, as water resceyveth it by movyng and 5  
impulsion of wyndes in his place. And as water is of dyuers figures,  
so dyuers figures ben in plantes, for all figures ben ther-in. And  
sithen water is most myghtyest in plantes, and it sheweth not but  
by diffusion, and Mercury is worker of dissolucion of waters, and  
in his heven vncessably worcheth it, than he must gouerne it as 10  
euery planet gouerneth that thyng þat is accordyng and conuenient  
to his nature. **Example of grace:** Saturne gouerneth the erth,  
Mercury the water, Jupiter the aier, the sone the fire. These  
inconuenientes be not found in the planetes but in the operacions  
that they have, contynuell and perpetuell, by the vniuersell vertue 15  
aboue, that is above all the vertues of these operacions, but here is  
no place to shewe the highnesse therof. Natheles here Y make  
mension, for it is full necessary and profitable for the tretis suyng,  
in the which we shall declare of other thynges, and of indyvyduis  
certeyn vegetable plantis. Therfor the knowlechyng of the pro- 20  
pretees of these thynges bilongeth to philosophers. Forsoth the  
operacion of naturell thynges pertenyth leeches. And Y wolle  
that thy prudence be not hid, that all thyng lakkyng light of þe  
nombre vegetable is gouerned of Satourne and yeve to hym, and  
all thyng that flovreth and is lumynous is yoven to be gouerned 25  
of Mercury, and all thyng vegetable that floureth and bereth no  
frute is yove to Mars and by hym gouerned. After-ward compone  
and joyne these dyvysions, and sey all vegetable beryng forth frut  
[not florisschyng], as palme, is yove to Saturne, and to the sone,  
and all florisschyng not beryng fruyt, is ruled by Mercury and Mars. 30  
Also some vegetables ben by bowes, some by seedes, and some  
ben with-out seedes or plantacion. Therfor is shewed openly that  
euery spice of vegitable hath his propre disposicion, that is com-  
plexioned, and foloweth the vertue, of one of the planetis, other of  
more, after he hath take it, and helpeth euery proprieté the vertue 35  
of the planet þat he is propred to | by vertue naturall that disposeth [f. 24<sup>v</sup>]

19 indyvyduis] *stroke of second i over first minim of u* 28-9 vegetable  
beryg forth frut not florisschyng] florisschyng vegetable not beryng forth frut A:  
*perhaps for not-florisschyng vegetable beryng forth frut* 29 not] *run through*  
*with horizontal stroke, apparently an erroneous canc.: see n.*

his spices vnto hete, sauour, odour and figure. And the naturell soule gedreth all the propretees and vertues naturell, for they rynneth therfro and foloweth it, and yeveth enduryng to them, for as long tyme as their nature have signified and diffined. For

5 there is none act with-out movyng, and no operacion with-out terme. And so shalt thou fynde some spices anoyng, and some helpyng, and some engendren gladnesse, and some love, some hate. Some geve reuerence and honour to the berer, some abiencion and contempt. Some causeth fals dremes, some trewe visions.

10 Some gendreth man-hode and strength, some sleuth and feblenesse. Some heleth the bodies and kepeth þem fro venyme mortell, some corrupteth the body, and inducith in þam deth. And I shall make to the mencion of all these spices, with open argumentis and probacions therof. Sothly that spice of vegetable

15 that engendreth reuerence and honour, it is a tre havyng leves wrapped to-gedre. The fourme of the leves and fruyt is rounde, the tre of hym-self is moist and most swete of odour. Who-so-euer taketh of that tree in his name and bereth it with hym, the vertue of hym yeveth hym reuerence and honour. And ther is a-nother tre

20 that ryseth as longe as a mannes arme, havyng longe leves and moist, havyng ther-in white leves. Who-so-euer bereth a substance therof, he shall be honoured and exalted. And ther is a-nother tre that hath full grete leves, and his palmites ben streight vpon the erth, and the odour is good. And who-so-euer bereth therof he

25 shall be glad, light, worthy and myghty. With hym it is not good for to stryve or fight, for his aduersary shall be slayn, and in his operacion [he] shall have victorie. And of spices of trees is a certayn spice that hath cropp, and is planted, havyng oblong leves, and the leves falleth fro the tree as she bere fruyt, and she hath

30 3 rede oblong floures of swete savour and odour. Who eteth the floures, he shall have joye and laughter, and who plukketh it vp with leves and crop, and shaketh a-way the flour thynkyng of any

[f. 25] femynyn persone, that wolle sterve her to kendle | in his love. Ther is a-noþer tre cleped androsmon, and it groweth in þe land of Zyn,

35 and it is pleted to-gedre, havyng dry leves, and full lytell and passyng smal sedes rounde, and withyn white. Yf þu take 7 cornes of þat sede in the name of ony persone and bray þem in his name, Venus arisyng, so that her ray[i]es touche them, yeve it hym to drynk or ete, and þi drede shall abide stille in his hert, and euer

he shall obeye the, duryng all þi lyf. And of spices and plantes  
 ther is oone þat gendreth langour, whos crop is planted, whos  
 bowes strecchen out as long as a man-is arme. þe floures ben white,  
 havynge leves and beryng no fruyt. Of þe propreté it is of Mars and  
 of Mercury, the nature of it of fire and of thaier. þe berer þerof 5  
 shall never be with ou[t] langour while it is on hym. And þer  
 is anoþer of the kynde of plantes, and it is sanatif, the sede þerof  
 sowe, the rotes square, the leves rounde, the floures of celestyn  
 colour. And the sede ben rede, and the odour swete and of good  
 tast. Who drynkeþ therof or smelleth, þe odour of it heleth hym 10  
 of þe pose, oþer of melancoly of thoughty mynde, of swellyng of  
 feere, of frenesy, and of many other siknesse. There is a-nother  
 plant cleped farrolidon and gendreth [hate and contempt].

Ther is anoþer plant cleped matynison and it is worthy to gete  
 love and reuerence therby. O Alexandre, I have fulfilled that I 15  
 promysed to the to trete vpon, and openly I have soiled it. Therfor  
 alwayes be manly and vertuous, and þe glorious God gouerne,  
 dresse and kepe the, Whos goodnesse euery creature perceyvethe.

**The 7 Boke, of Justice, and of the goodnesse that foloweth  
 and cometh therof, &c.**

20

Justice is a laudable comendacion of the propreté of the Highest,  
 Symplest, and Gloriosest, wherfor the reame shall be his whom  
 God hath chosen to and stablISHED hym vpon His seruauntes, to  
 whom is comytted the besynesse and þe gouernaill of his subgettes,  
 the which therfor shall espy, kepe and defende the possessions, 25  
 richesse, and the blood of his subgettes, and all their | werkes, as [f. 25<sup>v</sup>]  
 he were thair God. In this he is likened to God, that he shold  
 folow Hym in all his werkes. God forsothe is wise and konnyng,  
 and His precony and names ben glorious. In Hym is the magnitude  
 of lordship. He is most of all and aboue comendacion. Therfor 30  
 wisdom is contrarie to Iniustice, and his contrarye is Justice.  
 Thurgh meene of Justice, the hevens were created, and stablISHED  
 above the erthe. In Justice also were the holy prophetes sent.  
 Justice forsoth is the fourme of intellect, the which the glorious  
 God created, and brought forth His creature to hym. And by 35

13 hate and contempt] A breaks off with gendreth in middle of line, and starts  
 new paragraph

19 In L, this and following section displaced (fols. 92 ff.),  
 occurring earlier, following section Of kynges feithe (as on pp. 43 f. above), and  
 before section Of promociion of studies (as on p. 44 above)

21 a laudable]  
 a hie lawdabull L

23 vpon] þer-to L

29 names ben] name ys L

Justice the erthe was edified, and ordeyned were kynges, and obeying  
 and tamyng of subgettes, and by Justice is made meke terrible  
 thynges, and thynges remote approchen neygh. Soules therby ben  
 losed and delyuered fro all vices, and ayenst their kyng fro all  
 5 corrupcion. And therfor the Indiens seid, justice of the gouernour  
 and kyng is profitabler to the subgettes than plenté of tyme. And  
 also they seid þat the domynacion of a rightfull man is better than  
 the even rayn. It was founde in a stone writen and graven in Caldee  
 speche, that a kyng and Intellect ben brethern, ayther of them  
 10 nedying other, and that one is not suffisant with-out that other.  
 And all thynges vniuersely ben created of Justice, and she is cause  
 of Intellect, for who-so putteth in beyng his operacion he is his  
 doer, and he is a rightfull juge. Therfor the beyng of Justice is his  
 root had of Intellect, and he is the wircher and brynger about  
 15 therof. He is his myght and operacion, he is his intencion, and he  
 is his speculacion of science. He is juge worchyng and resceyvyng  
 that þat is come of the act. In hym that resceyvethe is that justice.  
 And it is double: open and privé. Open, it maketh the act wrought  
 with his condicions, and rightfull Justice peiseth and mesured by  
 20 that Intellect and iugement taketh hir name. Pryvé, for sothe, is the  
 feith or bileve of the juge worchyng his werk, and the certaynté  
 and confirmacion of his wordes. Therfor it apperith, as we said  
 before, that a kyng is likened in justice to the o God, and therfor  
 [f. 26] it sitte to hym þat he be stedfast and high | and all his werkes  
 25 propre and comvne. Who-so-euer therfor declineth fro propre or  
 comvne, it is no justice, for he most do after the justice of God and  
 His wille, and bileve fully that by his feith he executeth the law  
 that is the perfeccion of lordship. And as his werkes shewen, so  
 applien the hertis of his subgettis to hym. And such werkes as he  
 30 do, all such wolle his people do also, and therby the subgettes  
 wille deme by hym thair propretés. And the cominalté is in  
 dyuers grees, and trespassers of justice have difference therfro.  
 Sothly Justice is a novne relatif. But vnto a-noþer thyng it is cor-  
 reccion of wronge, and rightyng of weightes, and fourme of mesure,  
 35 and they ben names collectives, and perteyneth to curialité, and  
 to the maner of largesse, and to operacions of goodnesse.

1 ordeyned] ordynat L.

2 of subgettes] of bestes and of subgettes L

3 remote] remoted (*indistinct*) L

5 seid] sayn L

6 kyng] kynges

L 10 nedying] nedyth L

suffisant] sufficient L

26 no] not L

31 cominalté] Comyns L

33 Sothly] for sope L

it is] hit wull have L

36 operacions] operacions L

## Of the cercle and example of Justice

For sothe, Justice is had in 2 maners, and hath dyvysions. For Justice perteyneth to jugement of juges, and ther is Justice perteynyng to man in reisonyng of hym-self, of that that is bitwene hym and his Maker. Therfor stabliss Justice in this that ben 5 betwix the and thy peple, after commensuracion of thair maners, and the setés of the reame. And Y shall exemplifie to the a laudable fourme, a philosophers sapiens full derworth, that shall shew to the all thynge that is vniuersall in man that asketh gouernaunce of subgettes, and shewith their degrees, qualitees and rootes, as 10 Justice most be handled in euery degree. It is diuided in 2 dyvysions circular and rounde, and euery dyvysion is a gree. Therfor begynne at euery of these dyvysions, and it wolle yeve the that, that nothyng is precioser, and it is the cercle of þe firmament. And when the vniuersall [r]egimen, oþer ordinacions, as wele byneth 15 as a-bove [be] to the consuance of this world, me thynk that me most be-gynne in such wise in this world, and this is the profite of þis boke. And here is the figure: the world is a gardeyn or an herber. His matir or substance is Jugement. Jugement is lordship mvred with law. Law is the reame that the kyng gouerneth. The 20 kyng is þe pastour that is defended by his lordes and estates. His lordes ben stipendaries susteyned with moné. Money is fortune that is gadered of the subgettes. Subgettz ben seruauntes subiectes to Justice. Justice forsoth is that is by hym|self intended, in [f. 26<sup>v</sup>] the which is the helth of subgettes. 25

## The 8 Boke, of substance simple, of speeris and of elementis

Understand that that first þat the almyghty glorious God fourmed is substance simple and spirituall, in the ende of perfec- 30 cion and complement of goodnesse, in the which is the fourme of all þyng, and is named Intelligence. And afterward of that substance goith out anoper substance lesse in degree, that is called the Soule Vniuersell[e]. And out of that soule is progressed out

|             |                         |                    |               |          |
|-------------|-------------------------|--------------------|---------------|----------|
| 3 of juges] | of iustes and Juges L   | 5 this] thys L     | ben] byn L    | 7 setés] |
| Cites L     | 10 of] of his L         | 12 and rounde]     | or rowunde L  | gree]    |
| degree L    | 13-14 that, that] þat L | 15 regimen]        | vegimen AL    | 19 or    |
| substance]  | and his substaunse L    | 20 with] with þe L | 23 the] his L |          |

26 L resumes with this section on f. 108<sup>v</sup>, after section Of takyng of medecynes as on p. 64 above (there entitled Of yevyng of medecynes, etc.) 33 Vniuerselle] vniuerselly A vniuersall L

anoþer substance þat is cleped Ile, before comensuracion that is  
 attended in length, brede and depnesse, in the which the body is  
 made symply. After that, the body hath a full noble figure that  
 ouercometh all fygures, and it is lesse in comparison and alder. It  
 5 abideth in the place of one of the speeris of the planetes for the  
 purenesse of it, sith it is sympler than the first. The rather therfor  
 of the speeres is cleped the First Movyng, and ther ben 9 hevens  
 o[r] speeres one ay within another. The first goth and closeth all.  
 After that is the sphere of the sterres fix, and than the spere of  
 10 Saturne, and the 5 other speeres of the planetes, the mone lowest,  
 and with-in that the speeres of the 4 elementes, of fire, aier, water  
 and erthe. So the erth is lowest of all the elementis, and is þikest  
 in substance betwix the assenciall bodyes. After whan, thes speeres  
 were ordeyned one with-in other as it is before seid, after the wise-  
 15 dam and ordenaunce of the most highest and gloriosest God, in  
 disposicion mervelous and most ordinat fairenesse. And the speeres  
 circularly moven, and the planetis in thair cercles aboute the  
 elementes, and turnyngly ben ordayned vpon that, nyght and day,  
 wynter and somer, hote and cold. And comedled be some thynges  
 20 in some, and thynne is tempered with thik, and the hevy with the  
 light, the hote with colde, the moist with drye. Than componed be of  
 tham the length of tyme, vniuersell speses of componed bodies  
 that ben originall (o[r] mynerall), vegetable and anymal. They  
 ben therfor the originall of all thyng that is congeled in the bovell  
 25 of the erth, and in the depnesse of the see, in the holownesse of  
 montaynes, of fumositees inclosed, of vapours ascendyng, of  
 [f. 27] humyditees congeled in the holownesse of caves, in þe | which  
 erthly aier most lordshippeth, as gold, siluer, bras, iren, lede, tyn,  
 stones, margarites, corall, tutie, alum and such other, &c. Sothly  
 30 animal is all kynd that moveth, felith, and passith fro place to place  
 by hym-self, wherin lordshippeth most the aier. Vegetabill com-  
 posicion is nobler than originall, animal more nobler than veget-  
 able, and the man most noble in composicion of animal and of all  
 thynges lvyng. And firenesse most lordshippeth in hym, and the  
 35 other 3 accorden in composicion, and ben found therin both  
 symply and componed. For man is of a body, thik or depressed

|              |               |             |                                    |             |           |           |            |     |
|--------------|---------------|-------------|------------------------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----|
| 3 symply]    | simpull L     | 5 for]      | and of L                           | 6 rather]   | rath L    | 7 cleped] |            |     |
| callith L    | 8 or]         | L oo A      | 20 with thik]                      | in thicke L | 21 drye]  | þe        |            |     |
| drye L       | be of]        | he by L     | 23 or]                             | of          | 29 tutie] | tute L    | 30 felith] |     |
| and felyth L | fro place]    | p           | <i>emended from another letter</i> |             |           |           | 32 nobler] | mor |
| nowbull L    | 34 firenesse] | fairnesse L | 36 For]                            | and L       | of a]     | of om. L  |            |     |

comesured, and of the soule, that is of symple substance and spirituell. þerfor þu most, if þu be konnyng vpon sciences and vertues in beyng, to take first vpon the the knowlechyng of thi soule þat is next to the, above al other thynges, and so to know afterward euery thyng in his kynde.

5

### Of the soule

Understand therfor, þat þe soule vniuersell is light or strength spirituell, had of intelligence þurgh God-is will, and hath 2 strengthes rynnyn in the body, as the light of the sone in parties of þe aier. And eyþer of þese strengthes is a signe. The second 10 forsoth operant is lightned by the glorious God with 7 strengthes þat ben cleped attractif, retentif, digestif, expulsif, nutritif, informatif, vegetatif (and sensitif). The operacion of the strength vegetatif in composicion of man-is kynd, is in reception of the sperme in the woman-is priveté, and the disposicion þerof dureth 15 by 7 monthes. And whan this terme ordeyned of God and suffred [is perfected] than chaungeth the soule animal sensitif, or sensible, fro that, till he passe out of þat habitacle and geteth oþer gouernaill, till 4 yere passe. Than the vertue resonable chaungeth the name 20 sensible, and gouerneth hym till 15 yere. And than the vertue intellectif, and denunciatif of figures or likenesse, other of interpretation of all sensible, gouerneth hym to 20 yeres. Than the strength judicial in prophecie or philosophie, that specialy medleth with intellectual fourmes, hath the rule till 25. Than the vertue of kyndly will gouerneth till 30 yere. And than þe roiall vertue explanatif, 25 þat is in kynges of thair originall, gouerneth to 40 yere. And þan þe vertue legal, planted of and on his originall, gouerneth hym for terme of his lyf. Therfor yf the soule perfet and complet be, before his separacion fro the body, resceyved of the vertue animal [f. 27<sup>v</sup>] 30 vniuersall þat she hath highed and brought to the high perfeccion, than it hath anoþer rule and gouernaunce, tille it come to the cercle or firmament of Intelligence vnto whom it liketh it well. Truly and yf the soule be not perfit, it slydeth into deppenness byneth, and than resceyvet gouernaill of hede [without] hoope.

6 L displaces this section, to form it into conclusion of the work, occurring after the *Physiognomy* fols. 126<sup>v</sup> f. At this point in L, the *Physiognomy* follows, as on p. 89 below 11 by the] by with the AL 33-4 byneth, and] be nethe byndyth and L 34 without] or of: see n.

Of man and of his 5 wittes, other of a kyng and of his 5  
counselours

Whan God almyghty made man, and made hym noblest of  
bestis, He comaunded hym, He for-bade hym, He bihote hym,  
5 and He rewarded hym and stablissed his body as a cité, and his  
intellect as kyng in it, and sette it in the hiest and noblest place of  
the man, that is his hede, and made hym counselors to gouerne  
hym and to present hym all thyng that is necessarye, helpyng and  
kepyng hym from all noye. And he hath no hold neyther perfeccion  
10 but by them. And he ordeyned euery of hem to have a propre  
dome, and seuerall fro other, and a propre maner of comunicacion  
from other, and that is gendred of gederyng and conveniences in  
beyng and perfeccion of thair werkes. Therfor tho 5 counselors  
forseid ben as 5 wittes that ben þese: the eye, the eere, the nose,  
15 the tonge, and the hande. The eye that is sensat and visible hath  
10 spices, þat is to sey, light, derknesse, colour, body, figure,  
place, remocion, and propinquité, movyng, and rest. The eeres  
sensat haue heryng of sownes, and ther ben 2 specis therof, animal,  
and not animal. The soune animal is double, that one resonable,  
20 that perteyneth to man-is speche, and þat oþer vnresonable, as  
nyeyng of hors, chateryng of briddes and such other. The sowne  
forsoth not animal, is as brekyng of trees, and hurlyng to-gedre of  
stones, and such other vnto the which ther is no lyf, as thonder,  
tympane, or pipe, &c. Vndrestand wele therfor, that euery voice  
25 or sovne, is whan the aier is moved and beryng hym, and with hym  
is moved the spirituell that ben nobill, so that the part be not  
medled with the part, till he come to the last, to the witte of his  
heryng, than þei ben deferred by the spirit vnto the vertue imagena-  
tif. For-soth the tonge sensat is by tast and sauour, and therof  
30 ben 9 sp[e]ces, þat is to sey, swetnesse, bitternesse, saltnesse,  
fatnesse, sovrenesse, dulnesse, fressshnesse, flatnesse, and sharp-  
nesse. The wittes that ben in the handes ben 6, þat is to sey,  
touchyng, gropyng, course in hete and cold, rovgh, and smothe. |

[f. 28] The strength therof is conteyned and [planted] within 2 skynnes,  
35 one of þe which is in the omest part of the body, and that other  
is that þat bilongeth to the flessch. Forsoth whan euery of these  
wittes ben had, the which God hath yove to His kyng, ther ryseth  
out of the rote of the brayn sotell skynnes and light, as webbes of  
30 spesces] spesces      34 conteyned and planted] insita et contenta B 133;  
other possible readings in place of planted include implanted, fixed, infixed

areynes, and they ben as a vaill or a curteyn to this kyng. Therfor whan euery of the 5 wittes presentith that that he hath to tho skynnes that ben in þat substance of þe brayn, than ben gadered all þe stappes of men sensat to the vertue ymaginatif, that representith, by that vertue cogitatif, that þat is in the mydell of 5 þe brayn, that he may se, gadre to-geder, and studie in their figures and examples, so þat he may know þerby, þat þat anoyeth, and that þat helpeth, and þat he may wirche after the mesure þat cometh of tham. The constitucion and the existence of þe body ben in the 5 wittes before named. The perfeccion of euery such 10 þing is in 5 thynges. The planetis, the luminaries except, vpon the which moven the circuler speris ben 5. And kynde of bestis ben 5, þat is to sey: man, volatile, and aquatik, crepyng and fourefoted, and all thyng that crepeth or slydeth vpon the wombe. And 5 thynges ther ben without the which ther is no plant perfit that 15 waxeth in the erthe, and ther-in þei ben concurrant and accord pere-with, þat is to sey: stok, braunche, lef, frute, and rote. And 5 ben comvsicall in songe, that without them the accord is nought. And ther ben 5 portes of the see, &c.

Be therfor thy counselors in comprehension of thy werk, and let 20 euery of them be separat fro other, for than it is profitabler to þi werk. Kepe therfor thy secret, and telle not to þem þe secretis of thyn hert, and shew not to them of wheþer of hem þu haddest þi counsel. And let them not wete þat þu beggist ony counseill of hem, for yf þu do so, þei wille dispise the. Tempere þerfor in þi brayn 25 þeir willes, as þe brayn doth with þat that cometh to it of the wittes, and declyne fro thair counsels þat contrarien to þi wille, so þat þu be wele moved. And therfor Hermogenos seid, whan he was asked, wheþer þe dout of hym is better of whom me asketh counseill, þan of hym þat it is asked, he aunswereð, 'The asker of counseill, 30 for his dome is sped be-fore, and of his wille passith a trew word'. Therfor whan þu gadrest them for any counseill to be | yeve in thy [f. 28<sup>v</sup>] presence, let none other mater be meved or handled with tham but þat that þei come for. Here wher-in thei accorden, and y[f] hastily þer þei accord and aunswere, than resist them, and shew 35 þem contraries, so þat þeir cogitacion may be prolonged and taried to the last þat þei all be accorded. And whan þow perceyvest the

28 Hermogenos] o possibly a badly formed e as elsewhere in this ms.: cf. 26/38 78/6 and contrast III/8: cf. also 74/30

34 yf] yeve

trouth of thair counseill, or of any of them by his word, þan put  
 þem to scilence, and let not them know wherin þi wille resteth,  
 till þu put it in act or experience. And considre diligently and sotelly  
 who most ledeth to trouth of counsaill, and after þe mesure of love  
 5 that he hath to the, and desire of thy prosperité and gouernaill,  
 resceyve his counseill. And be ware to put one before anoþer.  
 Make them even in yiftes, grees and werkes. What thyng is more  
 in cause of destruccion of a reame, and of kynges werkes, than in  
 slouthyng and lesyng of daies and of tymes, and in yevyng of more  
 10 honorificence to some than to others? For þei shold be peres and  
 egall in cherisshyng. And a yong man-is counsell is not incon-  
 venient. So þat it be holsome, after þat worche þu. And Y sey  
 þat jugement foloweth the body, and his genesis or burth is to  
 be considred in some thynges, for a man is disposed after þe  
 15 natures of the planetes þat had gouernaunce and strength at his  
 generacion and burth. And peradventure his fader and his moder  
 wold teche hym or put hym to craft: the nature aboue full oft  
 draweth hym to art þat is convenient for hym. For it happeth in  
 like wise to certayn men that happeth to logge in a weowers hous,  
 20 and þat nyght he had a sone born, and þe men weren lerned in  
 astronomye and made a figure of the constellacion of his burth,  
 and founde Venus and Mars in Geminis and in Libra above the  
 erth. The contrary sterres and bad weren þan vnder the erth and  
 not risse. His burthe shewed that the child shold be wise, curious  
 25 of his hand, and of good and conuenient counsaill, and to be  
 biloved with kynges. They told to his fader no thyng perof.  
 The child wax in prosperité, and his fader put hym to his craft,  
 and he coude not accord þerwith, neither to lerne it for no fair  
 spech ne foule, nether for betyng ne flelyng. The child went  
 30 to scole with a konnyng clerk, and anon gate knowlechyng of  
 science so ferre that he knewe wele the cours and the tymes of the  
 [f. 29] bodies above, þe maners and the | gouernaill of kynges, and he was  
 made a counseller with the kyng and grew to grete lordship, myght  
 and power. The contrarye of this happeth of the mervelous wor-  
 35 chyng and disposicion of planetis and natures of them, in a kynges  
 sone. For whan he wax and grew vp, the fader wende to have had  
 hym konnyng in sciences, sende hym into Inde and into oþer  
 provynces, honourably, as it was sittyng, and he profited nought,  
 for his nature wold enclyne to no craft, save to be a smyth, wherfor

the fader was gretly troubled. Therfor he assymbled his wisest clerkes to wete the cause, and they declared that he was so disposed and enclnyed to at his burth. Such thynges in liknesse hath oft happed bifore this.

**How me shall chese a counseler, and how me shall take  
counsell in all thynges, &c.** 5

O Alexandre, dispise not litell stature in man, neþer none of þem that þu seest love sciences, and habound in way of sapience and of maners, and declyne and flee the pathes of vicious men. Sothly such comonly be of good eloquence, is oft seyn, and 10  
konnyng in stories. Therfor love such, and have them about and by þe, and specially hym þat þu seest exercityng his wittes all in vertues. And loke that þu do no thyng with-out his counseill, and love his feleship, for such loveth trouth, and counseleth as it 15  
sitteth to roiall magesté and removeth the contrary. Stedfast he is in his inwit, constant in his hert, and trew and rightfull to thy subgettes. Vnderstand wele þat such conseil rectifieth counseler, ordeyneth and augmentith the gouernaill of kynges, gouerneth the reame. Neyther do no thyng of rasshnesse, puttyng before 20  
that þat shold be put be-hynde, other his contrarye, neyþer in maner no thyng doying without counseill of philosophers. For philosophres seyen that counseill is the eye of þynges komyng. In bokes of Persiens it is rad that ther was a kyng in Inde, and he asked of his barons and counseler counseill vpon a grete secrete of love that he had to a quene. One of his counseler answered, 25  
that it was not necessarye to the kyng to aske an open counseill vpon a grete secrete, but yf he dud it seuerely, for oft in such privetees me may better and bolder telle it to one þan to many, | prively than openly. So do þu, good lord. But I sey, not in all [f. 29'] 30  
werkes but in some, consideracion had. Therfor it is convenient þat þu calle them to thy presence in thair propretees, in byndyng and losyng as Y have writ to the bifore. For a philosopher seid, þat kynges wisdom is augmented by the counseill of good counseler, as the see is augmented by resceyvynge of flodes and waters, and þat þurgh goode counseill and prudencie he myght gete more 35  
þan by myght of fighters. And in a boke of Medes it was comended to his sone seying, 'Sone, it is necessarye to the forto have counseill, for þu art but one amonge men'. Therfor counseill hym that may

delyuere the fro a mighty man. O Alexandre, spare not thyn enemye, but, in asmoch as þu maist, whan euer þu have victorie of hym, openly punyssh hym. And in all tyme be ware of the myght of thyn enemye. Let not the habundance of thy witte,  
 5 neither þi bileve, neþer the highnesse of thy state, let the, but [e]uer gadre oþer counseill with þyne, yf it like the, for it is to be had and do, ay kepyng thyn owne counseill with the. And yf they discorde fro the, than most þu see yf it be helpyng or profitable, and yf it be good, applye to it, and yf it be not, absteyn þerfro.

### 10 Of disposicion and nombre of counsailers

Besily and diligently Y warne the, and yeve the the best counseil, that [n]euer þu ordeyne þe o counseler in gouernail of all thy place. For his counseill myght destrue and corrupt þy reame, thy wrecches and subgettes. For þei wolle attende their owne profites,  
 15 and thynk thy declinacion, and many oþer þynges þat were to long to telle. For soth yf þu have not 5 counsailers þat pleseth the, as Y have taught before, [let them be 3] and [no lasse], for grete profite cometh therof, and specialy of 3, for but þe 3 with nethes shold any þyng in counseil be wel canne. Therfor, þe first vpon whom  
 20 ben all kynges and all good thynges is þe Trynyté. And by the nombre of 5 they ben halfed, and by þe nombre of 7 þei ben made perfite, for þer ben 7 hevens, 7 planetes, 7 dayes in the weke, the circuit of the mone 7, the dayes of pocion or of medecyne 7, daies  
 [f. 30] of perilles 7, and many oþer þynges | perteyneth to the nombre of  
 25 7 that were to longe to telle.

### Signes and experience to prove a good or a bad counseiler by

O thyng ther is, wherby þu maist know thy counseiler, is þat thow shew to hym that þu hast nede to money. And yf he induce þe  
 30 to destrue þyn owne tresour, feynyng hym pouer, and shewith þe that it is expedient to the forto do so, vnderstond þat he putte no prece to the. And yf he induce the to take by ravayne the money of þy subgettes, þat woll be of corrupcion of gouernaill, and þei woll hate the to moche. Truly yf he expone þat þat he hath, and sey that  
 35 þis is gate of grace and of your good lordship, and offer it to þe, he is of right commendable and worth grete þank, for asmoch as he chesith and wolle the confusion of his good for thy glory. Tempt

also thy counseilers in yiftes and rewardis making to tham. Whom of them þat þu seest intendith and setteth his hert ouer moche thervpon, trust that no good is in hym. And which of them brethith in getyng of money and in making of tresours, trust hym not, for his seruice is for gold, and he suffreth his money rynne 5 with wittes of men, and he is as depnesse out of ground, for þere is no terme neither ende in hym, for the more his tresour accreseth, the more is his wittes sette in besynesse of getyng. And such a counseler myght cause the corrupcion of the reame by many waies. And it myght happ that th[e] ardent love that he hath 10 to money myght induce thi deth, oþer his owne, for therto he intendith. And therfor it is convenient that thy counseilers be not ferre fro thy presence. And comaund hym or them, that thei have no treteis neþer havntyng of oþer kynges, or lordes houses, and rede thair pistles or wrytyng, and write to them your privetés 15 and tydynges. And whan þow perceyvest any such, with-out any taryng change hym, and put hym a-way, for thair wittes [fall] full sone and lightly to bihestes and to contrarie willes. And whoso of thy counseilers inducith most of þi subgettis to thy love, he is most profitable to þe, for he loveth best thy lyf and obedience. 20

### Of good maners and vertues of a trew counseler or seruaunt

Se at þe first he have perfeccion of lymmes, and accordyng to þe werkes þat he is chosen for, and wherfor. Secondly, þat he have 24 godnes | of lernyng, and wille to vnderstonde þat þat is told [f. 30<sup>v</sup>] vnto hym. Thirdly, þat he have good mynde of that þat he lerneth or hereth, and for-yete not. Fourthely, þat he be consideryng and perceyvyng whan any difficulté happeth, as Y taught you before. Viftly, that he be courtly, faire spekyng, of swete tonge, and þat it accord with his hert and cogitacion, and that he be sped in elo- 30 quence. Sixtly, þat he be lerned in all sciences, and specially in arsemetrik, that is an art full trew, making naturall demonstrations. Seventhly, that he be trew of his word and lovyng trouth, fleying lesynges, of good making, of good maners and complexion, softe, meke and treateble. Eghtly, þat he be not inordinat crapulous 35 in mete and drynk, þat is to sey, dronklew oþer stotlyssh, declynyng from hasardrye and vnlefull pleyes. Nynghly, that he be of grete hert in a good purpose and love honorificence. Tenghly, that he

sette not his hert to moch vpon gold, siluere, or such oþer acci-  
 dentes of þis world that ben contemptible, and þat is purpose  
 neþer his entencion be not sette but in thynges þat ben con-  
 venient to dignité and gouernaunce, and þat he love bothe his  
 5 negburghes and strangers. Eleventhly is þat he love rightfull men  
 and justice, hatyng iniurye and offence, yevyng to euery man þat  
 þat is his, helpyng oppressed men, and them that have suffred  
 wronge, removyng a-way all iniustice, makyng no difference in  
 persones [and] grees of men, for God created them all egally. Twelffy  
 10 is that he be stronge and perseuerant in purpose in þis, þat hym  
 semeth that he shold do, bolde with-out drede and pusillani-  
 mité. Thirtethly is þat he can all issues of expenses, and þat  
 no profite be hyd fro hym, þat shold bilonge to the reame, and  
 let not þi subgette have no cause to complayne in any thyng, but in  
 15 case suffred wherof profite may folowe. Fourtenthly is þat he be  
 not wordy neyþer to laughteryng, for temperance pleseth moch  
 men, yevyng hym curiously to men benyngly tetryng. Fyftenthly  
 is þat he be of the nombre of þ[em] þat loven not to moch wyne,  
 be his court open to all þat wolle come, and þat he entende to  
 20 espye and inquire tydynges of all þynges comforyng ay the sub-  
 gettes, correctyng þair werkes, comforyng þem in thair aduer-  
 sitees, omwhile deferryng and sufferyng þeir symplicité. |

[f. 31]

## Of condicions of Man

Understande wele, that the most glorious God created never  
 25 creature wiser than man. And He sette neuer in oþer best þat He  
 sette in man, and þu shalt fynde [in] no oþer best consuetude or  
 maner, but þat þu shalt fynde it in m[a]n. For he is as bold as a  
 lyon, ferdfull as an hare, large as a cok, nygardous as a dogge,  
 harde and storne as a crowe, meeke as a turtle, malicious as a  
 30 leonesse, privé and tame as a colver, rogh and gylefull as a fox,  
 symple and meke as a lambe, swyft and light as a do or a pryket,  
 slowe as a bere, precious and dere as an elyfant, vyle and dulle as  
 an asse, rebell and clateryng as a lytell kyng, meke and humble  
 as a powe, wykked as a stork, profitable as a bee, dissolut and  
 35 vagabonde as a boore, wilde as a bulle, dombe as a fyssh, resonable  
 as an aungell, lecherous and malicious as an owle, profitable as a  
 hors, noyous as a movse. And vniuerselly ther is found no best,

9 and] in      18 þem] þat      27 man] men      33-4 rebell . . . powe]  
 see n.      37 movse] v *ins. above*

vegetable, originall (oper mynerall), neþer hevene planet, neþer  
 signe, neþer no beyng of all beynges havyng ony propreté, but þe  
 same propreté is found in man. And therfor is Homo cleped the  
 lytell world.

**To have no trust in þe man that is not of thy law and  
 profession** 5

Never trust hym that beleveth not in thy law. And be ware þat  
 it happe not to the as it happed by 2 men þat weren associed in  
 a journé, of þe which one was a Cristen man, and that other a Jewe.  
 The Cristen man rode vpon a mvle þat he hadde norished to his 10  
 plesure, þat bare his vitails, and oper necessities þat a travelyng  
 man nedeth. The Jewe went a-foote, lakkyng vitails and all oper  
 necessities. Thus sone þey talked, and þe Cristen man asked of þe  
 Jewe what law and feith he had. The Jewe answered, 'I beleve 15  
 that in heven now is God, whom Y worship, and abide to have  
 fro Hym the helth and goodnesse of my soule, and a reward to  
 me and to them that accorden with me in my law, feith and bileve.  
 And it is leefull to me whom Y fynde contrary to my feith and law  
 to shed his blode, by-reve hym of his goodes, of wyf, childre, 19  
 fader and moder. Also Y am acursed yf Y kepe to hym ony | feith, [f. 31<sup>v</sup>]  
 or yeve hym to lyve with, or do mercy to hym, or spare hym.'  
 And consequently he seid to the Cristen man, 'I have shewed to the  
 my law and my feith. Tell me certaynly þerfor of thy feith and of  
 thi lawe.' To whom he aunswered, 'My feith, trust and law ben 25  
 these. At the first I wille good be to my-self and to my childre and  
 their childre childre. I wolle do no wronge neþer harme to no  
 creature of God-is, neþer to none þat kepith my law, other dis-  
 cordeth þerfro. For Y beleve that evenes and mercy is to be  
 obserued vnto euery lyvyng creature, and no wronge plesith to me.  
 Me semeth that yf ought happe to a lyvyng creature, þat þat þyng 30  
 myght aswele happe to me, and that his hevynesse troubleth me.  
 I desire also þat prosperité, helth, lustinesse and felicité happe  
 to all maner of men vniuersely.' Than seid the Jewe, 'What yf  
 offence or wronge wer do to the?' The Cristen man aunswered,  
 'I know wele that God is in heven and He is rightfull God and 35  
 wise, vnto Whom is no thyng hyd, secrete, neither vnknownen, of  
 any thyng that is hid in His creatures, Who also rewardeth good-  
 men for thair goodnesse, and bad and trespassours for þeir

5 þe] *ins. above*

30 a] *followed by space containing erasure*

trespas. Than seid the Jw, 'Why kepest not thy law, and why  
 confermest it not by dedes and werkes?' The Cristen man seid,  
 'What menest?' The Jw seid, 'Lo, Y am one of the children of thy  
 kynd, and þu seest me goyng a-foote bothe wery and hungry,  
 5 and þu art on horsbak, fed and in quyet.' The Cristen man than  
 aunswered, seid, 'It is trouth', and descended fro his mvle, and  
 losed his walet, and ete and dronk to-gedre as moche as suffised,  
 and made the Jw go to the mvle and ryde. And whan he was an  
 horsbak, he smote with the spores and hasted the mvle to rynne,  
 10 and left behynde hym the owner. Than the Cristen man called  
 and cryed, and bad hym to abide for he was wery. The Jw answered,  
 'Wost þu not wele how Y taught the my law? And now Y wolle  
 conferme it!' Than hasted the Jw his mvle and the Cristen man  
 hym, pantyng, brethyng and wery, folowyng, seid, 'O Jw, leve  
 15 me not in this desert, lest þat Y be slayn with leons and dye with  
 bad honger and dolourus thirst! Therfor have mercy vpon me, as  
 [f. 32] Y had vp-on the!' For all that, the Jw wold not loke bakward, | but  
 c[e]ssed [n]euer tille he passed his sight. Whan the Cristen man  
 was despeired of helpe, recorded and mynded on the perfeccion  
 20 of his law and of his feith, and of that þat he had seid to the Jw  
 before, þat is to sey, how þat God is a rightfull juge, and fro Hym  
 is no thyng hid neþer prevé þat is in His creatures, dressyng vp  
 his hede vnto heven, [he] sed, 'My God, þu knowest þat Y have  
 bileved and bileve in The and in Thy lawe. And howe Y have  
 25 seintified Thy comaundement þu hast hedit. Therfor conferme at  
 the Jw my lavde in The.' These wordes seid, þe Jw went not moche  
 ferther, and the Cristen man come and found hym cast downe fro  
 the mvle, and his shynne broken, and his nek wreight. The mvle  
 stode stille a side-half, and the mvle, seyng his owne maister, went  
 30 to hym. The Cristen man toke his mvle, ascended and rode forth,  
 and left the Jw in jupparty of deth. The Jw þan cried, 'Moost leef  
 brother, for Goddes love have mercy vpon me, for Y am brosten  
 and in way of dying. Nede and pité rewe on me, and kepe thy  
 lawe that gaf the victorye, for thou hast ouer-come me.' Than the  
 35 Cristen man blamed hym, seyng, 'Thow badly syndest in me.  
 Thow left me behynde the with-out any compassion oþer mercy.'  
 The Jw seid, 'Blame me never for thyng past, for Y told the  
 before my lawe and feith, wher-in I have be norissed and  
 brought forth, accordyng to my parentil and aldres, þat euer

perseuereden in þat law.' Than had the Cristen man mercy vpon hym, and brought hym ther as it was ordeyned, and put hym in good kepyng. Natheles, sone after he died. Heryng þe kyng of þat citee the werkes how the Cristen man did, dud calle hym to hym, and made hym one of his counseilers, for his meke wordes and goodnesse of his lawe. 5

### How to chese writers to write thy secretis

Thow most chese to write thy secretes men that ben prudent, that ben the st[r]ongist signe and myghtyest argument to shew the quantité of thyn intellect and the sotelté of thy cognycion. For significacion or interpretacion is [þe spirite], word [is þe body, and] scripture is þe clothyng or garment. Therfor it behoveth hym to be a man substanciall, faire chered and wele arraied. So it sitteth þat þu chese thy scribes and writers þat have perfeccion in eloquence ornat and in recordacion sotill, | as he is interpretator of thy wille, and is made privé to thy secretis and hid thynges. Therfor of nede he oweth to be of good feith, of trew cognicion in thy wille, and in all thy vniuersall werkes, and þat he intende þy profite and honour, as it bihoveth. And yf he be not such, he shall do corrupcion. And he most be slyghly and warly, þat no man se his privitytees neþer bokes. And Y graunt þat thow reward his werkis after þe seruice þat he doth to þe, and after þe terme sette of thy wyll, and after his besynesse in thy gouernaunce. Put hym þefore in degree of thy remvneracion, for thy prosperité is his, and his corrupcion is thyne. [f. 32<sup>v</sup>] 10 16 20 25

### Of privé messangers to be chosen, and who

Also vnderstand, that a messenger sheweth the wisdom of him that he cometh fro, and he is eye in that þat he hereth not, and his tonge in his absence. Therfor þu most chese the worthier of them þat wolle happe be in thi presence, seyng honorabil, consideryng trew, and declynyng, or fleyng, all filth or blame. And yf þu fynde any such, calle hym to the, speke with hym, and telle hym thy wille, and þan shalt þu fele yf it be in hym þat þu askest. For peraventure it wille be with hym after none or toward nyght. And yf þu fynde hym so, and not to thy determynacion, than send thy secretary that is trew that wille not adde neþer dymynew in þat þat he is sent with or for, but kepe thy comaundement and intendencyng to that that he hereth and make trew report vpon the answeres to 30 35

hym made. And yf þu maist fynde none such, let hym be trew in beryng and presentyng of thy lettres to hym that they ben dressed to, reportyng and bryngyng ayene an answeere. And yf þu maist know ony of the messangers besy about getyng of money or  
 5 beggyng it þere as he is sent to, se wele to hym, and thynk þat he hedith not thy profite neþer worship. And send neuer no dronk-  
 lew messenger and lover of wyn crapulously in message, for where-  
 euer he come in your bihalf þei wolle cherissh hym, and he may  
 bere no drynk. So shall þei know þat his lord þat sent hym is not  
 10 wise. Also, be ware þat þu send neuer þi priuiest and grettest  
 counsellor in message, and suffre hym neuer be long fro thi sight,  
 for þerof myght grow the destruccion of þi reame. Therfor praise  
 the qualitees of þi messenger[s], and reprove their infortunes,  
 [f. 33] as Y have taught to the | by-fore, by order, how þei shall be  
 15 knownen by trouthe and good feith. Therfor, whan thy messenger  
 is not such, but setteth hym all to yiftes, rewardes and beggyngis,  
 he tresoneth the ther-in, and doth not as he was bid to do, and  
 sent for. And yf he [be] found such, and lacche in his occupacion,  
 I put no mesure, but Y wille þat þu put hym to infliccion and  
 20 affliction.

### To gouerne and to defende thy subgettis, and to make provostes vpon them

Now thow knowest þat þi subgettis ben the hous of the mooney, þat is to sey, thy tresour, with whom is confermed thy reame. I like  
 25 therfor thy subgette to an herber wher-in be dyuers kyndes of trees  
 beryng fruyt, and have hem not as a place bryngyng forth wermode  
 and breres, and bryngeth forth no fruyt. For trees have in them  
 many braunches, bowes and stok erect, þat yeven fruyt and profit-  
 able sede to the multiplicacion of thair kynd, whan þei be wele  
 30 graffed and gouerned. Therfor, after the lytelnesse of thy tresour  
 is þe durabilité and defense of thy reame and thy power. In no  
 wise multiplie not to many dispensatours in makyng of grete  
 expenses, for þere-þurgh shall corrupcion rynne vpon the, for  
 euery of them, þurgh þe holdyng of grete company, trusteth to  
 35 ouercome his peere in corrupcion of his werk. And he wolle  
 streyne hym to shew hym trew to the and profitable, and þat  
 thurgh oppression of þi subgettes, and so wolle do euery of þi  
 counselors, euery of þyne estatis in thair offices mayntenyng and  
 for envie of other. And full many of them wolle sey oo thyng and

do anoper, and corrupt many thurgh thair mayntenaunce and defence.

**The 9 Boke, in disposicion and nombre of astates other knyghtis, in and for gouernaill of the reame, and specially in tyme of bataill**

5

Worthy men in estatis ben the addicion and þe multiplicacion of thy reame in thair degrees. þerfor þe best ordinacion and most necessary is in thair degrees and thair disposicion, and that it be not hid fro thair condicion, or ferre oper neigh of þe nombre of them, and þat is a full necessary ordinacion in propositure and nombre, þat is referred and cleped nombre vnder nombre. Therfor Y sey þat it is necessarie to þe forto have fourefold ordenaunce. For euery place of the erthe is and hath fourefold difference, þat is to sey, before, behynde, right, and left. And so ben þe specis of þe world, þat is to sey, 4: est, | west, north, south. Therfor have þu prouostes or comandours to gouerne euery quarter of thy reame or host. And yf þu wolt have more than 4, lette them be 10 for [10 is] perfit, for in that nombre is 1, 2, 3, 4, and this gadred to-gedre maketh 10. The nombre of 10 is perfeccion of them þat complecten 4 and close it in nombre. Also let euery comandour have 10 vicaries, and euery of them 10 leders, and euery of them 10 denes and euery dene 10 men. The nombre of all wolle be 100,000 fighters. And whan þu nedest the seruice of 10,000 men, sende for a comandour or prouost, and ther wolle folow hym 10 vicaries, and euery vicarie wolle bryng with hym 10 leders, and with euery leder 10 denes, and with euery dene 10 men. The somme of all wolle make 10,000 fighters. And yf thou nede 1,000 fighters, call i vicari with his 10 leders, and euery of them with his 10 denes, and euery dene with 10 men, and þere wolle be in all a 1,000 fighters. And yf þu nede a 100 of fighters, comaunde o leder to bryng with hym 10 denes, and with euery dene 10 fighters, and the nombre of all wolle be an C. And yf þu nede 10 fighters, comaund a dene to brynge them. In this shalt þu be lighted in thy vitail and expenses, and have thy purpose, and lisse þi labour amonge thi astates. For euery of them shall gouerne 10 lower than he in degre, and so shal thy labour be lighted amonge them. But se þat thi prouostes or comandours [be] sure, wise, and disponent. And it is full necessarie

10

14

[f. 33<sup>v</sup>]

20

25

30

35

22 100,000 fighters] C *Millia hominium* added above the line in the scribe's hand  
32 an C] 100 added above in the scribe's hand

to thy estate to have a good scribe or clerk, wise, witty, trew, and  
 consideryng, approved in chualry, þat he see that your astate be  
 not corrupted with money. Enquere also diligently the wille and  
 thoughtis of them, and whan þu perceyvest any suche, remeve  
 5 hym, and gadre the remenaunt, and shew them the cause of his  
 remocion, and how þu haddest purveied for them. It is necessarie  
 therfor that he be treteable, curiall, not dispiser of oone for ferde  
 of a-nother.

**Of a bataillous instrument helpyng the host,  
 and of the fourme þerof**

10 Thow most of nede have with the the instrument þat Themistius  
 [f. 34] made to þe help of thyn host, to distroye the enemyes. | And it  
 is a wonderfull instrument that is dyvyde in many maners. For it  
 may happe þe to visite a provynce or a reame, and þu most sodenly  
 15 gadre thy host in o day, or shortlyer, to-gedre. The sowne of that  
 instrument may be herd wele 50 myle. The which is a brasyn horn,  
 wrought with mervelous operacion, thurgh the sowne of the which  
 the worthy kyng Alexandre, whan he were in nede of destresse or  
 of bataill, sodenly fro 50 myle about in circuyte he wold gadre his  
 20 host. And the horne was gouerned by 50 men, for the mochnes  
 þerof and the inestimable workmanship, and it is full like þat  
 many kyndes of sovnyng metall ronne to-gedres in the makyng  
 therof.

**Of gouernaill and disposicion of bataill, and of the fourme  
 to go to it.**

25 Looke þu haunt not bataill[es] neþer expone þi soule and þe in  
 þem, but vse the counseile[s] of the worthiest of thy court, and  
 occupie the not in goyng to them as scomfited and shamles men  
 vsed forto do. Tempt not, neþer haunt not, bataill in thi persone,  
 30 but hold the worthiest of thy host about the. Occupie not, neither  
 noyse not, about such thynges as presumous bold men vsen for to  
 do in thair goynges to-gedre. For soth it is, þat þere strove neuer  
 kyng with kyng, but naturally þat one ymagineth how he may dis-  
 troye þat other. Therfor vnderstond þat envie is risen of body and  
 35 soule, oþer comyth of 2 repugnant contraries. And the spirit is  
 thair hope and trust of victorye of aþer side, and thair bodies is the

11 Themistius] *four minims between e and first s; possible also to read as*  
 Thenustius 27 counseiles] counseiler

coniunccion of both parties. Therfor whan hoope faileth them they  
 dieth or yeveth vp the bataill, and as long as hoop perseuereth the  
 bataill dureth, for trust þat aither side hath. Therfor sette þi  
 strength and intencion in duryng and perseuerance of thyne, and in  
 stabilnesse and in sustentacion of þam þat beth of thy kynd, and 5  
 despise not þair persones as a dispiser, but here þem speke, bihete  
 þem yiftes and honours, and kepe þi promisses. Also wete wele þat  
 it is not sitting to the to go in thyn host, but cooted oþer haber-  
 iovned, þat is to sey, harneysed, so þat þyne enemye sodenly fall  
 on the, oþer afray in þi men. þerfor be þi mynde and prouidence in 10  
 kepyng of thy self, þat, is | to sey, in armes, wardes [and] espies. [f. 34<sup>v</sup>]  
 And full necessarie it is to have wacche and ward both by nyght  
 and eke day. And make no bulwerkes ne strength of stone ne  
 tymbre but nye to hilles or waters. And see þat þu have a grete  
 market of vitail with the, þeigh þu nede not half so moch. And 15  
 multiplie engynes to cast with, and þynges þat wille make grete  
 noyses and shoutes horrible, for þat wille cause strength and vertue,  
 durabilité and good purpose, of them þat ben with þe, and drede  
 and dyvysion of thyn enemyes: some with cast of dartes, oþer with  
 shot of arrowes and quarell, some in the foward, some in bataill 20  
 in the rereward, and some ordeyned forto rynne. And whan the  
 forward cometh forto fight, sette thaim in fair fourme and ordre,  
 and have towres of tre with men of armes þere-in, with shot fired  
 of arrowes quarell doudaynes. And yf þu se þem fals-herted and  
 faynt, comfort þem and induce them to perseuerance, oþer put 25  
 oþer better in thair places. Also ordeyne thy forward as it is writ  
 before and shall be hereafter. Stablissh at þi right side a kynd of  
 fighters and of smyters and aventurers, on thy left side a kynd  
 of spere men, in the myddes a kynde of shoters, and of casters of  
 wepen, shetyng fire and al-manner of shot, makyng grete noises and 30  
 terrible crying and sovnes, makyng many movynges. And yf þu  
 come to the place þere þat þu shalt with thyne aduersaries fight,  
 and whan þei perceyve þy comyng and ordenaunce, þei wille  
 stand first stille, and sone after cast sette on, than be ware of treson,  
 and specially yf þu se any part of thyn host out of array and vacil- 35  
 lant. Toward þat part dresse þi forward oþer bataill, sobirly,  
 actifly and manly, and euer haunte perseuerance and wisely set-  
 tyng on, for ther-in lyeth the originall of victorye, wherfor it is  
 seid, þat victory may not come, till þat pusillamyté and feyntise

20 foward] omission of r from forward perh. a slip: cf. ll. 21 and 26

of hertis be ouercome with-yn tham-self. And than sette actify on, and multiplie thretynges, and ordeyn men to threaten with terrible noyses and sownes. And þat is of the nombre of ouercomyng and victoryng in the feld. And þer is a sleight and a cautile þat bryngeth  
 5 þe purpose about, to have victorye with, that þu have a determynat  
 [f. 35] place withyn the host stuffed with | vitail to the su[c]course and comfort of all the host. Mvltiplie also bestes beryng wardes and castails of tree to fight vpon, as olyfantes þat ben terrible, and have bestis swyft, as dromedaries, for at grete nede þei wolle help  
 10 as a castell. Yf þu besege any toure or castaill, ordeyne engynes to cast stone with-all, and accordyng to nede multiplie þem. Vse also instrumentes to thrill the wall with, and castyng wepynes. And make stronge shot, and cast in piles venymed as gonne stones. And yf þu maist, come to thair welles or waters and cast þere-in  
 15 poison and venyme, for so shalt þu destroye them. Obserue in all perseuerance, for þat is full comendable, and bryngeth about thy purpose. And folow neuer a man discomfited. And hast neuer in none of þy werkes. And yf it be possible to þe, let all þy werkes be, to be-gile treson and to ouercome þyne enemyes, and þerfor do  
 20 so þat bataill be last of thy werkes. For þe progenys of Jewes and þe peple of Inde have ben ay traitours and begilers, and þat þei hold for no reproof. Persiens or Tires, imperit and dull men, natheles thei ben full hardy and of grete presumpcion. Therfor fight with euery of thes folkes in suche wise as is conuenient to thy  
 25 werk. Make neuer a litell þynge grete, and do not bifore þat þat shold be do behynde. And let þi werkes be after þe promyses, and after the qualitees or disposicion of þe science of astronomye, as Y have taught þe before, whan þu wilt have the suernesse of thy purpos, after þe disposicion of þe bodies above. Se þat Leo be  
 30 ascendent, and se þat þe moone be in a good place of the cercle, and þat he applie of frendlynesse to þe ascendent and to his lord. And put þe lord of thascendent in þe houses of Mars, seying to hym of a tryne aspect. Considre also all þyn operacion, whos nature þu wilt have after þe strength of þe planetes and of thair  
 35 houses, and se þat þei accord in natures, for þat is þe hede of þe werk. Whan þu wilt make a jorney, ordeyne the ascendent and the third hous, oþer þe 9 hous, for þi jorney and for þe lord of tham, the 4 hous for þe cité þat þu ert in or woldest wyn, the 7 hous for  
 [f. 35<sup>v</sup>] the place þat þu woldest go to, the myddell of þe heven, | that

is to sey the 10 hous, for jugement, worship, and profite of thy  
werk, the 4 hous for the ende therof, wheper it shall be good or  
bad. Beware all-waies of the impedimentis of the moone, þat  
she be not eclipsed, neither brent ne trouble with no bad aspect,  
neper in the brent waye, neper in þe 6 hous, neper in the 12 hous. 5  
And yf a planet fortunat be in thascendent, it shewith prosperité,  
good aventure happ, and specialy yf Mercury be without impedi-  
ment in the mydle of the heven, it shewith accomplisshyng and  
perfeccion of the werk, and yf he be in þe 7 hous, fortunéd glad-  
nesse, prosperité, and perfeccion of þi purpose. And yf he be vnder 10  
the erth, in the 4 or 5 hous, and be fortunéd þere, it signifieth  
accomplisshyng of necessaries and prosperité of chaunces. And  
beware all-waies, in the begynnyng of jorneyes, þat þe moone be  
not in a quartile aspect, oþer in opposicion to the sone. And yf the  
lord of the ascendent be infortunat and be in the 7, þat is to sey 15  
opposed to the ascendent, gif vp þi iourney. And yf he be þere  
and fortunat, and specialy whan the lord of þe 7 hous is in the  
ascendent, þu shalt sone sure and sauf retourne home, and thy  
werk shall be accomplisshed. And yf þu wilt goo to bataill, put  
þe hous of the moone in the myddes of the heven, and Mercury 20  
frendly apperyng to þat hous and to the moone. And she fre fro  
all impedimentes, in jorneyes is full profitable.

**3ere begynneth the 10 Boke of Phisonomye, to know  
therby 3e qualitees of men after the outward parties of hym**

Amonge all oþer þyng þu shalt not for-yete þe knowlechyng þat 25  
þi soule may know and vnderstand by a full noble signe whan she is  
with-draw fro carnell desires and concupiscens and is fre fro all  
noyes. And þat division is knowen by þought, sithen forsoth the  
soule of man is superans and lordshippyng vpon þe body and  
preponderant to it, and the firy vertue þat is in the hert endith 30  
not betwix hir and þe animal vertue þat is in þe brayn. þan is the  
intellect, or vnderstondyng, su[b]ly[m]et, declared and aug-  
mented after mesure. Wherfor yf any aske the cause of prophetis,  
þat have be proved in the world of pure intellect and of verray  
vision, with myracles holpen bifore others, of þe premises [þat] 35

21 apperyng] e written over l      23 L (f. 109<sup>v</sup>) resumes with *Physiognomy*,  
immediately after the 8 boke of substans simpull of Speris and of Elementes.  
Phisonomye] Philosophie L      25 þyng] þynges L      30 to] vn to L  
firy] furthur L      32 sublymet] sullynet A fullinet L sublimatur B 164  
35 premises þat] premises A promise þat L

[f. 36] comyth. And þis happeth of the | constellation of the burth,  
 folowyng þe vertue generatif, as þu most aske signes and stappes  
 with fairnesse of nature. That is to sey, the science of phisonomy,  
 the which is a grete science, and by longevité of daies oure ante-  
 5 cessours and aldres have vsed it, and joyed in question þerof and  
 þe beauté of nature. The perfeccion wherof is attribuyd to þe old  
 Philemon, þat was an high doctour and maister of phisonomy.  
 And truly he sought, out of þe fourme and makyng of man, the  
 qualitees and the nature[s] of his soule. And in his story rynneth  
 10 a fair and straunge thyng: ordeyn þe þerfor vpon her, þat þu maist  
 vndrestond. I wolle establissh to þe of þis science of phisonomy  
 certayn rules and constitucions abbreviat and sufficient. Be it to  
 the in grete price, of þe noblesse of thy nature, and þe purité of thi  
 substance. The disciples forsoth of the wise Ypocras peynted his  
 15 fourme in parchemyn and brought it to Philemon seiying, 'Con-  
 sidre this figure and juge vs the qualitees of his complexion.' Who  
 biholdeth the composicion and þe disposicion of þe figure, and  
 comparet parties to parties, seiying, 'This man is lecherous, a bi-  
 giler and loveth venerien actis and deliteth þer-in.' Wherfor þei  
 20 wold have slayn hym, seiying, 'O fole, this is the figure of the most  
 worthi man þat is in the world.' Philemon corrected and pesid  
 hem, seying, 'This is þe figure of þe wise Ypocras. What aske  
 ye of me? Se þat after þis science I have shewed yow as Y felt in  
 hym.' Whan þei come to Ypocras, þei seid and told what þei  
 25 did and aunswered, and Philemon-is judgement. To whom Ypocras  
 seid, 'Certaynly, Philemon told you trouth and left behynd no lettre.  
 Sothly, sithen Y saw and considred þe foule and reprouable dis-  
 posicion, I ordeyned and stablisshed my soule to be kyng vpon  
 my body and withdraw it fro the bad inclinacions, and Y had  
 30 victorie and put resistence ayens my concupiscence.' Therfor þat  
 is þe lavde and wisdom of þe werkes of Ypocras, for philosophie  
 is noþyng els but abstinence and victorie of concupiscence.

### Of blode and colours and of thaire significacions

Ar we procede to jugementes or tokenes, it is to be vnderstand  
 35 þat blode, in þe which Lexus hath stablisshed þe sete of þe soule,

2 aske] take L querere B 164      4 is] ys called L est B 164      6 of]  
 þerof A (and, substant., L)      9 natures] nature A natures L investigabat . . . natu-  
 ras B 165      16 figure] signe L      26 told] sayd L      27-8 disposicion]  
 condicion L      28 ordeyned and stablisshed] ordenat to stabullet L  
 29 the bad] the om. L      35 stablisshed] stabullt L

sothly it is þe chere of þe body. It yeveth augmentacion | and [f. 36<sup>v</sup>]  
 strength and thiknesse of heere, fulsomnesse of witte and vnder-  
 stondyng, and sharpnesse of engyne. It constreyneth, it dulleth,  
 and it lettith. Yf þe blode be thynne and lytell, þe body is siklewe,  
 it deformeth his colours, all corporaltees it thynneth and maketh 5  
 leene, it lessith his mynd. It faouureth his engyne, and yeweth  
 sharpnesse of inwitte, but it yeveth no mobilité neþer swiftnesse to  
 hym. Nathelesse all sensuell membres þat in oure cheres ben con-  
 stitut, o[r] sette b[y], eeres, eyen, and nastrelles, ben significatif  
 of blode. Werfor mediocrité and temperance of body jugen and 10  
 shewen a perfit in-wit, and who-so hath a perfit inwit, he is egall  
 and even in vertue and wisdom, and so is his engyne, after þe  
 maner of temperance of the blood of þe which he toke his begyn-  
 nyng. Therfor vnderstond þat þe matrix and moder is enbrion,  
 as a pot to boyle in mete. The colour redisshe or rede, of the 15  
 blode, of hete it sheweth grete plenté. Paale colour, betwix  
 rede and white, meene and egall it sheweth complexion. Whos  
 cheres sheweth rede and clere, it signifyeth þat he is shamfast.  
 Whos colour is as a flame of fire, he is vnstable and suffreth  
 manyacy. Whitnesse with feblenesse, and yalow in colour, shewen 20  
 dymynucion of decoccion þerof. And yf þis hap in creature, dymy-  
 nucion it sheweth, also lissyng of nature. Fle þerfor fro all men of  
 feble and yalow colour, for he is enclyned to vices and to lechery.  
 More-ouer, whos colour is grene or blak, it semeth þat he is ill  
 thewed. And whan þu seest oft any man beholden the, and whan 25  
 þu biholdest hym, he as a man scomfited or shamled, wexeth  
 rede and sigheth, or teres in his eyen appereth, dought not but  
 þat he loveth and dredeth the. And yf he do oþerwise he is envious,  
 bold vpon the, or despiseth þe. Be ware, and eschew fro, a man  
 infortunat þat failith ony lymme, as þu woldest be ware of thyn 30  
 enemy. Evener and more temperat is þe creature þat is accordyng  
 to meene statute, with blaknesse of eyen and heres, and with  
 gladnesse of chere, whitnesse forsoth medled with rednesse and  
 yalow colour, tempered with perfeccion of body and rectitude of  
 statute, and mediocrité, the hede betwix litell and moch, and seeld 35

3 engyne] yen L acumen ingenii R f. 89<sup>v</sup> 5 corporaltees] corpora-  
 lites L 7 yeveth] 3euyth me L 8 membres] membris L 9 or sette by]  
 so sette ben A so sette byn L 14 moder] þe moder L 15-16 or rede, of  
 the blode] of red of blod L aut rubeus, sanguinis . . . innuit R f. 90 19 as  
 a] lyke L 21 creature] a creatur L 24 ill] euyl L 28 oþerwise]  
 oþer wayes L 35-92/1 seeld spekyng] spekyng sildyn L

spekyng, þat is to sey, with few wordes, but yf nede art it, and þan meenly, and in þe sownyng of his vois sotell and not to grete. And whan nature | declineth to blaknesse and carnosité, [f. 37] þat signifieth good temperance and creacion. Lette þis plese the, 5 have þis with þe, and Y shall [in]terp[ret] and declar to the some thyng by þe maner of separacion, and thou shalt tempere it in rectitude of intellect and of vnderstandyng.

### Of heres and thaire significacions

Understand of heres the most sure signes ben, þat ben with man 10 at his burth. The first forsoth ben the heres of þe browes, and of the eyen. Therfor redissh colour of heeres is signe of dulnesse, and of moch wrath and thretyng. Blak here sheweth rightfulnessse, and love of justice. Who hath the mene betwix these both colours, that is outward cleped bron, þat man loveth pease. Who hath heres 15 blak, foule, wattrissh, or redissh fatty, he hath by disposicion a violent and hasty inwit. Heres vnderblak, thynne, shewen good thewes, so þat þei be not to moch depressed. Heres yelow and whitissh vntechable and wild maners þei shewen. Heres vnder- yelow, thyn and depressed, it sheweth good maners. Heres nessh, 20 and passyng thynne and rede, þurgh lakkyng of blode, it sheweth womans witte. And the thynner þe heeres ben, the more gilefull, sharp, ferefull, and of wynnyng covetous, it sheweth. Heres rough and thynne, ferdfull and cold it sheweth the man to be. Playn heres ben tokenes of fere. Heres forsoth playn and soft, ben sig- 25 nificacion of mekenes and of troublenesse of þe brayn. Crispe heres omwhile manhode, omwhile fayntise it signifieth. Heres depressed, to moch s[k]ewyng to þe forhede, it sheweth hym to be declyned to a ferse or bestiall witte. Heres in þe myddell of þe forhede sette, lokyng to þe brayn-ward, it sheweth a sligh, wise 30 man. Heres depressed, and wast about the temples and about þe eeres, a curious and a lykerous man it sheweth. Heres by þe temples thynne and fewe, a colde man with-out strength it sheweth. And whan the last lyne of the heres sheweth to the forhede, it sheweth

5 interpret] deterpair A deterpar L et ego interpretor R f. 90<sup>v</sup> 12 moch]  
to much L here] eres L 14 cleped] þat ys L Who] who so L 16 hasty]  
a hasty L 17 to moch] much L 22 covetous] couetys L *lucri cupidum*  
R f. 91 26 fayntise] fayntnesse L 27 skewyng] shewyng A *squewyng*  
L *iminentes fronti* R f. 91 28 a ferse or] fers & a L 30 temples]  
templers A tempull L 33 sheweth to the forhede] *so., substant., L front:*  
iminet R f. 91

þe man to be both lyfly and myserious, and whan it is gone fro the  
 forhede, hit sheweth hym to be sleighfull and of small intellect.  
 Whan þe last lyne of þe heres is long aboute fro the skull, it  
 sheweth hym to be slow, ferdfull, | femynyn and wrathfull. [Whan] [f. 37<sup>v</sup>]  
 the last lyne of the heres of the bakhalf shadoweth, and is dyvided 5  
 by and þurgh the skull, and endeth above in the hight, a slygh  
 man with dull and luxurious inwit it sheweth. Multitude of heres  
 vpon the both armes foun[e]dnesse, madnesse, it signifieth. And yf  
 multitude of heres be vpon the nek and sholdres, wodnesse and  
 obstinacie it signifieth. Multitude of heres in the brest and wombe 10  
 sheweth horribilité and singularité of nature, and lyssyng of  
 lernyng, and founded love, and smalnesse of sapience. In the  
 wombe namly plenté of heres founde, it sheweth lechory. Vpon  
 the ribbes yf moch here appere it sheweth boldnesse. Here in all  
 places of the body founde, it shewith drede and fere. The skyn 15  
 of the hede yf it be ryveled or slak, a resolved inwitte femynyn  
 and nesh it sheweth. And yf þei be hard depressed or a-streigned,  
 a man askyng lavde and nygh-by a foole it shewith hym to be.

### Of the hede and of his significacions

The hede omwhile, whan it is more þan oþers ben somewhat, it 20  
 sheweth and maketh more vertues and magnificence. A grete hede  
 with an high forhede and slow in chere, a meke man and omwhile  
 a man vntaught and a stronge man, it declareth. A to grete hede  
 sheweth a man to be dull, a foole and vntaught oþer vntechable.  
 A short hede is a signe of no wit neþer wisdom, a longe hede 25  
 sheweth the same to be imprudent, a pryk hede is a signe of sole-  
 ynesse. A moderat hede sheweth engyne, sapience, and thryvyng  
 inwit, omwhile ferdfull men and liberall. The hede swollen in the  
 for-part a soleyn man it sheweth. The hede in the forpart holow, to  
 gilis and anger he is enclined. An hede like a flogge [both] before and 30

1 myserious] miserous L                      5 shadoweth] schewt L    dyvided] de-  
 lueryt L desinit F 25.                      6 hight] hed L: see n.    slygh] sleȝth L  
 8 foundednesse] founodnesse, *but vowel of -od may be badly formed* e A om. L  
 9 sholdres] þe schulders L                      16 be ryveled or slak] reuylit or slakith L  
 18 nygh-by] nyȝth to L                      20 The hede . . . is] When þe hed omquile ys L  
 22 an high] a heȝth L                      25-6 a longe . . . imprudent] a hede prolix is a signe  
 of imprudencie, a longe hed sheweth the same to be imprudent A (*and, subst.*  
 L, *but with the opening words I have hed prolix*)                      30 anger] angry A  
 anger L (*angery conceivably the intended form?*)                      30-94/1 both before . . .  
 sheweth] a redy man before and be-hynde it sheweth A a redy man bope by-  
 hynde and by-for it scheweth L

be-hynde, a redy man it sheweth. An hede streight and in the myddes light and þerby playn, omwhile more ouer myddell image, he is myghty in wittes, and it declareth his magna[n]y[m]yté.

### Of the forhede and of his significacions

5 A streight and narrow forhede, vntaught, vnclene and a devovrer  
 [f. 38] it signifieth. Who-so hath a litell forhede, he | is a foole. A sp[a]ciouse  
 forhede sheweth slow engyne. A large forhede signifieþ slouth.  
 A l[on]ge forhede sheweth a man taught, and to preuaile in wittes.  
 An humyl forhede is not manly. A croked forhede rounde and high  
 10 is a signe of dulnesse. A square forhede of moderat mochnes ac-  
 cordyng to the body and cheris, of grete vertue, wisdomes and  
 magna[n]y[m]yté is a token. A forhede contynuell and playn, it  
 sheweth a man þat gretly chalangeth honour above his deservyng.  
 Whos forhede is playn with-out ryveles or lynes, he is a stryver or  
 15 a mover of debate. A forhede [meu]yng neygh the hede, it sheweth  
 a man to be soleyn. Whos forhede in the mydell is gadered to-geder,  
 or streight in the mydell, he is wrathfull. Whos forhede is to full of  
 ryveles vpon the brow, retract or with-draw, and specially who hath  
 them so at þe ende of the nose, ben grete thynkers. Who hath slak or  
 20 diffuse skynne of his forhede, þei speken as laughters or flaterers  
 and þei be in maner noious. Who hath a rogh forhede wyly they ben.

### Of eyen lyddes and thaire significacions

Who in his eyen liddes hath moch heere, thair significacion [is]  
 to be full of cogitacions and of moch hevynesse and his [speche] is  
 25 foule and grose. The eye liddes that hath moch heres signifieth hym  
 to be vnapt to speke. And whan the eye liddes streynen to þe  
 temples than is he envious. And who hath the eye liddes longe, he is  
 provd and shamles. Whan the eye liddes be long and prolix, bad  
 and dull inwit it sheweth. The eye liddes whan they comen to-  
 30 gedre, a full sorowfull man and litell witte it sheweth. Croked eye  
 liddes and litell, angustious mynde it sheweth. The eye liddes þat

|                 |                              |                               |
|-----------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 2 omwhile more] | oon while and L              | 3 it declareth his magna-     |
| nymyté]         | it declareth his magnamynyte | A he declareth magnanimité L  |
| 5 narrow]       | a narrow L vnclene and a]    | vnclenid and L 6 spaciose]    |
| speciouse A     | (and, substant., L)          | 8 longe]                      |
| and] om. L      | 12 magnanymyté]              | magnamynyte A magnamite L     |
| 15 meuyng]      | supplied from L shewyng A:   | see n. the hede]              |
| 17 to full]     | full L 20 laughters]         | lawthres L 23 thair . . . is] |
| significacion A | (and, substant., L)          | 26 streynen]                  |
| lytyl L         |                              | strevyn L 30 litell]          |
|                 |                              | lytyl L                       |

croken down to þe eyen signifiē vpon envie. Whos eye liddes ben  
 thynne and comensured in length and shortnesse, and ben grete,  
 it is a signe þat is of light impression forto vnderstand. The heres  
 of þe liddes whan þei be fract to þe forhede-ward, vpon hard foly  
 and wrath it signifieth. Whos eye liddes descendeth toward þe 5  
 nastrell and þat oþer side is reised vp toward þe tymples, he is  
 vnclene, a foole, | shamles, insaciabie, dull, for he is condicioned [f. 38<sup>v</sup>]  
 like a hogge. The lidde, and þat þat sheweth, and þat þat lieth  
 vndre the eye, more swollen þan full aboue, sheweth vpon þe  
 slomeryssh man and a violent. 10

### Of eyen, aplis therof, brewys, and vp-on thaire significacions

The disputacion of eyen now is to swe, wher-in all the some of  
 phisonomye is constitut. For of oþer parties yf þe signes of the  
 eyen conferme them, þei ben þe more stedfast and certayn. Of þe 15  
 signes and tokens of þe eyen is gretly affermed in the sentence of  
 phisonomy, and here is all auctorité constitut. Sothly what we sey  
 now, and what we sey here-after, in jugementis of þe eyen, so þere  
 be no repugnance neþer ambiguité þurgh þeir sentences, it is þe  
 more ratified. Whos eyen be grete he is slowe, shamfast, envious, 20  
 inobedient, and namly yf þei be palissh. Whos eyen be litell, he is  
 bad or a foole. Yf one eye be more þan þe toþer, he is a mever of  
 malice and of foly. Whos eyen ben meene, declynyng to hevenly  
 colour, oþer to blaknesse, he is penetrable of intellect, curious and  
 trew. Forsoth eyen þat ben meene betwix blak and gray ben right 25  
 good, so þat þei be not radious, neþer þat white ne[þer] citrine  
 appere not in þam. These eyen shewen good nature. Tho eyen ar  
 worst þat haue about þem rede wemmes as blode, oþer white, oþer  
 blak, for þat signifieth þat he is a begiler, and worst of any, and  
 most reprouable. Whos loke is like to a womans loke, he is lecherous. 30  
 Who hath eyen like a cat oþer a ratte, it is a signe of wodenesse and  
 braynlesse. Who hath eyen like to an asse, he is dull and of hard  
 nature. Who hath eyen like to a gote or kid he is a foole.

4 fract] fractyd L    13 is] hit ys L    14 parties] partes L    19 neþer]  
 and L    20 Whos eyen . . . slowe] foll. by Who hath grete eyen he is slowe  
 A    21 inobedient] Inobediens L    22 þe toþer] þe oþer L    23 de-  
 clynyng] and declynyng L    26 neþer<sup>2</sup>] ne *ins. above* A in þe L  
 28 wemmes] wemense L    32 an asse] a nasse L    33 kid] a kyd L

### Of eyen lokyng vp and downe depressed

Eyen lokyng vp, yf þei be rede and grete, þei signifiē vpon a full bad man, dull, a foole, and dronk-lewe. Eyen tordē vp-ward  
 4 sheweth a maner of madnesse and a devovrer, and a man yove to  
 [f. 39] vices and venery. And yf any quakyng | be in them, tho vices woll  
 be stronger. And yf þei be pale, it sheweth vn-pacient and men-  
 sleers. Yf þei [ben] redissh and grete, þei ben violent; in women,  
 furious and vntemperat of þair tonges. Truly grete vnholsomnesse  
 and wodnesse in such maner is in such eyen. Eyen [þat] tourne  
 10 downward as þei were westerynges or goyng to glade, it sheweth  
 vn-meke and vn-plesyng folkes. And yf þei weren turned vp-ward  
 in any such spece, and yf quakyng be with-all, and þe eye liddes  
 ben vnderryveled, and þe breth be cold and thik, of þat it is pro-  
 nounced þat he hath epilency. Whan þe eyen ben sette in length  
 15 of þe body, þat sheweth hym to be sligh and a begyler. Whos  
 eyen ben extense with extencion of his chere, he is malicious and  
 wiked. Litell eyen tornyng to þe right side sheweth foly, and yf  
 þei declyne to þe left side, it sheweth hym to be yove with lust and  
 lykyng. Whan þe eyen ben litell and comen to-gedres by þe nose,  
 20 it is a signe of lechory, and þe more yf they be moist, and yf þe  
 browes joyne to-gedres. Also it sheweth hym to be venereus-kynd  
 and lovyng. And yf þe eyen be drye, þat sheweth inprudencie and  
 wikkednesse, and yf þei shake, they ben wikked, vnworthy and  
 bolde.

### 25 Of eyen depe and holowe

Eyen therfor full holow generaly as by rule have þe worst sig-  
 nificacion. Sothly yf þe eyen be vnder-meued with water, þe eye  
 half full is moved, and þei ben grete and none oþer bad signe be  
 had, þei be not to be refused. Vnderstand þat holow eyen is a signe  
 30 of badnesse. Grete eyen and holow is a signe of envye and of de-  
 ceit, and yf þei be dry, þei shew vntrouth, treson or sacrilegie to be  
 in hym. And whan þei ben sterne and holow, it sheweth wodnesse.  
 Also yf þei be holow and wepyng, of sorow and of malignité þei

4 yove] ʒevyn L                      9 in such<sup>1</sup> . . . eyen] so, substant., L: perhaps  
 for is in such maner eyen      Eyen þat tourne] Eyen tourne A Eeyn tran L  
 10 westerynges or] westeryng and L      12 þe eye liddes] all þe yen liddes L  
 14 epilency] epilence L                      14-15 in length of] ouer length oon L  
 16 malicious] malicoliu L                      16 malicious R f. 94                      18 yove] thewe (for  
 thewed?) L deditum R f. 94                      19 to-gedres] to-gedur L                      22 inpru-  
 dencie] inprudence L                      29 holow eyen is] holow yen byn L

ben signes. Eyen þat in thair derknesse ben moist, þei ben fooles. Eyen full holow of þe meene magnitude, drye and sterne, yf þe liddes aboue be brode and emynent, and palenesse is about the eye, it sheweth hym to be imprudent, wikked, vncertayn, and neuer at rest. Whos eyen also be sette in depnesse, he is slightfull 5 and a begiler, and yf þei be litell and holow, it sheweth | vp-on [f. 39<sup>v</sup>] sleight and bolnyng out.

### Of eyen sette high and bolnyng out

High eyen and elate, þei ben bad in signes, and specially yf swellyng be about them, þat sheweth wodnesse. Where þe goyng 10 about þe eye is holow as a dych, þat sheweth a gilefull mynd and a thretenyng. Bolnyng eyen and sanguinolent, a man [dronkelewe] it sheweth. Yalow in colour sheweth an vnrightfull man and a dull, so þat þe liddes be charged or growed with any thyng. Yf they bolne and be drye, it is a goode hope of good eyen, and yf þei 15 be fair and shewyng grete, moist and clere, it is a signe of a rightfull man and of a lerner and of a prudent. Such eyen me troweth that the sacred philosophers had, as Apollophicius þe prudent clerk seith. Eyen moch bolnyng, rede and smale, it sheweth an vnhelthfull mynde and a tonge bridilles and full vnstable of his 20 body. Whose eyen outward shynen, he is shameles, a clatterer and a foole. If þe eyen be lytell, and bolnyng outward as þe eyen of a [crevise], it sheweth folynesse and dulnesse, and a man folowyng cupidité. Eyen whirlyng about sheweth impacientis without pité, to women and belly plesaunce and lustis all yoven. Ther ben eyen 25 closed about with a yalownesse, and but if þu see þe better signe with-in, take þem of þe worst part, for þei ben bolde and vnhappy.

### Of eyen moche shakyng

A man havyng eyen moch tremelyng, he is bad. Who hath gret eyen and quaueryng, he is slow and wandryng, and lovyng women. 30 Whos eyen ben small and tremlyng and varyng, he loveth gretly women. Qvaueryng eyen more blak þan yelow, þei ben full wroth-

3 palenesse] palynes L 5 slightfull] slowthfull L callidus  
R f. 94<sup>v</sup> 10 þat sheweth] hit schewith þan L 11 dych, þat] dysch hit L  
12 dronkelewe] word omitted with blank space left A word omitted without blank  
space L temulentum S 49, R f. 95 16 fair and shewyng] swellyng L  
is a signe of] signifeth L 17 me troweth] Y trow L 18 had] hase L  
Apollophicius] pollophicius L 23 crevise] word omitted, with blank space left  
A word omitted with no blank left L ut oculi cancri S 165 ut oculi canistri R  
f. 95. see n: 31 tremlyng] tremulyng L

full. Eyen quakyng, shynyng and lepyng, þat sheweth giles and deceytes, and yf þei be grete, foly and wodnesse. Eyen of moderat magnytude and clere sheweth goodnesse and grete doying, and of grete þoughtis perfeccion, natheles omwhile wrathfull, vinolent, and covetyng glory aboue oþer men. Some seith þat kyng Alexander had such eyen. Oþers seyn nay, but þat he had an eye parted with rede and grey.

### Of derke eyen

9 Eyen þat ben derk ben noyfull, and moch þe more yf þei be dry. |  
 [f. 40] But no force wheþer þei be grete or smale, but þat euer þe smaller sheweth þe more wikkednesse. Derk eyen, holow, of temperat mochnesse, so þat þei be stabill, shew a techer, and to teche and lerne covetous, ripe, dredfull, and nygardous y-now, and full chast. Eyen webbed or perled, þei ben lerned with bad craftes, þei  
 15 ben vntrew and intemperat. Wherfor me shall vnderstond þat þeir contraries is best, þat is to sey, bright and clere, if þere happe none oþer impediment. Such eyen seith Palamon Andor þat þe Emperour Adrian had, humble, egre, grete of light, and full. Sothly the sight is good of bron eyen.

20

### Of bright eyen

Coruscant eyen, yf þei be yelow and sanguinolent, þei shewen foolehardynesse and nygh-by wode. Croked eyen, suspeccion sheweth. Eyen glysteryng as yse, and shynyng, sheweth a gilefull man, bolde, playn, a waker, a gatter of þynges by malice. Eyen þat  
 25 as dropis of shynyng liquour relusent, blissed and soft maners and kyndly it sheweth. Blak eyen coruscant sheweth a dull and ferdfull man. And whan þei ben medled with laughteryng, it is an high þyng of imprudence and malice.

### Of eyen sharply lokyng

30 Eyen sharply beholdyng, the Greke seith þat he is grevous. But whan þei be moist it sheweth hardynesse, shame, and besy in his doying; redy and not noyous it is a token. Sothly who loketh sharp

1 quakyng] wakefull L trementes R f. 95<sup>v</sup>

L violentum R f. 95<sup>v</sup> vinolentum S 167

13 lerne] to lurne L 14 webbed] wewyd L

A om. L 32 loketh] lokes L

4 vinolent] and violent

5 some seith] men saying L

17 Andor] andor (or audor)

in the eye, be litil, dry and holow, ben olde, envious, [hardely and] prively noying, moch þe surer yf þe eye be light. It yeveth also by such eyen, the forhede to be gouerned with þe brewes, and to be exasperat by þe eye liddes. This is a circumstaunce of strength, of boldnesse and of hardynesse, and to be as a juge conseilles and 5 moch noying it signifieth. The eyen, the forhede, the browes, and þe liddes in rest, and tranquill and light, the sight with-yn sharp and gurchyngly lokyng, þat sheweth cruelté and grete ill wille and deceit to be juged þerby.

### Of laughteryng eyen

10

With laughter delitfull eyen medled þei ben not laudable. For whan þei ben dry and vnder-laughteryn þei ben juges of malice. But holow eyen, whan þei laughteren, as to thretynges they ben sette, and moch þe more yf þe liddes of þe eyen twynkell | and the lippes [f. 40<sup>v</sup>] move. For such laughters, or ill thoughtes or bad conceit, other 15 sorow, it signifieth. And also with þese signes the browes amonge knydden to-geder, omwhile a-large and a-monge the eye twynkill, þei bewreyen ill and wikked þoughtis to be with-in. And yf the eye[n openen out] with laughter and knetten togedre, þat declareth joye after a wikkednesse done. Þerfor the more the eyen 20 laugh and be drye, þat sheweth the laughter to be more perillous. And yf þei laugh feyntly, it sheweth þe man innocent in inwit, dull with-out effect or prudence oþer chastité. Whan þe eyen vnder-laughen softly and moistly, with all þe chere [in] [o]p[e]n oþer absolute gladnesse, and þe browes, þe forhede, the liddes, soberly 25 or slakly in oo state of þe eyen, engyne, gretedoyng, rightfull, meke, religeous, kynde, wise and wele taught it sheweth hym þat doth so. Whan a man, as a child doth, loketh streightly with face and eyen and maketh chere of laughteryng, it sheweth gladnesse, and he shall [haue] his daily foode while he lyveth. 30

1-2 olde . . . noying] olde, envious, *prively* noying A old and envious, hardely and *prively* noying L saevos, insidiosos atque ex occulto nocentes S 53: *see n.*

4 exasperat . . . liddes] *experte with þe ye by þe ye lyddes L*

praestat . . . supercilia exasperari S 53 5 conseilles] *consillees of L*

7 liddes] ee lyddes L light] lightes A (*and, substant., L*): *perh. the intended form*

8 gurchyngly] gruchyngly L 12 vnder-laughteryn] vnderlaw-teryng L 15 conceit] *conseytes L*

18 þoughtis] þoughteis A; thowztes L 19 eyen openen out] eye followed by blank space A ee with lawztur L propateant S 54 pateant R f. 96<sup>v</sup>

22 in inwit] in witt L 24-5 in open oþer absolute gladnesse] vpon oþer absolute gladnesse A þer apon absolute gladnesse L ubi totius vultus aperta atque absoluta laetitia fuerit S 55 cum tocius uultus apta atque absoluta leticia R f. 97

30 haue] *supplied from L, om. A*

## Of hevy eyen

Hevy eyen sheweth alwey feere and feyntyse, and yf þei be moist, in studie of grete artis or craftis þei be sette. And yf the lyddes ben slak and þe forhede brode, with tranquyllité convenient,  
 5 and þe browes ben laudable, þat sheweth benigne engyne, trew, and of grete þoughtis. And yf þei be hevy and dry and sharp in lokyng, and þe browes vndre streight, noiyng-to-a-theef þei weren eyen. And yf oft close and shit, bad maners, thretynges and noyous it sheweth. The contrarie shewith a man to be occupied with good  
 10 art and science. And whan þei ben not moist but quaueryng, and with pallour medled, þat sheweth appoplexie oper suerly wodnesse, neigh to whom such state abideth. And his brewes above-maners knydden, þei ben smytte with vnhelth and wodnesse. Eyen þat oft ben flowissh, þat sheweth grete þought. Grey, whaper it be good  
 15 or bad, draw it out of þe qualitees before. It is open þat grete, profunde and nesh eyen ben best of thought and of contenance. And in þat other side, dry, derk, smale and holow, direct and hard eyen, ben significatifes of bad cogitacions.

## Of eyen shewyng and open

20 Open eyen sheweth a man vayne and astonyed. Staryng eyen, |  
 [f. 41] shynyng and lightly intenyng, as tham þat be contumacied and askyng grace it sheweth. Eyen þat oft closeth and shitteth, it declareth a man to be feynt and ferdfull. And yf with that þei ben dry, he thynketh gile and to privé manaces he [in]tendith. And yf  
 25 þei be peruerse or pale, foly it sheweth. Also who terribly putteth his sight, he is vexed with ill thoughtis. Yf the state of his eyen have any moistor, and meke and soft, tho ben studiant, sobre and lovers. And yf immobill, pale or rede, with drynesse ben the eyen, tho ben signes of wrath, wodnesse and of dyuersité. And yf with  
 30 tho signes they rollen about as a-writh, it sheweth a full grete wodnesse to be appropred to hym. Also who-so-euer lightly moveth his browes and knytteth them vnder dyuers movyng of þe apple of the eye, and closeth lightly his eye lid, it is a signe of feyntise. Who also that one of his browes lightly depresseth and  
 35 lightly reuokith, and dressith tham, desiryng fairenesse therby,

3 þei] that L

R f. 98<sup>v</sup>: see n.

7 noiyng-to-a-theef] A and, subst., L feri S 56 &amp; fieri

11 appoplexie] appexen L

24 manaces he intendith]

manaces he attendith A maners he yntendyth L ex occulto insidias tendere

declarant R f. 99

28 or rede] and red L uel R f. 99

29 tho] that L



loth to begynne any thyng and so to leve it, wherthurgh it is open knowen, þat no mevyng resonable is attemperance and best maners apropred.

### Of eyen glavk or whitissh

5 There ben many maners and spices of glauk eyen. For some ben tany, gallish grey, and of dyuers colours and dry. Forsoth drynesse shewith bestiall maners. Tany moist ben better þan drye eyen. Glavk and white, a faynt and fleyng man it shewith. Litell glavk  
 10 eyen, it shewith a man to be with-out shame and without feith and justice. Grey eyen havyng a litel of citryne colour, as a safred cercle goyng about it, shewith tham þat hath worst maners. Therfor above all other, the best kynd of eyen ben the glavk spice, whan they ben somewhat moist, tranquill, grete and bright. Vnderstonde wele that in that spice is hardynesse and engyne. Ther ben oþer  
 15 grey, half glauk. But first of glauk in the which is variaunce, talk we, as litell dropis in the applis is seyn, as it were a corne of myle, some rede, some blak goyng about it. It shewith a troublous in-wit, envious and feynt. Also whan they ben glavk and grey, þat shewith madnesse. Therfor ther ben blak [dropes] in the eyen,  
 20 as cornes of myle vnder lightyng in-signed, the which litell dropes have many colours, for they ben pale tany, or rede as sparkles of fire, and of colour sanguyne, blak, or white, and euery of the kyndes of these colours after thair clernesse, or more or lesse. Ther is another maner of variaunce, of the coloure of the cercle that circuyth the appill. And tho cercles ben variantly ordeyned. For  
 25 [f. 42] omwhile | the vtter cercle is blak, and that with rede, and omwhile whitter. Where the dropes ben rede (not expresse rede, but redissh) that shewith a gentill inwit, a rightful, worthy and engenyous. Where the dropes ben right rede, or quadrat, and other lighteth  
 30 as fire, and with-yn other dropes full pale medled, and other glauk, the cercle with-out the applis gone about sanguynolent or tany, and the eye be moch and clere, and the appill moveth as angry and his browes also, in such men is an inwit passyng the wildnesse of bestis. For what-euer wikkednesse, such an eye he purposeth  
 35 to do it. Therfor the more of rede dropis be there, the more it shewith hym to be wrathfull and avovtrer. The more and the

21 sparkles] sperkes L      25 tho] þes L      29 or quadrat] and quadrant  
 L quadrate R f. 101      31 gone] go L      32 eye be] eye ben A yen ben L  
 magnitudo sit oculo R f. 101      moveth] mouyng L

derker that the eye be, the more the vices ben alleviat. Dropes of blode-r[e]de or pale, in blak applis, other beth medled to-gedre, it shewith il doers and v[e]naries. But if it be paled and derk, in wikkednesse and deceit he gretly studieth. And they be sanguynos, it shewith manhode. The high o[b]seruacion herof is this, the more 5 surer and the gretter and the clerer the colours be of the droppis, it shewith the vices to be gretter. The lift cercle, yf it be rede in moist eyen, and none other sharpnesse come bitwene, it shewith grete wit and wisdom, a rightfull and an engyneous man. Yf that cercle be blak, it signifieth a begiler, a thief, and a wrongfull man, 10 sette all in getyng of money, and foule to medle with women. Ther ben also eyen variant as Iris the rayn bow, and yf that happe in dry eyen it shewith wodnesse, also yf thei be not ferre fro insanie. More-ouer it yeveth them magnificence and wisdom and vertue. Natheles, omwhile it shewith vpon full angry, mynles-manered 15 men. Whan truly the eyen ben with-out variaunce, good and certayn state it shewith. Eyen as rede as fire, it shewith a bad man and an obstinat. And yf eyen be rede, it shewith strength, hardynesse and myght to the haver. Grey eyen with yelownesse raiyng as a grene stone, that shewith a bad man. Who hath grey and grene 20 eyen, he is ill fortunéd and a thief, wherfor all men havyng such wemmes in thair eyen, as rede as blode, or white, of all men ben worst and most begilers. |

### Of the applis of eyen

[f. 42<sup>v</sup>]

The applis liyng streight shewith vanyté. Short applis wikkednesse detectith. With these 2 signes bestis ben reproved. For where 25 in bestis is a moderat orbe of the applis, stronge bestis it shewith. Serpentis, apis and foxes have litell applis. And whan o appill is more than that other, it is wikked and shewith wikkednesse. Whos applis done as a wheel honged about, and that vniformely, witte 30 wele that they shall be in hold with wikked hondes. Sothly, whos applis now wrappen and rynneth, now theder and theder, and now interestith, that shewith the badnesse that he ymagyneth not to

2 blode-rede] blode brode A brod bred L; Guttule sanguinolente vel pallide R f. 101: cf. 95/28 and l. 22 below 3 venaries] vernaries A veneris L  
 5 obseruacion] conseruacion A (and, substant., L). herof] per for L  
 9-10 yf . . . blak] si niger (var. lect. Sinister) S 44 10 blak] darke L  
 11 medle] bemedilt L 12 Iris] is L 13 thei . . . ferre] hyt be nott sayd L  
 17 shewith. Eyen] scheweth vpon. Full angry ien L Oculi qui in rubore igni assimilantur homo pessimus est R f. 101<sup>v</sup> 28 o appill] þe oon appull L  
 29 that other] þe oþer L 32 applis now] een L 33 that<sup>1</sup>] it L

be brought a-bout, but he þynkith how he may it do. And yf from these applis a derknesse as a clovde circuyteth the liddes, that shewith a man to be a-fire and meved to do an angerious dede. The applis lenying a-side or doun, the state of the eyen in the same  
 5 wise, it shewith an vnkynd man. Whan glauk and grey variant be the applis, it shewith wodnesse. Whan the applis is blak and hath citryneté, and shewith as it were gylded, that signifyeth vpon a bad man, a man-sleer, and vpon a sheder of blode. If the applil be blak, it shewith a slow and a dull man. Whos applis is moche  
 10 departed with blaknesse, he is feynt. The applis in the brynk of whos circuyté shewith apperances, that signifyeth an envious, janglyng, ferdfull, and bad man. Wemmys about the applis in the eye apperyng, it shewith an il man, and worst yf the eye be grey. Who hath his appil shewyng, as it were with-out þe eye, and so  
 15 doth the substance of all the eye [pass] in bolnyng, he is mad it signifyeth.

### Of the browes of the eyen

The browes that full oft and contynuelly closeth and openyth, so the eyen ben smale and litell, he is feynt and full bad, suffryng  
 20 a siknesse. With whom the browes and the eyen y-like swyft moveth, they ben hardy and sure. Who also vncertainly moveth thaire browes, and joyneth tham, vnder dyverse movynges of the  
 [f. 43] applis, and the lyddes nesshly closeth, þei ben feynt. | Who so euer depresseth one of his browes lightly, and nesshly reuokith it  
 25 and dressith his sight on a thyng, tho delyten in faire thynges, and ben entriked with lechory and with avovtry. Amonge also the ouerbrowe is lad to the myddes, and moveth theder and theder, and the eye lithe to an angle, and meveth his browes vncertainly:  
 30 the same also is a signe of lechours and of avovtrers. The heeris of the browis, whan they ben blak and thykke, it shewith a goode and a stronge inwitte. Fewe, thynne and redish, siknesse of inwit it shewith, and hastyng to age, but thy heres abiden not longe. Whan the heres of the browes croken downe-ward, and in oone naturally worchen, that shewith a lyer, a sligh man and a foole.

3 angerious] ennoryous (for ennioryous?) L      6 is] byn L      14 his] þe L  
 þe L      þe] *ins. above* A      15 doth . . . bolnyng] qui autem pupillam  
 foris prominentem cum [v.l. cuius] totius oculi substantiae latitudine habet, est  
 amens S 166      28 lithe to an angle] lyke an egill L      his] the L  
 33 croken] þem crokyn L

## Of significacions of the noose and of the nostrelles

Whos nastrels ben grete and grosse, he is a man of full litell sapience. The more the nastrell be, the better is the signe. For litell nastrell is assigned to old men and engyneous men, to thefis and scomfited men. Who so hath a longe noose strecchyng nygh 5 to his mouthe, he is bothe worthy and hardy. And suche a noose is yoven to hasty men. The extremyté of whose nastrelles ben longe, he is sutill, hasty, light and founed. Whos noose is brode and in the myddell declynyng to the height, he hath many wordes and is a lyer. Whos nastrels ben brode, he is lecherous. Whos noose 10 is thynne and sotill, his owener is full angry. The extremytees of whos nastrels is thynne and sotill, he is a man that loveth debatis. The endes of whos nastrelles ben sharpe, that shewith a man lightly moved to wrathe. Fat nostrelles shewith an envious man. Croked nostrelles is yoven to grete herted men, and to meeker 15 than to lecherous. Perverse nostrelles shewith peruerse mynde. Direct nostrelles shewith vntemperance of tonge. Open nostrels of fredome and of strength is a signe. And whan they ben narrow and rounde and closed, of foly is a token. Nastrill hole [thikke and playne] and round shewith a stronge man and grete herted. Who 20 have the nostrill of grevous and of harde oppenyng, he is angry. And in like wise, who | so hath them full open he is wrothfull also. [f. 43<sup>v</sup>] The part of the nastrell that is by the forhede, yf it honestly joyne to the forhede, it disposith a man to be manly and prudent. And yf that part be discrepant, it shewith fooly and a faynt inwitte, and it is 25 a signe femynyne. His nose is most egall that is meene of lengthe and of brede to his extremyté and that his hooles be not full moche.

## Of significacion of the movthe, lippes, and of teth

Who so hath a grete mouth he is glotenous and bold. A litell mouthe is womannyssh, and his cheres and inwit accordeth with 30 them. Who so hath a wyde mouth, he is batellous and hardy. The best state of mouth is not to be humyll, for the mekenesse therof

|                                      |                            |   |   |                             |                         |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|---|---|-----------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 nostrelles] nose thrylles L        | 2 litell] grete L          | 4 is assigned] byn assigned L   | old] wold L                                     | levibus R f. 103: see n.    | 8 light] and lygth L    |
| founed] sownded (for fownded?) L     | stultus R f. 103           | 10 noose] nostrelles  | 13 endes] ende L                                | 14 moved] y-moued L         | 19 Nastrill hole]       |
| L                                    | nose thrillis hole L       | 19-20 thikke and playne and round] cum imae nares solidae tanquam obtusae et rotundae sunt S 70 | 20-1 Who have the nostrill] whose nose thryllys | 23 The part] also pe part L | nastrell] nos-trellis L |
| honestly joyne] be honestly joyned L | 29 A litell] and a litul L |   |   |                             |                         |

is an argument of badnesse and of feyntise. The spice of malignité, of envye, and of vntemperance, is shewed by a drye mouthe and holowe as a dyche. Aristotles such maner of men with holow mouthes gretly he juged likerous. And whan the mouthe to moche  
 5 is, and to grete, it shewith a gloton, an impacient man, and a wyked, for such mouthes have whales of the see. Whan the mouth shewith moch and is rounde, with thikke lippes and broken, that shewith envious, a gloton and a foole. Of full fewe tho signes ben. Whos lippes ben grete, it shewith a dull man and a foole. Who  
 10 hath grosse lippes he is a foole. Thynne lippes in a moche mouthe, yf the omyst lippe be rody as sette ouer the lower, that shewith a stronge man, and a grete-herted. Thynne lypes with a lytell mouth, a faynt, ferdfull, vnhappy man it shewith. If the lower lippe lolle outward, Lexus seith that it shewith an il-tonged man,  
 15 and imprudent. Whan the lippes excedit and the mouth be smale, it declareth a man to be besy to gete laude and honour. Whan the lippes ben not wele died, he is sikelewe. Lippes consolut, dependent, is a signe of hevynesse. In assis, horsis and olde men that is a signe. Whan lippes grynnen and leven the tethe bare, that shewith  
 20 ith cursed, wrathfull, and crying men, and for to do wronge redy: that spice is next to the kynde of dogges. Whos teth ben febill  
 [f. 44] and fewe and litell, all his body is febill. Whos ben longe | and stedfast, he is badde and glotonous.

### Of voice and of his significacions

25 Whan the voyce is grosse it shewith the man to be bolde and hardy. Who hath grete voice and shrylle, he is batailous and eloquent. Whos voice is meene betwix grete and smale, he is wise, redy, trew and just. Who hath an hevy voice, he is seruaunt to his wombe. Whos voice is rough, he is envious, and hath hid badnesse in his hert. Whos speche with hastynesse is swift, he is hasty,  
 30 wrathfull and of bad maners, who is hasty in wordis, and specially yf he have smale voice, vnworthy, founed, importune and a lyer. If his voice be grosse, he shall be angry, comandyng, and of bad nature. Who hath a swete voice, he is envious and  
 35 suspicious. Fairenesse or flatteryng of voice shewith plenté of

|                         |                                  |                         |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 feyntise] feyntes L   | spice] spices L                  | 3 maner] a maner L      |
| 4 likerous] lecherous L | 11 omyst] omast L                | 13 ferdfull, vnhappy] a |
| ferdefull a vnhappy L   | 14 an il-tonged] a euyl tongyd L | 25 the man] a           |
| man L                   | 26 shrylle] chirley L            | 27 betwix] be twene L   |
| 28 an                   |                                  |                         |
| hevy] a hevy L          | 34 bad] a bad L                  |                         |

foundednesse and of dulnesse. A faire voice, foly and litell science shewith. Whos brethe is longe, he is vile of condicion or nature. Who movith oft, and speketh with<sup>m</sup> mevyng of his hondes, envious, eloquent and a begiler he is. And who holdeth his hondes stille whan he speketh, he is perfit and [in] intellect wele disposed, and  
5 of holsome counsell.

### Of laughter and of [his] significacions

Who, laughyng moch, is benygne, in all thyng he shall be convenient, for nothyng to moche hevieth neþer besieth hym. Who laugheth litell, he is contrary to hym, for all men dedis displesith  
10 hym. Who laughteth with high voice, he is shamles and a foole. Who also whan that he laugheth, cowghith, or with difficulté bretheth, he is shameles and badde, &c.

### Of the chynne and of his significacions

The larger the chynne be, the more troubled inwitte it shewith,  
15 and omwhile it shewith hym to be piteuous. Me most be ware of them that have smale chynnes, for above all others they ben most impacient and envious. If the chynne be rounde, womanyssh maners and femynyne condicions it shewith. A man-is chynne is, or oweth to be, ny-by square. Also yf the chynne be full longe and  
20 prolix, with gilil his mynde is occupied. And yf that, nought to moche, the half of the chynne | be depressed, of venerien plesaunce [f. 44<sup>v</sup>] and of graces it is a signe.

### Of chekes and of thaire significacions

Who hath chekes crasse, ydiotis and dronklew they ben. Who  
25 hath them to leene, ben wykked. Whos chekebone shewen abscised fro the eyen and ben full and peisyng and greued and round, that shewith envie. And whan they ben light and prolix, that shewith an importunat claterer. All chekes whan they ben full and fatte, an idel likerous man it shewith. And the contrary shewith begilyng  
30 and feyntise. Of lippes, jawes and forhedes, yf the cheris ben sorowfull, it shewith madnesse and foly. Yf the cheres ben glad,

|                               |  |                              |
|-------------------------------|--|------------------------------|
| 7 his] <i>supplied from L</i> | 8 laughyng] <i>possibly for laughith</i> | 11 Who]                      |
| who so euer L                 | 15 troubled] <i>trebuller L</i>          | 17 chynnes] <i>chynne L</i>  |
| r8 womanyssh] <i>womans L</i> | 19 shewith] <i>signifieth L</i>          | 20 ny-by] <i>neþth L</i>     |
| Also] & also L                | 21 gilil] <i>gile L</i>                  | 23 graces] <i>gracius L</i>  |
| þey be L                      | 24 abscised] <i>abyssed L</i>            | 26 ben]                      |
| L <i>timidum R f.</i> 105     | 28 that] <i>hyt L</i>                    | 31 feyntise] <i>fayntesy</i> |
| L <i>vultibus S</i> 69        | cheris] <i>chekes L, vultus S</i> 69     | 32 cheres] <i>chekes</i>     |

kykyngnesse and likerousnesse it shewith. Ferre of, me may know an hevye or a lusty chere, a liberall, a derk and a wikked cheere, a waker and a slomerer, &c.

### Of the face and of his significacions

5 Whos face is passyng moche, he is slowe. Whos face is full litell and small, he is [a gloser] and a flaterer. Who hath a litell face declynyng to yelownesse, he is vicious, a begiler, a dronklew and full bad. Who hath an oblonge face, shamles and envious he is. Who hath a sclender face, he is bifore-seen in his werkes and sotill of  
 10 intellect. Who hath a sotill face, he is of many thoughtis. Who hath a meene face, in chekys and in templis turnyng to blaknesse, trew he is, lovyng, vnderstandyng and wyse, servisable, wele-made and engyneous. A playn face lakkyng feere signifieth a stryver, a bad lerner, a wrongfull, and an engyneous man. Whos face is not moche  
 15 faire, it is seeld that he hath good maners. Whos face is to moche glad, he is a foole. Whos face is fleshly, he is not wise. Importune, slowe, and lyer he is. Whos flesh of the jawes ben grete, he is of grosse nature. A dronklewe face shewith a dronklewe man, an angry man an angry face, a shamfull man a shamfull faace.

### 20 Of significacion of tymples and of the eeres

Who hath inflate tymples, and the pryncipall veynes grete, and full chekes, he is full angry. Full grete eeres, of foly and of imprudence ben signes, and small and lytell, of malignyté. Who hath  
 [f. 45] full grete eeres, he is a foole. | Neuerthelesse he is retentif of mynde,  
 25 and is like to be of long lyf. And who hath passyng smale eeres, he is dulle, lecherous and thevyssh. Eres passyng short ben referred to foly. Oblonge eeres and narowe have significacion of envye.

### Of the nodell and of his significacions

Whan the nodell is thynne and longe, it signyfieth a man thynk-  
 30 yng evell. A wast nodell with prolixité shewith anymosité. A short nodell, in beyng and in example knowen it is, þat his begynnyng is with foulehardynesse. A rounde nodell shewith the vertue of the

1 kykyngnesse] lykyns L      5 full] to L      6 a gloser and a flaterer]  
 slowe and a flaterer A a flaterrer and a gloser L malus est callidus et adulator  
 R 105<sup>v</sup> malus est et calidus et adulator S 168      14 an engyneous man]  
 a large-man L inmundum R fols. 105<sup>v</sup>-106      18 shewith] hit shewith hym to  
 be L      27 have] hathe L      30 anymosité] a man with animosité L  
 animosum significat R f. 106      31 his begynnyng] see n.      32 with  
 foulehardynesse] with-owt full hardines L

inwitte, and approveth and shewith the abilnesse of the body. The  
 nodell yf it enclyne in the left side, it signyfieth in maner a foole  
 and a ferefull man. Whos nodell declyneth to the right side, Aris-  
 totle gaf it to cinedes, that ben men castrat. Wha[n] the nodell is  
 stabill and temperat, it shewith full good thewes. A nessh nodell 5  
 and inflexible, not out of heere, but a lernyng man it shewith. A  
 harde nodell, a bad lernyng man it shewith. The nodill sharp, not  
 only dull, but soley[n] it shewith a man to be. A nodell hole and  
 soled and wast and that lightly boweth it sheweth rapaces. A nodell  
 that is louse and not worth, noyers and envious it signifieth. Who 10  
 hath to wast a nodell, angry and not lernyng þei ben. A nodell  
 deflixie or bond doun, vntaught and soley[n], and vpon fooles  
 omwhile it signifieth. Also whan-euer the nodell is broken, open  
 it is that he is other a foole after, other effemynat. A nodell above  
 not even, an impacient, a soley[n], a foole, and an idel man it 15  
 signyfieth. The nodell whan it is bende in, his inwit to be occupied  
 with thoughtis it shewith, or by symony, or by il tonge and  
 malignyté. Whan betwix the joynyng of the sholdres and nodell-is  
 begynnynng shewith a litell tournyng, and the knottis superfcie  
 pere be sharp, proude and soley[n] they ben. The nodell that hath 20  
 interest with the sholdres shewith vpon an vnapt man to lerne, and  
 omwhile wikked: after the rarité of the sholdres thow shalt | pro-  
 novnce. But and the veynes ben clere, grete, and wele woven to  
 the nodell, the same to the sholdres shewith. [f. 45v]

### Of the nek and throte and of thaire signyficacions 25

Who hath a grete nekke, he is founyssh and a grete eter. And  
 who hath a grete hard nek, he is stronge, angry, and hasty. Who  
 hath a long, sclender nek, folissh, clateryng and feynt he is. Who  
 hath a short nek, he is gilefull, sleightfull, sotill, engenyous and a  
 deceyver. A rough and sharp throte, lightnesse of inwitte, and 30  
 many wordes to have, it shewith. And yf a grete knotte be on the  
 throte, in maner it shewith lightnesse, nought hardynesse neyther  
 il-seiyng.

3 ferefull] ferdeful L  
 man] *see n.* but a] but of L  
 rampanes L rapaces S 77: *see n.*  
 a foole] is a foole L (*perhaps correctly*)  
 in L uertex gutturis tanquam nodus eminent R f. 107

4 Whan] what A when L  
 6-7 A harde] an herde L  
 13 broken, open] *see n.*  
 18 nodell-is] þe nodull-is L

6 out . . .  
 9 rapaces]  
 14 is other  
 31 on]  
 32 nought] not L

### Of the signyficacion of flessch

Flesshe in plenté and harde, grosse witte and intellect it shewith. Light flessch signifie[th] vpon good nature and vnderstandyng. The subtilité of the body shewith moche delyuernesse and full many  
5 conceytes.

### Of the sholdres and of thaire signyficacions

The thiknesse of the sholdres and of the bak, with a brode brest, shewith worthynesse, hardynesse and retencion of vnderstandyng, and of sapience. The brede of sholdres shewith ay good witte. And  
10 thaire sclendernesse shewith the contrarie. Thynne sholdres and streight in sharpnesse, shewen a man to be douted. Sholdres not fatte but wele sette shewen vertue in a man. Slak sholdres of infirmité is a signe and of feyntise. The reisyng of sholdres is a signe of sharp nature and of vntrouth, and omwhile of fooly.

### 15 Of armes [and] cubitis, and of thaire signyficacions

When the armes ben so longe that with his hand he may touche his kne, worthynesse with largesse and noblesse of inwit it doth signyfie, and omwhile pride and covetise to reigne and gouerne others. And whan the armes ben full short, it is a signe of discorde  
20 of love, and ignorance, and a faynt man and a bad it declareth. Thynne cubitis, feynt and bad lerners it signyfieth. When they be mene, it shewith them that have articles of felicité. And yf the  
[f. 46] brawne be good, it declareth a strong inwit, | and ben refourmyng of an able body.

### 25 Of handes and palmes and of thaire signyficacions

When thy hondes ben so streyght that whan thy body vp-right stonyng may reche to the knees, able men and stronge it shewith. And whan to the hippe, other to the myddell therof they rechen, they declaren an il-willed man, that joyeth in other men-is harmes.  
30 Handes full short shewith fooly. Full litell handes and stronge, shewith wisedame, sklender and full long, a tyrant and foly de-

2 and harde, grosse witte] & grose, harde inwitt L 3 signifieth] L  
signifien A 7 sholdres] schulder L 9 ay] a L 11 streight]  
schorte L erecti R f. 107 shewen] schewith L 12 shewen] schewith  
L 13 feyntise] fayntenes L reisyng] rising L 15 and cubitis, and of]  
cubitis, and of A cubitis & L 18 covetise] couetnose L 21 bad  
lerners] badnesse L 29 il-willed] ille wyckyd (? *indistinct*) L 31 long]  
lytyl L

claren. Soft and neshsh handes shewen a lerner. Light handes and sotell, moche wisdomes and good intellect they shewen. Fatte hondes, yf the fynGRES ben short, a comerous man, a threter, and a theef, it shewith. Who in etyng of [mete] bondith hede and mouth, and rynneth to mete with the hand, yf the hand be smalle, 5  
il-willed they ben, and joyen on other men-is harme. Longe palmes with longe fynGRES, it shewith a man to be wele disposed to many artis, and specially to m[e]chanyk craft, and a wise man in his werkes, and to be of good gouernaunce.

### Of the signyficacion of fynGRES and nayles

10

Grete and short fynGRES shewith dulnesse and madnesse. The closyng and joynyng to-gedre of them shewith a man envious. Whan they ben gadred to-gedres, and closen to-gedres as a cliew, it shewith a wiked and a nygardus man. And yf thei ben in certeyn fynGRES knotted to-gedres, it is referred to foly. White nailes and 15  
vnder-rede of full good engyne ben signes. Nathelesse passyng short or paale, other blak, shewith a wikked man. Narowe and oblonge nailes, of sollidité and of wildnesse is a signe. Sharp and rounde nayles to venerien actis ben redy. Croked and reflexed nailes, imprudent men it signifie[th] and raveners. Who hath them 20  
impressed and moch broken, ben foles and theves. These signes that ben yoven to the nailes of them-self, without other accordance of other signes be-fore in other chapiters rehersed, have no myght. |

### Of the signyficacion of the sholdres

[f. 46<sup>v</sup>]

Of shuldres, the strength and multitude of flesh vpon them 25  
founednesse they declaren. Sklendernesse and sotelté of them declareth debilité of hert.

### Of the brest, wombe and bak, and of their signyficacions

The brede and grossenesse of sholdres, and of baak the worthy-nesse, shewen hardynesse, with retencion of witte and of wisdomes. 30  
A sotill baak shewith a man of discordant nature. Mediocrité,

|  |   |                                    |
|--|---|------------------------------------|
| 3 yf] and iff L                                | comerous] <i>commerouse</i>               | 4-5 of . . . mouth] in etyng       |
| who bondysch his hed and much L: <i>see n.</i> |   | 6 il-willed] <i>ille wyckyd L</i>  |
| on] of L                                       | 8 mechanyk] <i>mochanyk</i>               | AL: <i>contrast note to 75/28</i>  |
| 10 and] & of L                                 | 13 closen] <i>closeth L</i>               | 14 nygardus] <i>nigard L</i>       |
| ben] <i>hit be L</i>                           | 17 other] <i>or L</i>                     | 20 signyfieth] <i>signifieth L</i> |
| 22 the] his L                                  | 24 signyficacion] <i>significacions L</i> | 25 strength]                       |
| strenkyth L                                    | 31 discordant] <i>discordyng L</i>        |                                    |

sothly, of bak and of brest is a sure and a proved signe of vnderstandyng and of good counsell. Who so hath a grete wombe, he is like to be vndiscrete, folissh and proude, and lovyng venerie.

### Of the rybbes and of thaire signyficacions

- 5 The brede and strenght of rybbes shewith proude and moch wrath. Thaire crokednesse declareth malice. Thaire egallité is a full goode signe.

### Of signyficacion of the hanches and of the thies and botox

- 10 Slender hanches shewith lovers of women. Buttox, whan inward they have moch flessch, inbecillité of strength, and slaknesse, it shewith. Whan the bones of the buttox shewen out, that declareth manhode and multitude of strength.

### Of signyficacion of knees and of shynnes

- 15 Plenté of flesh in the knees, vpon nesshnesse and febilnesse of vertue it signyfieth. Grossnesse of shynnes shewith boldnesse and strength. Of them subtilité shewith a man ignorant. The brede of shynnes and of heles signyfieth vpon strength of the body.

### Of signyficacion of fete, anclees and sperlyng

- 20 Grosse fete and flesschly, founednesse and love of iniurie it shewith. Fete havyng moch flessch and harde, it declareth a man to be of bad intellect. Litell fete and light, signyfieth vpon hardnesse. Faire fete and smale shewen a mery man and a fornycatour. Whan the anclees and the thies ben grosse, that shewith a dulle, shamles  
[f. 47] man. Whan the sperlonge is grosse and | stronge, it shewith a myghty  
25 man. And whan they ben sklender, a ferdfull man it declareth.

### Of ingoyng and out-goynge, other of movyng of stappes and of pases, &c.

- A slow movyng shewith dulnesse, an hasty movyng lightnesse. Who goth hevily, he is slow. And who goth hastily and trippyngly, he is hastif and besieth hym for thyngis that he can not  
30

8 signyficacion] signyficacions L    botox] botockes L    13 signyficacion]  
signyficacions L    15 boldnesse] badnes L audacians R f. 108<sup>v</sup>    18 sig-  
nification] signyficacions L    anclees] ankyls L    sperlyng] sperlynges L  
21 of bad intellect] bad of intellect L    23 anclees] ancles L    26 other of]  
& L de motibus R f. 108<sup>v</sup>    29 hastily] hastyngly L    29-30 trippyngly]  
tripp|pyngly, *divided by line-ending as indicated* A tryppyngly L    30 hastif]  
hasty L

dispose. Whos pases ben brode, they ben slow: nathesle they  
speden thair purpose. Whos pases ben short, they ben hasty,  
suspecious, impotentis, and of il wille in thaire werkes.

### Of the egalité and good disposicion of a man

He is of goode mynde and wele made in nature, that hath soft 5  
flessh and moist, meene betwix rovgh and smoth, not to longe  
neither to short, white declynyng to redenesse, plesaunt in looke,  
heres playn and meene, with grete eyen declynyng to roundnesse,  
of meene and mesured hede, egall in mochnesse of nek and wele 10  
disposed, sholdres somewhat bendyng, lakkyng plenté of flessh  
in thies and in knees, of clere voice with temperance betwix sotill  
and grosse, with longe palmes and longe fynGRES declynyng to  
sotilnesse, of smale laughter, derision or feynyng, and his cheres  
medled with gladnesse and plesaunce. Forsothe thow shalt not 15  
fasten thy jugementis vpon one of these signes neither sentence,  
but gadre the witnesse of all. And by dyverse signes and tokens  
speke, not puttyng hym to be suche or suche of nede, but so  
enclyned and disposed. And euer remembre on Philemon-is juge-  
ment vpon Ypocras, and vpon Ypocras-is most assured aun-  
swere, &c. 20

### Explicit

1 nathesle] *neuertheles* L  
temperance] in *temperaunce* L

10 of flessh] in *flesch* L  
17 hym] *þem* L

11 with

## IV

# þE PRIUYTÉ OF PRIUYTEIS

English translation  
by  
Johannes de Caritate

From a MS. probably written *c.* 1484, now the property  
of Mr. Robert B. Honeyman, Jr., of Rancho Los  
Cerritos, San Juan Capistrano, California.

### [þe Fyrst Boke]

#### [Capitulum i]

- [f. 4] . . . a meruulus wytt, þat bothe he was a nobyl werryur of knightly  
prowes alle the dayis of this present lyfe, eke a nobyl phylysophyr,  
5 in alle prouydens and moral vertuys, bothe of practyk and elo-  
qwens, hos name men clepyd Sir Milis Stapylton, þe qwychy lyuyd  
in dayis of Henry þe Syxte, Kyng of Englund. þe qwychy notabyl  
knyght, for vertu, and to profyte hem þat schuld come aftyr hym,  
dyd me to translate thys boke owte of Latyne in to Englysch.
- 10 Qwychy boke þe prince of phylysophris, Arystotyl, compylid at þe  
preyer of Alysaundir conquerour. And thowe thys phylyosophyr pur-  
posyd on alle wyse to kepe secrete thysse materys her folowyng, yit to  
þe petycion of so gret an emperour he thowgh[t] he myght make no  
contradyxcion. þer-for, makyng a-seeth in parte to þe emperour and  
15 also hydyng in parte þe priuyté of sundry craftys, he compylid  
thys boke, spekyng in it be clos conclusounys, be examplis, and  
figuratyf spechys, techyng owtward, lettyrly, phylosophyk doc-  
tryne | longyng to þe lord of lordys, to kepe the helth of þe body of  
[f. 4<sup>v</sup>] man and woman and to profytabylnes inefabyl, be þe qwychy þe  
20 knowlech of heunly bodyis be gotyn. And myne autor in Latyne,  
aftyr þe ende of hys pystil sent to þe seyð byschop, þe qwych he  
puttyth in þe begynnyng of hys boke as a prolog, he notyfiyth

3 f. 3, containing opening of text, is missing      13 thowght] though *perh.* in-  
tended form: cf. 121/3, 127/26      18 to kepe] the words separated by blank space

þe chapituris seriatly, þat is as to sey in ordyr, to fynde qwat mater a man wul loke vppon þe more esyly. And fyrst he makyth a gret comendacion of Arestotyl, how many of þe olde phylisophris held hym of þe noumbyr of prophetys, and odyr sundry oppynyownnys of Aristotyl, þe qwyche nowdyr longyth to þe matyr 5 of thys boke ner soundyth to trwth, qwerfor at þe substauns of thys mater I begynne be ordyr, be þe help of owr Lord Iesu to procede.

|  | Chapter number in<br>text, where this<br>differs from List<br>of Contents | Page             |
|--|---|------------------|
| The capytil qwyche is fyrst, maketh mencion how, lyuyng þis master Arystotyl, be hys wysdame and enformacion, Alysaundyr conqweyrd alle þe world |   | 15<br>114        |
| The secunde capytil is a pystyl sent fro Alysaundyr to Arystotil, and þe ansqwer qwyche be gret wysdam he sent a-yen.                            |   | [f. 5]<br>121 20 |
| The thyrd capytil is a pystyl sent fro Arystotyl to Alysaundyr   |   | 122              |
| The fourth remembryth tweyn chef thyngis nescesary to a kyng   |   | 125              |
| The fythe tellyth of fowr maner of kyngis, and how a kyng schuld demene hym bothe in largenes and streyitnes                                     |   | 25<br>126        |
| The sexte is of nigardy and largenes and odyr vertuys moral  |   | 128 30           |
| The seuynth is of Arystotilis doctrine in vertu and vicis  | } Her begynnyth þe seuynth capitul  | 129              |
| The eghte is of þe fynal entencion þat kyngis owe to haue  |   |                  |
| The nynge specyfyith þe hyn-drauns þat folow carnal appetytis  | Capitulum viij  | 130 35           |
| The tenthe is of þe wysdam of a kyng   | The nynge capityl   | 130              |

18 Arystotil] i corrected from o

26 and how a kyng] repeated

|                      |  |   |                              |
|----------------------|--|---|------------------------------|
|                      | The elleuynth is of þe relygiosyté of a kyng   | { þe tenthe capitil<br>þe elleuynth capitil | 131<br>132                   |
| [f. 5 <sup>v</sup> ] | The twelfth is of þe [custom] and aray   þat longyþ to a kyng  |   | 132                          |
| 5                    | The thyrdtene is of a kyngys contynens   |   | 132                          |
|                      | The fourtene is of a kyngys justyce and equité   |   | 134                          |
| 10                   | The fyfetene is of þe fynal intencion that a kyng owyþ to haue   |   | 134                          |
|                      | The syxtene is of chastyté þat longyþ to a kynge or a prince   |   | 135                          |
|                      | The seuyntene of þe solas a kyng schuld haue be hym-self in priuyté  |   | 135                          |
| 15                   | The eghtene of a kyngys dyscrecion   |   | 136                          |
|                      | The nynetene of reuerens longyng to a kyng   |   | 136                          |
|                      | The tweynty of a kyngys nobylles   | <i>forms part of</i> The seuyntene capitil  | [135]                        |
| 20                   |  | þe tweynty capitil                          | 137                          |
|                      |  | þe one and tweynty capitil                  | 137                          |
|                      | The twenty and one, of þe comfort and prouydens of a kyng a-yens hys sogettys in tyme of nede                    | { þe to and tweynty<br>capitil              | 138                          |
| 25                   | The two and twenty, of þe mercyfulnes of a kyng  | þe tre and twenty capitil                   | 138                          |
|                      | The thre and twenty, of þe remembrauns that a kynge owyþ to haue   | The four and tweynty capitil                | 139                          |
|                      | The four and twenty, of feyth in promyssys of a kynge ayens alle men   | þe fyue and tweynty capitil                 | 139                          |
| 30                   | The fyue and twenty, of promotyng of stody be personys dysposyd in sundry syens in a kyngdam                     | þe syx and twey[n]ti [capitil]              | 141                          |
| [f. 6]               | The ende of þe capytillis of þe fyrst boke and þe begynninge of þe secunde                                       |   |                              |
| 35                   | The fyrst capytyl of þe secunde boke remembryth of þe kepyng of helth of body, and quat leche a man schuld chese |   | 142                          |
|                      | 3 custom] relygiosite intended form  | 31 promotyng] g corr. from d                | tweynty] tweyti <i>perh.</i> |

|  |                                      |             |
|--|--------------------------------------|-------------|
| The secunde is of þe owris of sterrys  |                                      | 142         |
| The thyrde is of þe gouerna[n]s þat<br>longyt to the helth of body in<br>kepyng of hesy dyete                              | { Capitulum iij                      | 144         |
| The fourthe is how helth is kept in<br>tweyn maner of wysys, in qwychē<br>be the tokynnys of a gode stomake<br>and a badde | { The fourthe capitil                | 145         |
|  |                                      | 5           |
| The fyfthe of þe conseruy[n]g of helth   | The fyfthe capytil                   | 146         |
| The syxte of þe rewle of luyng   | The syxte capitil                    | 147         |
| The seuynth of dyetyng   | þe seuyth [capitil]                  | 148 10      |
| The eghte of þe maner of slepyng   | þe eght capitil                      | 149         |
|  | The nyinghe capitil her<br>beginnith | 150         |
| The nyinghte of þe custum of etyng   | The tenthe capitil of<br>þis boke    | 151 15      |
| The tenthe of þe four tymis of þe yer  | } þe eleuyth [capitil]               | 152         |
| The elleuynth of þe qwalyteis of þe<br>iiij tymys  |                                      |             |
| The twelthe of ver   |                                      | 153         |
| The thyrdtene of somyr   |                                      | 153 20      |
| The fourtene of haruest  |                                      | 154 [f. 6v] |
| The fyftene of wyntyng   |                                      | 155         |
| The syxtene of tho thyngys þat<br>make the body lene or fat  |                                      | 155         |
| The seuyntene of sekene of þe heed<br>and remedy þer-for   |                                      | 157 25      |
| The eghtene of sekene of þe brest<br>and remedy þer-for  |                                      | 157         |
| The nyntene is of þe sekene of þe<br>eyn and remedy for hem  |                                      | 158 30      |
| The tweynty is of sekene of priuy<br>membrys and remedy for hem  |                                      | 159         |
| The twenty and one, of þe opy-<br>nyounys of sundry lechys in kepyng<br>þe helth of body                                   |                                      | 159 35      |
| The twenty and to is of þe kepyng<br>of þe body be meny of wysdam  |                                      | 160         |

36 to] with interlinear ij above: roman (or arabic) figures regularly written above ordinal and cardinal numbers in this text: this will not normally be recorded hereafter.

|        |  |     |
|--------|--|-----|
|        | The thre and twenty is of knowyng<br>of qwaliteys of metys   | 161 |
|        | The four and twenty is of þe know-<br>yng of watrys  | 161 |
| 5      | The fyue and twenty is of þe kendys<br>of wyne   | 162 |
| [f. 7] | <b>Thende of þe capyttillis of þe secunde boke</b>   |     |
|        | The fyrst capytil of þe thyrd boke<br>specyfith remedy ayens dronke-<br>chyp   | 164 |
| 10     | The secunde, qwat make þe body<br>strong, also febyl   | 164 |
|        | The thyrd, of bathys and how þei<br>schuld be dysposyd to þe helth of<br>15 man  | 165 |
|        | The fourth, how sekenes betydedh   | 166 |
|        | The fythe, how hony is made þat<br>is clepyd most precius, with þe<br>qwyche þe medycynis of lordys<br>20 schuld be made | 167 |
|        | The fyrst medycine of Arystotyl, þe<br>qwyche is þe sexte in ordyr   | 168 |
|        | The secunde medycine, þat is þe<br>seuynth capytil in ordyr  | 168 |
| 25     | The thyrd medycyne, þe qwyche ys<br>the eght capytil in ordyr.   | 169 |
|        | The fourth medycine, þe qwyche is<br>nyghte capytil  | 169 |
| 29     | The fyfte medycyne, qwyche is þe  <br>[f. 7 <sup>v</sup> ] tenthe in ordyr   | 169 |
|        | The syxte medycine, qwyche is þe<br>elleuynth in ordyr   | 170 |
|        | The seuynth medycyne, qwyche is<br>þe twelft in ordyr  | 170 |
| 35     | The eght medycine, qwyche is þe<br>thyrdtene in ordyr  | 170 |
|        | The nyghte medycine, qwyche is þe<br>fourtene in ordyr   | 170 |

|  |                   |
|--|-------------------|
| The fyftene chapyter is of þe tymys<br>of letyng blode   | 171               |
| <b>Thende of þe capy[ti]llis of þe thyrd boke</b>  |                   |
| The fyrst capytil of þe fourth boke<br>remembryth of herbys, stonys and<br>treis   | 173 <sup>5</sup>  |
| The secunde capytil specifiyth þe<br>wysdam of þe gret philisophyr<br>Hermogines, and of hys meruulus<br>kunnyng in kendys | 174 <sup>10</sup> |
| The thyrd, of Ryghtfulnes, one of<br>þe vertuys cardynal   | 179               |
| The fourth, þat þer is to maner of<br>Justyce  | 180 <sup>14</sup> |
| The fyfte is of þe wysdam of a kynge<br>in hauyng [counsillour]is  | [f. 8]<br>185     |
| The sexte, is cause of destruccion of<br>a kyngis werkys   | 185               |
| The seuynth is a narracion   | 186               |
| The eght is also a narracion   | 186 <sup>20</sup> |
| The nynghte is of þe dysposycion<br>and nowmber of masengeris  | 188               |
| The tenthe, of þe condycion of<br>sundry men   | 190               |
| The elleuynth, a goode narracion   | 190 <sup>25</sup> |
| The twelthe, how wrytterrisschuld be<br>chosyn that schuld longe to a kynge  | 192               |
| The thyrdtene, how a masyngir þat<br>schuld be sent schuld be asayid and<br>enformyd be-for                                | 193 <sup>30</sup> |
| The fourtene, how a kyng schuld<br>yef attendauns bothe to þe condy-<br>cion of hys sogettys and se qwat þei<br>nede       | 194               |

13 þer] *inserted above the line* 16 counsillouris] mesyngeris 21-2 *head-  
ing omitted in body of text in ms.* 23-4 *omitted in body of text in ms.*  
25 xj] *numbered xviii in body of text, in ms.* 26 twelthe] *headed nynghte  
in body of text, in ms.* 28 thyrdtene] *headed tenthe in body of text, in ms.*  
31 fourtene] *headed eleuynth in body of text in ms.* 32 attendauns]  
*medial a ins. above an e which has not been crossed through*

|         |  |  |       |
|---------|--|--|-------|
|         | The fyftene, howe he schuld chese<br>hys werryowrys and hys gentyllis<br>pat schuld dwelle with hym  | The [fyften]e capytill   | 194   |
| [f. 8v] | The syxtene, of þe gouernauns of<br>hys bateylis   and how he schuld<br>prouoke þe hoste wth þe qwyche he<br>schuld fyght  | þe [syx]tene [capytill]  | 196   |
| 6       | The seuyntene, of þe craft of<br>physnomye   | { The [seuyn]tene capitil  | 197   |
| 10      | The egtene, of þe colourys of þe fase  | { Capitulum xvij   | 198   |
|         |  | [Corresponds to second<br>of two sections headed<br>cap.xx in ms., placed<br>after cap <sup>m</sup> xxij, form-<br>ing, in fact, part of it] | [200] |
| 15      | The nyntene, of þe colouris of herys<br>The tweynty is of eyn and her<br>colourys  | Capitulum xix  | 199   |
|         | The on and thwenty, of þe browys   |  | 199   |
|         | The to and twenty, of þe propyrté of<br>þe nose  |  | 200   |
| 20      | The thre and twenty, of þe dyspo-<br>sycion of þe voys   |  | 200   |
|         | The four and twenty, of þe wombys<br>propyrteis  |  | 201   |
| 25      | The fyue and twenty, qwyche is the<br>last, specyfyth ingenerally of alle<br>odyr partys of a man and of þe be-<br>hauyng in cher and in gate  |  | 201   |
| 30      | And conceyue qwat sum euir he be þat schal rede þis boke, he schal<br>fynde mor merwullus and mor plesaunt materys, also mor of sub-<br>stauns, within thys boke than is expressyd in thyse chapytyrrys. For<br>þise chapytillis serue but for to dyrecte a man in to qwat mater he<br>wul rede of, &c.  |  |       |
| 34      | Her ende þe titillis of þe capitillis of this boke.  |  |       |
| [f. 9]  | Prolongyng þe tytil of þe secunde chapytir, I brynge to remem-<br>1 fyftene capytill] headed twelthe in body of text, in ms.      4 The syxtene]<br>headed thi[r]dtene in body of text, in ms.      8 seuyntene capitil] headed<br>fourtene in body of text, in ms.      18 thwenty] cf. 118/3, 132/21<br>19 propyrté] ppyrte second contraction presumably a slip      24 propyrteis]<br>ppyrteis second contraction presumably a slip      26 ingenerally of] of ingenerally<br>of      29 And conceyue] run on on same line as last words of list of contents |  |       |

brauns be qwat mene þei þat wul labour in þis boke to vndyrstond þe phylisophyr, qwer he specifiyth of vertuys moral, of prudens in demenawns, or of execucion of ryghfulnes, it must be takyn as a parabyll or as an exampyl.

### Digressio expositoris

5

And qwer as þe fylsophyr remembryth of þe making of medycynes, me semyth best to wryte hem after þe gyse and maner þat þe physycyens wryght qwan þei make ther byllis to send to potecaryis to haue made ther medycyns to recwr þe seke. þe qwyche wrytyng stondyth be figuris and wordys abreuyat, þat 10 no man can vndyrstonde ner rede but physycienis, to kepe þe craft clos. For vndyrstondyth [it] wele, þat þer gone many sundry thyngis to medycynis, and oftyr sqwyche thyngys, þat if men knwe qwat thei wer, þei wold noȝt receyue hem. Qwer-for be gret 14 wysdam, phylisophris of olde tyme made her | bokys and wrytyng [f. 9<sup>v</sup>] in sqwyche maner wyse þat no man schuld rede but clerkys stodying in þe same syens. For in medycynis ther go very poysonnys, þat if tho poysonnys wer taken or receyuyd alone, þei schul sle hem þat vsyd it. Qwer-for, be wysdame and gret vndyrstondyng in natur, phylisophrys þat made bokis of medycynis, þei 20 ioynyd sqwyche spycys as were conuenyent to destroy þe qualiteis of þe poysonnys, and eke to make natur strong ayens þo sykenes. Ther be put in medycynis pycche, wax, arsenyk, syndyrris of yrin, cassia fystula, manna and sqwyche odyr. Qwerfor the medycynis be wrytyn mor clos, as doctourys of physik wryte in þer bokys. 25 Anodyr cause qwy thyse byllis be wrytyn closly and also bokys of physyk: for if þei had be wrytyn opynly, so þat gramaryens myght vndyrstonde ther bokes, þe most part of þe pepyll schuld a ben physyciounis, and so þe syens noȝt schuld a ben had in reputacion, þat philisophris for a specialté labourryd. Now to þe 30 tityll of capitill [two.]]

### [Capitulum ii] [f. 11]

... Thys phylisophir, as I seyde be-forn, beyng in age, thys emperour, qwan he had co[n]queryd the empire of Percys, seyng þe disposycion of þe pepyl of þat countré, wrote to hym a pystil 35

3 ryghfulnes] *intended form perh. ryghtfulness, but cf. 122/30, 127/26, 144/22 and see also 114/13, 122/5*      6 And] A And, *the first A being in red, separated from the word And*      12 it wele] wele it.      13 medycynis] *followed by space containing erasure*      18 þei] *prec. by it with uncompleted t*      31 f. 10 missing      35 countré] *r ins. above*

conteyning this sentens, 'O grete doctor, reuler of ryghtfulnes, I sygnifye to thy wysdam þat I haue foundyn in þe cuntré of Perce certeyn pepyl, þe qwych habunde in resun and sotel vndyrstondyng, þat stody to haue vndyrstondyng in sotel materis, and also  
 5 to haue lorchyþ abouyn odyr nacionis and to gete a kyngdam be conquest. Qwerfor I purpose to slee hem alle. But how that thow appoyntyst and decreyst in þis mater, sende me an ansqwer be wrytyng.' Thys phylisophyr, be gret wysdam consydeyng þe constellacion ouer that cuntré, conceyuyng þat thow þe wurthiyst  
 10 of þat region had ben slayne, þer schul a left as wyse and as sotel, and alle he coude nazt a slayn, he ansqwerd on thys wyse:  
 [f. 11<sup>v</sup>] 'Nobil emperour, if | thow mayst chonge þe eyr and þe watyr of þat cuntré, and also þe disposicion of þe cyteis of þat londe, fulfyll þi dysyr and slee hem. And if it be so nozt þat thow  
 15 mayst chonge þise seyð thyngis, lorchyþ ouir hem as a conquerour with goodenes and feyr behauyng, and her her petycionys gracyusly with benygnyté and goodly cher. And if thow do thus, haue very trost that þer alle hertis and wyllis schal be soget to þe, be þe help of God, and redy to fulfyl þi dysir and comaundement, euyñ at  
 20 thy wille, for loue þat þei scal haue to þe. And be thys mene schalt thow lordechyp ouir hem with victory.' Alisaundy, redyng thys pystil, fulfillyd Aristotyllis counsel dyligently, and thys men of Perce aftyr that tyme wer mor obeyng to hys commaundement than ony odyr nacion of alle hys conquest. Be thys maner of wysdam  
 25 eueriman may haue cler vndyrstondyng þat þe frowardnes of men be goodenes and feyr speche is euir ouircomyn. |

[f. 12]

## [Capitulum iii]

Aftir þis forseyd pystil, Arystotil wrote anodyr to Alisaundy, conteynyng this sentens folowyng: 'O glorijs sone, Emperour  
 30 most ryghful, God conferme and make þe strong in þe wey of knowyng tho thyngis þat be nescesary to þe, and also in þe path of trewth and vertue, and repress fro þe alle bestyal appetitys that repreue manhod and be dysworchyþful a kyng to vse,' (¶ Vndyrstonde her: lecchery and odyr vicis.) 'and eke mut strenght  
 35 thy kyngdam and illumyne thy wytte to his only seruyse and wurchyþ. And, myghty Emperour, þe pystyl þat thow sentyst me, I

5 lorchyþ] cf. 125/19 and see 121/3 a kyngdam] a *ins. above* 17 benygnyté] benyngnyte with abbreviation for n before g 18 be soget] be *ins. above*  
 23 aftyr] *prec. by expuncted* wer 30 ryghful] cf. 121/3

receuyd it with wurchyp as was conuenient, and plenary vndyr-  
 stode it, qwat desir thow hast to haue me personally, meruellyng  
 how I may absteyn, or be fro, þi presens, qwer also thow  
 repreuyt me, that I schuld make no fors of thy werkys ne how  
 thow dydyst, be wysdam or odyr wyse. And for thys opynyoun 5  
 þat thow hast as be thy wrytyng of me, I haue | purposyd and [f. 12<sup>v</sup>]  
 hastyd me to make a decreté to thy buxumnes, þe qwyche schal be  
 to the as a balauns, be þe qwyche thow mayst discusse and pondyr  
 alle thy werkys, and se qwat thow schal do to thy wurchyp and  
 profyte, and qwat thow schalt leue, þe whyche canon or decreté schal 10  
 fulfyllle my stede. Than, euyne as thow haddyst recours to me to axe  
 counsel of me, qwan thow stondyst in dowghtis of straunge materis,  
 on þe lyke wyse thow schalt haue recours to thys booke in tyme of  
 nede, and a rewle it schal be to þe most certeyn, to alle thyngis þat  
 thow wult and of tho in specyall þat I schuld schewe the and I 15  
 were present with the. Thow owyst noȝt than to repreue me,  
 sythyn thow knowyst, or owyst to knowe, that I leue noȝt to come  
 to thy most excellent and clerest welth and glory for þat I haue ther-  
 of despyte, but þat onweldynes of age and febylnes of body haue  
 comyn abought me, and yoldyn me, or made me, so heuy, sterke 20  
 and onweldy þat I am on-abyl to go. Furthermor, that thow axyst  
 | and desyrist to know, it is so gret a priuyté þat mannys brest may [f. 13]  
 scarsly bere or soffyr. How than owteward may it be expressid  
 be wrytyng? In mortal skynnys how may it be depeyntyd, (þat is  
 to mene be þe skynne þat is vtter parte of body) 'ignobyl folk to 25  
 vndyrstond?' (As ho seyth, how may thys be wrytyn expressly þat  
 is so grete a mystery, euery man to vndyrstond it be my wrytinge?  
 ¶Forth now in þe texte:) 'Qwerfor', seyth Aristotyl to Alisaundyr,  
 'to þat qwyche is conuenient, and semyth þe to axe and inquire,  
 and it is leful and semyth me to trete of, I am bowndyn and be- 30  
 holdyn to ansqwer of dwe, as thow art boundyn of dwe of dyscrecion  
 nowt to require of me mor of thys priuyté þan þat I haue wrytin  
 the in þis boke and youyn þe to þe dysir. For if thow wysely and  
 sotelly and stodyusly rede thys boke and vndyrstonde it, and fully  
 hast knowyng and kunne þat is wrytyn and conteynyd þer-inne, 35  
 I beleue withowte dowght, þat þer schal be none obstakyl be-twene  
 the and þat þi dysir is to knowe. For qwy God | hath youyn the [f. 13<sup>v</sup>]

3 or] *corr. from ob*7 make] *ins. above**canc. h*

15 and I] &amp; I

4 how] *prec. by letter partially formed, and canc.*

9 thy werkys] thys werkys

11 as] *prec. by*

so gret grace in vndyrstondyng and in redynes of wytte and in  
 lettyratur of kunnyng or syens, also be my doctrine that of yought  
 thow haddyst befor, qwyche I toke the, þat now be thy self thow  
 mayst take, and figuratyfly vndyrston, alle that is wrytyn in thys  
 5 boke, þe qwyche thow askyst of me to be taught of. For þe dysire  
 of thy feruent wylle schal opyn to þe and help the now for to  
 opteyne thy purpos, and schal brynge þe to þat ende and purpos  
 qwyche thow dysiryst, ovr Lord grauntyng. The cause is ground  
 on to wysis: one is owteforth, anodyr inforth. The cause owteforth  
 10 is þat thy tresur of gold and syluyr gotyn be this syens, in tyme of  
 nede, be compassyon, hauyng mercy of thy sogettys, to releue  
 hem. The cause [in]forth is thys gret priuyté of olde phyliso-  
 phyrris and ryghtful men, qwyche glorius God chase and comendyd  
 14 to hem, and taught hem. And I comende to þe [þe] same secrete  
 [f. 14] with sondry odyr in þe qwyche, owteward, | thow schalt fynde þe  
 grettest phylosophy and doctrine, withinforth þe fynal cause  
 qwyche is intendyd and purposyd, for ther is alle þe pryncypal  
 purpos and fynal. And qwan thow hast perceuyd þe betekynnyng  
 of dyuysounys, and þe clos figuris of examplys, than plenerly  
 20 and perfyghtly thow schalt purswe thy purpose desyrid. God than,  
 that is most wyse and most gloryus, illumyne thy reson and puryffye  
 thyne vndyrstondyng, to perceyue þe sacrament of thys syens, that  
 thow mayst meryte þerin. The cause is ground qwy that I fynytely  
 reuele figuratyfly my priuyté, spekyng to þe be clos examplys and  
 25 tokynnys. For I fer gretly þat þe boke of þise priuyteis schul come  
 in to þe handys of ontrwe folk, (þat is to sey, wrecchys), 'þe  
 qwyche fere nozt God, or þat it come to þe power of dysolute folk,  
 and so þei schuld come [to] this last priuyté qwyche is Goddys  
 [f. 14<sup>v</sup>] secrete, to qwyche priuyté God hath dempt hem on-|abyl and  
 30 onwurthy. And I, if I schuld wryte þis gret priuyté opynly, I wer  
 þe transgressour of þe grace God hath sent me, and breker of  
 heuynly priuyté and of hyd reuelacion. Qwerfor I sqwer to þe  
 vndyr attestacion of Goddys dome, þat I detecte thys sacrament or  
 priuyté to þe vndyr þe same maner þat it was reuelyd or schewyd  
 35 on-to me, and I wul þat thow knowe þerfor þat he þat detectyth  
 priuyteis and tellyth owte or makyth knowyn hys counsellis, ther  
 schal folow hym some many infortunes, qw[e]rfor thow mayst nozt

8 cause is ground] ground is cause *with interl. letters b and a above ground and  
 cause respectively* 12 inforth] outeforth 26 of] repeated 30 And  
 I] *prec. by canc. I* 32 I sqwere] *followed by second I, canc.*

be sur of casual casys betydyng and euyllis þat be to come. Owr Lord þerfor kepe þe fro alle lyke casys of infortune, and fro euiry dysonest verke.' Thus endyth þe secunde pystyl of Arystotyl þe grettest phylysophyr.

### Capitulum iiij 5

Aftyr thys pystil the phylysofyr, procedyng in hys boke, begynnyth vndyr þis wyse:

O Alysaundyr, aftyr þat I haue expressyd my conceyte in þis pystil | I brynge now to thy remembrans þat most holsum doc- [f. 15] tryne, þe qwyche I was wunte alwey to expugne to þe, in formyng 10 thy nobyl vndyrstondyng. And þat same doctryne of wysdam schal be þi solas and a myroure of helth. It behouyth of necessity to euiry kyng to haue to helpys, be þe qwyche hys kyngdam must be susteynyd. And one of hem is strenght of men, noȝt of her bodyis only, but stronge in wylle, þat þei be redy to help þe in tyme of 15 nede. And be þe strenght and multytude of swyche maner of men a kyngdam is defendyd and comforyd. But thys wul noȝt be but qwan þe hede and gouernour of þe kyngdam is ryghtful, and reulyth be ryghtfulnes, and as a lord hath lorchyp ouir hys sogettys, and þo sogettys withowte ony rebellyon obey to hym þat is lord. 20 For knowe wele þat for inobedyens of sogettys þe power of þe kyng is febyllyd and sette at nowght | and þe sogettis haue lordy- [f. 15v] schyp and take þe reule, if justyse or wysdam fayle in hym þat is an hed. And I schal telle þe cause be wyche, and for qwyche, sogettys be inducyd to obey her lord. And conceyue þat þe cause 25 is on tweyne weyis. One cause is owteforth, anodyr is inforth. þe cause owteforth I told in þe pystyl befor, þat is to sey, þat a kyng dyspende hys ryches be wysdam qwan he seth nede amonge hys sogettys, yeuyng iche of hem aftyr her deseruyng. And with alle this a kyng must haue a-nodyr wyle þe qwyche I schal expresse 30 to þe in þe chapityrris folowyng, qwer-as I schal trete of ryches and of help and conforte a-yen hys sogettys. The secunde wey is to enduce thysogettys wylle to be occupyid. And thys is chef and in þe fyrst degré, for þei þat be onoccupyid, þat do but jangyl and carpe, þei wul dyscusse be-twene hem al thy dedys, bothe bad and 35 goode, and hem-self ydylnes bryngyth to gret wrecchydnes. And þis

9 I] *prec. by space containing erasure*

*prec. by þa cancelled by expuncting*

a kyng] *followed by tho canc.*

36 wrecchydnes] *first c ins. above*

17 is] *prec. by canc. is* But thys]

19 lorchyp] *cf. 122/5* 27-8 þat

34 onoccupyid] *medial o ins. above*

[f. 16] secunde help hath tweyne causys, one owteforth, | a-nodyr inforth.  
 [. . .] þe inforth cause is þat þe kyng excercyse justise abowght  
 hys possessciounis and in exaccionys of money, to be in hem as a  
 trwe eyer and a ryghtful successour. For if it be so þat be extorcion,  
 5 or mor þan justyse requyryth, or to oftyne, þe pepyl be taskyd for  
 þe kyngys propyr vse, thys meuyth þe pepyllis hertys and with-  
 drawyth hertys of hem fro þe kyng, and causyth hem to be mys-  
 lyuirys and to reprehende þe amonge þem self, and prey God for  
 hys deth þat her gode may be restoryd, for in sqwyche gotyn gode  
 10 þe kyng is neuir trwe eyr. Qwer-for a kyng schuld spende and  
 schuld lyfe of hys owne, and so dyspende hys gode be wysdam  
 þat he schuld neuir nede. And þan grace wul folow, and þe gode  
 Lord schal help, þat to wyse men þat study for grace He yeff hem  
 goode plentevusly, and to knowe her dysire, with-owte Home is  
 15 impossybyl to possede owte owdyr of tresur[i]s or kunnyng.

[f. 16<sup>v</sup>] **Of four maner of kyngys | Capitulum v**

Ther be four maner of kyngis, þat is to sey, dysposid on four  
 wysis: one þat is large to hym-self in expens and large to hys  
 sogettis, anodyr qwychy is a nygard to hym-self and a nygard to  
 20 hys sogettys, the thyrd þat is a nygard to hym-self and large to hys  
 sogettys, the fourth þat is large to hymself and a nygard to hys  
 sogettys. The nacion of Ytalyaunis þei hold þis opinion, and sey  
 þat it is no vice in a kyng to be a nygard to hym-self, and to be  
 large to hys sogettys. Men of Inde sey þat he is most comendabyl  
 25 of kyngys þat is a nygard to hym-self and to hys sogettys. The  
 Peercys sey and afferme þe contrary bothe to Italyunis and men of  
 Ynde, seyng þat þe kyng is nought wurth þat is nozt bothe large  
 to hym-self and also to hys sogettys. But, seyth þe phylisophyr, be  
 my dome he is werst and most to be repreuyd of very deseruyng,  
 30 þat is large to hym-self and a nygard to hys sogettys. For he þat  
 is demenyd so, is kyngdam be lykelynes some must be destroyd.  
 [f. 17] þan it behouyth | vs to enquiry sotelly of thyse vertuys and vicis,  
 and to expresse qwat largenes is and eke qwat nygardschyp is, and  
 qwer þat errowr is in largenes, and qwat hurt fallyth and folowyth  
 35 of abstynens of largenes. It is opyn and pleyne inowgh þat qwalytés  
 be gretly to be repreuyd qwan þei discord fro a mene.

3 as a] as As with final s canc. 10-11 and shuld] & ins. above 15 tresuris]  
 tresurus 29 be] ins. above 34 hurt] followed by canc. e 36 qwan]  
 second minim of n written with long downstroke

(Conceyue þat þe phylysophyr clepyth largenes and nygardy qwalyteis. And eke he seyth:)

We knowe wele þat þe obseruaunz of largenes (þat is to sey þe behauyng in largenes), is pasyng hard to demene as it owyth to be. And as sone, or as esy, is þe transgressyon of larges, for þe excesse 5 þat fallyth þer-of. And it is esy and lyght inowe nygardy and wastfulnes to be exersysid of euiry man, and it is as hard to reteyne largenes. And conceyue þat moderat larges is a profytabyll vertu as to a kyng or a reuler. And if thow wult haue þis vertu, conceyue 9 fyrst thy power, and | qwat thow mayst do sauynge þi-self. Con- [f. 17] syder also þe tyme of nede, and þe merytis or deseruyngys of þi sogettys. Thow schalt þan yefe aftyr þi power to them þat haue nede, qwyche be honest personys and haue deseruyd to haue reward. And he þat yefth on odyr maner of wyse he synnyth, and pasyth þe rewle of largenes. For he that yefth yiftys to þem qwyche 15 haue none nede, he schal no preysyng haue þerby. And alle þat euir he yefyth to wastourys or mysrewlyd men, he lesyth it. And he þat lyghtly with laues spendyth or yefth owte hys goode, he schal sone come to þe wrecchydnes of byttry pouirté. And sqwyche one is lykenyd to hym þat yef hys enmyis victory ouir hys owne 20 persone. He þerfor þat yefth in tyme of nede of hys goode to nedeful honest folk, is clepyd a vertuus large kyng, þe qwyche is bothe wyse to hym-self and large, and eke to hys sogettys, and sqwyche a kyngis | kyngdam schal contune in prosperyté, and hys [f. 18] commaundement schal be obseruyd. Olde wyse men preyse 25 sqwyche a kyng, for ryghfully he may be clepyd vertuus, large and mesurabyll. And he þat lauessyth owte þe godys of hys kyngdam inordynatly and withowte mesur to þem þat haue no nede, or ellis to onwurthy pepyl, sqwyche one is as a destroyer of þe comun welfar, a spyller of þe pepyl, a destroyer of þe kyngdam, 30 onabyll to haue gouernaunz. Qwerfor a-monge þe pepyl he is clepyd a wastur, inasmyche as prouydens and polycie be fer fro hys kyngdam. The name of nygardy dysworchyppyth gretly a kyng, and dyscordyth gretly to a kyngis magesté. If he be notyd with owdyr of thyse vicis, þat is to sey, with nygardy or of wastfulnes, 35 if he wulle þanne wysely counsel to hymself, he owyth with hie diligens to prouyde on trosty manne þat is trwe, discrete, and wyse,

18 he þat] he *ins. above*  
but cf. 121/3 and see also 114/13

26 ryghfully] *intended form perh.* ryghtfully,  
34 If] if owdyr

35 or] *ins. above*

[f. 18<sup>v</sup>] chosyn a-monge many be hys | sadnes, to home þei schuld comytt þe dysposicion of þe comun, and to gouerne þe ryches of þe kyngdam.

The sexte capitil begynnyth

Capitulum vj<sup>m</sup>

The phylisophyr seyth furthermor to Alysaunder on thys wyse:

5 O Alysaunder, I telle þe stedfastly þat qwat kyng sumeuir ber sqwyche a kowntenauns in expens þat is mor þan hys lyuelod drawyth, sqwyche a kyng destroyith and is destroyid. For, as I haue told þe oftyn, þe exclusyon, or declyne, or bowyng from nygardy and wastfulnes, and þe adquysycion of largenes, is þe  
 10 glory of a kyng, and þat thyng qwyche maketh euir tendur a kyngdam. And this is qwan a kyng restreynyth or withdrawyth hys hande or hys power fro þe possessiounys of hys sogettis. Qwerfor it is wrytyn in þe doctrine or commaundement of þe gret  
 14 doctour Hermogynes, þat þe most hye and trwe goodenes, clernes [f. 19] of vndrystondyng, and fulfylling | of þe lawe, and owteward tokyn of perfeccion in a kyng, is þat [he] absteynyth fro þe possessiounys of hys sogettys, and also fro her money, for þise be cause of destruccion of a kyngdam. Knowyst þou nozt, þat for as myche as þe wastful expens of kyngys pasyd þe receyte of  
 20 her cyteis, and on thys maner þe receytis faylyng and þe kyngys expensys [contynuing], þei extendyd be extorcion her power and takyn away odyr mennys goodys and þe receyte of her sogettys lyfelodys, and þat þe soget, for her trowbyl and wronge, haue cryid to God for help. And God, heryng hem, hath sent a brennyng  
 25 wynd and scorgyd hem (þat is to sey haue sofyrid mennys hertys to ryse ayens hem), þat at þe last, for vengauens, þe pepyl haue rysyn to-gyddyr ayens hem, and made an ende of hem, þat if God had nozt an-holpyn and defendyd hem, alle þe kyndam had ben vttyrly destroyd. Knowe þer-fore, þat ryches is cause of duryng  
 30 of manhod and prosperyté. For manhod may nozt endur, if [f. 19<sup>v</sup>] sqwyche | as is requyryd fayle or be destroyd. Iche þer-for, lord, gretly must be-war of superfluyté and ouirdone aboundauns in expensys or yiftys. That than temperauns of largenes, þe qwyche in euery lord is gretly commendabyl, may be gotyn, onwyse and  
 35 lauesse yeuyng must be schonyd. And it is of þe substauns of largenes and of vertu to lesse of, and nozt to inquiry of, þe hyd materys of priuyteis, ner to reduce to mend yiftys, as of þe kende

1 many] n *ins. above*

27 ayens hem] hem *ins. above*

*above canc. sumtyme*

17 also] *prec. by downstroke as of incomplete I*  
 ende] *prec. by canc. ayens*

35 it is] *ins.*

of þiftis. Also it is of þe substauns of vertu to reward þem þat deserue reward, and also to foryef a wrong done ayen the, and to wurchyp þem þat of gouernaunz and godys be wyse and wurchyful, to help þem and supporte þat be sympyl and mene wele, to fulfyle þe defautys of innocentis, to ansqwer goodely to þem þat salute [þe], to represe þi tonge fro alle euyl speche, bothe be-forn folk and be-hynde hem, and if it be so þat thow be wrongyd owdyr of þi persone or þi name, sofyf for þe qwyle | tyl tyme oportune be, and to fle foly and nozt to knowe foly. And now (seyth Arystotyl) þat I haue told þe now, it is breuely phylosophyk or prophetyk þat wysdam. And if þou had be-forn þis tyme neuir a-lernyd þe odyr doctrine but þis, it wer innowghe for þe, bothe in thys world and in þat qwyche is to come.

## Here begynnyth þe seuynth capitil

Capitulum vij<sup>m</sup>

Know þan þat vndyrstondyng, qwyche is be wysdam, is hed of alle gouernaunz, helth of soule, keper of vertu, sercher or ouer-looker of vicys. For be þis resun of vndyrstondyng we behold or se þo þingys þat be nessesary to fle, and be þat we chese þo thyngis þat be necessary to be chosyn. þis is þe begynny[n]g of alle vertu, rothe of all gode thyngis preisabyl and honorabyl. And þe fyrst instrument of intellygens is dysir of goode fame. For he þat trwly disiryth be menys conuenient to haue gode fame, he schal be bothe famus and | also gloryus. And he þat feynydy dysiryth fame and folowyth nozt þe menys to gete it, be infamy schal be confoundyd. Fame þer-for is chef and princypal þat is desyryd in gouernauns. For a kyndam is nozt desyryd for þe self but þe fame, as þe glory and plesauns of a kyng in hys conqwest is to be famed a wyse, manly and wurthy werryor. The begynnyng þer-for of wysdame and vndyrstondyng is dysir of gode fame, þe qwyche be reule of remys or ellis lordchyp is gotyn. But conceyue þat if for [oþer þan] þis cause gouernauns or lordechyp be dysiryd or ellis gotyn, it schal nozt be þe getyng of fame, but of enuye. Inuye gendryth lesyngis, þe qwyche is rote of repreuabylnes and mater of vycis. Inuye gendryth detraccion, and detraccion gendryth hatered. Hatered gendryth wronge. Wronge gendryth pertynacy, þat is to sey forward boldnes. And þis froward boldnes gendryth angry. Angry

6 þe] hym

9 nozt] *prec. by ig: see n.*18 nessesary] *altered from*

nessecary

20 preisabyl] *i ins. above.*25 þer-for] *ins. above*29 reule] *corr. from reuly: cf. 134/29*

[f. 21] gendryth stryfe. | Stryfe gendryth enmyté. Enmyté gendryth werr.  
 Werre destroyth lawe and also cyteys. And thys is ayene þe lawe  
 and ryght of natur. And þat qwyche is repugnaunt to natur de-  
 stroyth þe body. Stody þer-for and loue þe desyr of goode fame,  
 5 for-qwy resun be þe dysyr of gode fame dryuyth or sokyth owte  
 [un]trwthe, and [un]trwthe is rote of alle perysabyll thyngis. And  
 [trwthe is] grounde and mater of alle gode thyngis, for it is contrary  
 to linge, and gendryth dysir of ryghtfulnes, and thys justyse or  
 ryghtfulnes gendryth confydens. Confydens gendryth largenes.  
 10 Largenes gendryth famyliaryté or homlynes. þis homlynes gendryth  
 frendchyp. Frenchyp gendryth counsel and help in euery nede.  
 And be thys þe world was ordeynid, and eke þe lawe of man, for þis  
 acordyth bothe to resun and natur. Than is it opyn in owghte  
 þat þe dysir of gouernanz for goode fame is goode, lawdabyll and  
 15 durabil. |

### Capitulum viij

[f. 21<sup>v</sup>] O Alysaunder, declyne and sette asyde þe bysynes of bestyal lustys  
 or inordinate wyllys or desyrus of þe flesche, for-qwy þei be  
 coruptybyll. And trwly carnal appetytis inclyne þe wyll and  
 20 sensualyté to dysyris coruptybyll of a bestly dysyr or a bestyal in-  
 clynacion, þe qwyche is of þe spyrite of lyfe in bestys, þe qwyche  
 dysyris be noȝt forbydin be dyscrecion. Qwer-for, qwan carnal  
 lustys be fulfyllid, þe coruptybil body is glad, and þe vertuus  
 intellygens, or þe soule, is trowbyld and sory, þat is incoruptybil.  
 25 Thanne thow must knowe þat þe bysines abowght þe lustys of  
 þe flesche gendyr carnal loue. Carnal loue gendryth couetyse.  
 Couetyse gendryth dysir of ryches. Desir of ryches gendryth on-  
 schamefulnes. Onschamefastnes gendryth presumcion. Presum-  
 30 cion gendryth ontrwth. Ontrwth gendryth bryburry. And bryburry  
 [f. 22] bryngith | forth schame and repref, of qwyche is born and brought  
 forth thraldam, þe qwyche ledith or bryngyth to þe detryment  
 bothe of Goddis lawe and lawe of man. It is also destruccion of  
 famylyarité and confusyon of alle vertuus verke and eke of manhod,  
 þe qwyche is contraryus to natur.

### 35 The nyghte capityl

### Capitulum ix

Than fyrst and formest chefly it is conuenyent to a kynge, as to  
 hym-self, þat þe fame of hys name, as in laudabyll wysdam, be in

6 untrwthe (*twice*) *initial t canc. in revision, to give rwthe: see n.* 13 owghte]  
 nowghte 26 Carnal loue gendryth] gendryth *written twice; the first gendryth canc.*

ryfe pupplyschyd or dyvulgate, and þat he with hys men, bothe in comunicacion and in hys gesturis schew dyscrecion and wysdam. And for þat he is wurchyppyd and hys fame spred. And for þis he is feryd of hys men, qwan þei se hym eloquent in hys wysdam and is prudent in hys conceyte and hys dedys. But lyghtly it may  
5 be knowyn qwydir þer be wysdam in a king or of onwysdam, be odyr to kynnys. For qwat kyng sum-euir subdwyth his kyngdam vndyr þe fer and lawe of God is wurthy | to regne and wurchyppfully [f. 22<sup>v</sup>]  
to haue lordchyp. But he þat onprofytably bryngyth hys owne lawe in-to seruyté, and puttyth or throwyth vndyr hys kyngdam 10  
and empyr, is transgressour of weyis or menys of trwth. As ho seyth, he þat makyth lawes for hys pepyl and byndyth to obserue þo lawys, þe qwyche lawys he makyth aftir hys carnal dysyr and nozt aftir þe lawys of God, he followyth nozt þe veys of trwthe, and is despyser eke of hys owne lawe, þe qwyche is cause þat 15  
hys pepyl hath no confydens in hym. And conceyue þat wyse phylisofrys, as seyth þis doctourr, qwyche wer inspyryd of God, seyde þat it semyd a kyngis magesté to obtempyr hym-self to lawful ordynawuns be þe lawys of God made, nozt to make nwe lawys hym-self, and be þe fyrst þat brekyth hem. But lete a kyng at 20  
þe lest wey so demene hym þat hys pepyl may haue þat conceyte þat he feryth God a-bouy, and hys subiecte to Hys godly power. For | þan men fere hym and do hym gret reuerrens, qwan þei se [f. 23]  
þat he feryth God. And if it be so þat only in apparens owteward he schew hym-self religius, and is in hys werkys euyl-doyng, 25  
sythyn þat it is herd for to couir werkys off wykkydnes but þat þe pepyl on sum maner schal know yt, þan schal he be repreuyd of God and condempnyd of men, and hys dede schal be infamyd, hys empyr or hys dygnyté schal be mynwsyd, and þe dyademe of hys glorye and excellens schal want wurchyp. For þer is non pryce, 30  
reward ner tresour þat may bye ayen goode fame, if it be fully lost.

## þe tenthe capitil

Capitulum x<sup>m</sup>

Mor-uir, it semyth a kyng to haue in wurchyp þem þat haue þe lawe in kepyng, to wurchyp relygius men, and to enhauns wysemen, and forto talke with hem, to meue also to hem dowghtful 35  
qwestyonnis, and to make interrogacion honestly, and to þer resounys to ansqwer dyscretly, and þem þat be most wyse and

6 or] *ins. above*11 of trwth] *added in margin*18 obtempyr] *ob-*  
*temperyr*

[f. 23<sup>v</sup>] most nobyl, to haue hem | most in reputacion and reuerrens, eury man aftyr þat hys state is in dygnyté or byrth, or in wyse gouernauns.

### þe elleuynth capitil

### Capitulum xj

5 It behouyth mor-ouir a kyng to think of þat qwyche is to come, and to casuel chaunchys þat he perceuyth schal come and be-tyde be lykelynes, to ley to hande befor be menys of wysdam, þat þe chauns may þe eselyer be born. It acordyth also a kyng to be compassyf, and wrath and þe meuyng of þe sensualyté to restreyne,  
 10 lesse þat he, meuyd withowte avyusement, fullyllyd hys angry in dede as in smytyng or odyr vengaus doyng. And it is vertu in a kyng to know hys owne errowr be þe discussyon of hys owne reson, and qwan þat he is meuyd to do amys, be wysdam to reuoke hys mocion, for it is gret wysdam in a kyng to gouerne hym-self.  
 15 Qwan þefore a kynge ony proffytabyll thyng seyth to be done, þe [f. 24<sup>v</sup>] qwyche is goode, he owyth | to haue þat dyscrecion in hys doying þat it be nowydyr to late done, nor to sone, for if he be to hasty in hys dedys, þe pepyl wul sey he is impetuus. And if he be slowe, þei wul sey þat he is slugye, feynt and remysse. Qwerfor  
 20 a mene is necessary.

### þe thuelthe capitil

### Capitulum xij

It acordyth gretly to a kyngis dygnyté to be clad in solempne aray, nozt in nyce aray, but in solempne garmentis of valowr, þat he may alwey schewe hym-self, qwan he must apper be-for hys pepyl, to  
 25 seme mor excellent, þe mor goodely and þe mor onorabyll. For it is acordyng to a kyng in þat prerogatyfe to pase odyr, þat is to sey in hys aray. For be aray þe dygnyté of euery state is made þe mor semly, and mor had in reuerrens, þat dwe reuerrens be nozt with-  
 29 drawyn for febyll aray. It is conuenyent to a kynge to be portly in [f. 24<sup>v</sup>] hys behauyng, to be gentyll of speche, | eke þat hys voys be cler, for þat profytith myche in tyme of bateyll.

### þe thyrdtene capitil

### Cap<sup>m</sup> xiiij

O Alysaundryr, how specyus and how wurchypful it is in a kyng to absteyne fro myche speche, but if it be so þat nede askyth it.

7 be lykelynes] be *ins. above*                      11 doying] *ends with flourish, possibly*  
 for doyingis                      17 nowydyr] *possibly slip for nowdyr*                      18 impetuus]  
 -us over a cancellation                      21 thuelthe] *cf. 120/18 but see also 118/3*

For it is bettyr þat mennys erys hauyn longyng to her a kyng  
 speke, þan þat þe erys be repleschyd of myche speche of þe  
 kyngys talkyng. For qwan þe erys be fulfyllyd, þe affeccion or  
 dysyre of þe spyryt be fulfyllyd, and þan þei charge nozt myche  
 of hys talkyng. It is also conuenyent and syttyng to a kyng, to 5  
 absteine hym, and nozt come to oftyn in-to þe felyschyp of hys  
 sogettys, and in specyal amonge þem þat be folk of none reputa-  
 cion. For ouir-myche homlynes a-monge sogettys gendyrriith con-  
 tempte of worchyp, and causyth þem to sett lytil by hym. Qwerfor  
 þe custom of men of Yinde is preysabyl, in dysposycion of þe 10  
 kyngdam and in despensacion, eke in making ordynauns for her  
 kyng, þe qwyche is þis: | þat þe kyng schal apper but onys [f. 25]  
 in þe yer be-forn hys men in kyngly aray, and alle hys wer-  
 yourys abowght hym armyd, and he hymself syttyng vppon a stede  
 armyd in gold and precyus stonys on þe most semly wyse. And þan 15  
 þei make þe communnys to stonde alange or abak far fro þe kyng,  
 in sqwyche a dystauns þat þei may se þe kyng, and þan þe  
 statys of þe reme and hys baronnys a-bowght hym. And þat day  
 þei wer wunt to spede hard materis and to declar þe chaunsys of  
 thyngis done be-for, as in batell or odyr notabyl cassys. Than 20  
 schuld he telle hys charge and hys bysines þat he hath abowght  
 þe profyte or welefar of þe comunys, or qwat daungeris in bateyl  
 he hath had for hem. And þat day he was wunt to yef yiftys to hys  
 lordys and to hys mene, and to delyuer pryssonneris fro prison,  
 grauntyng þem perdonnys, and þat day to releue grete chargys of 25  
 hys sogettis, and many dedys of mercy to put in excersyse. | And [f. 25v]  
 qwan þe kyng hath spokyn, one of hys most notabyl princys, þat  
 hath most wysdam in vtyrrauns of materis, [schal speke] and þis  
 prince schal make a processe in comendacion of þe kyng, yeldyng  
 also preysyngis to God þat hathe so wele prouydyd to þe kyngdam 30  
 of Yinde to sende to þat pepyl so wyse an hed to gouerne þe kyng-  
 dam be justyse and mercy, and eke þat hath confermyd þe pepyl  
 of Yinde to be obeying and a-cordyng with one wylle. And aftyr  
 þe preysyngis of God and recommendacion of þe kyng, he schal  
 turne hys speche to þe preysyng of þe pepyl, commendyng her 35  
 goode maner, inducyng hem be examplys and resunnys to humilyté,  
 obedyens and reuerens, and to loue þe kyng. The qwyche speche  
 endyd, alle þe pepyl stodyith tenhauns þe kyngys [name] with

3 be] *prec. by canc.* is

18 and hys] *prec. by canc.* a

38 with] *ins.*

above

preysyngis, and to comend hys werkys, and to prey God for þe kyngis lyfe, and be alle cyteis and hows-holdys to telle þe kyngis dedys and hys wysdam. For þis þei lern her chyldyr of yought  
 [f. 26] tenduce to þe kyngis wurchyp and to loue | hym, tobey hym and  
 5 to drede hym. And be þis maner of wey þe goode fame of a kyng  
 princypally is pupplyschyd and incresyth bothe in priuyté and opynly.

### The fourtene capitil

### Capitulum xiiij

The kyng þan was wunt to command þe malefactourys, þe  
 10 qwyche be þe commune voys of þe pepyl wer wurthy to dye, þat  
 day to make delyuerrauns, þat alle presumptuos pepyl schuld feer  
 and be correctyd be exampyl of hem. And þan also he was wunt  
 to reles or to lesse trybutys, and of marchauntys of odyr londys  
 and eke of hys owne reme, to dyspense with hem, and to reles  
 15 a parte of þer trybute, and to kepe hem and defende her personys  
 and her goodys. And þis is cause qwy þat countré is so ryche, for  
 þat marchauntys haue no wronge þer, but be onestly tretim, and  
 þat equité is kept in bying and sellyng to ryche and por, straunger  
 and odyr, qwerfor þe kyngys tributys and resceytys be augmentyd.  
 20 Therfor it owyth to be stou[d]yd þat merchaundys comyng fro fer  
 [f. 26<sup>v</sup>] countré | þat þei be nozt troubyllyd, ner haue no wronge, for þei  
 be bererrys of fame thorow-owte þe world, qwerfor straungerys  
 þei wold be tretim be trwth, and be þis mene þe kyngis receyte is  
 incresyd, and cyteis be defensyd and incresyth bothe þe kyngdam  
 25 and þe wurchyp of þe kyng, and for þe fame and gode report þe  
 enmyis of þat kyngdam wax aferd. And þus lyuyth þe kyng  
 pesybilly and swrly and be this mene hath hys desyre.

### The fyuetene capitil

### Capitulum xv

O Alysaundyr, dysir nozt þat qwych[e] is coruptybil and tran-  
 30 sytory, and þat qwyche thow must sone forsake. Ordeyne ryches  
 incoruptybyl, þat is to sey Lyffe onchongeabyl and euirlastyng  
 Kyngdam, þe qwyche is gloriys and durabyl. Dresse þer-for thy  
 thowghtys to goode, yeldyng thy self gloryus and manly. Schone  
 þe weyis, in lustys of þe flesch, of bestis and lyonnys, and þer  
 35 onclennes. Be nozt crwel, but sparyng þem þat thow hast victory |

4 tenduce] & tenduce  
 canc. be

13 or] *prec. by canc. &*

22 fame] *prec. by*

27 swrly] ly over *canc. final flourish (i.e. -e contraction)*

29 qwyche] qwychy: *cf. I 29/29* 30-2 Reade/Take heade *in margin, in later hand*

of. Thenke of þat qwycche is to kome, and of accyidental casis, for [f. 27]  
 thow knowyst nozt qwat þe nest day schal brynge forth, qwydyr  
 trowbyl or ese, lyfe or deth. Folow neuir nor fulfyl þe dysyris of  
 þe flesch, as in etyng, in drynkyng, in lying with women, nor in to  
 longe slepe, for þise hurt natur. 5

**The sextene capitil****Capitulum xvj**

Buxum Emperour, inclyne þe nozt to lying with women, fort  
 haue do with hem fleschly, for þat vyce is a propyrté of sqwyne.  
 Qwat glory is it to þe to exersyse þe vice of bestys onresonnabyl  
 and þe vice of brutis? But beleue me withowte dowght, þat oftyn 10  
 carnal comyxtion is destrucion of þe body and schortyng of þe  
 lyfe, and corupc[i]on of vertuys, transgressyon of þe lawe, and  
 it gendryth womannys condycionys and at the last it bryngyth in  
 þat I spake of be-forn, þat is to sey, schortyng of lyfe.

**The seuyntene capitil****Capitulum xvij | 15**

It is conuenient to an emperouris magesté to haue in hys hows- [f. 27\*]  
 old priuat seruauuntys, þe qwycche be men of wurchyp, and trwe in  
 kepyng of priuuteis, with þe qwycche he may be myry in hys  
 chambyr, and eke to haue honest personys þat can harp and lwte  
 and pley at orgynnis qwan þat he fyindyth hym-self tedious, þat 20  
 is to sei irkesum or onlysty. For mannys spyritis hath delectacion  
 in sqwyche naturally, and hys wyttis restyn for þat tyme, and also  
 stody and curyosyté wansen away for þe tyme, and alle þe body  
 is strenghyd þer-with. And if thow wult haue delectacion in myrth  
 of musyk, at þe most endur thre dayis in sqwyche maner of sportys, 25  
 or ellis contune four days, aftyr thow se yt expedyent, with honest  
 myrth in a priuat place. And qwan thow art in þat solas, absteyne  
 þi self fro drynke, but sette þi pece to þi mowth, as if thow drankyst  
 oftyn, and soffyr þi meny þat be in þat myrth with þe to drynke 29  
 oftyn of myghty wyne, | and make þi-self as thow thow were wel [f. 28]  
 forth, and feyn þiself as if thow wer takyn with myghty wyne.  
 And þan waite wysely at þi mennys langage and at her behauyng,  
 and than schalt thow her many secrete materis and her and per-  
 ceuye myche thyng, and make as thowghe þow heedyst hem nozt.

7-8 fort haue] *written as one word fforthaue* 13 womannys] *corr. from*  
 no-mannys, the w by error covering o as well as n at] *followed by second at, canc.*  
 26 se yt] *seyt* 28 þi!] *þei conceivably intended form* 30 thow thow]  
*run together, separated by stroke in revision* 31 thow wer] *thowre were*  
 32 waite] *i ins. above*

But lete thys maner of reuel noȝt pase thryis in a yer. And thow must haue a-bowght þe þi specyal menne þat schal telle þe al þat euir is done and seyð thorow owte þi kingdam. And qwan þat thow art amonge thy barownys, wurchyp þem þat be holdyn wyse  
 5 men and sad men, and þo þat haue deseruyd to be wurchyppyd. Hold yche of hem in hys state. Comawnde one to dyne with þe þis day, and anodyr to-morow. Yef þem rewardis on þe lyke wyse, setting þem after þer degré be in wurchyp. And lette þer be no wurthy man longyng to þe, nor with-inne þi kyngdam, but lette  
 10 hym fele þi largenes in yiftys. And lete alle men knowe þe buxumnes [f. 28<sup>v</sup>] of þi magesté, and the | nobylls of thy lyberal herte.

### þe eghtene capitil

### Capitulum xviiij

It syttyth also a kyng to haue dyscrecion and contynens, and for to absteyn fro myche lawghyng. For oftyn lawghyng takyth  
 15 a-wey reuerens, and causyth also þat a man of wurchyp is noȝt sett by, for it is a token of a wantown hert. Also oftyn lawghyng gendryth age, making a rympyld face.

### The nynetene capitil

### Capitulum xi[x]

Mor-ouir, thow must knowe þat men be bowndyn mor to do  
 20 reuerrens to þe kynge, and þe kynge to do wurchyp to þe pepyl with-in hys palyce and hys consystory, þan in odyr placys. For þer it syttyth þat he þat hath done wronge be ponyschyd aftyr hys degré be, þat odyr þat be present schuld feer and absteyne hem fro wrongys doying. But conceyue þat on one maner of wyse  
 25 a wurthy man that hath offendyd schuld be ponyschyd, and on anodyr maner of wyse he þat is an abiecte persone, a man of none [f. 29] valwr. It is þer-for good | rygourr and also to kepe or to obserue contynens, þat þer be betwene þe kyng and hys sogettys a dystynction of personys. For it is wrytyn in þe boke of Esculabyis, þat  
 30 sqwyche a kynge is laudabyl and to be louyd þat is lyke to an egyl hayng lorchyp a-monge byrdys, and noȝt he is to be preysid þat is as a byrd sogette. If ony persone þer-for in þe kyngis courte, or in þe presens of þe kyngis magesté, presume any wronge to do, or to brynge in ony offens, or to offend ayens any man, lete it be con-  
 35 sydryd to qwat entente he do hit, qwydir it be done of myrth for to plese þe and to prouoke odyr to sport, or if it be done in despyte or

13 It] *Illuminated initial I followed by it written out in full*

32-3 or in] or in in

35 do hit] *run together*

contempt of þi dygnyté. And if it be for þe fyrst cause, lette hym be esyli corectyd. And if it be for þe secunde cause, lette hym dye þer-for.

### þe tweynti capitil

### Capitulum xx<sup>m</sup>

O Alysaundyr, obedyens of a lordchyp or of a lordchyper 5  
 stondyth on four wysis: þat is to sey, in relygiosyté, | in loue, in [f. 29<sup>v</sup>]  
 curyalyté, and in reuerrens. O Alysaundyr, turne to þe the hertys of  
 þi sogettys, take fro hem wrongys and onryghtys, yef no man mateir  
 nor cawse for to speke amys of þe, for þe comun pepyl is redy to  
 gangil. Conteyne so þi-self þat þei haue no mater to speke ayens þe, 10  
 and be þat schalt þu schone her bysynes: þei may nozt do ayens  
 þe. Mor-ouir, knowe þat sadnes is þe glory, þe enhaunsyng or  
 þe wurchyp of euery dygnyté, and þe feer of a lordchyp and þe  
 enhaunsyng of a kyng. Than is it þe most hye wysdam þat þi  
 reuerrens abyde in þe hertys of þi sogettys rather þan þi loue. 15

### þe one and tweynti capitil

### Capitulum xxj

It is wrytin þat a kynge schuld be in hys kyngdam as þe reyne  
 to þe erth, þe qwyche is þe grace of Good and þe blyssyng of  
 heuyn, þe lyfe of þe erth, and þe help of alle lyuyng thyng, for be  
 þe menys of reyne in þe oryent, marchauntis ordeyne her jorneyes 20  
 in qwenchyng sondys, help also to bylerris in stabylyschyng þe erth.  
 | And yit vmqwyle in reynys þer falle thundrys and lyghtenyng, [f. 30<sup>v</sup>]  
 and ryueris and spryngis bolne, and many hurtys be-tyde þer-of,  
 be qwyche hurtys lyuyng thyngis perysch; but neuirþeles þise  
 accyidental thyngis lette nowght but þat men preyse gloryus God 25  
 in Hys magesté, consyderyng þe tokynnys of hys Grace, and yiftis  
 of Hys mercy. For be þe reyn þe frwtys of þe erthe be multiplyid,  
 and gresse and herbis, treis and vynnys, increce and burgyn, and  
 for þis cause men yef preysyng to Good and foryet þe hurtys þe  
 qwyche þat be-tyd be reyne. And exampyl of a kyng is acordyng 30  
 to þe exampyl of wyndis, þat glorius God sendith owte and exten-  
 dyth fro þe tresur of [H]is mercy, and be þo wyndys bryngith forth  
 cloudys and makyth cornys to growe, and rypyth þe frutys of treis  
 and þe spyrytis alle of lyuyng thyngis be qwekynnyd. Watir  
 dysirid be wyndys be had, for wyndys lyftyn watrys beryng hem 35  
 houyng ouir þe erth. | It helpyth eke schyppenne to seyle for lukyr [f. 30<sup>v</sup>]

8 mateir] mateir  
 35 lyftyn] f *ins. aboue*

27 be þe] *prec. by canc. þe*  
 36 houyng] g *ins. aboue*

32 His] þis

in-to fer londys, and many gode thyngis be causyd be wyndys. And yet, neuir-þe-lesse, many hurtys be causyd of wyndis, many gret perellis, and many lettyngis bothe on þe lond and on þe ssee, and owteward trowbyllis with syngyngs þei brynge to þe hert.

5 Mennys goodys in tempestis þei brynge to losse and to spoyling, and be hem þe corrupcionys of þe eyr be gendyrd, dedly venym is noryschyd, and many grete hurtys falle of wyndys. And qwan creaturis þat be on þe erth besechen Hym þat makyth alle þingis to take a-wey fro þem thys hurtys, He soffyrryth neuir-þe-lesse þe

10 wyndis to haue her propyr cours and her accion of propyrté youyn to hem. For alle thyngis be Hys wysdam be equal weght, nowmbyr and order He hath ordeynyd, and as a lawe hath ordeynid to Hys seruaunt to serue tho, and þat yede owte of Hys

[f. 31] inenarrabyll goodenes and Hys gret mercy. | Thys parabyll also

15 may be [l]ykenyd to wyntyrr and to somir, þe qwyche God hath ordeynyd to generacion and refresschyng and to nwyng and also dwrabylltyté of temporal thyngis, and eke of thyngis natural. And yit many inconuenyentis, perellis and mortalyteis betyde, bothe of hete and of cold, bothe of somir and wyntyrr. And on þe lyke

20 wyse, in a kyng it betydith, for þer comyth many grete profytis be hym, and also tho thyngis þat be heuysum and dysplesyng to hys sogettis, qwan in hem þe abieccion of mysery be þe kyngis correccion neghyth.

### þe to and tweynti capitil

### Capitulum xxij

25 O Alysaundyr, inquir and serche of þe pouerté and necessyté of þe por, þat be hard be-stad, and help to þo nedy folk in tyme of þer necessyté. And of þi buxumnes þu schalt chese sqwyche a man þat knowy[t]h her talkyng, þat louyth justyse, þe qwyche can far with

29 hem and inqyrr qwat þei nede, þat þis man may fulfyllen þi stede,

[f. 31v] and mercyfully loue hem and gouerne hem. And in þis | maner obseruauns of þe [kyngis duetis is fulfyllid and the pe]pyl is gladyd and Godde is plesyd.

### þe tre and twenty capitil

### Capitulum xxiiij

O Alysaundyr, ordeyn be þi wysdam dyscrete personys, þe

35 qwyche in tyme may stuffe þe with alle maner of greynys, noȝt for þi owne howshold only, but for to help þi comunys in tyme of nede. For in yeris of derth þi pepyl þat is poor schal perysch,

but if þei haue relef. þan þi prouydens myche schal be comendyd, if þu haue qwer-with to releue hem. þis is a gret sleyght and defens of þe kyngdam, þe helthe of þe pepyl, and þe kepyng of þi cyteis, for þan þi commaundment schal thyrþ þi pepyllis hertys, and þan þi chef glory schal be, qwan þe pepyl haue cler vndyrstondyng þat 5 þi prouydens was so gret to prouyde be-forn of sqwyche a gret necessary casualté, and men seeyng þi wysdam, þei schal feer þe, loue þe, and do þe gret reuerrens.

### The four and tweynti capitil

### Capitulum xxiiij

O Alysaundyr, oftyn I have warnyd þe, and yit I warne þe, þat 10 þu kepe | my doctryne, and if þu obserue it þow schalt haue þi [f. 32] purpose, and þi kyngedam schal be stablyschyd and abyde or contynw. Fear þan þe schedyng of mennys blode, for þat longith to God, þat knowyth þe priuyté of euiry mannys hert. Qwer-for neur of crwelté, but he be dempt be lawe, sle hym nozt qwat-sum- 15 eur he be. Take nozt vppon þe Gooddys offyce, for it is nozt youyn to þe to knowe Goddys priuyté. For if God ponysch be deth, it is to suppose þat He is grettly offendyd. Bewar þan of schedyng of mannys bloode, for þe gret doctor Hermogynes wrote seyng þus, 'Qwan a creatur sleeth a creatur lyke to hym, þe vertuis of 20 heuyn' (þat is to sey, aungelys), 'þei crye to Goddys Magesté, seyng, "Lord, Lord, þi seruaunt wul be lyke to þe!" And if he be slayne onryghtfully, the hiest Maker abouyn ansqweryth, "Soffyr hym þat sleth, for he schal be slayne. þe vengauis is to Me, and I schal reward it." And so oftyn þe vertuis of heuyn schal represente 25 hys deth þat is slayne, tyl vengauis be | fallyn vppon þe man-sleer. [f. 32<sup>v</sup>] þe qwyche mansleer schal be one of þo þat schal abyde in euir-lastyng peynys.'

### þe fyue and tweynti capitil

### Capitulum xxv

O Alysaundyr, in alle peynis thow hast knowlech, for many 30 kendis of peynis and harmys thow hast had in experyens. Brynge to remembrauns þin owne stok, þinke on þi fadir and þi modyr, and dyscysse her lyfe, and þow mayst fynde and drawe owte many goode examplis. For þe done dedis of þem þat wer befor, is a certytude of lernyng of þo þingis þat be to come. Dyspyse neur 35

7 feer þe] þe *ins. above*      11 þu obserue it] *ins. above*      31 thow hast] thow s hast  
32 on] followed by *canc. interl. insertion (beginning wu?)*  
35 certytude] certytude, with *otiose d expuncted*

hym þat is lesse þan yow in dygnyté, for oftyn it betydyth þat  
 ryght pore be made ryche and come to wurchyp, and þan hath  
 he myght to noye þe. Be war þat þu breke neuir þi promysse ner  
 þi feyth, ner no bonde of frenchyp qwyche þu hast promysid, for  
 5 disworchyp folowyng, for þat acordyth to ontrwe and onstedfast  
 yong folk and also to comune women. Kepe þer-for trwly þi  
 [f. 33] feyth promysyd, for to alle ontrwthe þer folowyth an euyl | ende,  
 þow it be so þat gret profyte myght falle in brekyng of þi promysse.  
 For it is an euyl tecche and a repreuabyl exampyl, and of þe kende  
 10 of euyl dedys and onuertuus. Knowe þat be trwth and feyth [be] þe  
 congregcion and gadryng of men in felyschyp and trost: cyteis  
 þer-by be inhabytid, þe communyon of men, þe domynacion of  
 a kyng. Be feyth castellis be kept, cyteis be gouernyd. For trwly,  
 take away feyth and alle men schal retourne to þe fyrst state, þat is  
 15 to sey lyke to brutis, and in symilytude to bestis. Most trwe  
 kyng, bewar þat þow breke nozt þi feyth þat þu hast made, ner  
 þi promisse nor thyne othe. Knowyst nozt, þe gret clerk Hermo-  
 gines beryth record þat þer be to spyrytis kepyng þe, one on þi  
 ryght syde, anodyr on þi left syde, kepyng þe and knowyng alle  
 20 þi werkys, making relacion to þe Maker abouyn alle þat euir  
 þat þu art purposyd to do? In trwthe, and þer war ryght nozt ellis  
 but þis, yt schuld withdrawe þe and euery man fro euery dishonest  
 [f. 33v] werk. Ho comst | [þu] streynyth þe so oftyn for to sqwer? Truly  
 þu schuldyst nozt do þat with-owte gret necessaryté. A kyng, but if  
 25 he were myche preyid and oftyn requyrid, he schuld nozt sqwer.  
 Knowyst nozt þat sqweryng is dysconuenient to þi dygnyté, and  
 þat þu doste derogacion to þi wurchyp qwan þu sqwerist? And if  
 þu wold serche þe cause qwy þe kyngdam of Ambayenis and Scytis  
 wer destroyd, I schuld ansqwer to þe, þat þe kyngis of þis nac[i]-  
 30 ounys vsyd sqweryng to fraude and to disceyt of men, brekyng  
 þat feyth, þo boondys and þo kumnauntys þat þei made with odyr  
 nacionys, be sleightys to ondo hem and to destroy hem, qwerfor  
 be justyce and equité of þe almyghty Rewler, men of Iinde de-  
 stroyd þem. O best taught Alysaundir, I wul þat þu knowe þat in  
 35 ordynauns of þi kyngdam and gouernaunz of þine empyr, þer be  
 certeyn specyal techyngis ryght moral longyng to þe as to þin owne  
 howsold, and also to þe comun peplys gouirnauns. But her is nozt  
 [f. 34] þe place qwer | I am purposyd to wryte hem, but I schal yef hem to

þe in a certeyn place of þis boke, and þei schal be holsum techyngis  
brefly expressyd and ryght profytabył, in þe obseruyng of qwyche  
þu schalt be in prosperyté, ovr Lord grauntyng.

**Þe syx and twey[n]ti [capitul]**

**Capitulum xxvj**

Forthynke þe neur of þinge þat is past as of trowbył or heuynes, 5  
for þat is þe propyrté of feynt wommen. Kepe euir opyn manhod,  
kepe euir curyalte of gode tecchys and gentyl, excersyse goodenes.  
For in þise is þe proteccion of þi kyngdam and þe destruccion of  
þin enmyis. Ordeyne and spede chyualry placis, and ordeyn stodyis 10  
and scoolys in þi kyngdam. Soffyr and comaunde to þi sogettyis  
to do lern her chyldyr in alle honest syens, and in specyal in þe  
seuyn lyberal syens. And to þor folk þat may noȝte, þat haue  
chyldyr lykely to lernne, þi prouydens schuld help to þer fyndyng.  
Make a prerogatyfe in dygnyté to alle goode stodyerris, to þem þat 14  
profyte in þer stody, þat be þat enhaunsyng | þei may haue a lyst [f. 34<sup>v</sup>]  
and a zele to stody and to lerne. And to þem þat be wele lettryd  
þu schalt behaue þe thus: qwan þei beseche þe of ony boone þat  
is leful, þu schalt graunt y[t] frely, þu schalt with benyuolens yefe  
attendaunz to her lettris þat þei wryght on to þe, and preyse þem  
þat haue deseruyd presyng, and reward hem þat haue deseruyd 20  
to be rewardyd. And if þu do þus, thow schalt excyte lettryd men  
for to enhaunse þi nobyl deedys, and to wryte þi gestys to an  
euirlastyng remembraunz. Thys maner of doying is comendabył,  
and þis prudens is to be preysid. And in þis þine empyr is wur-  
chyppyd, þi kyngdam is made semely, and þin courte is illumnyd, 25  
alle causualteis and nobyl dedys þat longe to þi persone be  
comendyd to mende. For ho sublymyd þe kyngdam of Grekis  
as be fame? Ho wrote her deedys and perpetually be alle þe world  
dyfamyd hem? For trwth it was þe bysy stody and þe preñaunt  
wytte of sad wyse men þat passyngly louydyn konnyng, and for 30  
þat þei deseruyd | sqwyche preysyng. And trwly I sey, a maydyn [f. 35]  
dwellyng with an husbond-man þ[er] be gret stody knwe þe cours  
of þe yer and þe constellacionys and þe cours of alle sterris, and  
þe meuyng of alle planetis, and qwan þe festys schuld falle of hem,  
and þe solempnyté of euiry monthe, þe causys also of þe schortyng 35  
of þe day and þe nyght, the sterrys also of destynyis, qwat schuld  
betyde, and infynyte thyngis be-syde, þe qwyche syens causyd þe

world to magnyfye her, to wundryr of her wysdam. Qwerfor þe grownde of preysyng spryngyth of gouernauns.

Here endyth þe fyrst boke of þe Priuyté of Priuyteis.

### Parisiensis

#### 5 Explicit primus liber de Secretis secretorum, secundum translacionem Johannis de Caritate.

#### [þe Secunde Boke]

#### [The fyrst capytyl]

#### [Capitulum ij]

[f. 37] . . . of yougthe and browght vp with venym, þat þe natur of þat  
 10 mayde was turnyd in-to þe natur of serpentis. And had noȝt I þe  
 same owr beholdyn her dyligently and be my kunnyng dempt how  
 sche was dysposid, qwanne þat I saugwe her þat sche with-owte  
 schamfastnes so boldly and so orybyly behold in to euiry manns  
 face, I sawe veryli þat sche schuld a-slayne as many men as sche  
 15 had bytyn, as thow lernydyst in experiens aftyr-ward. And had I  
 noȝt a-youyn þe warnyng at þe fyrst tyme þat thow haddyst  
 alyone by her, þu hadist bene starke dede.

#### The secunde capitil

#### Capitulum ij

O Alysaundryr, kepe þi nobyl angelyke soule, for it was com-  
 20 mendyd to þe, noȝt to be dyshonestyd, but þat it schuld be glory-  
 fyid. Be noȝt of þe nowmbyr of onclene lyueris, ner of her kend,  
 but of þe nowmbyr of wysemen. O buxum kyng, if it may be be  
 ony wey, ryse noȝt, ner sytte noȝt, ner ete noȝt, nor drynke noȝt,  
 [f. 37<sup>v</sup>] nor | do vttyrly ryght noȝt, with-owte þe counsel of an experte  
 25 man in þe kunnyng of sterris. Know þer-for for certeyn, þat  
 glorius God made ryght noȝt in veyn nor ydil to natur, but alle be  
 made of a cause prouabil, and of a reson most certeyn. For be  
 þis wey and inquisycion, Plato, owr most excellent doctour, knwe  
 þe partis of þingis compownyd and of contraryus qwalyteis and  
 30 of colourys in her kendys, in comparyson to þingis compounyd,  
 and be þat he had þe kunnyng of sterris formyd to deme by. Trost  
 neur in onwyse mennys seyingis, as þei þat seyne þat þe kun-  
 nyng of sterris is hard to be knowyn, and also þe cours of planetis,

8 f. 35<sup>v</sup> blank; f. 36 missing.  
 indistinct

9 yougthe] t ins. above

20 but] t

25 Know] prec. by canc. capital S and the sign for a new section

and þei sey þat no man may cum þer-by. But sqwyche pepyl þei knowe nozt qwat þei sey, for to þe power of mannys vndyrstondyng þer is no thyng hard, for alle þingys be knowabyll in vey of resun. And odyr folys þer be also, þat sey þat God prouydid and ordeynyd fro þe begynnyng euirlastyng, qwerfor þei sey þat it profytith nozt 5 to know before qwat | schal be-tyde aftyrward, sythyn it is so þat it [f. 38] is necessary þei schuld falle and must nedys be: qwat is wurth þan þe kunnyng of sterris? I ansqwer and sey, þat thow sum thyngis schal come necessarily, yit if þei be knowyn be-forn þei schal be þe mor esyly born, and be wysdam, in maner sette a-syde. And þus 10 þei be schonyd for in as myche as þei be for to come, and þat I haue knowyng of hem, I receyue þo chaunsys be wysdam and prouydens, and so þei pase with-owte ony gret heuynes or gret hurt. As be exampyl, qwan we se be owr syens þat wyntir schal falle of gret vttyr cold, and long endur, men may puruey of sqwyche stuff 15 þat þei schal with-owte ony grete anoyauns scape þat wyntyr. On heete of þe same wyse. And qwan a derth schal falle, if men knowe it be-for, þei may make prouydens of qwete, of wyne, and of odyr thyngis necessary, so þat þei schal scape þise hard | yeris of [f. 38<sup>v</sup>] hungir and nedfulnes. Þer-for it is myche wurth to know þat schal 20 be-tyde, for be þat knowlech men may be war and schonne þat euyl þat schal falle. And also, mor specially, qwan þei se þat sqwyche a thyng schal be-tyde, þei may pray God, þat hath alle thyng in gouernanz, þat of Hys hye goodenes He wul turne fro hem þat euyl chaunz, or dyspose it odyr wyse. For þ[e] good 25 Lord diffinyd neuir thyng so streytly þat be þat He dyd derogacion to Hys power þat He may reuoke aftir He seeth cause qwy to reuoke. For men may be-seche þe buxumnes of God with orysonnys, deuocionys and preyeris, with sacrificis, fastyngis and elmes, and odyr goode dedis, axyng foryefnes of þat þei haue done amys, 30 forthynkyng hem of her gilt. And be thys mene almyghty God wul turne fro hem þat vengauens, trowbyl, or heuynes þat þei fer of. Lete vs þan now turne ayene to owr | fyrst entente and exortacion. [f. 39] It owyth to be knowyn þat astronomy is dyuydid in to þre partis, þat is to sey in þe ordynacion of þe ix heuynnys and of þe speeris 35 and þe dysposycion of planetis, and þe dyuision of þe sygnys, þe elongacion also of hem, and of þe maner of þer werkynkys. And þis parte of astronomy is clepyd þe syens. The secunde parte is of þe

25 þe] þat  
dedes of Charité

30-1 in margin in later hand: The Protestor wanteth these

qwalyté and þe maner of knowyng þe meuyng of þe fyrment, þe  
 rysyng or þe spryngyng of þe sygnys, vppon thyngis neghyng þe  
 celestyal speris or euir þei come to knowlech be vysual appeirryng.  
 And þis is þe secunde parte of astronomye, or þe konnyng of  
 5 domys. And þe thyrd parte, þe qwyché is most wurthy, specyfiith  
 of thre thyngis, þat is to sey, of speris, planetis, and sygnis. Knowe  
 þan certeynli þat planetis þat be fyxe, þe nowmbyr of hem is a  
 thousaund and nyne and tweynti, of qwyché in a certeyn parte of  
 9 þis boke I schal schewe þe my doctrine.

[f. 39<sup>v</sup>] [The thyrd capitil]

Capitulum iij

And now fyrst and formest I schal yef þe my doctrine of  
 medecynys and odyr priuyteis þat be necessary to kepyng of þi  
 helth, þat thow schalt nede no leche. For þe kepyng of helth is  
 bettir than ony medycine, and þis doctrine and þise secretis be  
 15 ryght necessari to þe gouernanz of þis world. But it must be knowyn  
 þat þer is no wey to do ony thyng by, or to gett ony syens, but only  
 be clernes and power of vndystondyng. And þis power is noȝt  
 but be helth. And helth is noȝt withowte equalityté of complexcion.  
 And þer is no complexcion but be temperanz and equalityté of  
 20 humoris. And glorijs God hath ordeynid a mene and a remedy to  
 þe temperauns of humoris and to þe conseruyng of helth, and to  
 gete many odyr þingis þerby, þe qwyché God schewyd to holy  
 [f. 40<sup>r</sup>] profetis, and to ryghful men, and to sondry odyr qwyché þat  
 He chase and ill[u]mynyd with þe spyryte of godly | wysdam, and  
 25 hath yiftid hem with þe yiftis of kunnyng. And of þise seyð men  
 phylysofris had þe begynnyng and þe prinched of fylosofye, and  
 men of Yinde, Peercis, Grekys, and Latynis of þise haue drawyn  
 owte and wrytyn þe byginyngis and priuyteis of craftis and syensis  
 lyberal, for be-cause þat in fylisofris wrytingis þer was founde no  
 30 thyng fals ner no thyng repreuabyl, but appreuyd of wyse men.  
 He trwly þat is cause of hys owne lesyng, myche mor þan schal yeue  
 occasyon or cause to odyr men of lesyng, for þat thyng þat we loue  
 we chese, and we seke þat thyng þat we ar purposid to knowe.  
 But þu owyst to knowe, þat among alle odyr fylisofyris, glorijs  
 35 God hath inflamyd Grekys with kunnyng most specially to þe  
 serchyng of syens, and to knowe þe begynnyng and grownde of  
 causis and thyngis natural, and of þat we haue made remembranz

1 sygnys] followed by *canc.* s or f      4 wurthy] onwurthy; dignior B 6  
 10 I schal] is schal      15 to gett] to to gett      19 hath ordeynid] *prec.* by  
 another hath ordeynd, *canc.*      22 ryghful] *cf.* 121/3      23 illumynyd] illimynyd

in odyr placis. And nowe aftyr þe sentens of fyllysofris in þis booke  
I purpose sentencyusly to procede.

## The fourthe capitil |

Capitulum iiij [f. 40<sup>v</sup>]

Alle wyse men and natural phillysofris acorde, seyng how man  
is made of opposytis and contrarius elementis, and of sqwyche 5  
humorys þat alle-wey nedyth noryschyng and fedyng and pocyon-  
nis, qwyche if he fayle or lak, hys substauns must corrupte. And if  
so be þat he vse þise metys and drynkys in superfluyté, doyng  
excesse, or ellis he withdrawyth hem to myche be abstynens, he  
must nedly falle into grete sekenes or febylnes. And if he vse hem 10  
temperatly, he schal fynde help and comfort to þe lyfe, strenght of  
body, and helth of alle hys substauns. And furthermor, þei acorde  
in one, þat he þat pasith þe dwe mene in fulnes or in voydenes,  
in slepe or in wecchyng, in meuyng or in reste, in laxing hym  
or constypacion of hys wombe, in withdrawyng or holdyng hys 15  
veynal blode, may not escape þe woodenes of sekenes and heuysum  
troubyl of infyrmyteis. Of alle qwyche vndyr congruent schortnes |  
I yefe þe my doctrine most certeyn, of þe kendys of sekenes and [f. 41<sup>v</sup>]  
remedyis of þo sekenessis. Alle þise wyse men þan acord þat he þat  
is war of superfluyté, and of to myche indygens or abstynens, 20  
kepyng equalyté and temperauns, þat manir of man þat vsyth  
þis schal perceyue and possede þe most holssum helth and lenght  
of dayis, þat is to sey lyue longe. And I trwly fond neuir no fyllysofyr  
dyscordyng fro þis sentens, but þat alle þe delectabyl thyngis 25  
of þis world, qwedyr þei be of lustys or lykyngis, or ryches, or  
melodyis, or wurchyppys, alle be for duryng, or durabyllité. He  
þanne þat desyrith to lyue and to endur longe in helth, he must  
renounce or forsake hys owne wylle, þat he hast nozt o mele or on  
etyng sone aftyr anodyr. For I hard sey of Ypocras þat he kept  
sqwyche a maner of dyete þat hys body semte febyl and i-weykyd 30  
þer-of, qwerfor hys dyscypyl seyde to hym, þat if he wold ete wele  
hys body schuld nozt be so febyl. To home Ypocras ansquerd,  
'Sone, I wul ete on sqwyche | wyse þat I may lyue, and nozt [f. 41<sup>v</sup>]  
lyue forte ete, puttyng my lust in etyng rather þan in longe lyuyng'.  
Nurchyng must be dysiry[d] and vsyd to þat entent to durabylnes, 35  
to lyfe longe, and nozt to desyr longe lyfe to hawe lust of metys.  
And trwly I knw many þat lessyd of fedyng, absteynyng fro her  
appetitis, sparyng her belyis, and lyuid temperatly, dietyng

16 not] o *ins. above*

35 dysiryd] dysiryng

pem self, and þer-for þei had heyl bodyis of bettyr dysposicion, of lenger lyfe, and of goode appetite, beyn and lyght in meuyng. And þis is experte and opyn in men of þe cuntré of Arabe and also be hem þat oftyn vse to go be desertys and for jorneyes, þat labour,  
 5 and ete but lyghtly. Qwerfor it is an opyn argument þat to absteyn fro gret etyng, and to porge þe stomak be summe labour to confort þe natural hete, is most chef medycyne.

### The fyfthe captyl

### Capitulum v

9 O Alysaundyr, in medycine is conteynyd þe most certeyn and  
 [f. 42] trwest lernyng, þat þe kepyng of helth stondyth | in tweyn thyngis chefly. The fyrst is þat a man vse metys acordyng or conuenient to hys age, and to þe tyme in þe qwyche he is inne, and to þe custum of hys natur, þat is to sey, þat he vse metys and drynkys with þe qwyche he hath be wunt to be norchyd with, and with  
 15 sqwyche as þe substauns of hys body hath most be refreschyd with. The secunde is þat he purge hym-self of þo thyngis þat be gendyrrid of superfluyté and corupte humourrys, as is vryne and egestyon, &c. [Aftir] that it owyth to be knowyn, þat þe bodyis of men, qwyche be receptaclys of mete and drynke, þei be mynucyd  
 20 and resoluyd, bothe þe bodyis receyuyng, as wele as þo alymentis þat be receyuyd, in qwyche þei be resoluyd, fyrst be natural hete, qwyche dryith þe moystur of bodyis, and nurchyth and labouryth and is febyllyd for þe tyme, and aftir confortyd be slep and browgh  
 24 to equalyté. þe body is also resoluyd be þe hete of þe sonne and  
 [f. 42<sup>v</sup>] be wynde, þe qwyche dryith þe moystour of bodyis | and be fed of moystur as wele of bodyis as of flodys. Qwan þan þe body is hot vaporabyl, þat it stemyth of myghtynes, nozt of labour, for sqwyche a dysposyd persone grose metys be norchyng, for þat qwyche is sent owte of sqwyche a dysposyd body is of grete  
 30 quantyté, and of gret substauns and grose substauns, for gret hete and vaporis of þe body, sicut veneria. And qwan þe body is depressyd, lene and weyke, or ellis drye, and þe stomake of no scharp appetyte, þan be goode to vse sotel metys þat be lyght of dygestyon, as be hennys and partrychis, and þo þat gendyr moystur, as veele  
 35 and kyddys, for þat qwyche is dyssoluyd fro sqwyche a body so dysposyd is but of lytil quantyté, for þe streyt passagis of þe wombe and of pooris. And þis is þe certeyn wey of doctrine to kepe helth, þat a man euir vse metys acordyng to hys complexion

in hys helth. As thus, þei þat be of hoothe natur and myghty soft-  
 fycyently, hote metys in temperauns acord to hem. And þei þat be |  
 of cold natur, þo thyngis þat be cold in temperauns acorde to þe [f. 43]  
 norchyng of þat dysposicion. And on þe lyke wyse of moyste or  
 drye bodyis, to vse metys aftir þer dysposicion. But þanne if þe 5  
 hete of þe body be aumentyd and inflamyd, or fyrid be grete in-  
 flammacion, owdyr for hote metys, or a casuel or a straunge hete,  
 þe qwychे ourcomyth and hath lordechyp our þe body, þan [is]  
 it necessary to vse metys contrary, as colde metys, pork, and  
 sqwyche odyr. And qwan it is so þat þe stomak is myghti and 10  
 goode, to sqwyche one acordyth best myghty and stronge metys.  
 For sqwyche a stomak is lyke to a myghty fyr, þat hath power to  
 brenne myghty and grete treys, and þow þei be many. And qwan  
 þe stomak is febyl and colde, to sqwyche one sotel metys and  
 lyght of dygestyon be most acordyng. For þe werkyng of sqwyche 15  
 a stomak is lyke a fyr þat on ese may brenne rede spyris and  
 ruschys. And þe tokyn of a goode stomake is þis: lyght-|nes of [f. 43<sup>v</sup>]  
 body, and clernes of wytte, and goode appetyte. The tokynys of  
 a febyl stomak and of febyl dygestyon be þise: slugynes of þe  
 body and starkenes, slownes in alle dedys, but in specyal in gate, 20  
 and also softnes, bolnyng of þe face, and oftyng gapyng with þe  
 mowthe, heuynes of þe eyn, reysing of wynde at þe mowth, qwychе  
 is clepy[d] bolkyng, and in specyal qwan þer rysith sowr or byttr  
 mater, or fleumatyk, fro þe stomak, with þat wynde, and for þat be  
 gendryd wyndis and bolnyngis of þe wombe, and þe appetyte is 25  
 mynucyd and febyllyd. And if þis febylnes and indygest mater be  
 habundaunt, þer comyth þer-of streykyng owte of þe armys and  
 þe body, and þe bak bowyth, and þe nek, and many odyr thyngis  
 besyde þat be contrarius to helth, destroy[us] of þe body, and  
 coruptifis of natur. Qwerfor, buxum Emperour, þu owyst to kepe 30  
 þe fro sqwyche dy[s]conuenyentys, be goode dyetyng and be þisse  
 folowyng medycynys.

## The syxte capitil |

## Capitulum vj [f. 44]

Syth þe body of man is coruptybyl, and corrupcion betydyth of  
 opposycion complexionary, and humourys þat be in þe body, as 35  
 sanguyne, rede coler, flewme, and malencoly, qwychе is blak  
 coler, I am avysid in þis present werk to wryt to þe profytabyll

9 contrary] *second r ins. above*  
*ins. above with r ins. above this*

23 clepyd] clepyng

37 wryt] wyt

thyngis, and on alle wyse to þe necessary, as of þe priuyteis of þe craft of medycine, with þe qwyche thow schalt be contente, sythin it is to þe gretly honest, and most conuenient, þat alle þe sekenes of a kyng or a lord be noȝt wust of hys leche. And if thow exemplarly  
 5 and prudently beholdyn þat kunnyng in medycynis, and be þat wysdam þat I haue wrytin to þe, and þis syens put in vse and experyens, thow schalt nede no leche, except casualteis, þat is to sey hurtys of batellis, and odyr þat on no wyse may be schonyd.

**Þe seuyth [capitul]**

**Capitulum vij**

10 **O** Alysaundyr, qwan thow art rysyn fro slepe, þu schuldys walke esyly a lytil in þi chambyr toward and froward, and alle þi  
 [f. 44<sup>v</sup>] membrys with þi body euynty to stretch | and streyn owte euynty on lenght, and to kembe þine hed. For þe strecchyng owte of þi membris strenght alle þi body, and makyth dygest humoris to  
 15 ascende and to fylle alle partys, and þe kembyng of þine hede bryngyth owte vaporys and fumys of noyus humorys, þe qwyche in tyme of slepyng ascendyd fro þe stomak to þe hed. And in somyr wasche þe with cold watir, for [it] constreynith and reteynyth þe hete of þe body and of þe hed, and þis excytith a dysir  
 20 to mete. And aftir clothe þe with godely clothys, þe qwyche be ryche of clothe, goodely of colour and of facion, for þe appetyte and þe wylle and þe spyrytis be confortyd and delytid in þe conyderacion and þe beholding of fresch aray. And aftyr þat þu schalt drye and rubbe thy tethe with þe barke of a tree qwyche is drye and  
 25 hote of natur, and byttir of tast, as is þe barke of aloes and of þe [f. 45] pynet-tree and þe fyrre tree. And þis rubbyng helpith | myche, for it clensyth þe teth and kepith hem fro rootyng and fro wurmys, and þe flewme of þe mowth it lyqwefyith and bryngyth owte, it scharpyth and clensyth þe tunge and claryfyith þe speche and  
 30 þe voys, and it excytith dysir of etyng. And aftyr þat, in tyme conuenient, þu schalt porge þi-self be egestyon and wynde, for þis profytith gretly. It opynnyth þe stoppyngis of þe brayne, it makyth fulle and fleschy þe nek and þe armys, it claryfyith þe face and þe syght, it strenghtyth þe wytte, and it slowyth and make  
 35 age to tary. And þan vse precyus vnguentys, as stybyn in somir, rose in wyntir, and mastyk and myrte, þe qwyche be delytesum of tast. For þe spyrite is noȝt refrescyd but only be delytesum tast,

2 sythin] *at end of line, with in repeated at start of next* 3 it] *ins. above*  
 sekenes] sekenens 17 stomak] stomamak 20 clothe þe] þe *ins.*  
 above 31 egestyon] *otiose abbreviation mark above medial e*

and alle [sqwete] odyr[is] is [hys] mete, and þe spyrite is made stronge and refreschyd and opynnyd, þe body is confortyd, þe herte joyth, and þe blode þanne begynnyth to renne into þe veynys, of gladnes of þe spyrite. And | aftyr þat þu schalt take [f. 45<sup>v</sup>]  
 aeltrod, þat is to sey, þe lectuary of þe wode of aloes, þat is clepyd 5  
 ligni aloes alectuarium, as it is wrytyn in bokis of medycynys, and with þat of aronde, þat is to sey, rubarbe, þe weght of four ferthyngis. And thys profytitth gretly, for it withdrawyth flewme fro þe mowth of þe stomak, and it excytith þe hete of þe body, and it excludyth ventosyté of þe stomak and of þe wombe, and yeldyth 10  
 a sqwete tast. And aftyr þis, thow schalt talke with þi lordys and with wyse men as is acordyng to a kyng, and do þat is syttyng þe to do.

(But conceyue þat in þo dayis Crystyn feyth was noȝt, qwerfor he remembryth noȝt of þe seruyse of God, þat men schuld fyrst serue 15  
 God, and aftyr do þat qwyche is conseruyng of helth of þe body.)

### þe eght capitil

### Capitulum viij

Qwan þe owr is comyn and þi appetyte forte ete, aftyr þine vse and custum, vse a lytyl labour be-forn, owdyr in rydyng or walkyng 20  
 or sqwyche a-nodyr werk doying, for þat helpyth myche þe body. | It excludyth and puttyth a-wey ventosyteis, it dysposyth [f. 46]  
 þe body, confortyth it, and makyth it leght, and it settith a-fyr þe hete of þe stomak, it constreynyth and strenghyth þe joyntis, and it lyqwefyith off þe superfluyteis of humorys ondygeste, and makeþe 25  
 flewme to descende bothe fro þe hede and þe stomak, and it helpyth þe stomac dryid with grete hete, makeng humoris to descende þer-oppon. Than lete þer be sett be-forn þe many sondry metys, and chese þat most noryschyth to the aftyr þe desyr of þi stomak, equally etyng with lyght bred wele labouryd. But ordyr 30  
 aftyr nortur and aftyr þe gyse of seruyse þine etyng, so þat þu begynne noȝt atte last cours and aftyr retorne to þe fyrst. But if þu wult kepe þe to o cours fede on þe last in þe begynnyng and return noȝt. Allso to þe helth of þi body haue consyderacion, setting one be-forn anodyr of þi metys, as þus: if þu take at þi mele a potage, 34  
 þat þe kende þer-of be forto lose þi | wombe, and aftyr þat anodyr [f. 46<sup>v</sup>]  
 potage of qwych þe kend is to make constipat, if þe molyficatyf go befor, it makyth lyght and esy digestion and eke egestyon.

1 sqwete odyris is hys mete] hys odyr is sqwe mete 24 makeþe] make  
 þe: cf. 163/27 and see also 160/9 28 to] ins. above

And if þe constipatyf potage be etyn first, and aftir þat þe moly-  
 ficatyf, þei be consumyd both with effecte of losyng. And if it be  
 so þat a man take many sondry potagis or metys qwychē be lyte  
 of dygestyon, it behouyth þat somme mete be etyn be-forn þo, þe  
 5 qwychē is substancial of abydyng, þat it make resydens in þe  
 bottom of þe stomak. For þe deppest part of þe stomak is most  
 myghty for to dygest, for as myche as þer be in þe bottum fleschly  
 partis, and also þat it is ner þe lyuir, of qwychē hete of þe lyuir  
 alle metis be chefly dygestyd. And note þis in special: þat at euiry  
 10 mele and euiry etyng, sese euir with appetite, and þan þu schalt lyfe  
 longe, for of superfluyté of mete þe stomak is anguyschyd, the  
 [f. 47] body is noyd and heuyid, or greuyd, and the | spyrite is hurte, and  
 þe mete abydyth in þe bottum of þe stomak, heuy and noyus.  
 Reuoke þi wylle fro drynkyng of kold drynkys in mete tyme,  
 15 but if þu hast had hem [in] vse þe mor custommabyllly, for cold  
 drynkis in mele time qwenchyth þe hete of dygestyon, and con-  
 foundyth þe mete, and gendryth many lettyngis to dygestyon, and no  
 thyng hurtyth mor þe body. If cold drynke be had in vse, and if it  
 be so that þu haue a gret appetite [t]o drynke watyr or anodir cold  
 20 drynke, lette be clene and pure and cold, noʒt het with no fyr, and  
 drynke but lytil.

### The nyinghe capitil her beginnith

### Capitulum ix

And qwan it is so þat þu hast etyn, walke softly a thousand  
 pacys, or ellis stonde ryght vppe, þat þe mete may descend  
 25 fully to þe bottum of þi stomak fully, þan vppon a soft bed ley  
 þe to slepe, and rest one hour vppon þi bedde on þi ryght syde,  
 and þan torne þe on þi left syde and fulfyllē þe resydw of þi slepe  
 [f. 47] on þat syde. For þe left syde is cold, and hath nede of | hetyng,  
 qwerfor þe lengest slepe owyth to be on þe left syde. And þan if  
 30 þu fynde peyn or warkyng in þi stomak or in þi wombe, or ondy-  
 gestyon, þan þe best medycine is for þe to ley on þi wombe a schet  
 warmyd, on many fold, or to hold in þi armys mayde þat is  
 bewteuus and hote. And if it be so þu þikvs and reise wynde, with  
 qwychē wynde þer rysyth a byttir and a sowr matere fro þe sto-  
 35 make, yt betokynnyth a cold stomak. And þe remedy is þat anone  
 þu drynke a byttir syrippe as is centory þe siruppe, and þe syruppe

8 of þe lyuir] of þe lyuier (contraction for er) 19 to] do 28 and]  
 ampersand ins. after following word had been written 30 warkyng] r ins. above  
 33 reise] i ins. above 36 as is] prec. by cancellation consisting of & and of  
 two letters of another word, the first letter being i, and the second left unfinished.

of wurmewode, and sqwyche odyr, with a cold watyr, as is endyue, borage, and sqwyche odyr, and be þis mene to prouoke a vomyte, for þat enprisonnyng of mete in þe stomak is vtter destruccion to þe body.

## The tenthe capitil of þis boke

## Capitulum x 5

Than, meuyng beforne mete and labour excityth þe hete of þe stomak, and makyth þe fir myghti, but aftyr mete it is noyus, for fast goyng and labour makyth þe mete soudenly with-owte dygestyon to falle in-to bottum of þe stomak, | of qwyche be gendryd [f. 48] stoppyngis-inne of wynde, and many odyr hurtys. Than be-war 10 þat þu slepe nozt be-forne mete, for þat wul drye þe and make þi body and þi face leene and owte of lykyng. And aftir mete it dothe eyn þe contrary, makyng þe stronge, and nurchyth þe and makyth þe in lykyng, for qwyll þat a man slepyth, þe naturalle hete dyffusely rennyth fro alle partys to þe stomak and to þe iner 15 partis of þe stomak. And þan is þe stomak made stronge to seeth þe mete þat is with-inne, for þan þe vertu racional sekyth reste, and alle þe spyritis be in qwyete. Qwer-for sum fylisofris sey þat þe sopir profytith mor þat i[s] etyn at eyn, þan þat mele þat [is] etyn at myd-day. For þe myd-day mele receuyuth þe hete of þe 20 day, and þan þe wytte of a man is in laboryng, in ymaginyng, and in speche, and þe spyrite is vexid bothe be heryng and be speche, and many odyr thyngis, þat be labour and be hete, and meuyng and bysynes, þat at mydday þe natural hete is dyffusyd and spred 24 abroode be | þe vtter partys of þe body, and þerfor þat tyme þe [f. 48<sup>v</sup>] stomak is myche febyllyd and is on-myghty to sethe þe mete. But atte þe eyn sopir i[s] alle þe contrary, if it be so a man hath nozt etyn to myche at none. For at eyn þe body goth to rest, labourys be sesyd: þan be þe spyritis and wyttis in rest, and þan comyth vppon þe [þe] coldenes of þe nyght, qwyche dryuyth þe myght 30 and hete of natur to þe inner part of þe stomak, and þat causyth good dygestyon.

Thow schalt also haue knowlech þat he þat is wunt to ete twyis on þe day, and aftyr chongyth þat dyete and takyth hym to o mele, it is very certeyn þat it schal turne hym to noyauns. For in lyke as 35

15 iner] e *apparently corr. from i*    19 is<sup>1</sup>] it    22 in speche] *in ins. above*  
 23 many] *ins. above*    27 is] it    33 Thow schalt] *prec. by headings for*  
*a chapter þe elleuynth (elleuynth prec. by canc. tenth) and cap[itul]m xj. Initial*  
 T of Thow *illuminated as though initial of chapter.*

he þat is wunt to ete but onys on þe day, and chongyth on-to  
 twyis, hys stomak may noȝt dygest it esyli, but þe n[u]triment  
 abydith ondygest. And he þat is wunt to kepe a certeyn howr of  
 4 etyng and chongyth þat owr in-to anodyr, schal sone fynde þat  
 [f. 49] it schal hurt | hys natur. For euir take þis for a rewle general, þat  
 a costum is as a natur. Than if ony nede qwyche hath no lawe  
 compelle a man to þat, þat he must chonge hys custom or hys vse,  
 þat must be done dyscretly and wysely, þat he chonge nowt  
 alle at onys, but be lytil and lytyl, and so with Goddis help it schal  
 10 be wele.

And bewar in specyal þat þu ete neuir tyl þat þu knowe surly þat  
 þi mete qwych þu etyst be-forn be ful dygest, and þat þi stomak be  
 voyde. And that mayst þu sone know be þine appetyte, and be þe  
 sotelté of þi spatyl, qwan it is as fresch watir, noȝt towghe. For he  
 15 that takyth mete withowte necessyté of þe body, he schal fynde  
 þe natural hete euyn cold and onmyghty in maner. And if he ete  
 qwan þat he hath goode appetyte, he schale fynde þe hete of þe  
 stomak as a brennyng fyre. And as sone as euir thow hast dysir  
 [f. 49<sup>v</sup>] to ete, þu schuldyst ete a-none, for | but þu ete sone at þat tyme  
 20 þe stomac is a-none repleschyd with noyus and euyl humoris, þe  
 qwych it drawyth to yt fro alle þe body of superfluyteis, qwych  
 werkyng trowbyllyth þe brayn, sendyng vppe euyl vaporis to þe  
 hede. And qwan þat mete is receyuyd aftyr þat, it fyndyth þe  
 stomak lewke and weyke, and noȝt dysposid to dygestion, for  
 25 a cloyauns of euyl humoris receyuyd be-forn, qwer-for it profytith  
 noȝt to þe body, but turnyth to corrupcion.

My purpose is her to determyne of þe four tymys of þe yer and of  
 þe qualyté and quantyté and þe propyrté of iche part, and of þe  
 varyacion of hem.

### 30 Þe eleuyth [capitul]

### Capitulum xj

Ther be four tymys of þe yer the qwych þat be dystyncte, þat  
 is to sey in-to ver, into somyr, in-to heruest, and in-to wyntyrr. Ver  
 begynnyth qwan þe sonne entryth þe sygne of Aryes. þan is þe  
 34 begynnyng of ver, and i[t] enduryth be nynety and thre dayis and  
 [f. 50] thre and tweynty | hourys and þe fourthe part of an hour, þat is

2 nutriment] three minims for nu 5 it] *ins. above* 11 And bewar]  
*prec. by headings for a chapter: þe twelthe capitil and cap[itu]lm xij. A of And*  
*illuminated as though initial of chapter* 15 fynde] *ins. above* 31 be']  
*prec. by canc. þu* 34 it] in 35 þe fourthe] þe *ins. above*

to sey, fro þe [one and tweynty] day of Marche goyng owte to þe four and tweynty day of June. And in þat tyme þe nyght and þe day be euynnyd in her regeounys, þe tyme waxith plesaunt and sqwete, þe aer is purifyid, spryngis boyle owte of þe erth, þe moystur þat in wyntyr abode in treis rotys ascendith vp in-to þe 5 croppys, bestys and foulis renwe her kendys, and þe erth and alle thyngis þat ber lyfe be frescyd and nwyd.

**Þe tweltht capitil****Capitulum xij**

Ver is hot and moyst, and it is temperat lyke to þe aer. þe blode of man is qwekynnyd, and sterys a-brod to alle odyr partys and 10 membrys, and it profytith in that: þat it is equal of complexcion, þat is to sey temperat. And in þat tyme of ver thou schuldyst ete hennys chykynys, curlewys and soft eggis among, þat is to sey, seldum, and letwse wylde, þat is to sey, rampsys. Drynke and ete gootys mylke, for it restoryth gretly natur. þer is no tyme of þe 15 yer þat is mor | bettyr or mor profitabyl to bledyng, and in þat [f. 50] tyme labour and meuyng is goode to þe body, and also batthys, and to prouoke sqwete, to drynke syryppys made of spycis and herbys, and to take purgacionys inne, for þat befor in odyr tymys, owdyr be ondygestyon or be mynucion, be tyd to þe hyndrauns 20 of þe bodi, thys tyme be moystur restorith.

**Þe thyrdtene [capitil]****Capitulum xiiij**

Somir begynnyth þan qwan þe sonne entryth þe fyrst degré of þe Crab, þat is to sey, signi Cancri, and it conteynyth to and 25 [n]ynti dayis and thre and twynti houris and þe thyrd part of an howr: þat is to sey, fro þe thre and tweynti day of June to þe four and tweynti day of Septembyr. And in þis tyme þe days be lenghyd and þe nyght is shortyd. In alle regiounys hete growyth, þat is to sey, encresyth, wyndis be inflamyd be hete and depressyd, þe see is pesybil, serpentis be gendryd, venym is dyffusyd, þer is 30 clernes in þe aer, corne waxith rype, and þe world is þan lyke a spowse complete of body and of perfyte age, | inflamyd with hete. [f. 51] The tyme of somyr is hote and drye, in þe qwyche rede coler is

1 one and tweny] tenthe                      2-3 þe day] þe *ins. above*                      3 her regeounys] *run together; separated by vertical stroke in revision*                      7 be] *ins. above*                      11 þat it is] þat and is *ins. above*                      12 is to] *followed by second is to canc.*                      20 be mynucion] *run together; separated by vertical stroke in revision*                      25 nynti] twynti                      32 and of perfyte age] *repeated as first words of f. 51*

reysid, excytid, and haboundyth in bodyis dysposyd. And it behouyth to be war in þat tyme of euiry mete þat is drye and hote of complexcion, for þat excytith rede coler. Absteyn þat tyme of replecion, bothe of mete and drynke, les þe natural hete be  
 5 qwenchyd, but ete þan euiry thyng þat is of moyst and cold complexcion, as veele with vynegyr, cucurbytis, and fatte chykynnys and capounnys. þi potage schuld be made with þe brenne of barly frute, qwyche is of sour sauur or tast, and sour applys. þat tyme hurtyth  
 10 lest þe body to begete chyldyr. And spar þat tyme fro letyng bloode, meuyng of þe body, and also fro bathis.

## þe fourtene capitil

## Capitulum xiiij

[f. 51<sup>v</sup>] Haruest begynnyth þan qwan þe sonne entryth þe fyrst degré of þe sygne of Lybra, or þe sygne of þe Weghtis, and it conteynith  
 15 four scor days and eghte | and seuyn[tene] houris and iij fyfte partis of an hour, þat is fro þe four and tweynti day of Septembre tyl þe to and tweynti day of Decembyr. In þat tyme þe day and þe nyght be euynnyd, and þe nyght begynnyth to growe and takyth  
 20 a part of þe day. þe aer begynnyth to wax cold, þe wyndys blowe, þe tymys be chongyd, flodys decrease, wellis be mynucyd, grene thyngis begynne to seer, frutis falle, þe bewté of þe erthe fatyth,  
 25 foulis flye to hote regyoynys, wyld bestys seke her dennys and serpentis her dychys, qwer þei gadyr foode to susteyn þem in wyntir. þe world is þan lykenyd to a womman of ful age, þat hathe  
 [n]e[e]d of clothys, for yought is departyd fro her, and age hastyth  
 30 on. Haruest is a tyme þat is cold and drye, in qwyche tyme blak coler arysith. þer-for it behouyth þat tyme hote and moyst metis, as be chykynnis, lambys, dowys yonge, with poudir of gyngir, olde  
 [f. 52] wyne of depe colour, and sqwete | wyne, and sqwete grapys. Absteyne fro alle metis þat gendyr malencoly, as bef, porpeys,  
 30 grapes, sel fyscys, elys, and sqwyche odyr. Put þan in excercyse þe meuyng of þe body mor and rather þan in somir. Bathys þis tyme if nede be and laxatyfis vse. And if a man nede to haue a vomyte,  
 lete yt be done but a lytil, and in þe hettest hour of þe day, for in sqwyche houris superfluyteis be gadryd in a man. þe purgacion of  
 35 þe wombe is gode to be had þat tyme, be pylettys clepyd auree,

4 bothe] repeated      14 seuyntene] seuyn & tweynti      15 an hour] *ins. in top margin*  
 15-16 ordinal numbers here, exceptionally, not surmounted by roman figures      21 foulis] u corr. from l      24 need] eld *ins. above*      27 be chykynnis] run together; separated by stroke in revision

electuarium rosarum, lapis laizuli, and armenium, and sqwyche  
odyr þat drawyn blak coler and repressyn humoris.

## þe fyftene [capitul]

## Capitulum xv

Wyntir begynith qwan þe sonne entryth þe fyrst degré of þe  
Capricorne, and it conteynith threscor dayis and nynetene, and 5  
fourtene hourys, that is to sey, fro þe [on]e and twynti day of  
Decembyr, to þe one and tweynti day of Marche. In þat tyme þe  
days be schortyd | and þe nyght is lenghyd, colde waxith myghti, [f. 52<sup>v</sup>]  
wyndys waxe scharpe, þe leuys of treys fallyn, alle grene þinge for  
þe most part deyith, þe most part of bestis þat be wylde in cauernys 10  
and depe placys of þe erthe hyde hem, þe aer waxith derke, bestys  
bothe wyld and tame quake and tremyl, þe vertuis and streynghys  
of bodyis be febyllid. Than þe world is lykynnid to an old woman  
ner nakyd, neghyng to deth. And þe tyme of wyntir is cold and  
moyste, in qwyche tyme it behouyth to chonge þe dietyng and to 15  
retorne to hote metis and hote substanscis, as be chykynnis, and  
vse of rostis, gootis, and hogge, lambis, and alle hoote wynis,  
figgis, notis, and red wyne, and hote letwaryis. Absteyne þe fro  
medycinis þat lose þe wombe, and fro mynucion of blode, but if  
gret necessité constreyn þe, þan chonge þe aer, þat is to sey, drawe 20  
in to warme and to closse placis fro þe aer. Vse noȝt þat time gret |  
habundauns of metys so þat dygestion be febyllid. Anoynte þi [f. 53]  
body with precyus and hote vnguentis, and vse temperate bathis.  
Myche meuyng nor dedis of Venus nor sadde etyng noyith noȝt  
þanne so myche as odyr tymis, for þat tyme of feruent cold, þe 25  
natural hete is gadryd to-gydir and entrith þe inner parte of þe body.  
And þer-for in wyntyre is best digestyon. And in ver and in somyr  
þe stomac is colde, for in þise tymys þe poris be opynyd and þe  
natural hete is dysceuerid in to alle þe partis of þe body, and for  
scantnes of hete þe digestyoun of þe stomak is lettyd, and humoris 30  
be meuyd to þe extremyteis. Than take hede and knowe wysely  
thys doctryne and kepe it, and owr Lord kepe þe.

## þe sextene capitil

## Capitulum xvj

O Alysaundyr, þis precyus dyete prefyxid to þe, loke þu kepe,  
conseruyng þe natural hete of þi bodi, for as long as natural hete is 35

5 nynetene] surmounted by indistinct *ixi* (?) for *xix*      6 fro þe one] fro þe  
thre      17 gootis] altered from *gottis*      18 red wyne] run together; separated  
by vertical stroke in revision      28 stomak] corr. from *þ wynde*      35 is] s  
written over another letter

temperat in a man, helth induryth and a man is longe lyuyd and  
 [f. 53<sup>v</sup>] kept | in helth. And conceyue þat on tweyn wysis a manne waxith  
 olde or aged, and dyith. On wyse be deth natural þat no man may  
 scape, þat qwan very age comyth, þe qwyche is cold and drye, þe  
 5 body is destroyd. And a-nodyr wyse qwan þat be mysdyetyng or  
 odyr mys-rwle sekene fallyth, and be þat euyl cause þe body is  
 weykdy and destroid. Conceyue þan þat þo thyngis þat make þe  
 body fatte be þise: rest, and surenes, and þe vse of sqwete metis,  
 and to chonge delycasyis, and þe drynkyng of sqwete mylke, and  
 10 sqwete wynis þat be hote, and also slepe aftir mete on a soft bedde in  
 a chambyr þe qwyche smellith sqwete, and þe bedde is leyd a-  
 bowght with sqwete spycis or sqwete herbis couenyent to þe tyme  
 of þe yer, and to entir þe bathys of sqwete wattris, and lytil taryng in  
 hem, for longe abydyng in a bath weykyth þe body. And vse þe  
 15 tast of sqwete herbys qwyllis þu art in þe bath in euiry tyme as is  
 conuenyent, as, in wyntir, worme-wode and fedyrfoye, and tansey  
 [f. 54] and sothyrnwode, | and in somyr, rosis and violeettis, and sqwyche  
 þat refresch be þe mene of colde. And in euiry monthe loke þat  
 þu haue a womyte onys, but in specyal in somir. For a vomyt  
 20 wascyth þe body and þe stomak, and porgyth hym fro corrupte and  
 noyus humoris. For þe fewer humoris in þe stomak, þe mor þe  
 natural hete is confortyd, to make goode dygestyon, and þe body  
 is þe mor moyst, and in specyal if þise folowyng thyngis be had:  
 þat is to sey, joye and myrthe in hert and spyritis, victory of þin  
 25 enmyis, and to haue delectacion in melodyis and pleyis, and to  
 be-held bewtewus personys, to her rede plesaunt bokys, and to her  
 sqwete songis, and to lawghe with sqwyche folk a[s] þu louyst,  
 and to go frescly arayid in ryche clothis, and to anoynte the with  
 sqwete smellyng onymentis conuenyent to þe tyme of þe yer. And  
 30 as þise seyð thyngis confort myghtyli þe body, on þe like wyse þise  
 thyngis folowyng drye þe bodi and make it febyl: that is to sey,  
 [f. 54<sup>v</sup>] lytil etyng | and drynkyng mykyl, and to myche labour, and to  
 stonde oftyrn, and to walke owte of mesur, and to slepe be-forn  
 mete o[n] hard beddis, to walke in desolate and hard placis, to haue  
 35 gret stody in mend, and to be in ferr and drede, and to entyr  
 watyrris or bathys qwyche be made be sulfur, and to ete ony maner

3 aged] d *written over two canc. letters, second of which is m* 22 goode]  
 repeated 27 as] & (*poss. intended reading*) 31 to] *ins. above*  
 32 drynkyng] *prec. by canc.* lytil 34 on] or (*dormire ante prandium supra*  
*stramenta dura B 82*)

of salt mete, and to vse myche olde wyne, and to drynke myche, and to vse to myche purgaciounys, and to blede to oftyne, and to haue heuy and sory thoughtis. And be-syde þise, Ypocras seyth þat he þat is replete of mete or drynke, or ellis constipat of wombe, and entryth in to a bath, he fallyth in-to ylica passion, or þe 5 colik, or þe stone, or odyr greuus sekene, or he þat lyith with a woman, hauyng to do with her, qwyll his stomak is fulle, oftyne fallyth in-to þe same. A man schuld nozt renne aftyr, nor ryde forth-with aftir, hys mele. And be war of þis: þat þu ete nozt fysch and mylke togidyr, for it wul cause þe sekene of lepyr. And 10 wyne and mylke etyn or dronkyn togydyr be processe | causyth [f. 55] þe same.

### þe seuyntene capytil

### Capitulum xvij

Knowe now how þe body is dyuidyd in-to four partis. The first part is þe hede. Qwan it is so þan þat superfluyteis be gadrid in 15 þe hede, þu mayst knowe be þise signis: þe eyn waxin dymme, þe browys be heuy, þe templis werke, þe erys syng and gyngil, þe nose is also stoppid. Qwatum-euir he be þat hath þis sekene, lette hym take gencyan and sethe it in sqwete wyne, and with þe rotis of peletir, and lette hem sethe to þe half, and lette hym hold 20 þat decoccioun in hys mowth euiry morow, tylle þat he fele þat he be holpyn. And lete hym vse myghti mostard sede with hys mete, and lette sethe a peny weghte þer-of with powdyr made of twelue vnguentis, and þat lete hym vse befor he ley hym to slepe, and anoynte and bynde to hys hede. And he þat refusith þis 25 medicyne may falle in-to perlyus sekene, þat is to sey, sekene of þe eyn, sekene of þe brayn, and odyr many, fro qwyche God kepe þe. |

### [þe eghtene capytil]

### Capitulum xviii [f. 55v]

The breste is þe secunde part of þe body. And if in þis parte þer 30 be foundyn superfluyteis, þei be knowyn be þise tokynnis: þe tonge is heuy, þe mowth is salt, and in þe mowth of þe stomak þe mete þat is etyn sauiryþ byttyr, and with þat a dysposicion to þe koughe. Thus schalt þu recur it: þu must lesse þi etyng, and vse vomytis thre days, and aftir þi vomyte take and ete sugir roset and 35 incorporerent it with ligno aloes and mastyk, and aftir þi mele ete

4 or ellis] *prec. by & canc. letter*

5 in-to] *in ins. above*

21 euiry] *prec. by*

35-36 and incorporerent] *& ins. above*

as myche as a walnot of þe grete letuary clepyd amissous, þe qwyche is made of þe tre of aloes and of safirroun. And he þat dyspysith to do aftyr þis doctryne may lyghtly falle in-to þe peyn of þe syde, and peyne in þe renys, and many odyr sekenes.

## 5 þe nyntene capitil

## Capitulum xix

The eyn be þe thyrd part of þe body. And it behouyth hym þat wul haue helth on hys eyn, þat he defend hem fro dust, fro al maner  
 [f. 56] of | smoke, and fro alle aerys þat excede temperatnes of equalityté,  
 owdyr in cold or hete, and fro euyl wyndis. Let hym noȝt beholde  
 10 bysili sqwyche a thyng of qweche he is noȝt auertyd, ner vse noȝt  
 to loke vppon smale thyngis ner sotel wrowght thyngis, and schunne  
 myche wepyng, and oftyn hauyng to do with women, and implecion  
 of drynke and mete, and in specyall of drynke and of þo metis  
 þat gendyr grose humoris, sendyng þem vppe to þe hede, as  
 15 lekys wurtis and myghti ale, ner slepe noȝt qwylis þu art replete.  
 And þo thyngis þat confort þe syght and þe eyn be kendis goode  
 confortatif, and þe watyr or þe juse of fynkel, of verueyn, of rosis,  
 of celydony, of rwe, and oftyn, þe eyn opyn, to dyppe hem oftyn in  
 20 cold watyr and to loke on þe watyr. The tokynnys[or]cause of dyspo-  
 sicion of þe eyn conuenyent or dysconuenyent is knowyn be eght  
 rewlys: of þe towche, of þe veynys, of þe fyguris, of þe warkyngis  
 [f. 56'] propyr, | of þe colouris and qwantyté of þo passyounys þat go owte  
 of hem, and of owteward thyngis occurrent, þat is to sey cold or hete,  
 and also if þer apper gret veynnys replet with humoris. The multitude  
 25 also of sekenes is cause qwyche is knowyn be colour of þe eyn  
 and þe peyn: þat if he þat hath seke eyn, his sekenes comyth of  
 blodys habundawns, he felyth oftyn prykking in hem. And if þe  
 cause be of coler, bolnyng and extencion schewyth, þat is to sey,  
 þei be powtyng owte, repleschyd with mater. Flewme maketh þe  
 30 eyn heuy and onweldy, sor and ondysposyd to beheld ony thyng.  
 And if þe cause be of malencoly, þe eyn be wattry and twyn-  
 kylling oftyn. Also þe hede fulle of wynde stofyth þise materis  
 in-to þe eyn. And odyr tokynnys þer be many, þat euiry wyse  
 man may be reson deme. Than febylnes is knowyn besyde þise,  
 35 þat if þe fygur of þe eye, qwyche schuld be rownd in þe cyrcuité, if  
 [f. 57] it fayle þat. And þe | werkyng of natur of þe eyn be knowyn be þis

3 may lyghtly] *corrected from malyghtly*  
 expuncted 22 þat] *prec. by canc. f*  
 (r ?)

8 of equalityté] *prec. by in l*  
 29 powtyng] *prec. by canc. letter*

dysposicion: tho eyn þat meve fast be of hote natur; late of meuyng, colde; þei þat be ful of humoris, and qwan þei lawghe, ful of watyr, þei be moyst. Than be þer sum eyn þat her dysposycion is to se a thyng a-ferr, and ner hem þei may nozt see. And sum þat may se ner and nozt ferr. Thei þat may se nye and nozt ferre, þei haue 5 a cler and vysibil spyrite of syghte, but it is smal, for qwyche smalnes þei be impotent to se a-ferr. Thei þat may se fer and nozt ner, þei haue a myghti and myche of þe spyrite of syghte and of vysual vertu, þe qwyche is grose, moyst, and perturbate, qwer-for, or þe syght may haue very knowlech of þat þing, it nedyth gret 10 dystauns to depur it, þat þe grose vapowris be departyd fro hem. And of hete þei be knowyn qwan þe colour schewyth þe humoris þat hath lordchyp, | as red, yellow, bloo, dunne. And of quantité, [f. 57] for þe gretnes of þe eyn, with proporcion of þe werkyng and multytude of substauns schewyth þe gode and wele dysposyd 15 mater of qwyche þe eyn wer made of. And hos eyn be grete and powtyng owte, is onschamefast, clataratif and foltysch. And he þat hath eyn depe with-in hys hede is sotel and a deceyuur. The cur þan of yche febylnes is in vj thyngis with gode demenauns, þat is to sey: to bewar of þe aer and contynual labor, ydylnes in sted- 20 fast beholdyng, in mete and drynke, wechyng, lying with women, and þe accidentis of þe spyrite. And loke in þise sekene and euiry sekene þe wombe be laxe.

**þe tweynti [capitil]****Capitulum xx**

The priuyté of manne is þe iiij part of þe body. And qwan it is so 25 þat superfluyteis be gadryd in þat part, þise tokynnys folowe: þe appetite is febyl and weyke. He þan þat felyth þat dysposicion, he must take þe herbe clepyd | grete ache, and walwurte, and of þise [f. 58] rotys, and putte þe herbys and þe rotes to-gydir in sqwete wyne þat is qwyte of colour and tempyrryd with watir and hony, and 30 absteyn fro myche etyng. And he þat is necclygent to do þis, may lyghtly falle in-to þe apposteme of þe codde, sekene of þe longis, and peryl of þe strangury.

**þe j and tweynti [capitil]****Capitulum xxj**

It is red in þe story of olde fyllysofris þat þer was a myghti kynge 35 þat dyd gadyr þe best lechys of Inde, of Meedys, and of Grekys,

6 is] *ins. above*  
substauns of

9 vysual] u *corr. from y*  
17 clataratif] ti *ins. above*

15 of substauns] of  
30 qwyte] *corr. from sqwyte*

and þis kyng comaundyd to yche of hem synglerly to stody to  
 make sqwyche a medycine þat it wer suffycient to a man to vse  
 þat medycine alone ayens alle sekeneſ. The leche of Medys seyð  
 þat it profytid to an heyl man most qwyllis þat he is fastyng to ete  
 5 of þe clustir of rype sqwet grapis vj drammis. But I sey þat he  
 þat slepyth so myche þat he felyth in hys stomak none heuynes  
 [f. 58<sup>v</sup>] ner ponderusnes ner | rawnes lette hym neur fer of þe gowte.  
 And þe Grekys sentens was þis, þat he þat wold take euiry morow  
 twyis fulle hys mowth of warm watyr, it make an heyl man swr  
 10 fro all vnkowth sekeneſ, þat he nedyth to vse none odyr medycyne.  
 And he þat euery morow wul ete seuyn drammys of a clostyr of  
 sqwete grapys, or of reysyng sqwete, and in þer propyr kende,  
 nedyth noȝtis to dowght of none infyrmyté þe qwyche is causyd  
 of fleme. And be þe vse of þis medycyne, þe vertu memoratif is  
 15 a-mendyd, and þe vndyrstondyng is illumyd, and he þat vse þis  
 in tyme conuenyent to hys complexcion, he [sc]ha[l] neur fer þe  
 feuyr quarteyn. And he þat etyth be þe morow notys and fyggys  
 with a few leuys of rwe, þer is no poysun þat þat day may noy  
 hym, nowdyr in drynke ner mete nor ony odyr wyse. Qwer-for be  
 20 noȝt with-owte reysyngis nor þise odyr necessary. |

## [f. 59] The to and tweynt[i] capityl

## Capitulum xxij

O hye and nobyl Kyng, on alle wyse stody to conserue þi natural  
 hete, for as longe as þat is temperat in a man, so longe helth con-  
 25 tynuyth, and a man is strong, wele colouryd, and myghti. For þe  
 helth of man stondyth in tweyn thyngis þat I haue reheryd, and  
 þe corrupcion of þe body or destruccion, comyth of to causis: one  
 is natural, anodyr is ayens natur. The natural cause comyth of  
 repugnaunz and contradyccion of contraryus qualyteis, þat is to  
 sey, qwan drynes hath lordchyp in þe bodi þan must it nedys fayle.  
 30 Corupcion or deth þat is ayens natur comyth of summe accyidental  
 cause, as if a man be dedly woundyd in batel, or odyr causys  
 soden, or of sekeneſ, or be euyl counsel.

3 alone] followed by *canc. vertical stroke* as of I      5 vj drammis] *ins. in*  
*margin as vj3<sup>a</sup>*      8-9 take . . . mowth] *prec. by canc.* euiry morow take twyis  
 ful hy [sic] þat wold      11 a clostyr] *prec. by canc. o and canc. downstroke.*  
 14 memoratif] if *ins. above*      15 illumyd] *between ill and yd, three minims;*  
 possibly illiumyd or illumiyd      16 schal] thar      32 counsel] cou  
 with two contraction marks

**þe thre and twenti [capitul]****Capitulum xxiiij**

Knowe þan þat þer be of metys sondry kendys affir þe qualyteis. Summe be sotel and summe groose, and summe in a mene. Sotel metys gendryn sotel blode, þe qwychē is cler | and goode, as qwete, [f. 59<sup>v</sup>]  
 henys chykyannis, and eggis soffte. Grose metys be þise (and þo be 5  
 goode for myghty, hote stomakis, and to þem þat labour in fastyng, and to þem þat slepe aftyr mete) as: beff and porpes, grapes, and alle salt metys. þat mete qwychē is inne a mene gendryth none inflacion nor superfluyté, as is lambes flesch, and wedrys flesch, and alle flesch qwychē is hote and moyste. But yit in þise folk 10  
 be dysceyuid, þei þat rost þise fleschys. For þan þei turne nozt to þer noryschyng, but if it be so þat þei be etyn forth-with fro þe spyte, for ellis þei cause hardnes of dygestyon, inordynat hete, and dryenes. Than be þer summe metys þat in specyal gendyr malencoly, as þe flesch of buglys, þe flesch of a 15  
 cowe, and olde schep, for þise haue grose humoris drye and scharp. And if ony of þise maner of kendis schuld be goode, be þei þat be pasturyd in moyst pasturys, and þe flesch of sqwychē be mor holsum þan þo þat be pasturyd on | hethys. Knowe wele also þat fyschys [þat] [f. 60<sup>v</sup>]  
 be smale of substauns, hauyng thynne skynnys and esy of chowyng, 20  
 þat be noryschid in sondy rennyng watrys, be bettir, mor norchyng, þa[n] see fyschys and odyr norchyd in odyr fresche watrys. It be-houyth þan to be war of alle fyschis þat haue grete bodyis and thyk skynnys, for sqwychē maner of fysch is venemmus to natur. And þis her of fyschis is suffycient for in my boke of naturis þu 25  
 maiste fynde alle odyr kendis.

**þe foure and tweynti [capitul]****Capitulum xxiiij**

Thow owyst also to knowe þat watrys be profytabyll to euiry lyuyng thyng, nozt only to bestys, but also to alle vegetabyll thyngē. And haue mende þat I haue taucht þe sofyciently of watrys. And 30  
 I haue taucht þe þat alle watrys, bothe sqwete and salt, þei had her begynnyng of þe see, and of þis I haue made þe an opyn demonstracion. But now more-ouir knowe þis, þat þe most helthsum and lyghtest watrys be þo þat renne nere | cyteys. And qwan [f. 60<sup>v</sup>]  
 þat þe erth is pure and withowte rochys (or rokkys), þat haboundyth 35  
 nozt of fumosyteis, þe water of sqwychē a spryngē is best and

4 as qwete] as s qwete

12-13 forth-with] r *ins. above*

22 þan] þat

26 maiste] i *ins. above*

most to be preysid, and lyght. Watyr þat comyth fro a stony grownde þat haboundyth of fumositeis is febyl and noyabyl, and þo in specyall þat froschys, todys or snakys haue delyte to abyde in, as þise polkys and al-standing watrys. The tokynnys of goode  
 5 watrys be þise: þat is lyght, cler, and drawyng to qwytene, sqwete-tastyd, qwan þei wul be lyghtly hote and lyghtly colde. In sqwyche natur delytyth. And note þis, þat salt watrys and byttyr or moddy watrys be cleped fumos, for þise dry the wombe and dyssolue it. Poole watrys, and alle standing watrys, þei be  
 10 hote, heuy and grewus, for þei stonde and haue none meuyng, and for þe sonne abydith vppon hem longe and many dayis, qwerfor þei gendyr coler, and make þe splene to growe, and þe longis to gret hurt. Watrys þat comyn in to one ryuer fro to sondry  
 14 spryngis, of to sondry soylis, þei be hote and febyl, for þei haue  
 [f. 61] inne hem of erthly partys. | And þe drynkyng of cold watyr qwyllis a man is fastyng noyth to þe body, and qwenchyth þe natural hete and þe hete of þe stomak. And aftyr mete it makyth warm þe body, and gendryth flewme, and if a man drynkyth myche it coruptyth þe mete in þe stomak. Thow schalt þan drynke kold watyr in  
 20 somir and hote watyr in wyntir, and noȝt þe contrary wyse as folys seyn þat haue no grownd quat þei sey. For þe drynkyng of hote watyr in somir mollyfyith and makyth febyl þe stomak, and destroyth þe appetite. And cold watyr in wyntyr qwenchyth þe natural hete, and destroyth þe instrument of þe brest, and noyth  
 25 to þe longis and causyth many noyauncis.

### Þe fyue and twenti [capitul]

### Capitulum xxv

It is also to be knowyn þat wyne of qwyche þe grape is browght forth on an hylle ayens þe sonne, þat þe sonne lyith þer-vppon alle day, is of mor drye natur þan þat qwyche growyth in lowe valeys  
 30 and moyst and pleyn placys. þan þe fyrst wayne is goode for olde  
 f. 61<sup>v</sup>] men, þe qwyche haue myche flewme and myche moystor, | but it noyth to yong and to hote men. þan þis fyrst wyne makyth hote and delyuerith of superfluyteis and fro colde and grose humoris. And wyne, þe mor rede þat it is and þe mor thykke, so myche þe  
 35 bettyr it gendryth blode. But qwanne it is myghti and of myghti scharpnes, þan it is clepyd þe fyrst blode and þe fyrst nutriment,

5 qwytene] altered from wytene  
 surmounted by roman figures

13-14 numerals, exceptionally, not  
 30 wayne] poss. slip with wyne as intended

form: see n.

31 Bottom margin of f. 61 bears signature John Harcourt

and it hath bothe naturis in hym, bothe of drynke and eke of  
 medycyne. But yit if a man vse þis stronge drynke contynually, it  
 noyth gretly. But qwan sqwyche is dowcet and sqwete in tast i[t]  
 do[th] noyaunz to þe stomak, gendryth ventositeis and inflacionys.  
 But þe most preysabyll and most [sotel] of euiry wyne is þat 5  
 qwyche comyth of grapys growyng in pleynys be-twene mown-  
 teynis, þe qwyche grapys be of sqwettnes in a mene and of fulle and  
 perfyte rypenes, sotel, þat be noȝt gadryd tyl þe vigorrus myght be  
 tryid owte be þe werkyng of þe sonne, þat is pressyd myghtyly  
 at þe most vttyr maner, þat [þe] skynnys, þe pypionys and þe 10  
 tendrauntys fully be avoydyd of her moystour, of qwyche | þe [f. 62]  
 colour is lyke gold, þat is to sey, a mene be-twene rede and lyghte  
 yellow, and hath a scharp and a delectabyll tast, þe qwyche is ful  
 puryffyd or fynyd. And þ[u] fyndyst sqwyche a wyne, drynke  
 þer-of temperatly, aftyr þe age is of þi body, and þe qwalyté 15  
 of þe tyme of þe yer. And þise be þe qwalyteis of þe yer: þe hete,  
 þe colde, þe moystenes, þe drynes, and as it is expressyd be-forn of  
 þe foure tymys of þe yer. For þis seyde wyne, dronkyn mesarably,  
 confortyth þe stomak, it strengthith the hete natural, it helpyth  
 dygestyon, it kepith fro corrupcion þe mete þat is etyn, and it 20  
 sethyth þe mete with-in þe stomak, and bryngith it to norchyng of  
 alle partys be þe veynis of þe body and be þe porys, puryfyng þe  
 mete, and hym-self also, in-to blode þat is sotel and substancialle.  
 And aftyr, it ascendith vppe to þe nek with temperat hete, and it  
 makyth þe hed strong and a-myghty ayens alle caswel sekeneis. 25  
 Also it causyth þe hert to be mery, it maketh þe face wele colouryd,  
 it make[th] þe tonge | clene and wele dysposyd to talke, it maketh [f. 62<sup>v</sup>]  
 a man to forget pensyfhed, it maketh a man bold and hardy, it  
 excytith þe appetyte, and many odyr goode thyngis it dothe to  
 kende. But þan wyne, qwan it is dronkyn owte of mesur, it dothe 30  
 harm, and þise hurtys folowe: fyrst, it makyth dulle þe vndyr-  
 stondyn[g], and it lettyth þe wytte, and it trowbyllyth þe brayne.  
 It makyth febyll þe vertu natural, it makyth a man foryetful, it  
 hurtyth alle hys fyue wyttis with þe qwyche he is gouernyd  
 and dysposyd of alle þe bodyly werkyng. It flemyth þe appetyte, 35  
 febyllyth þe synowys and joyntis, it gendryth þe pallys in þe

3-4 it doth] in do                      5 sotel] preysabyll; suavius B 92                      14 þu] þe  
 23 substancialle] altered from substancialle                      27 maketh<sup>1</sup>] ms. make perh.  
 intended form: cf. 160/9, and see also 163/4, 149/24                      31-2 vndyrstondyng]  
 vndyrstondynd

membrys, it gendryth sekenes in þe eyn, hurtyng þe syte. It brennyth coler. It destroyth þe lyuir, for it makyth þe blode mor grose. It makyth þe blode of þe hert to chonge fro pur and clene blode to blak and malyncolious blod, and of þat comyth fer, drede,  
 5 dowghfulnes, heuy dremys, spekyng in þe slep.

## [þe Thyrd Boke]

## [The fyrst capityl]

## [Capitulum j]

[f. 64] . . . and vsyth þise temperatly, that absteynith hym fro gret and hasty etyng and drynkyng, and also fro lying with women and fro  
 10 labor, how may þer þan ony sekenes betyde to sqwyche a man? And it behouyth hym þat is dysposid oftyn to be dronkyn, þat he wasche hym with hote watyr, and þat he haue a sege vppon rennyng watrys, and þat he haue a-bought hym salow leuys, and odir leuys beyng refrygeratyf in werkyng. And he must anoynte  
 15 hys body with confecte salt, and to vndyrsmoke hym with colde encensys. And þis [is] a souerrey[n] medycine ayens dronkeschep. An chonge neur sodenly fro an hot drynke to a cold.

## The secunde capitil

## Capitulum ij

There be þanne summe thyngis þat make þe body fatte and  
 20 stronge, and summe þat make þe body lene and weyke, and summe þat þe bodi dryen, and summe þat make it moyst, and summe þat yef strenght and beuté, and summe þat gendyr slowth and sloggynes. Tho þat strenghte the body and make it in goode  
 24 lykinge be sqwete metys þat be esy of dygestion, and tho þat be |  
 [f. 64<sup>v</sup>] metys acordyng to þe complexcion, and þe drynkyng of sqwete wyne þat is takyn in tyme qwan natur nedyth. And þo thyngis þat make þe body moyst be þise: rest of þe body, gladnes of hert, and mery felyschyp, and metys þat be hote and moyst, as vele and sqwyche odyr, and þe drynkyng of sqwete wyne, and þe receuyng  
 30 of hony þe qwych is made in wodys, in rotys, or holle treys schadowyd fro þe sonne, and, in-especial, slepyng aftyr mete vppon a soft bedde in a colde place, and to be bathyd in hote bathys, and to stonde but lytil qwyle in hem, þat þe moystour of þe body be nozt dyssoluyd in to-gret qwantyté, for þe bodi is þe bettyr þat

1 sekenes in] sekenes & in      4 blak] 1 *ins. above*      6 *At least one leaf missing*  
 10 may] many      14 anoynte] a noynte      29 sqwete] *medial e ins. above*  
 31 in-especial] *written inespecial*      34 to-gret] *written togret*

it hathe sumqwate of moystur and wetenes of þe bath þan þe contrary. And also to haue þe tast of sqwete thyngis þat make þe spyrite myri, but euiry thyng eowyth to be done in tyme conuenyent: and, in somyr, to haue þe tast of rosis and vyolettys, and, in wyntir, odyr conuenyent. And in somyr to excercyse vomytis 5  
twyis | or thryis in a monthe, for a vomyte waschyth þe stomak fro [f. 65]  
euyll and corrupt humorys, and qwan þe corrupt humorys be expulsyd þe natural hete is aumentyd and confortid to dygeste þe alymentys. Gouverne wele þan þi body if thou wult þat it be in hele, and obserue my counsel, for þat is to þe chef solas. And reuerrens 10  
comyth with ryches, and vycetry of þi enmy teh, and to lyue in lykyng, and to excludyt alle heuynes and stody. Vse amonge instrumentis musical to her myri songis, and to vse alle odyr plesaunsis and as I haue her befor in thys boke taught þe. And þo þat lene þe body be thyse: myche abstynens fro mete and drynke, þe vse of 15  
dayli labour and excersise in ony werk with contynuauns in hote placys and in þe sonne, longe wecchyng, slepyng be-for mete vppon herd beddys, for so þe hete is lettyd for grete habundauns of moystour qwyche is in þe body, to be bathyn in brunston watrys 19  
and salt, and to our-hote watris, | hungryr, þe drynkyng of olde [f. 65\*]  
wyne, to haue oftyn purgacion of þe wombe, oftyn bledyng and vse of lecchery, pouerté, thowght, fer, euyll thowghtys and angyr, oftyn sorow betyding, and euyll chawnsis, þise cause þe body to be lene.

## þe thyrd capitil

## Capitulum iij 25

A bath is one of þe mervellis of þis world, for it is edyfyid aftyr þe tymes of þe yer. For a cold bath is attribute to wyntir, a lewke bath to ver, an hot bath to somyr, a dry bath to haruest. Of hie prudens a man schuld ordeyn in a bath thre or fowr mansyounys dystyncte aftyr þat I haue her rehersed, þat he þat wul be bathyd 30  
may stonde fyrst a qwyle in þe cold bath, and aftyr in þe lewke, and so forth, and in hys goyng owte on þe same wyse tabyde a qwyle in yche of hem, þat he change nozt to sodenly fro gret hete to gret cold. It wold þer-for be ordeynnyd i[n] a plase qwer myche comyth of wynde, and to haue gret furneyssis and fresch and 35

11 enemy teh] enmyteh; victoriam super inimicos adquirere B 95: see n.  
19 brunston] u surmounted by contraction; perhaps brumston 28 an hot] ahot  
run together, with a surmounted by indistinct horizontal stroke overlapping marginal  
decoration, and presumed to be contraction sign. Perhaps a hot intended 34 in]  
it 35 of] ins. above

- [f. 66] sqwete | watyr and þer a man schul vse sqwete odowrys conuenyentys to þe tyme, as, in ver and somyr, þo thyngis þat be sqwete of tast and colde confort, and in odyr tymys as is conuenient, as I haue her befor expressid. And þan sytte on a sete vndyr qwychē
- 5 þer is sette a vessel with rose watyr made warme, þat þe fumys may smyght in to þe body be ascencion, and aftyr, lette hym be wypte with clene lynen clothes. And aftyr alle thys is done, lete hym go in to odyr chambrys, and vse as I haue lernyd þe in this booke. And if it be so þat he be our-comyn of hete, lette hym
- 10 kembe hym and lett hym vse a purifyid vnguent þat is conuenient to þe tyme, for in ver and somyr he must vse þe oyl confecte of sandel and enylege, and in haruest and wyntyrt to vse vnguentys of myrre, and with þe juse of þe herbe clepyd bletys, and to cast
- 14 vppon þe hed watrys dystyllyd. And aftyr þe anoyntyng he must be rubbyd and wascyn clene. And yf it be so þat he hath | thyrst, lete hym drynke of þe syrip made of rosis and of þe letwary muscat, þat is to [say] þe letwary made with muschre. And þan lete hym strecche owte hys armys somqwat, and a lytil qwyle aftyr þat, qwan hys appetyte is comyn, lette hym ete a lytil, and drynke
- 20 myghty wyne þer-to, and with þat quantité of watir þat he was wunt to vse, lytil or nozt, and aftir þat to vndyrsmoke hym with incensis conuenient to þe tyme. A[nd] aftir þat, lett hym rest hym in a delycat bedde and lett hym take a gode slepe, for þat helpyth gretly, and þe todyrdele of þe day to spend it in myrth. And þis
- 25 is þe gouernauns of þe ordyr of helth and of norchyng of þe body. And he þat is olde and ouercomyn of cold and moystur, lette hym be war how he taryth in a bath. And no lengir he schuld stond but tylle þe bath hath made hym wete. And þan let hym throwe vppon [hym] as myche of temperat watyr as he wulle, and as sone as he
- 30 wulle. And he þat is flewmatyk, it behouyth hym to come in no [f. 67] bathe but if he be fastyng, | and anoynte hym with hote vnguentis. And he þat is of hote natur, lette hy[m] d[o] as is wrytyn herbeforn.

### þe fourth capitil

### Capitulum iiij

- 35 O Alysaundyr, qwuan þat þu hast fulle knowleche of þis doctrine, and þan þu hast fullfyllid it in dede, þu schalt nede none odyr leche alle þe dayis of þi lyue, with þe help of God. But it is to be knowyn

18 somqwat] *altered from somwat*  
do] hyd 36 fullfyllid] fu'llyd

29 as myche] s *ins. above* 32 hym

þat greuus infyrmytés, qwyche be gendryd of hete, or of þe dayis  
 termynd, and þe cours of þe mone, be knowyn, qwedyr þei be  
 longe of abydyng or schort. And of sygnys procedyng, it is  
 knowyn to qwat ende þei owe or schuld come. And I haue trwly  
 taughte þe, and I haue schewyd þe schortly, þe dyuysiounys and 5  
 þe knowleche of þe sekensis. And in watir also is a prouyd tokyn  
 in þise thynGIS. But þe sygnys gooyng beforne be bettir and trwer,  
 as I haue determynid in þe boke of watrys. And þise sygnys be  
 syffycyent to hym þat holdyth wele in hys mende þe doctrine of 9  
 þat boke, also as it | [is] conteynyd in þe boke þat [I] made þe of [f. 67<sup>v</sup>]  
 medycynys compounyd and of crafty watrys and drynkys, in con-  
 fecte vnguentys and plastrys, aftyr þe o[r]dyr and craft of Grekys,  
 Ytalyenys, menne of Inde (or Indyciennis) and men of Persis,  
 in qwyche þer is none experyment ontrwe ner dysceyuabyl. And  
 for be-cause alle þise wer priueteis and byryd, or hyd, and no-qwer 15  
 foundyd in þ[e] commune place, qwer-for I thought no3t wurthy  
 þat þei schuld be hyd fro þe. And it is wurthy þan þat þu knowe  
 þat gret medycyne qwyche is clepyd þe tresour of phylysofris, and  
 namyd, or seyde, þe glory inestymabyl. And I trwly kowde neuir  
 yit fynde, ner neuir knowe nor perceyue, ho fonde þis medycyne. 20  
 Summe sey þat Adam was þe fynder þer-of, and summe sey þat  
 Esculapydes, and Hermogynes þe leche, and Hyrssos, and Donas-  
 tyes, and Vacyleos, and Hebreos, and Dyerys, and Taranus,  
 gloryus phylysophris qwyche be in nowmbyr viij, to home it was 24  
 youyn to knowe þe secrete of siencis þe qwyche | wer hyd fro alle [f. 68]  
 men. And þise wer thei þat made inquysicion, and dysputyd of  
 þo thynGIS þat be abouyn natur, of fulle and of voyde, of fynyte and  
 infynyte. And concordyngly þei accordyd in þis medycyne in-  
 estymabyl, the qwyche is dyuydid in to viij partys. And summe sey  
 þat Ennok knwe þat secrete be a vysyon, but þei mene and sey þat 30  
 Ennok was Hermogynes, home þat Grekis myche comende and  
 preyse, to home þei ascryue alle secrete and heuynly syens.

### þe fyfte capitil

### Capitulum v

Take with þe blyssy[n]g of [God of] þe jwse of sqwete pome  
 garnettis xx<sup>v</sup> rotis, and of þe jwse of sowr pome garnettis x rotis, 35  
 and of þe jwse of sqwete applys x rotis, and alle þe cler jwse of  
 a clustir grapis, and of qwyte swgyr þat is clene x rotis. Putte alle

3 of abydyng] of *ins. above*

13 menne] *m corr.*

16 þe] þo

34 blyssyng] blyssyg *altered from blyssyd*

this in a vessel so þat it be but half fulle, a[nd] lete it boyle with dyscrecion with a cler fyr with-owte smoke, and skymme it allwey as it rysith, and lette it sethe to þe haluyndel. And lett it boyle so  
 [f. 68<sup>v</sup>] longe þat it be as thykke as thykke hony, but ster it, for | brennyng,  
 5 to þe bottum. And þis is that best hony with þe qwychē medycyns owyn to be made with.

### The sexte capitil

### Capitulum vj

Take, with þe helpe and blyssinge of God, of rede rosis one rot, and of vyolettys þe fourthe parte of a rot, and putt[e] alle þis in tenne  
 10 rotyis of fresch and cler watyr. Aftyr þat haue be, putte in thys seyde medycine of þe watir of elcorenge half a rot and of þe watir of grene mynte half a rot, and of watir as is specyfyid. þan alle thyse, þus proporcionyd, lette hem stonde on þe fyr a day and a nyght, tylle alle þe strenght be gone owte of þise seyde thyngis.  
 15 And aftyr ordeyn a cler fyr, and sette þis medycyne vpon yt, tylle þe thyrd part of þe watyr be sodyn inne. Than take it off, and cole tylle it waxe cler, and aftyr putte þer-to of hony arayid, and of þe seyde hony thre rotis, and lette it sethe so longe tylle it be thycke.  
 19 And aftir þat put þer-to a dramme and half one of goode muske, |  
 [f. 69<sup>v</sup>] and one dramme of ambre oryental, and thre drammys of þe tre of aloes, þat is moyst and betyn smalle. And thys is þe fyrste medycyne, of qwychē þe vertu is to conforte þe brayne and þe hert myghtyly, and also þe stomak.

### The seuynth capitil

### Capitulum vij

25 Take of merablonys, galengan, of cabely with owte þe barke, and take of þe mary and pytthe of caroblys of Babylon þe fourth parte of a rotyle, and of lyquoryse with-owte þe barke, þat is of yelow colour, tweyne vncys, and of rype kernellis of decynotis tweyne vncis. Alle þise lete hem be brokyn to-gydir, and put in  
 30 a vessel with tenne rotis of watyr a day and a nyght, and aftyr þat sethe hem sokyngly to þe half. þan take hem fro þe fyre, and stere it wele to-gydir tyl it be alyke thykk, and þan clense it oftyn tylle it be cler, and þan putte þer-to of pr[epar]at hony, qwychē is

1 and] At 6 owyn] y surmounted by contraction sign and apparently foll. by blurred downstroke: perhaps owyin. 9 putte] putty 18 thycke] c ins. above 19 dramme] with symbol 3 above it: this feature not recorded here-after 30 a day] article a corr. 32 tyl it] it above canc. three minims 33 preparat] priuat

hard, tweyn rotis and sethe it a-yen tylle it be thykk. And qwan it is takyn off, putte þer-to | of mastyk betyn to powdyr an ownce, and [f. 69<sup>v</sup>] of rebarich þe fourth parte of an ownce. And þis is þe secunde medycine, of qwychē þe propyrté is to make stronge þe stomak, and to porge euyl and corrupte hymorys þat be gadryd in þe 5 stomak, with-owte ony vyolens or lothelynes, and with-owte ony hurte. Mor-ouir it makyth stronge þe chyne and alle joyntis, and þe brest and þe brayne.

**þe eghte [capitul]****Capitulum viij**

Take of emleg a pece, and parte it, and of dymide and of eyleg 10 of Yinde half a half part of a rot, and of darsainy, caryell, and tekelenge galangale, [and] notys muscate, one ownce. And lete alle thys be brokyn to-gydir noȝt to smalle, and putte hem in fresch watyr ten rotys, and lette it lye in þat watyr a day and a nyght. And aftyr in þe same watyr sethe it with a soft fyr to þe 15 half, and þan lete it be steryd myghtyli to-gydir, and aftir þat clense it tylle it be clere, and putte þer-to thre rotis of hony of qwychē I remembryd in þe begynnyng, | and lete hem sethe [f. 70] to-gydir tyl thei be thyk. And thys is þe thyrd medycine, of home þe propyrté is to conforte alle þe spyritual membrys inforth. 20

**[þe] nynght capitil****Capitulum ix**

Take, with þe blyssyng of God, of þe watyr of palmys, and put þer-to of tendris þat beere wylde applis a pounde, and of salt watyr oftyn clensid a l., and of watyr of salicenne wele clensid a l., and 25 putte þise to gidyr, and putte hem in a qwarte of vine-egyr so þat alle may lye fletyng þer-inne, and lete it stonde a day and a nyght. And aftyr clense it and putte þer-to thre pounde of hony, and lete it sethe with a soft fyr tylle it be thyk. And thys is þe fourth medycine, of qwychē þe propyrté is to help þe appetite and þe longis and þe instrument of þe brest. 30

**þe tenth capitil****Capitulum x**

Take fresch estynes and grene trifera, vndyr þe weyght of a pounde, and putte it [in] a quantité couenyent of watyr, and adde 34 iij partis of comyne, and lete hem stonde a day and a nyght, and aftyr sethe | hem to þe half. þan take four partys of hony and putte [f. 70<sup>v</sup>] þer-to, and sethe hem tylle þei be thyk. And thys is þe fyfthe, of qwychē þe propyrté is to putte away malencoly, and to dyssolue

flewme, and to consume superfluyteis of humoris, to tempir þe stomak, to dyssolue hym þat is constipat, and to dyssolue wynde.

### The elleuyth capitil

### Capitulum xi

Take with þe help of God, of decolayis, asenyis, contrariores, of  
 5 yche half a rote, and of degeneris arabyk [thre] vnce and of þe  
 kyrnellis of þe pynet one vnce, and lete alle þise be brokyn in watyr  
 of rose, and putte þer-to of hony preparate iij rotis, and sethe hem  
 on þe fyre, and stere hem tylle it be thyk. And þis is þe syxte  
 medycine, of home þe propyrté is to make smothe þe breste, and  
 10 to conforte in refreschyng, and it restoryth þe brest, and puttyth  
 away þe peyn of þe tethe.

### The twelthe capitil

### Capitulum xij

Take with þe help of God of spyca indica thre owncys, and of |  
 [f. 71] arecyn, and as myche of amome, and of cubellis thre drammys, and  
 15 lete hem be putt in v vncys of fresch watyr. And aftyr þat lete it  
 stonde tylle þe vertu and myght be encresyd, and þan clense it,  
 and putte þer-to of hony preparat and claryfyd an owunce, and  
 lette it boyle with a soft fyr tyl it be thyk. And þis is þe seuyth  
 medycyne, of home þe propyrté is to repare þe stomak and to dys-  
 20 solue and putte away ventosyteis.

### þe thirten [capitil]

### Capitulum xiiij

Take of grene rubarbe þat is sad thre owncis, and of declanucis  
 a dram, and brose hem to-gydir, and putte þer-to ten owncis of  
 fresch watyr, and lete hem stonde tylle þe vertu be gone in to þe  
 25 watyr, and þan ster hem to-gidyr and clense hem. And putt þer-to  
 iij owncis of hony preparat and boyle hem with a soft fyr tylle it be  
 thyk. And thys is þe viij medycine, of home þe propyrté is to  
 amende þe lyuir and to repayr þe hert, and to confort þe body.

### [þe fourtene capitil]

### Capitulum xiiij

30 Than take and gadyr alle thyse medycynys to-gydir, and þus  
 [f. 71<sup>v</sup>] schal be made | [þe] nynthe and þe last medycine. And þan take  
 and putte þe quantyté of an egge of datys with-owte stonys, and  
 lete it be dyssoluyd as it is wrytin be-forn, but þat date melyte is  
 best, qwyche is qwyte and softe with-in as þe brayne is. And qwan

5 thre vnce]:  $\frac{iii}{an}$  vnce; uncie .iij. B 102  
 two minims surmounted by horizontal stroke

17 owunce] between w and c,

þei be brokyn in watyr tyl þe strenght be owte þer-of þan gadyr  
 alle to-gydir, and putte in vj powund of rose watyre, and þan  
 lete it sethe tyl it be thyk. And þan take it off and lete it kele, and  
 þan putte þat to þe vnguent klepyd belesan. And put þer-to of  
 ambre oryental, or ellis beletan, or orengis, of þise thre drammys 5  
 (3 iij), and putte þer-to of margarytis brokyn to powdyr half  
 a pounde, and of poudyr of precious stonys, þat is to sey rubyis,  
 safyris, topasys, jacynctis, 3 i, or to vncis of yche of hem, and of  
 þe jwse of narde thre drammys (3 iij), and of powdyr of gold viij  
 drammys. And þan put alle þe forseyd medycynys to þis thyngis, 10  
 and putte þem in a vessel | of gold þat is smokyd with þe tre of [f. 72]  
 aloes, and sette it viij dayis vndyr a rofe qwer pur eyer is, þat  
 spyritual vertuys may entir in to it, and lete it stonde þer none  
 nyght qwan þe mone is in froward dysposicion and faylith þe  
 our cowers, or ellis hys bemys. And qwan it is complete vndyr þis 15  
 seyde forme, it schal be to þe as one of þe grete tresouris of þis  
 world. Take þan þerof be-forn mete and aftyr mete one dramme.  
 For þis is þe summe of alle medycynys, and chef ende of alle  
 mydicynal entencion to fle flewme, coler, malencolye, peyne in þe  
 renys, to putte away emerrowdys and alle bolnyng, to dygest þe 20  
 mete and to tempir þe complexcion, to clere þe syte, to sese werk-  
 yng of þe templys, and, brefly to conclude, it helpyth alle maner  
 of sekenes bothe inforth and with-owte. But it hath one specyall  
 thyng, þat it causith a man to haue a cler wytte and a goode brayne.  
 Qwerfor, o Alysaundyr, if þu vse this thow schalt vse none odyr, 25  
 for þis suffysith. | Nor þu schalt neurir blede nor be boystid but be [f. 72']  
 þe consel of a man þat is experte in astronomye, and for þis  
 cause þe profytabylnes of medycinal kunnyng is exaltyd in þat,  
 and þe natural wylle is enclyned and claryfyd in þat.

## The fyftene capitil

## Capitulum xv 30

Bewar Alysaundyr, þat þu opyn no veyn be þe maner of  
 bledyng, nor take no medycine, but be þe lycens of an astronomer.  
 And thow schuldyst algatis attempt be þine owne rede, do it no3t  
 tulle þe tyme þat þe nwe moone be growyn so myche þat it be  
 pasyd fro þe sonne. And be war þat þe mone be no3t in Cancro nor 35  
 in Pyscibus. And be war of þe beholdyng or respecte of þe sonne

4 klepyd] *l ins. above* 5 orengis, of þise thre drammys] thre orengis,  
 of these thre x drammys 13-14 lete . . . dysposicion] non permittatur . . . in  
 illa nocte in qua Luna erit malignor B104 19 fle flewme] fleme flewme  
 30 capitil] *fol. by second capitil, canc.* 34 þat it] þat h. it

ascendyng to þe mone, and also qwan þe moone is in coniu[n]x-  
 cion with þe sonne in a quwattry sygne, as Pysces or Capricorne or  
 sqwyche anodyr. Be war les þat Mercury be in constellacion  
 4 ascendyng, and also of Saturne. And þe most profytabył of owrys  
 [f. 73] in opynnyng of veynis is in þe myddys of þe mo[n]th lunar, | þat  
 is, qwan þe mon[e] begynith to wane, and þat it be in Libra or  
 in Scorpyone, and qwan noying sterris be-holde it noȝt, þat is to  
 se be noȝt dyrecte þer ayens, for þan þe mone is werst and noyabył  
 10 done in þe waxeng of þe mone, qwan þat noyabył sterris behold it  
 noȝt, schewyng her bemys directely þer-vppon. But qwan it is  
 euyñ ayens Mercury, and þat þe mone and þe planete of Venus be  
 in one sygne, or ellis þat Venus and Mercuryus behold þe mone,  
 and qwan it is so þat þe moone is in constellacion ascendyng, þan  
 15 hath it power and rewle our þat same place in þe Scorpyon.  
 Qwerfor, qwan þu wulte take a laxatyfe, loke þat þe mone be in  
 Scorpyon or in Lybra or in Pyscibus, but bewar of neghyng nere  
 of þe mone to þe planete of Saturne, for þan it makyth humorys  
 [f. 73<sup>v</sup>] and also þe medycine to congele in þe body. And | þe mor þat þe  
 20 [mo]ne elongid is fro Saturne, so myche þe bettyr, and þow it be  
 with [þe] planete of Mercury it is noȝt to be feryd. Lete þan þe  
 begynnyng and chef of his body be aftyr þe goode constellacion of  
 þe mone, and þe absens fro noyus sterris, and his prosperyté in  
 hys ascens or goying vppe. And qwan þu wulte yef a medycine, loke  
 25 in qwat sygne be þe mone and þe sonne, þe qwyche þu mayst know  
 be [þe] monthe qwyche þu art inne, and if þu beholde dyligen[t]ly  
 þe sygnys and þe monthys descryuyd in þis present spere. And  
 if þe mone be in þe sygne þat is coleryk, þu must make þat medycine  
 the more scharp. And if it be in a malycoly sygne þu must make it  
 30 ryght stronge, and if it be in a flewmatyk sygne, but esy and soft,  
 aftyr þe qwalyté of þe sygne and aftyr resun, for qwan þe sonne  
 is in þe decens, þe natur of þe wombe is made sad and also losyd.  
 [f. 74] Qwerfor dyligently it owyth to be consy-|dryd qwydir þe moone  
 be in a coleryk signe or in a malencoly sygne or in a flewmatyk  
 35 sygne. And if it be so þat bothe lumynaryis, þat is to sey þe sunne  
 and þe mone, be in colerryk sygnys, or ellis þat þei neghe or

2 a quwattry] aqua wattry      as Pysces] as s pysces      6 mone] month  
 18-19 makyth . . . congele] makyth the medycine to congele humorys & also  
 þe medycine to congele      20 mone] sonne *canc.*, with luna *ins.* above  
 28 must] *prec. by canc.* ma

beholde sqwyche maner sygnys, dowght noȝt þat a medycyne þan schal lytyl profyte as to losyng of þe wombe but if it hurt gretly natur. And if it be takyn in a melancolyk sygne, owdyr it schal profyte ryght nowght vttyrly, or vttyrly to myche it schal lose þe receyuur. And if þe sunne and þe mone be in a flewmatyk sygne, 5 þe laxatyfe þat is youyn warkyth esyly, and namely if þe mone be in waxyng, for as Doctour Plynus seyth þat, þe moone waxyng, alle humorys þat be in a man encrese, and also, decresyng þe mone, humoris mynwse or decese, experyens schewyth.

Here endyth þe thyrd boke of secretis.

10

[þe Fourth Boke]

[The fyrst capytill]

[Capitulum j] |

. . . present werk. But [þ]ow owyst to knowe, Alysaundyr, euy[n] [f. 76] as in plantis þe dyuerse naturys and dyuerse strenghys [be] youyn be Goddys grace, on þe lyke wyse in stonys þer be foundyn sondry 15 kendys and sondry vertuys, of qwyche þe bewté and profytabylnes is inestymabyl of price, for þei acorde most to a kyngis magesté. þe kyngis crownys and dyademys be arayid and mayd þe most gloryus and semly with precyus stonys, be hos bewté þe syght is confortyd and holpyn, þe wylle, þe se[n]ssualyté and þe hert be 20 delityd, þe dygnyté of astate is adornyd, or arayd, and be þe vertuys of hem greuus sekenes be putte owte of men and wommennis bodyis, with-owte qwyche is [n]one medycine profytabyll or effectuus. Qwer-for lechys and physicyens vse hem to þe puttyng owte of þe most greuus sekenes in man or woman. And 25 conceyue trwly, þat passyng grete vertu is bothe in plauntys and in stonys, youyn be natur of God, but þei be hyd onknowyn to man-kende. But in | þe boke qwyche we compyld of stonys, we [f. 76<sup>v</sup>] haue fully trectyd and schewyd þe propyrteis and vertuys of hem.

And now fyrst and formest, seyth þe fylisophir, O Alysaundyr, 30 I wol now take þe, or lerne þe, of alle priuyteis þe most priuyte and secrete counsel. And Goddys counsel schal help þe to performe þi counsel and purpos, and to hyde or couyr þi priuy purpos.

(Conceyue þat now þe fylisofyr inducyth þat blynde mater þat I spake of, qwyche begynnyth þus:)

35

3 a melancolyk] run together; separated by vertical stroke in revision 11 f. 74  
 blank; f. 75 missing 13 þow] yow 16 of qwyche] prec. by i 17 in-  
 estymabyl of] of foll. by canc. o 23 none] ony with n surmounted by two  
 small irregular strokes, perhaps accidental

Take þe bestly stone vegetabyl and myneral, þe qwych is no stone, nor hath þe natur of a stone. And þis stone is lyknynd in somme maner to þe stonys of mownntys, myneralis or mynis, and plauntys and bestys, and it is foundyn in euiry place and in  
 5 euiry tyme and in euiry man and it is conuerted byl into euiry colour, and it conteynith in it alle four elementis, and it is clepyd þe lesse world. And I schal clepe it þat name þe qwych þe comun pepyl name it, þat is to sey, þe terme of an egge, þat is to sey, þe  
 [f. 77] egge of philysophris. | Diuiyde þan þat in to four partis: euiry  
 10 part hath on nature. þan compownne hym equaly and proporcionably so þat þer be no dyuysion nor repugnans, and, owr Lord grauntynd, thow schalt haue þi purpos. This is þe vnuyersel maner, but I schal dyuide it to þe to specyal werkyngis. It is dyuydid trwly in to fowr, and on tweyn manerys it is made wele  
 15 and withowte corrupcion. Qwan thow hast þer-for watyr of þe eyr, and eyer of þe fyr, and fyr of þe erthe, þan thow schalt haue plenerly þe craf. Dyspose þer-for þe aery substauns be dyscrecion and dyspose þe erthly substauns be hete and moystour tyll þei come to gyd[ir] and be conioyned, and þat þei dyscord no3t nor be no3t  
 20 dyuydid. And þan conioyne to hem to werkis, operatyf vertuis, watyr and fyr, and þan thy werk schal be complete. For if yow menge watyr alone it schal make qwyght, and if thow putte fyr it schal make rede, owre Lord grawntyng.

## 24 Þe secunde capitil

## Capitulum ij

[f. 77<sup>v</sup>] And owr fadir Hermogines qwy[che] | is threfold in filosofhye, on þe most best wyse filosofhying, seyð þat þe trwthe is so, and þat it is no dowght, þat lower thyngis to hyer thyng, and hyer to lower be corespondent. But þe Werker of myraclis is on Godde alone, fro Home descendyth euiry meruulus werk. And so alle  
 30 thyngis be creat of one only substauns, be an only dysposicion, of home þe fadyr is þe sonne, and þe mone þe modyr, qwych bar her be the wedyr in þe wombe. þe erthe is priuyd fro her-to. This is clepyd or seyð þe fadyr of enchauntmentis, tresur of myracclys, þe yessuer of vertuys. Be a lytil it is made erthe. Depart þat  
 35 qwych is erthly fro þat qwych is firy, for þat qwych is sotel is mor wurthy þan þat qwych is grose, and þat rar, porous, or lyght,

2 þe natur] þe h nature

7 I schal] ischal

9 egge of philysophris]

in margin, ouum philosophorum

13 but] &amp; but

20 to werkis] to,

as regularly with numerals, surmounted by ij

24 Capitulum ij] Capitulum iij

is mor bettyr þan qwyche is thyk of substauns. þis is done wyseli or dyscretly. It ascendyth fro þe erth in-to heuyn and fallyth fro heuyn in-to erth, and þer-of it sleth þe ouyr vertu and þe nedyr vertu, so it hath lorchyp in þe lowe thyngis and | hye thyngis, and þu lord- [f. 78] schyppist vppeward and downward, and with þe is þe lyght of 5 lyghtys. And for þat alle derkenes schal fle fro the. þe ouyr vertu ouircomyth alle, for euiry rar thyng werkyth in to euiry thyk thyng. And aftyr þe dysposicion of þe mor world rennyth thys werkyng. And for þat Hermogines is clepyd threfold in filosofhye and of þe meruellys of þe world. And þat stone is þat fyghtyth with 10 watrys and wyndis. þu seyst it a-ryse abouyn watrys qwan watrys renne with wynde, and it is born in þe see of Mydyl Erth, and þe propyrté þer-of is þis: if þu take þis stone and putte it in anodyr stone and ber it with þe, it is noȝt possibyl þat ony oste may dwr ayens þe or withstonde þe, but þei schal flee myscheusly 15 be-forn þe.

### Of two precyus stonys meruul

Ther be also tweyn precious stonys of meruulus vertu, þe qwyche be foundyn in derk placys, of qwyche one is qwyght and þe odyr reede, and þei be foundyn in grauell and sonndy watrys. 20 And the | werkyng of hem is this: the qwyght stone begynnyth to [f. 78v] apper vppon watrys in þe downgoyng of þe sunne, and it abydyth abouyn vppon þe facis of þe watyr tyl mydnyght, and þan it begynnyth to descende bakward, and in þe sprynging of þe sunne it schal come downe to þe depe. The rede stoone hath werkyng in 25 contrary, for it begynnyth forto apper in þe sprynging of þe sonne, tyl þe howr of mydday, and it is in fallyng downne to þe downe-gooyng of þe sonne. And þe propyrté of þise stonys is this: þat if þu hange of þe rede stone half a dramme vppon one hors of of þi[n] hoste, all þe horsis of þine host schal neur sese of neying 30 tyl þu take a-wey þat stone. And þe werkyng of þe qwyght stone is þe contrary. Qwer-for þei be myche wurthe to þe help of þine host and to slegytis of werre. And þe propyrté of þis stonys is thys: if tweyn stryue togydir, put þe qwyght stone in þe mowthe of one of þe stryueris, and if þe ryght of þat þei stryue for longe to hym, 35 [he] schal speke spe-|dyly in his mater, and ellys he may noȝt [f. 79] speke a word mor as longe as it is in hys mowthe. And þe reed stone hath þe contrary werkyng. And I schal determyne to þe þe

propyrteis and vertuys of stonys in enchaumentis and of summe [plawntis] in þe folowyng trefyse.

And þu fully hast knowyn, of my trefyse gooyng before, qwer I haue trefyd of natural thyngis and priueteis of creaturis, þat þe 5 degré of pla[un]tis, and þe dysposicion, is aftyr þe degré and þe dysposicion of mynerallis aftyr her beyng, and þat þei receyue a propyr forme aftir her begynnyng and natur of hyer naturys, þat is to sey ourcomyng and lordchyppyng in h[e]m. And ourcomyng in plauntis is a wattry natur, and in myneral stonys is an erthly 10 natur. þer-for þe naturis of plawntis resceyuith of þe natur of wattris a bolnyng or encresyng, as þe same receyuith watyr be meuyng and impulsion of wyndys in his place. And as euiry [f. 79<sup>v</sup>] watrys be of sondry figurys, for þer-inne | be many figuris, so it fallyth in pla[un]tys. Alle figurys be foundyn in pla[un]tis, sythyn 15 þan þat watyr is ourcomyng in plawntys and it is nozt extendyd but be dyfusyon, and sythyn þe werker of dyssolucion of watrys is euirlasting, verkyng withowte sesyng to hys heuyn, þat is to sei, Mercurys. For it is vnyuersally trwe, þat euiry planete gouernyth and dysposith and acordyth and is assimiylid to his natur, as, be 20 exampl, Saturne kepyth þe erth, Mercury þe watyr, Jubyter þe aer, þe sonne, fyr. And þis conueniens is nozt foundyn in the [changeabyl] werkys of planetys, but in þe werkyngis of planetys qwyche þei haue contynwally and perpetuyally be þe our vn- uersal vertu, þe qwyche is abouyn þe verkyngis of alle þise vertuys. 25 But here is no place to schewe þise hard materys. But for þis I haue made to þe mencion, for it is gretly necessary and profytabyll to þe for þe folowyng trefyse, in qwyche we schal determyne of [f. 80<sup>v</sup>] synguleris and þingis indyuysibyl, | of sondry vegetabyll, and also of pla[un]tis. The knowyng of þis longith to fylsophris, and þe 30 knowleche of natural werkyngis longith to lechis. And I wul nozt þat it schal be hyd fro þi wysdam, þat þu schalt vndyrstonde þat euiry thyng wantyng lyght of þe nombyr of vegetabyllis is attribute to Saturne and gouernyd of Saturne. And qwat þing of vegetabyllis is floryschyng and luminum is youyn to, and gouernyd be, Mercury 35 þe planete. And qwat sum-euir of vegetabyllis is floryschyng and beryth no frwte is attribute to Mars and gouernyd be Mars. And

5 plauntis] planetis (plantarum B 119) and þe<sup>2</sup>] *prec. by canc.* is as  
 8 hem] hym 12 as] *added in margin, without precise indication of point at  
 which it should be inserted* 13 be<sup>2</sup>] f be 14 plauntys] planetys plauntis]  
 planetis 29 plauntis] planetis 34 youyn to] youyn to Saturne: *see n.*

euiry vegetabyl floryschyng and beryng frwte or seede is gouernyd  
 be þe sonne, and to þe sonne attribute. Than compowne and  
 conioyne þise dyuysiounys, and sey þat eueri vegetabyl beryng  
 frwte and noȝt flowryng, as is an appyl, is att[r]ibute to Saturne  
 and to þe sonne. And euiry floryschyng thyng beryng no 5  
 frwte is causid of Mercuri and Mars. Also sum vegetable | be [f. 80v]  
 plaunty[d] be bowys, and sum be here sede, and summe be born or  
 sprongyn with-owte seede, and sum with-owte plauntyng. Than  
 it is opyn and cler inowe of þise forseyd, þat euiry kende of vegeta-  
 byllis or growyng thingis hath a propyr dysposycion, þe qwyche is 10  
 complexcionat, and folowyth þe vertu of a planete, and is assimyld  
 þer-to and attrIBUTE or youyn. And it hath a-nodyr vertu, qwyche  
 is assocyat or felyschypd and attribute to þe vertu of tweyn planetis  
 or of many, aftyr þat it may take, and it helpyth yche propyrte þat  
 is youyn to þat vegetabyl, þat is to sey, þat natural vertu þat 15  
 dysposith hys kende in hete, in smellyng, in tast, and in schappe.  
 And a natural soule gadryth alle þis propyrteis and vertuys natural,  
 for þei be concurrent fro it, and it folowyth be it, and it makyth  
 it to dwr as myche tyme as is dyfynynd to it, and betokynnid of þer  
 vertu. For þer is no dede with-owte meuyng, and þer is no werkyng 20  
 with-owte God. And þus schalt þu fynd sum kende of vegetabyllis  
 qwyche | be noyabyl, and sum kende þat is helsum and helyng, [f. 81]  
 and summe þat gendyr myrth and joye, and sum þat cause  
 loue, and summe þat cause hatred, and sum þat to þem þat bere  
 it yeuyth reuerrens and wurchypp, and summe abiectiion and 25  
 contempt, and sum þat makyth a man to see fals dremys, and  
 sum þat cause a trwe vysion. Summe gendyr manfulnes and  
 strenght, and summe slawght and febylnes. Summe kepe þe body  
 fro dedly venymmis, and summe corrupt þe body and bryng in deth.  
 And I schal make þe a mencion of alle þise kendis with argumentis 30  
 and opyn prouyngis. That kend of vegetabyls qwyche gendryth  
 reuerrens and wurchyp is a certeyn tree qwyche hath conuolute  
 leuys. þe schap þer-of is rownde, and also þe frwte. þe brawnchys of  
 þat tre be tendyr and moyst, and of sqwete tast. He þat pluckyth  
 vpp þat herbe in hys name, and beryth it wyth hym, for certeyn 35  
 he adquirith (or getyth) reuerrens and wurchyp be þat. And þer is  
 a-nodyr tree þat spryngith vppe on heyght þe lenght of a manns  
 arme, qwyche hath longe, moyst leuys, qwyche leuys | haue [f. 81v]  
 withinne hem qwyght veynys. And he þat beryth with hym of  
 6 be] qwy be 7 plauntyd] plauntyl 32 is] Haui is 35 wyth] *corr. from* wuth

þe substauns of þat tree schal be exaltyd aftyr hys degré be. Ther is a-nodyr hauyng gret leuys, and þe brawnchys of þat tre be extendyd vppon þe herthe, of qwyche þe smelle is sqwete. And he þat beryth þis with hym is lyght, manful and hardy. And it is noȝt  
 5 goode to fyght with hym þat beryth þis vppon hym, for he ouir-comyth euir hys aduersary in euiry cause. Ther is anodyr of þe kende of treis þat hath prykyllis þer-vppon, and it is plauntyd, and it hath anelong leuys, and þe leuys falle or euir þe flowrys sprynge, and it beryth thre flowrys anelong, qwyche be reede of colour and of sqweete sauour. And he þat etyth þo flourys, it betidyth to hym joye and lawghyng. And he þat pullyth vppe þe flourys with þe leuys and prykyllis, and þan sokyth þe flourys thynkyng on ony woman, it settyth her afyr in hys loue. Ther is a-nodyr  
 14 herbe clepyd adrasinon, and it spryngith in þe cuntre of Sin, and [f. 82] it hath currling leuys, smale and | drye, and þe seed þer-of is rownde and very lyghtyl, qwyght withinne. If þu take of þe seede of þat herbe vij kernel in name of ony persone, and breke hem in þat personys name in þe rysing of þe sterre clepy[d] Lwcyfer þe morow sterr, and of þe planete of Venus, so þat þe bemys of þo  
 20 planetis towche þe sedys, if þu yef þat persone to drynk þo seuyn kernellis brokyn or brosid, or ellis to ete in ony mete, þi loue schal abyde in þat personys hert, to obey to þe alle the dayis of hys lyue. And of þe kende of plauntis þer is a certeyn plaunt qwyche gendryth sekenes, of hom þe tendraunt or crop is plawntyd, of  
 25 qwyche þe brawchys growe owte þe lenght of an arme, of qwyche þe flouris be qwyght, spryngyng be-for þe leuys, beryng neur frwte. þe propyrte þer-of is of Mars and Mercuri, þe nature is fyri and aery. He þat beryth þat erbe with hym schal neur be with-owte sekenes tyl he throwe it fro hym. Ther is also of þe kend of  
 30 plawntys an holyng herbe of qwyche þe sedys be sowyn, þe bowyis [f. 82v] þer-of be | four sqwar, þe leuys rounde, þe flourys þer-of be lyke þe fymment, þe sede is rede, hauyng sqwete sauurr, and of goode werkyng. He þat drynkyth þer-of, or hath þe tast þer-of, schal be made hole of malencoly, or of pensyfhed, or of dreede,  
 35 or of þe frenesy, and of many odyr sekenes. And þer is anodyr qwyche is clepyd macynsson, þe qwyche is myghty to geete booth loue and reuerrens. O Alysaundyr, I haue fynyschyd perfyghtly

16 take] *repeated*  
 haps brawnchys: *see n.*  
 unfinished

18 clepyd] *clepyl*

25 brawchys] *intended form per-*

34 of dreede] *of foll. by second of begun and left*

þat I promysid to trete to þe. Be þerfor euir vertuuous, and gloryus  
God euir gouerne þe and directe þe and kepyth þe, Hos goodenes  
euiry creatur perceyuth or takyth part.

(The trefyse is þus complete of tokynnys and natural maneris of  
men, to þe ryght nobyl kyng Alysaundyr, and conqwerour grettest, 5  
þe qwyche was lord vndyr Good of alle þe world, clepyd þe  
monarke in þe septentrion, kyng, in þe world, of kingis.)

Aristotil:

O Alysaundyr, now þu hast knowyn þat qwyche I haue trefyd 9  
and expounyd, þat is to sey, þe substauns of þis | world, as is to þe [f. 83]  
necessary. þerfor vse vertu, and prosperyté schal folow.

(Now folowyth of enchaumentis qwyche Holy Chyrche hath  
forbodyn, qwerfor of þat it suffisith.)

### The thyrd capitil

### Capitulum iij

Ryghfulnes, or justyse, is þe preysabyll comendacion of þe pro- 15  
pyrteis of Hym þat is hyest gloryus One in beyng. Qwerfor þe  
kyndam of þis schuld be of Hym as in gouernauns be symylitude.  
For God chesith and ordeynith a kyng to gouerne þe pepyl be  
equyté, þat þei as seruauntis schuld gete and labour to hys  
sustynauns and to herris, and he to defend her goodys, posses- 20  
sc[i]ounis and her lyffys, and dresse alle nedeful euyng as her good.  
And in þis a kyng is lykynnyd to Goode, therfor it behouyth a kyng  
aftyr þat he is lykenyd, to folow Hym þat is hyest in alle hys  
werkys. God is wyse and kunnyng, and þe precony and Hys 25  
namys be gloryus in Hym, and þe grettenes of Hys lordchyp is  
abouyn Hys comendacion myche mor þan His | wysdam. þe con- [f. 83<sup>v</sup>]  
trary to Hym be wrongis, for þe contrary to wronge is ryghfulnes.  
In ryg[h]fulnes þer-for heuyynys wer creat and ordeynyd abouyn  
erth. In ryghtfulnes also holy prophetys wer sent. Ryghtfulnes  
þan is a foorme, or a schap, of vndyrstondyng, þe qwyche gloryus 30  
God hat creat, or made, and browght Hys creaturis to þat. And  
be ryghfulnes erth was bylyd, and kyngis wer ordeynyd, and  
sogettis obey, and soullis be sauyd and delyueryd fro euiry vyce,  
and ayens her kyngis fro euiry corrupcion. And þerfor seyden In-  
dyciannis þat the ryghtfulnes of hym þat regnyth is mor profytabyll 35  
to hys sogettis þan þe plenteusnes of alle temperal goode for þe  
tyme. And þei seid, mor-ouir, þat a ryghtful lordschyper is bettir  
þan a sesonnabyll reyn. It was also foundyn wrytyn in a ston in

Caldé tonge, þat a kyng and vndyrstondyng be bredyris and iche  
of hem hath nede of odyr, for þe tone suffysith noȝt with-owte  
[f. 84] þe todyr. And alle thyngis in vnyuersel be creat | of ryghfulnes, and  
sche is cause of vndyrstondyng, þe qwyche puttyth in her beyng,  
5 abyding beyng or werkyng. Thys is His dede, He is a ryghtful  
juge. Qwerfor þe beyng of justice and þe rote þer-of descendith  
fro vndyrstondyng. It semyth þat ryghfulnes is on tweyn wysis,  
þat is to sey, opyn and hyd. Opyn justise is clepyd qwan iustise is  
schewyd be werkyng in deede abouyn condiciounys, qwyche is weyd  
10 and mesuryd be cler vndyrstondyng, and dome takyth name of þis.  
Hid iustise is þe trwnes or þe ryghtfulnes, cruelnes of þe domysman  
werkyng þe verkis, and a certitude or confirmacion of hys seyingis.  
Qwerfor it apperith, as we seyde befor, þat a kyng is lykenyd in  
ryghfulnes to God abouyn, qwerfor it is conuenyent to hym to be sted-  
15 fast in his werkis, and in þe werkys of hys communnys. He þan  
[f. 84<sup>v</sup>] þat declynith fro propyr or comun justise, he folowyth noȝt | þat  
ryghtfulnes qwyche is in God. For if þu be ryghful, þi sogettis  
schal fer þe and comende þe, and þu schalt plese hym þat is hyst.

## [The fourth capitil]

## Capitulum iiii

20 Ther be to maner of justisis, one þat longith to jugis in yessuying  
domys, and þer is justice þat longith to euiry man in gouernauns  
of hym-self, gydyng hym be resun and concyens betwene God  
and hym. Qwer-for, Alysauindir, ordeyn ryghfulnes in tho thyngis  
þat be betwene þi pepyl and þe, þat is to sey, mesuris of maner in  
25 ordeynyng a lawe to be kept, in domys, in behauyngis, in taskys,  
in þi lyuyng. And ferthermor þan ryght requirith, extende neur  
þi power, for alle þat pasith justyse is but oppression. And now  
wul I trete to þe of world, how, be a figur longyng to þi gouernauns,  
30 sotelly þu schal constrw be symylitudis. The world is a gardeyn  
or an herber. Of it þe matyr or þe hegge is dome. [Dome] is  
lordechyper defessid with lawe. Lawe is þe kyngdam, and  
[f. 85] specyally þe gouernaunz of þe kinge | þat gouernyth. þe kyng  
is herdeman qwyche is defendyd of hys lordis. þe lordis be feid folk  
born vppe with money. Money is þe fortune qwyche is gadryd of  
35 sogettis. Sogettis be seruauntis þat justise hath subdwyd. Justise  
is þat qwyche is intendyd be þe self, of fer of God and resun, in  
qwyche is þe helth of sogettis. Knowe þan þat þat fyrst thyng þat

11 trwnes . . . cruelnes] *see n.*16 noȝt] *repeated as first word of f. 84<sup>v</sup>*20 Ther be] *does not begin new paragraph in ms.; Capitulum iiii in margin. T not illuminated nor otherwise distinguished in ms.*

36 be] p be

gloryus God formyd or made, is a sympil spiritual substauns, in  
 þe ende of perfyghnes, and þe complement or fulfillyng of goodenes,  
 in qwych is forme of alle thyngis, and it is clepyd Intellectife.  
 þan of anodyr substauns þer yed owte, a substauns lower of degré,  
 qwych is clepyd þe Soule. þer was þan of þat Soule anodyr 5  
 substauns clepyd Yle, beforþ þe commensuracion, qwych is at-  
 tendyd in lenght, brede and depnes, in qwych was made a sym-  
 pyl body. þan þat body, beforþ þe most nobyl figur, þe qwych  
 ourcomyth alle figuris, elder and trwer comperatifly, it abode in 9  
 þe place | only, þat is to sey of speris and planetis, þat qwych was [f. 85<sup>v</sup>]  
 more þer-of and þat qwych in þe begynnyng was most sympil, the  
 fyrst þer-for of speris goyng abowght, or closyng, to þe terme of  
 þe sper of þe moone. And þer be nyne heuynnis, one in erth and  
 anodyr amonge hemself. þe fyrst þer-for, and þe huest, of sperys,  
 is þat qwych encludyth alle odyr, and with-ine þat is þe sper of 15  
 steris, and aftyr þat þe sper of Saturne, and so forth to þe sper  
 of þe mone, qwych is benethe, within qwych sper be þe four  
 elementis, þe fyr, þe aer, watyr, and erth. Qwerfor þe erth is in þe  
 myddis of alle elementis, and it is þe mor thyk substauns and  
 sadder essencially. And aftyr þise speris wer ordeynyd aftir þe 20  
 ordynauns of God, þe speris had her meuyngis rowndly in  
 her partis and planetis, vppon þe four elementis and be sundri  
 qwyllis þe nyght and þe day, wyntir and somyr, hete and cold.  
 And sum be comyxte or medyllid | in summe. And temperat is [f. 86]  
 þat qwych is rare, thynne, porose or sotel, with þat qwych is thyk, 25  
 and þat qwych is ponderus in hem, with þat qwych is lyght. Of  
 lenght of tyme, vnyuersal kendis of bodyis compounyd, þat be  
 oryiginal[is], or mynis of metellis, or vegetablis and bestis. Tho be  
 clepyd oryginallis qwat thyngis sum-euir be congelid in þe  
 bowellis of þe erth, and in þe depnes of seeys, and in þe hollenes 30  
 of hyllis, and in bolnyd materis includyd, and of vaporis ascend-  
 yng, and of congelat moystouris, and in þe holues of cauernys, in  
 qwych erthly aer hath most lordchyp.  
 And þise be tho qwych he spekyth of, as gold, siluir, yryn, lede,  
 bras, tynne, stonys, margarites, coal, vitriole, alumme, and 35  
 sqwych odyr qwych be sene and knowyn.

And euerythng þat meueth fro place to place, and hath felyng, and  
 goth or meueth ony vyse be hymself propyrly, is clepid beste, and

20 essencially] *n ins. above*  
 hymself s

35 coal] *altered from colal*

38 hymself]

þe aer hath lordchyp in þem. And þe composicion of vegetablys |  
 [f. 86<sup>v</sup>] is mor wurthi þan þe composicionis of originallis, þat is to sey, of  
 þe speris, for þe lyf incresyng in hem. The composicion of bestis  
 is mor wurthi þan þe composicion of vegetablys, for þe[i] haue  
 5 bothe lyfe and also felyng. But þe most nobil is man, in composicion  
 pasyng al bestis, þe qwyche lyuyth, felyth, vndyrstondyth, and hath  
 abilté of gouernauns. And in man fyrines hath most lordchip. And  
 in hym and his composicion, or making, alle elementis be con-  
 current. For man is of a thyk body commensurat, and of a soule  
 10 qwyche is sympil of substauns spirytual. It behouyth þan the, if  
 þu be knowyng abouyn syencis and trwthis of beyng and abyding,  
 þat þu begynne fyrst at þe knowyng of þine owne soule, qwyche  
 is mor ner to þe þan ony odyr thyng, and aftyr þat, to haue kun-  
 nyng and knowyng of odyr. For knowe þat þe natural soule is þe  
 15 spyritual strenght sprongin of inteligens be þe wyll of God, and it  
 [f. 87] hath tweyn strenghtys concurr-ent in bodyis, as þe lyght of þe sonne  
 in partis of þe aer. One of þe qwyche þe uise of strenghtis [tokennyng],  
 and [þat] odyr is werkyng, þe qwyche gloryus God hath indwyd with  
 20 vij strenghtis, þat is to sey strenght retractyf, and attractyf, dygestif,  
 and expulsif, nutritif, and informatyf, and vegetatif. And þe  
 strenght in werkyng of þis strenght vegetatif, in þe making of  
 mannys body, is in þe receyuyng of mannys seede in þe womannys  
 wombe, and in þe dysposicion þer-of, qwyche endwryth vij  
 25 monthis. And aftyr þat it hath abydin þat tyme in waxing þat God  
 hath ordeynnyd, þan He infudyth þe bestly soule sensibyl, tulle þe  
 pasyng owte or þe departyng, and it getyth a-nodyr gouirnauns to  
 þe fylling of tyme of iiij yeris. And þan he yeldyth hym to resun-  
 nabyll vndyrstondyng, þe qwyche is clepyd vertu resonnabyll, þe  
 qwyche chongith þe name of sensibyll, and þan he gete a-nodyr  
 30 gouirnauns tyl þe complement of xv yeris. And þan entryth þe  
 strenght intellectife qwyche | is denuncyatyf of figuris or simy-  
 [f. 87<sup>v</sup>] litudys, or interpretac[i]ounys of sensibylis, and þan he geteth  
 a-nodyr gouernauns to þe complement of xxv yeris. And þan  
 comyth þe strenght judicial or phi[lo]s[of]ical, þe qwyche be-  
 35 holdyth intellectual formys, and þan he getyth anodyr gouernauns  
 to þe tyme of xxx yeris. And þan betydyth þat vertu or strenght  
 qwyche is namyd þe kyngly strenght voluntary, and þan it hath

5 þe most] is þe most  
 and þat odyr] is anodyr þat  
 above

7 And<sup>2</sup>] *prec. by canc. e*  
 24 And aftyr] *repeated*  
 34 filosofical] phisical; philosophica B 131

17-18 is tokennyng,  
 32 geteth] th *ins.*

a-nodir gouernauns to þe complement of xxxv yeris. And þan  
 komyth þe strenght clepyd legal, þe qwyche is plantatyf of orygy-  
 nallis, and þan it getith anodyr gouernauns to þe complement of þe  
 lyfe. And vndyr þis maner of forme is þe soule complete be-forn  
 it departyth fro þe body. And þan it schal be receuyd of þe  
 animal vertu natural, qwyche is receuyd be her and browght to  
 þe hye perfeccion, tyl he come to þe cerkyl or firmament of in-  
 telligens, to qwyche he hath deseruyd. And if þe soule be nozt  
 perfyght, it descendith to þe sqwolow | of hell, and þan he re-  
 ceuyth a gouernauns fro þe hede with-owte hope of wellfar. [f. 88] 10  
 Qwan þer-for almyghti God made man, He made hym wurthyest  
 of alle bestis. He yaf hym a comaundement and forbad hym, He  
 ponyschyd hym and rewardyth hym, He ordeynith hys body as a  
 cyté and hys vndyrstondyng to gouerne in þat cyté, and He en-  
 closid hym in þe most nobyl place of man, þat is to sey þe hed, and  
 hath ordeynid hym v masyngerys to gouerne hym, and to represent  
 to hym alle thyngis qwyche þat be necessary to his help and confort,  
 qwyche kepe hym fro euiry thyng þat is noyabyl to hym, and he  
 hath no perfyght knowlech withowte hem. And God hath youyn  
 to yche of þise v masengeris a propyr dome be þe qwyche he  
 dyferensith and is departid from odyr, and þis[e] v masyngerys be  
 the v wyttis, qwyche be in þe eyn, in þe erys, in þe nose, in þe  
 tonge, and in þe hand. Than þe kyndys of vysibil thyngis þat | be [f. 88v]  
 conceuyd be þe yen be x sondry kendis, þat is to sey lyght and  
 derknes, colouris and body, figuris and beyng, fernes and nernes,  
 and meuyng and rest. The wytte or propyrte þat longith to þe eris  
 is heryng of soundis, or thyngis soundyng, and þer be tweyne  
 kendys, one is bestly and a-nodyr is nozt bestly. þe sounde þat  
 we clepe bestli is on tweyn maneris, one is racional, qwyche is  
 longyng to speche, and þe sound onresunnabyl is þe neyng of an  
 hors, þe kryng of a crowe and sqwyche odyr. þe sound qwyche is  
 clepyd nozt bestly is as þe ruscynge of treys, þe clascyng of stonys,  
 þe tramplyng of fete, and sqwyche odyr, and of þo þat ber no lyfe  
 as a thondyr, a tympan, an harp, and sqwyche odyr. Knowe þan  
 þat euiry voyse in hys ordyr vnyuersally, qwan it meuyth be  
 vyolens, þe aer meuyth þer-with, beryng it, and þat spyritual  
 nobylles is meuyd þer-with, beryng it vndyr þat forme þat no  
 part is medyllyd with | odyr part, tulle it come hole to þe last [f. 89] 30  
 35

1 yeris] y at end of line, yeris at beginning of next  
 from k 21 þise] þisi 35 ordyr] medial r ins. above 17 thyngis] g altered

strenght, or to þe herers vndyrstondyng, and þan be hym it is  
 born to þe vertu ymaginatyf. Than þat wytt qwyche longith to þe  
 tonge is made be þe wey of tast and sauour, and þer-to longyn ix  
 spycis or kendys, þat is to sey: sqwettnes, byttrynes, saltenes, fat-  
 5 nes, sournes, weryschnes (or onsauerynes), sauyrines (or sqwetnes),  
 scharpnes [and] dryischnes. And þe wytt qwych is in þe hande  
 is in þe strenght of towchyng or gropyng, and þe cours þer-of  
 is in hete or cold, scharp and soft, and it is þe strenght  
 conteynid be-twene tweyn skynnys, qwyche one is in þe vttyr-part  
 10 of þe bodi and þe todyr in þat qwych longith to þe flesch. Quanne  
 þer-for ony of þise wyttis be gotyn qwyche God hath youyn to þis  
 seid kyngis vndyrstondyng, þer spryngge owte fro þe roote of þe  
 brayn sotel skynnys, lyght as þe webbe of an arenne, and tho be as  
 14 coueryngis or corteynis to þis kyng. Qwan þerfor is presentyd þat  
 [f. 89<sup>v</sup>] euiry wytt | hath, and þat comyth to þo skynnys qwyche be in þat  
 substauns of þe brayne, þanne be þe steppys gadryd of þe wyttis  
 of man to þe vertu ymaginatyf, qwyche representyth þo thyngis  
 to the vertue cognytif, or of knowlecchyng, qwyche is in þe myddis  
 of þe brayn, þat þei schuld gadyr and stody in þe figurys of hem,  
 20 and examplis, to know in hem þo þat helpe and þo þat noye,  
 and þat he schuld werk a mene qwyche comyth to hym of hem.  
 þer-for þe ordynauns and þe beyng of þe body is in þise v wyttis  
 namyd be-forn. The perfeccion þer-for of euiry thyng is in v  
 thyngis. The planetis o[f] qwyche þe speeris meue cerkylly be  
 25 v, and þe kendys of bestis be v, þat is to sey: man; foule; fysche;  
 four-fotyð bestis; monstris, dragounys and alle þo þat gon on tweyn  
 feete, be þe v kend of bestis. And þer be v thyngis with-owte  
 [f. 90<sup>v</sup>] qwyche v þer is no plaunt | þat growyth owte of þe ertht perfyght,  
 that is to sey, þe stok, þe braunchis, þe leuys, þe frwte, and þe  
 30 roote. And þer be v tunys mysical with-owte qwyche þer is no  
 songe consonaunt, that is to sey, an vnyson, a thyrd, a v.<sup>te</sup>, a vj.<sup>te</sup>,  
 and an eght (viij). And þer be v þe most nobyl dayis of þe yer, in þe  
 lastt part of May. Therfor, Alysaundyr, lete þi masyngeris and thi  
 counsellouris be v in þe comprehension of þi werkis, and lete yche  
 35 be sondryd fro odyr qwan thow wult axe owght, for þan it is so  
 most profyghtabyll to þi werkis.

1 herers] *second r ins. above*      4 sqwettnes] *prec. by canc. sau[yrines]*  
 4-6 saltenes . . . dryischnes] *cf. B133/22-23*      6 and dryischnes] *or dryischnes*  
 18 cognytif] *ti ins. above*      20-1 margin, in later hand: *intellec[t]*      24 of] *vppon*  
 27 þe] *þer*      31 vnyson] *surmounted by i, as with numerals regularly in this ms.*

## The fyfte capitil

## Capitulum v

Kepe þi secrete with-in þe, and telle noȝt to hem fyrst qwat is in thyne hert, nor telle to none of hem hos counsel semyth þe best, nor telle to none of hem how thow woldist borow her consel. For þan þei schal despyse þe, wenyng þu haue no wytte. Tempyr þan, 5  
 qwan thow hast herd hem, with-in þi soule, her wyllys, | euyn as [f. 90<sup>v</sup>]  
 I rehersed þe dysposicion of the brayn of þo thyngis þat come fro the fyue wyttis. On þat lyke forme gadyr in thy wytte her seyngis, and declyne fro her counsellis in þat þei contrary to þi wylle. [And] for this seyde Hermes, qwan he was axid qwy þe dome of hym 10  
 þat yefyth counsel is bettyr þan hys þat axith counsel, he ansqwerd, 'For þe dome of hym þat sekyth counsel is robbyd or drawn owte of wylle.' Therfor, qwan thow gadryst þi consel to yeue ony verdyth of counsel in thy presens, yef hem no counsel nor medyl noȝt thy counsel with herris, but yef goode audyens to hem in qwat 15  
 thyng their acorde. If þei yef an ansqwer in hast and acord, make resistens and obieccionys ayens her seyngis, that her wyttis and her stodyis and thowghtis may be prolongid, and þat þei may stody for wytte. And qwan þan þat þu hast perceyuyd þe very trwe wey of þi materis, and þat her counsel is goode, or þat ony of hem seyth 20  
 þe | trwth, make hem sese with sum word, and telle none of hem [f. 91]  
 alle, nor schew be no cher, that thow wult do aftyr ony of hem, tylle þe dede be putt in expperyens.

## [The sexte capitil]

## [Capitulum vi]

And consider wyselé qwyche of hem drawyth to trwth and ryght 25  
 of counsel. Consider also þe loue þat he hath ayens the, and þe desir of thyne welfar, and þe zele þat he hath to þe prosperyté of þi gournauns. Take, if þu fynde sqwyche one, hys counsel, but loke of alle tho v þat þu preferr none be-forn odyr, but make hem lyke in yiftis and in alle thy werkys. For þe destroying or hyndrauns 30  
 of a kingis werk in many dayis is þat he wurchyppyth sum and preferryth be-forn sum. And it is noȝt inconuenyent to a kyng, as for þe age of a man, thow he be yong and he be wyse, for þe dome is chongyd aftyr þe body, for qwan þe dome is febyl, þe body is febyl. And the natur or complexcion is to be considryd, for 35

5 Tempyr] temperyr      10 And] Et      23 expperyens] first p unclear;  
 possibly experyens badly written      24 chapter heading om.      25 And consider]  
 run on without chapter heading or new line      27 zele] prec. by canc. minim  
 30 þe destroying] þe of destroying

he þat is generat (or born) oftyn is dysposid aftyr natur of planetis þe  
 [f. 91<sup>v</sup>] qwyche | be in þe regyon of his byrth. And if it betyde happly  
 þat þe progenytourys teche sqwyche one ony manuel craft, þe  
 natur þat he hath of bodyis abouyn drawe hym to þe craft qwyche  
 5 is conuenient to hym.

## [The seuynth capitil]

## Capitulum vij

As be exampyl, for lyke to this betyd, certeyn clerkys wer on  
 a tyme harborowyd at a websterris hows, and, þat same nyght, of  
 þe hostis wyfe þer was born a sone. þe natur and dysposicion aftyr  
 10 þe owr of byrth of þe chyld þei ordeynid. And hys planetis and hys  
 natural dysposicion was in Venus and Mars, in his gree beyng  
 Geminus with Libra, and no contrary sterris wer noȝt that tyme  
 sprongyn. þan þe natur of þat chyld be þe dysposicion of planetis  
 in þe owr of his byrth schewyd þat þe chyld schuld be in tyme  
 15 comyng wyse, courtly, and delyuir of hand and of goode counsel,  
 and to be fortunat to haue loue of kyngis. But þise seyde clerkys  
 [f. 92] seyde noȝt of alle | þis to þe chyldis fadyr. And aftyr þis chyld grwe  
 in waxyng, and þis childis fadyr atemptid to lern þe child his craft,  
 and sondry bysinessis of husbondry. But for feyr speche or re-  
 20 bukuyng or betyng he myght lern ryght noȝt alle þo craftis. And att  
 þe last, qwan þei sey it wold noȝt be, þei lete hym aftyr hys owne  
 dysposicion to do qwat he wold, and þe chyld a-none drwe hym  
 to wele lernyd men and wurchyppful men and his [wit] was redy  
 to receyue clergé and wysdam, þat with-in schort tyme he k[n]we  
 25 þe cours of sterris, and þe tyme of bodyis abouyn, and was both  
 perfyght in astronomy and eke in astrology. He knw also þe  
 maneris and gouernanscis þat longe to kyngis and his fame and  
 wysdam spred abrode. He was made a counsellour and a priuy  
 masynger with þe kyng.

## 30 [The eght capitil]

## Capitulum viij

But it fille contrary of meruelus werkyngis of planetis and þe  
 [f. 92<sup>v</sup>] dysposicionys of hem, as it fille of tweyn | sonnys of þe king of  
 Inde. And qwan one of thys kyngis sonys was waxyn, þe kyng sent  
 hym wurchyppfully to þe chef stodyis of his reme to be lernyd in  
 35 sondry syens, but none, lytil or myche, myght synke in hys hed,

6 Capitulum vij] *written in margin*      7 As be exampyl] *run on without starting new line*  
 10 þei ordeynid. And] & þei ordeynid      14 schuld be] *ms. has this both before and after*  
 in tyme comyng      26 astrology] *ro ins. above*  
 30 Capitulum viij] *in margin*      31 But] *begins line, but B not illuminated or otherwise distinguished as chapter initial*

saue only smythis craft, to þe qwych be his dysposicion he was.  
 Qwer-for þe kyng, heuyid gretly, sent for clerkis to knowe þe  
 cause. þei serching þe cause be þe constellacion of hys byrth, þei  
 founde how þe bodyis abouyn wer so demenyd þe hour of hys  
 byrth þat it myght none odyr wyse betyde to þat child. And þus 5  
 it fallith in sondry personys. Despyse neur þerfor þe lytil statur  
 of a man, for þu knowyst nozt hys konnyng, and in specyal if þu  
 se he hath a wytt and konyng, and dysposid to vertu, fleyng vicis,  
 but sqwyche kepe hym with the. And loke þu do neur thyng of 9  
 substauns with-owte counsel. For a sad man | þat euir fleyth [f. 93]  
 vicis and is trwe in word and deede is to be chyrischid. Loue  
 his felychyp, for sqwyche a man louyth þat qwych [is] conuenient  
 to a kyngis magesté. Putte neur a matyr þat may abayde be-forn  
 a matir qwych is necessary to be sped, ner in contrary do neur  
 ryght nowght with-owte þe counsel of a philisophir, for wyse men 15  
 sey þat counsel it is þe eye of þingis þat schal come. And it is  
 wrytyn in þe boke of Persis how a kyng axid onys counsel of hys  
 reporturis, and counsel of a gret priuy mater, qwych was told to  
 a qwene belouyd of þis kyng. þer-for one of his counsel seyð, 'It  
 behouyth nozt a kyng þat he schuld axe ony counsel of vs of ony 20  
 priuy dede but separatly of one in a priuy place, for in priuy  
 placis sqwyche thyngis schul be seyð'. But I sey, þowge it be þus in  
 one case, in alle it may nozt be so. A consideracion must be had aftyr  
 þe mater be. | But it acordyth wele þat thy conselouris be gadryd [f. 93']  
 in euiry mater þat longith to charge of byindyng or onbyndyng, 25  
 as I haue seyð befor, for elde filysofris seyn þe wysdam of a kyng  
 is aumentyd be þe counsel of his counsellouris or masyngeris, as  
 þe see is aumentyd be flowyng of flodys in-to it. For a kyng may  
 get mor be prwdens and wysdam excersisid be goode consel, þan  
 with an oste of armyd men. And it is wrytyn þat a lorde of þe 30  
 region of Meedys wrote to his sone seyng, 'Sone, consel is to þe  
 necessary, for one is in alle men.' Consel þer-for with hym þat his  
 wysdam is sqwyche it may delyuer þe fro a myghti man. And spar  
 neur thyn enmy, but qwan thow mayst preuayle myghtili, take  
 þine auantage. But yit be war of þe power of þin enmy. Be 35  
 ne[ui]r þe habundauns of thy wytt in þi crwelnes or þe hythe of  
 þi state of þi owne persone, lette but | euir þat anodyr mannys [f. 94]

3-4 þei serching . . . þei founde] *canc.* & followed by þei serching . . . & þei  
 founde (*perhaps for þei serch[ed] . . . & þei founde: see n.*) 13 abayde] *form*  
*intended perhaps abyde* 16 And it] *prec. by E* 32 is] *see n.* 36 crwelnes] *see n.*

counsel loke that thow gete beside þine owne. And if it be for thy wurchyp, do þer-aftyr, and þi owne counsel lete it abyde withinne þe. And if þi consellouris dyferens fro þi sentens, consider þe wey in þat mater þat may turne most to þi wurchyp. But I charge þe  
 5 sadly and counsel þe, ordeyn neuir supportur or consulour of þine, be he neuir so gret a state, in þi stede to haue gouernauns of þi kyngdam. For hys wytt and counsel may destroy thi kyngdam and þe lordys, þe sogettis also, and turne þe profyte þat length to þine vse to hys propyr vse, and atte þe last, qwan he is sett in pride,  
 10 ymagyne thy destruction and many odyr harmys. And if it be so þat þu mayst nozt haue v supportouris or counsellouris, as I haue schewyd the be-forn, loke þat att lest þu take iij, for grete gode comyth þer-of, for withowte þe thirde nothyng is knowyn.

## [The nynghte capitil]

## [Capitulum ix]

15 The fyrst þer-for vppon qwych alle þingis be is a Trynité and  
 [f. 94<sup>v</sup>] be | þe nombyr of v and seun it is perfyght. For þer be vij heuynnys, and þe circuit of þe mone goyth be seun, and the dayis in qwych medycinis schuld be receuyid be vij, and þe dais dysemolle be vij, and many odyr longen to þe nombyr septenary þat wer longe to  
 20 reherse. And o maner how thow schalt assay þi counsellour is þis: telle hym how þu algatis nedyst money, and if he counsel þe to make distraccion of þi tresor to sel owght, or to ley to wedde owght, or ellis to spende þat qwych þu leydis vpp to maynteyn thyn owne oste, knowe veryli þat he puttith none hed price in the,  
 25 þat is to sei, he chargith nozt þi worchyp. And if he induce þe to receyue money of hys sogettis be taske or odyr mene, he hatith þi welfar. But if it be so þat he profyr his owne goode, and sey þus, 'Lord, sqwyche as I haue, it is yowris: i[t] [I] haue gotyn  
 [f. 95] vndyr yowur | lordchip and grace', he þat seyth thus deseruyth  
 30 to be comendyd and is wurthy alle preysing, for sqwyche one chesith his owne confusion and his owne hurte, for-be cause of þe and þi wurchyp. Thow schalt also tempte þi counsellouris in yiftis

14 Chapter-heading omitted 15 vppon] vppon on 16 þe nombyr] prec. by fainter z-shaped sign, possibly incomplete &, but apparently intended to fill gap left at beginning of line  
 18 dysemolle] in body of text the reading is determinabil, inserted in narrow space, apparently over erased shorter word. In margin, in scribe's hand dysemolle is added without erasure of determinabil. See n. 20 counsellour] counsellouris 22 distraccion] prec. by canc. o  
 23 leydis] leydis with contraction sign apparently inserted in narrow space after writing of following word 28 it I] if 30 preysing] si ins. above 31 cause] for be cause

yefyng, for qwyche of hem þu seist puttyth alle his attendauns to  
 take yiftis, haue no goode trost in hym, for his seruise is for gold,  
 and he letith money renne with mennys wyttis, and sqwyche one  
 is a depnes with-oute a grounde and þer is none ende in hym, for  
 allewey þe mor mony komyth to hym, þe mor is his labour to gete. 5  
 And sqwyche a vise in one of þi consellouris is cause of hyndrauns  
 of þi kyngdam, and happy the cause of þi owne deth, or to þat  
 harme qwyche he purposith. Qwer-for sofir neuir none of hem  
 to be longe fro thy presens, and yef hym in comaundement þat 9  
 he drawe to none odyr kyng, | ner þat he sende no wrytingis to [f. 95<sup>v</sup>]  
 [hem], no pystil nor no tydyngis. And qwan thow perceyuyt ony  
 sqwyche thyng, send for hem with-owten ony tarynge, for þe  
 hertis of men be chongabil redyli to feyr behestis. And he is most  
 profitabil of alle þi counselleris, þat louyth trwthe and is obbeyng,  
 and inducyth odyr men to loue þe, and he þat puttyth his lyfe and 15  
 gode for þe, and he þat besyde þise hath þise þat I schal reherse þe.  
 First, þat he be perfyght in alle hys membris þat be necessar to  
 werkis for qwyche thow chesest hym. And þat he haue a wytt to  
 take lyghtly, and a wylle to vndyrstondyng, of þo thyngis þat be  
 seyde. And þat he haue a retentyf wytte, þat he be nozt foryetful. 20  
 And þat he be consideryng and perceyuing qwan any hard mater  
 be meuyd. And þat he [be] courtly and gentil of speche and  
 eloqwent. And þat he be sotel in euir[y] syens, but in special in ars  
 metrik. And þat he be trwe in wordis, louyng trwthe, fleyng lesyngis, 24  
 wele demenyd in maneris and of gode | complexcion, tretabyll and [f. 96]  
 meke and soft. And þat he be notyd with no spyse of gloteny. And  
 in special þat he be nozt dronkelewe, and þat he be nozt leccherus  
 and þat he sett asyde pleyis and delectacion. And þat he be myghti  
 hartid in hys purpos, and louyng wurchyp. And þat gold and  
 seluyr and odir accidentallis of þis world be to hym in no reputa- 30  
 cion, and þat hys purpos and entente be but in þo þat acord to  
 wurchyp. And þat he loue hys neyghbour and allso alle vertuus folk,  
 þow þei be absent. And also þat he loue alle þo þat loue ryghtfulnes,  
 hatyng alle wrongis, yeldyng to euiry man þat is his, helpyng þem  
 þat be oppressid wrongfully, exceptyng neuir mannys persone in 35  
 ony iugement, sythyn þat God hath formyd alle men equalle. Also  
 þat he be myghti and perseueraunt in tho thyng þat he seyth owe  
 to be done, hardi withowte fer or discomfortabylls, and that he  
 knowe þe vttrest of þine expensis, and þat no profitabyll þinge be

22 meuyd] *perh.* menyd

37 he seyth] he se seyth



man, rode vppon a mwle, qwyche | bar hys vitaylis and alle thynges [f. 97<sup>v</sup>]  
 necessari to hym. þe Jwe yede on hys feet, hauyng nowdyr mete  
 nor odyr necessariis. And qwyl þei wer talkyng, þe wyse man of  
 þe Est seyde to þe Jwe, 'Qwat is thyn lawe?' þe Jwe ansqwerd, 'I  
 be-leue that in heuyn is o God Qwyche I wurchyp, and abyde 5  
 or troyst to reward my soule wele, and alle þo þat lyue as I do in  
 þe same lawe and feyth. And my beleue is allso þat he þat dyferen-  
 sith fro my law it is leful to me to take, if I may, his lyf and hys  
 gode, hys wyf and his childyr. And allso I am a-cursid if I kepe  
 promysse to ony sqwyche, or help hym, or if I schewe ony mercy 10  
 to hym. Now,' seide þe Jwe, 'I haue teld þe my lawe: tel me now  
 thyn'. And þis wyse man ansqwerd, 'My feyth and beleue is this.  
 First I wul wele to my-self and to alle my kynne, and I wul to no  
 creatur of God ony harm, ner þo þat folow my lawe, nor to tho 14  
 that be ayens my lawe. And I beleue þat equité | and merci owyth [f. 98]  
 to be schewyd to euiry lyuyng man. No wrong is plesauns to me,  
 and me semyth if ony hurt betyde to ony lyuing creatur, it be-  
 tidith to me, and trobyllith me. I dysir prosperyté, helth and  
 felicité schuld betyde to alle men vynuersally'. þan ansqwerd þe  
 Jwe, 'Qwat if an offens or wronge be donne to þe?' To home þis 20  
 oriental, 'I knowe that God is in heuyn, Qwyche is ryghful, goode  
 and wyse, to Home no thyng is hid, no priuité nor ryght, nowght  
 vtyrly in no creatur, þat rewardyth goode men aftyr her goodnes,  
 euyl men and transgressouris aftir her euyl dedis.' To hom þe Jwe  
 ansqwerd, 'Qwy kepyst þu nozt þi lawe? And qwy confermyst 25  
 nowght þi lawe in dede?' þe qwyse man ansqwerd, 'Qwer schuld  
 I execute it?' To hom þe Jwe seyde, 'I am comyn fro þe childryn  
 of thi kynred, and þu seyst me walke vppon my feet, hungry and  
 wery, and þu rydyst wele att ese, hauyng habundauns of vitayle.' 29  
 To home þis oryental, 'þu seyst trwthe.' | And with þat word he [f. 98<sup>v</sup>]  
 descendyd fro hys mule, take forth hys vyteillis, and fedde þis  
 Jwe wele, and yaf hym drynke, and aftyr sette hym on hys mule,  
 and putte his sporis vppon his helis, and dyd hym to ryde forth.  
 And þis Jew, as sone as he was vppe, he toke þe mule with hys  
 sporis and rode away, leuyng þis odyr man alone. And thys 35  
 oryental cryid aftyr hym, 'Abyde me, for I am scomfytid!' But þis  
 Jwe rode forth, and seyde, 'I haue told þe my lawe, and þe con-  
 dycion ther-of, and I schal conferme it in dede as thow hast done  
 thyne.' And forth þis Jwe rode in hast, and yit þis oryental cryid

and seid 'O, forsake me noȝt in this desert, lest I be storuyn for hungir and thirst, and þat I be noȝt þis nyght slayn with lyonnys! Schewe me now mercy, as I haue schewyd to þe mercy!' But þe Jwe toke no hede to his wordis, but rode as fast as he coude, tyl  
 5 he was owte of hys ey-syght. And þis odyr man in vttyr despeyr, at  
 [f. 99] þe last he remembryd of God and His lawe, for qwyche he | had done þat good dede, and seyde, lyftyng hys eyn toward heuyn, 'My God, Thow knowyst þat I haue trostyde in Thi lawe and in Thy commaundementys. I haue halowyd The. Conferme þan þe  
 10 Jwe may haue knowyng þat I schewyd hym mercy for The!' And as he yede forth noȝt longe aftyr, he perceyuid qwer þe Jewe lay, þat be vengauens fylle fro his mwle, and brake his arme, and ner his nek, and eke his legge. And þe mule stod bye hym styлле, but as sone as he seyde hys mastir he cam renneng to hym, and þis  
 15 oryental, rydyng vpon hym, forsok þe Jwe. And qwan þe Jwe sawe hym depart, he cryde aftyr hym and seyde, 'Goode brodyr, for God haue mercy on me! For I am loste, and now I dey, hauyng nede of þi compassyon. Haue mercy and kepe thi lawe, for God hath youyn to þe þe vycetry of me, in þat þu hast ourcomyn me!'  
 20 And þan þis oryental, or man of þe Est, began to vndyr-nyme hym, seyng, 'þu hast gretly synid ayens me qwan þu forsokyst me in þis  
 [f. 99v] wyldirnes alone, with-owte | ony mercy.' To home þe Jwe ansqwerd, 'Repreue me noȝt of a thyng þat is past, for I haue schewyd þe þat it is my lawe and my feyth, in qwyche I was norchid, and I  
 25 fond my fadyr and modyr, and odyr agid folk many, perseueraunt in thys lawe.' And this wyse man had mercy vpon hym, and brougth hym to hys place, and delyuerid hym to hys pepil, qwyche aftyr fewe dayis deyde. And the kynge of þat cyté, heryng þe dedys of compassyon þat þis wyse man had done, dyde hym to be clepyd  
 30 to hym, and made hym a chef counselour of hys, for hys goode werkis. Preysyng to God and an ende of þis tale.

## þe [twelthe] capytill

## Capitulum [xij]

It behouyth þe to chese to wryght thy priuy thyngis wyse men qwyche be as a tokyn and as a myghti argument to schewe þe  
 35 qwantité of þi degré and þe sotelté of thy knowlech. For þe tokynnyng or þe interpretacion of hys word is þe spiryte þer-of,

4 no] whole word surmounted by horizontal stroke; form intended possibly non  
 12 lay] h lay      25 odyr] o corr.      29 dyd] & dyd      31 Preysyng] s  
 prec. by two minims      32 twelthe] nynghete      xij] ix

þe dystyncciounys be as a bodi, þe wryting is þe clothyng of þe  
 word. And | euyñ as it behouyþ þe to be a substanc[i]al man, and [f. 100]  
 wele and semely arayid, to seme gloryus, so on þe lyke wyse it is  
 conuenyent to þe to haue a wryter qwyche hath þat perfeccion in  
 eloquens and in sotel endyghting, to expres thi wylle, and sqwyche 5  
 one þat þu make hym þi secretary. But loke beforñ, þat he be  
 juste and trwe, and of sotel wytt to take þin menyng, and þat euir  
 he yeff attendauns to þi wurchyp, for if he be non sqwyche, he may  
 harme the, and þat he be war þat no man, frend nor fo, come in  
 to þat place qwer þi priuy wrytyngis be kept. Lett sqwyche one be 10  
 euir ner the, and sett hym in a dygnité þat þer may grow profyght  
 to hym, and reward þou hym besyde.

## þe [thyrdtene capitil]

## Capitulum [xiiij]

Know þan veryli, þat a masenger schewyþ þe wysdam of hym  
 þat he is sent fro, and is in a maner as an eye [in tho thyngis] þat 15  
 [he] seyth nozt, and his er in tho thyngis þat he herith nozt, and  
 hys tonge | in hys absens. Chese hym þat is mosst wurthy of þo þat [f. 100<sup>v</sup>]  
 be in þi presens, þat is wyse, circumspecte, and wurchypful, trwe,  
 and fleynge fro alle foule and dysonest thyngis, in qwyche no blame  
 is foundyn. Tempte hym if þise be in hym. Clepe hym and comun 20  
 with hym in sqwyche thyngis as he knowyþ nozt þi wylle nor þi  
 menyng, and þan þu schalt a-none fynde in hym þat þu sekyst,  
 þat is to sey, wysdam. And if þu se hym sotel and wyse, kepe hym  
 with þe, and if he be pleyne, nozt proferryng of doubylnes, make  
 hym a secretary, for he schal nozt pase þi byddyng in hys wrytyng. 25  
 And þou fynde hym nozt scharp of wytt, but only trwe, make  
 hym a masenger to ber letteris and to report þat he heryth and  
 seyth. And if it be so þat ony of þi masengeris be bysi to take  
 rewardys to hys profite, in þo placys to þe qwyche he goth on þi  
 masege, sett hym a-syde, and lett hym no lengir do þe seruise. And 30  
 if þu haue a masenger þat louyþ, and puttyth his lust in, dryn-  
 kyng of wyne, sett hym asyd, for þe condicion of Percys is þis: [f. 101]  
 to asay a masenger, yeuyng hym plenté of myghti wyne, and if þei  
 sey þat he dranke myghtili wyne, so þat he pasid hymself, þei  
 coniectid anone þat his lord was nozt wyse. Be war þat þu send 35  
 nozt þi chef counsellour and chef mesenger on no masege, nor

7 þat] þ<sup>t</sup>, with t corr. from e  
 tene capitil] tenthe xiiij] x  
 article a ins. above

12 þou] þo with u ins. above  
 26 þou] written þ<sup>o</sup>  
 36 mesenger] g corr. from d

13 thryd-  
 33 a masenger]

soffir noȝt longe him to be absent fro þe, for þat is destruccion of þi kyngdam. And of qwat condyciounis þi masenger schuld be, I haue wrytyn to þe. But if it be so þat thow fynde hem noȝt of þat kondicion þat I haue teld þe but is redi to take rewardis and to  
 5 make him-self ryche, and lesith þi mesagis þat þu inioynist hym, do hym sorow i-now, and sette hym asyde.

## The [fourtene] capytyl

## Capitulum [xiv]

I haue told þe beforþ þat þe suggesttis of þin house be expensis, or þi tresur, be þe qwyche þi kyngdam is defensid. Make eury thi  
 10 sogettis to an ortyard in qwyche be dyuerse frutis, and haue hem noȝt as greyn or sedis þat brynge forth wurmewod and thornys,  
 [f. 101<sup>v</sup>] and ber no-thing fr-[ute]ful. And gode treis haue in hem many bowys and brawchys, frute and carnellis, with þe qwyche þei may be multipliyd be þe mene of a werke-man. And so may þi  
 15 sogettis if þei be wele take hed to and goode. Of hem-self þei schal encrease thy tresur be many vertuful menis of ocupacionys profitabyl, if þei be tendyd. And it behouyþ þat a myghti man reule hem, and thow also se to her necessiteis, and I haue told þe residwe in odyr placis. But take heed þat þei haue a gouernour þat takyth  
 20 heed to þe kepyng of hem and noȝt to þe destroccion, qwyche be a wele dysposid man, þat þei haue noȝt cause to compleyn. For he þat is noȝt vertuus and wyse, men be redy to rebel a-yens hym and hys gouernauns, and þei þat be wele dysposid, þei schal deme amys of hym. But make noȝt many rewlerris in þine hows, for  
 25 jche of hem schal assay to ourcome hys felaw, and euir þei schal make talys yche of odyr, jche of hem to schewe hym-self profitabil.  
 [f. 102] And þat wul jche of hem do, þe lenger tyme | to abyde in þi seruyse and in þat ocupacion. And yit haue uery knowyng þat sqwyche pykethankis thei make ryche hem-self and oppresse þi sogettis.  
 30 And thow schalt fynde many sqwyche þat sey one and do a-nodyr, and sqwyche folk þei corupte myche pepyl, þat þei may hold hem on hand, and þatt þe[i] lyst defende.

## The [fyftene] capytyl

## Capitulum [xv]

Nobyl men ben þe addicion and multiplicacion of þi reem, for

|  |   |
|--|---|
| 3 so] followed by short empty space, perhaps containing an erasure | 7 four-                                     |
| tene] eleuynt  | xiv] xj                                     |
| ins. above   | 13 brawchys] cf. 178/25                     |
| a word begun and left uncanc.                                      | 22 men] prec. by indistinct first letter of |
| 31 þat] & þat  | 27 f. 102 upper margin, later hand: thes    |
| 32 þei] þer  | 33 fyftene] twelthe                         |
|  | xv] xij                                     |

be hem þi court is honourryd, and iche gouernauns is ordeynid  
 in hys degré. þe best ordynaunsis nessesari in her disposicionis is  
 þat þu be noȝt ignoraunt to knowe þe dysspo[si]cion of hym þat  
 is fer, as wele as he þat is neer. And þe ordynacion of hem is four-  
 fold. For euiry place in hys differens is fourfold, þat is to sei, be-  
 hynde and befor, on þe ryght hand and þe left hand. And so be þe  
 dyuysiounis of þe world iiij, þat is to sey þe est, þe west, þe north,  
 and þe sowth. Ther-for lete yche of þi most noby[l] lordis, qwyche  
 be most stronge, to haue a part of þi lond in gouernauns vndyr the,  
 and if þu wult haue moo make ten. For ten is four perfight, for in  
 þe nombyr of four þer is | one and too and thre and four, and so  
 makyth þis nombir tenne. þer-for þe nowmbyr of [ten] is þe per-  
 feccion of þo qwyche knytt four. Than in þine osste lett euiry  
 lord at þe lest haue ten vikyrris and lette euiry vikyrr haue x  
 personis or ductoris, and euiry ductor x denis and euiry dene x  
 men. Ther-for qwan þu hast neede of x thowsend men, send for  
 o lord or preceptor, and his vicaryis and ductoris with alle odyr,  
 as I haue rehersed, schal fulfille þe nombir of x (ten) thowsend.  
 And if þu haue nede but of o thowsend, þu schalt commaund to  
 one of þi vicaryis and þer schal come with hym ten ductoris, and  
 with euiry ductor x (ten) denis, and with euiry dene x (ten) men,  
 and þe summe of thyse is a thowsend. And if þu nede an hundrid,  
 send for o ductur, and lette hym bryng x (ten) denes, and euiry  
 dene his ten men. And if þu nede but x send for o dene with hys  
 men. And þis schal spar thy vitaylis and þu schalt haue redili thi  
 purpose, and þi labour schal be lessid, and thi lordis labur also.  
 And it is necessary to thy lordis to haue a wyse scribe, qwyche be  
 approuyed in chi-|ualry, þat he take hed þat þei be noȝt corrupt  
 with no yiftis. [þe]r-for make oftyn inquirans, and if þu perceyue  
 ony sqwyche, remeue hym fro þe rewle þat he hath in thyne hous.  
 And qwan þu hast done so, gadyr alle þe todyr lord[is] his felawys,  
 and telle hem that in his remeuyng þu prouydyst to her all wele-  
 far. þu must þer-for be wyse and redi in sqwyche materis, and  
 despise noȝt summe for þe compleyn of summe. And þu must haue  
 þat instrument þat Cerustius þe nobyl werryour made, to þe helpe  
 of his osst. It is a ferful instrument, qwyche is dyuidyd on many  
 maneris, and for happyli þu must gadyr þine oste on o day, qwyche  
 instrwment may be herd eny wey xl myle, qwerfor it is necessari.

2 ordynaunsis] ordynauns is  
instrwment

29 þer-for] For for

38 instrwment] in

## þe [syx]tene [capytill]

## Capitulum [xvj]

Use noȝt myche batellis, ner putt noȝt þi body to ofty n  
juberté in batellis, but haue euir counsel of þe grettest lordis in þi  
4 court. Nor be neuir occupiid in sqwyche thyngis as þei be þat  
[f. 103<sup>v</sup>] haue | be scomffitid in bateyl, ner assay noȝt a synguler bateyl in  
þi owne persone, for knowe veryli þat neuir kyng wul fyght with  
odyr but if he cast hym to myscheue hym þat he fyght with. Knowe  
wele þat invye is decendyng fro þe body and spirite, qwyche  
comyth of tweyn contraryis repugnaunt. þe manly hert of [þem]  
10 is þe trost of þe victory, and loke hym þat is feynt-hertyd dyth and  
so sesith þe bateyle, for a bateyl euir lastyth as longe men trost  
to haue þe victory. But lette þi stabylnes be in prolongacion of  
prosperyté and vertuus lyfe, and in sustentacion of þi kynne. And  
of thi sogettis despyse neuir þe personys, but in tyme promyse  
15 hem yyftis, and kepe þi promys. And for no plesauns of þi-self  
be neuir in ost ondefensid or on-armyd, for þe asspyis of thin  
aduersary. Qwer-for, bothe be day and nyght, haue wecchis in  
euiry ost, and haue abowght redy euir men of armys. And pycche  
neuir þi tentis but ner an hyl or ner a watyr, and euir be befforn  
20 of vitayle, and euir make in þin [oste] to be schet gunnys, and  
hydus noysis to sonde euir, for þat confortyth þi men and con-  
foundyth þine aduersaryis. And lete þi gentyllis haue sondri |  
[f. 104] manir of fyghtyng wepyn, sum sperys, and sum crosbowys, and  
sum mastris of engynis, and sum with sqwerdys to renne amonge  
25 þe osste. And qwan it comyth þat þei schal fyght, send in forme  
a gret apparayle, with eleuauntis hauyng towris on her bakkys,  
and in þem archerris schetyng brennyng qwarellis. And if þu se  
þi men ferful or dredyng, anone be redy a-mong hem and confort  
hem, and induce hem to perseuerrauns. And ordeyn thyne oste,  
30 as I haue taught þe, in-to thre partis or four, aftyr þe place be, and  
on þe rygh-hand men of armys and fyghterris on foote, and on the  
left hand speris, and in þe myddis archeris, and som þat make orybil  
noysis, and throwyng brondys of fir. And loke in euiry batel  
sqwyche a place for þin host as is most avayle, her bakkys to þe  
35 sonne. But bewar of tresun, and most in special qwan þu seyst  
þi men ony thyng slakeryng, and anone hast þe thidir with þo þat  
be with þe in þi ward, and schew þi manhod in wordis and also in

dede. And haue ner þine oste | a conuenyent place to ber to lordis [f. 104<sup>v</sup>]  
 if þei happe to be wondyd, in qwyche þer be kept wyne and odyr  
 drynkis, and also harnes and al maner of weypyn. And if it be so  
 þat þu ley a seege, vse day and nyght engynis. And loke if þu canst  
 aspye qwer ony wellis be, or kondyghtis, þat serue þine aduersaryis 5  
 of watir, and poy sun that, for þat schal sle myche pepyl. And be  
 euir perseueraunt þat a begunne þu leue noȝt onperfight, nor  
 folow neuir þine aduersaryis qwan þat þei flee. Haue neuir gret hast  
 in thy werkis, and haue consideracion to þe condicion of the pepil  
 þat þu fyghtist with, for sum haue euir þe victori with sotelteis and 10  
 sleightis of wer, and sum be perseuerauns and manhod, qwer-for  
 on alle wyse knowe þe dysposicion of þe nacion þat þu schalt fight  
 with-alle, for þat is a chef thing. But, alwey þat þu may, haue  
 myghtily þi purpos in euiry werk. Haue with þe an [a]sturonomere  
 to yef counsel, þat þe dysposicion of þe bodyis abouyn help þe, and 15  
 be acording to þat werke. Ordeyn þe ascendent vppon þe oryent  
 in | þe Lyon. And bewar, begynne neuir no werk qwan þe mone is [f. 105]  
 clypsid, or troubyllyd, or felichyppyd with an euyl planete. Qwerfor  
 to knowe alle þi werkynge of þe planetis euir þu must haue astro-  
 nomeris. But yit be war þi-self, þat in þe begynnyng of none of þi 20  
 werkis þat þe mone be dyrectly ayens the bemys of þe sunne, nor  
 þat it be in þe sixte or þe twelth degré, or goyng bak, but euir in  
 þe ascendyng schal thi werkis be prosperus. Qwerfor do neuir gret  
 materis but be þe counsel of an experte astronomer. And know  
 þat þe mone is þe most helpyng planete in alle jorneyes. 25

## The [seuyn]tene capitil

## Capitulum [x[vi]j]

How necessary it is to þe, and allso gloryus and preysabyl,  
 sythyn I haue told þe to knowe þe dysposycion of plauntis and  
 odyr, þat þu now haue knowenge of þe most nobyl creatur in erth,  
 qwyche is manne, how natur werkyth be dysposycion complex- 30  
 ionary. þe qwyche gret knowlecch or syens, olde philisophris put  
 myche in practic, and as | to þe most chef experimental man, we [f. 105<sup>v</sup>]  
 ground vs vppon þe mosst famus of alle elde doctouris, clepyd  
 Philemon, and hou þis man in his siens was asayd we bryng to re-  
 membrauns. Tweyn dysciplis of Mastir Ypocras depeyntid his figur 35  
 in a perchemen schyn, and bar it to Philemon, seyng, 'Considir

3 weypyn] e *ins. above*  
*tion sign for ur, but perhaps for*  
*written for ast(u)ronomeres)*

14 asturonomere] *sturonomere, with abbrevia-*  
*astronomere (Possibly, an st(u)ronomere is*  
 26 seuyntene] *fourtene xvij] xiii*

þis figur, and telle vs þe qualiteis of his complexcion.' Qwyche mastir made comperison of alle partis of þat figur to-gydir, [and] seyde, 'þis man is leccherus, louyng þe likyng of þe flesch, and a disceyuabyl man.' And quan þise men herd thys, þei wold haue  
 5 slayn hym, seyng þus, 'O foole, þis is þe figur of a wyse man and a wele reulid man, and as wurthi a man as ony in þe world!' And þis doctor pesid hem and seyde, 'I knowe nozt to hom it longit. But ye axid me aftyr my craft to sey þe trwthe, and be my craft  
 9 I haue ansqwerd yow.' þan þei seid no mor, but toke her leue, and [f. 106] keme to Mastir Ypocras, and told hi[m] how þei had done, | and of þe doctor Philemonis ansquer. And Ypocras yaf hem this ansqwer, 'Trwly, that doctor seyth soth and wysely, and he pasid nozt himself in o word of my persone. But qwan I came to mannis age, and conceyuid þat my natural disposicion was to þo visis, I with  
 15 vertu and gret labour ouircam hem, and so att þe last I had þe victori, and be labur am comyn to þis plyght of vertue.' And þis is þe preysing and þe wysdam in ouircomyng of vicis of þis Mastir Ypocras. For þe filosofie of filisofris is right nozt ellis but abste-  
 tyne[n]s and victory of þe concupiscens of þe flesche.

## 20 [The eghtene capitil]

## Capitulum xviii

And, Alysaundir, I yef þe rewlys abreuyat. And first knowe, þat þe modyr is [to] þe embrion as a pott is to þat qwyche is sodyn þer-in. Qwyght and blo colouris medylid, þat turnyth to yelownes, is a tokyn of ondygestion. And if þis betyd in a creatur, þe natur  
 25 of þat creatur is dymynusid. Fle þan fro euiry yelow-blo man, for sqwyche be redi to vicis and to leccheri. And qwan þu seyst a man loke oftyen vppon þe, and qwan þu lokyst vppon hym he is aferd, | [f. 106v] and if he sighe causeles and in his eyn þer apper terys, he louyth þe and dredyth þe. And if it be the contrary wyse, he hatith þe  
 30 and despisith þe. Be war þan from euiry infortunat qwyche is dyminuit or mynusid in ony membyr, eyn þat as þu schuldist be war fro þine enemy. þe best-dysposid men and most eyn in natur [be þo] þat be of mene statur, with blake eyn and blake her, and a rownd face, and qwyght of colour, medyllid with reed, and  
 35 a browne color with eyn dysposicion of þe body, and vppryght

9 þan] corr. from þi or þat  
 outer margin

10 him] his

20 Capitulum xviii] in

21 And, Alysaundir] begins line, but without further distinguishing as start of chapter

24 þe] þ corr. from n

31 eyn] eyn þat

or eyn þu, with the second word indistinctly canc.

32 fro] in ony membyr fro

statur, þat hath a mene hed, noȝt to gret nor to lytil, and few wordys but qwan nede is, and þe byggenes of hys voys in a mene. And qwan þe natur declynith to brownes and yelwnes þan is it most preysabyl. And þi[s] maner statur and complexcion lette dwelle with þe. And I haue tolde þe be interpretacion þe maner of þe 5 disposicion: assay þu hys wytte.

## [The nyntene capitil]

## Capitulum xix

Plenté of pleyn heris betokyn mekenes and coldnes of brayn. And many herys vppon þe scholdris betokyn foltyschnes. And multi- 9 tude of heris | on þe brest and þe wombe betokyn horybilnes [f. 107] and syngulerté of natur, and dymynucion of vndyrstondyng, and louyng of onryghtis. A red colour is a tokyn of onwysdam, and of myche wrath, and of watyng and dysseyuabylnes, and of a spyer. And blac her betokynnyth ryghtne[s] and loue of trwth and justise. But a mene be-twene bothe colouris signyfiith a lour of pes. 15

## [The tweynty capitil]

## Capitulum xx

Men þat hath gret yine is inuyus, onschamfast, slow and inobedyent, and most in specyal if þe colour turne to blones. And of home þe eyn turne to blones or to blacnes and be of a mene gretenes, is of scharp wytte, courtely and trwe. And qwan þe eyn bolne 20 owte, with a bolny[n]g face, þei betokyn malic[i]ousnes and wykkydnes. And he þat hath eyn lyke þe eyn of an asse is foltysch and of herd natur. And he hos syght is scharp, and hys eyn meue fast, sqwyche one is a dysceyuur, a thef and ontrwe. And if þe eyn be 24 redysch, it betokynnyth | is strength, manhod, myghtines. But [f. 107<sup>v</sup>] tho eyn be werst þat haue qwyght spottis, or blake spottis, or reed, rounde about, for sqwyche one is werst of men.

## [The one and tweynty capitil]

## Capitulum xxj

Browys þat haue myche her betokynnith on boldnes of speche. And qwan þe browyis be so longe þat þei come to þe templis, it 30 betokynnith onclennes of complexcion. And he þat hath browys thynne-herid, and wele demenyd in lenght and breede, and þei be greete, sqwyche one hath a redy wytt to vndyrstondyng.

1 to gret] to to gret      8 Plenté of] does not start new line; runs on from previous words, preced. by canc. he þ[at]. P not illuminated, but distinguished by overlapped doubling      13 watyng] g altered from d      16 Capitulum] cap<sup>m</sup> prec. by canc., perh. lj[ber]      xx] prec. by expuncted xv

## The [to] and tweynty capitil

## Capitulum xxij

A nose þat is longe and smalle, it sigynfyth gret angir. And he þat hath a longe nose crokyng doune to his mowth schul be dysposid to be hardy. And a fnatyd nose betokynnith impetuusnes.

5 And he þat hath nose thyrrlis wyde schuld be angri. And sqwyche a nose þat rysith in þe myddis is fulle of wordys and a lyer. But þat nose is euir most comendabil þat is equal and in a mene of lenght,  
 [f. 108] and þe nose thyrrlis proporciond | in a mene, with a pleyn face þat is noȝt bolynd, [for þa]t betokynnyth a stryuer, a wrongful  
 10 man and extorcionner. And he þat hath a face in a mene, nowdyr to fat, nowdyr to lene, is trwe, and louyng, and wyse, and seruisabil and wel wyttid.

And he þat hath a gret wyde mowth schuld [be] bold and hardi. And he þat hath gret lyppis schuld be foltische. And he þat hath  
 15 myche flesche in hys face is nowȝt very wyse. And he þat hath a sclendir face is circumspecte in his werkkys and sotel of vndyrstandyng. And he þat hath a litil yelw face is vicious, a dysseuyir and dronkelew. And he þat hath an-long face is a doer of wrongis. And he þat hath bolnyd templis and ful chekis is pasyng hasti.

20 And he þat hath smalle erys is foltisch and leccherus. And he þat hath ryght grete eris is a veri fole, but he schuld a-haue a retentyf wytt. And he þat hath a gret voys schuld be hardi and eloquent.

## The thre and tweynti [capitil], of þe voys Capitulum xxiii

24 And he þat hath a vois in a mene, nowdyr to gret, nowdyr to smal,  
 [f. 108<sup>v</sup>] is wyse, prouydent, and ryghtful. And | he þat spekyth thyk, and hath a smalle voys, is inportune, a lyer, bysi and ontrwe. And he þat hath a veri gret voys schuld be angri and vengabil. And he þat hath a sqwete voys schuld be inuius and susspicius. A fayr voys betokynnith onwysdam and grettehertydnes. And he þat meuyth  
 30 oftyn with ony parte in his talkyng, he is inuyus, eloquent and disceyuabil. And he þat absteynith fro meuyng of handis he is wele disposid and of goode connsel. And he þat hath a longe, smal nek,

1 to] thre *expuncted and surmounted* by ij      9 for þat betokynnyth] it betokynnyth  
 13-19 numbered Capitulum xx in margin      23 Left-hand chapter-heading placed above matter of l. 20, but marginal indication gives correct position; right-hand heading with roman numerals in correct position in margin  
 25 prouydent] *prec. by tall downstroke of unfinished letter*  
 (1?) And] followed by & as first word of next page      28 A fayr] *prec. by canc. &, and followed by f*

he [is] ful of noyse and foltisch. And he þat hath a schort nek is disceyuabil, sotel, and ful of tresun. And he þat hath a gret nek is foltisce and a gret eter.

[The four and tweynti capitil] Capitulum xxiiij

And he þat hath a gret bely is indiscrete, louyng lecchery, and prowde. A mene bely and a streyght brest betokynnyth hye vndyrstondyng and goode counsel. Largenes of þe brest, and grettenes of scholdris and also of bak, betokynnyth manhod and hardynes and a retentyf wytt. And a smal bak betokynnith a man to be of a discordaunt natur. And a mene bak is a tokyn of equalyté and a passing goode tokyn. And lyftyng of þe scholdris tokynnith scharpn-nes of natur and of ontrwthe. And qwan it is so þat þe armys be so longe þat þei may be extendid to þe kneys, it betokynnith hardines, manhod, and larges. And schort armys þe[i] signifie discordis and ignorauns. Handis þat be longe, with longe fyngeris, betokyn disposicion to many vertuys, and in special craftis mecanyk, and wyse in werkis it signyfyth, also goode gouernauns. Gret fyngris and schort signyfi foltischnes and onwysdam.

Feet þat be gret and ful of flesch betokyn folyschnes and loue of wrongis. Smale feet and smote betokyn hardnes of wytt. Smale leggis signyfy ignoranz and gret leggis betokyn manhod and strength. Gret helys with rownd leggis betokyn gret strenght. Miche flesch vppon þe kneis betokynnyth softenes or tendynres of complexcion, and fayling of vertu. He þat hath wyde pasis in his gate and slow schal be prosperus in hys werkys, and he þat makyth schort pasis in hys gate is suspicious, impetuus and onmyghti and euylyllyd in hys werkis.

[The fyue and tweynti capitil] Capitulum xxv

But he in natur is best disposid, of best memory, | þat his flesche is soft and moyst, þat is a mene be-twene hardnes and softnes, of hys statur to longe nor to schort, qwyche declynith of cher to reednes, meke in beholdyng, hauyng pleyn her in a mene, þat hath

4 Chapter-heading in margin. Text run on without starting new paragraph  
 5 And] written over & at start of line, but not otherwise distinguished as chapter initial  
 6 brest] r ins. above  
 8 betokynnyth] betokynith betokynnyth  
 13 kneys] n ins. above  
 20 Feet] F written, exceptionally, as single f, of normal size, prec. by small double ff. This probably indicates start of new section or, possibly, is attempt to corr. S  
 26 and he] Et he  
 31 soft] s corr.

eyn of a goode bygnes, turnyng to largenes, and þat is hed be wele  
 mesuryd in a mene, and hys nek proporciond to hys hed in  
 mychenes, hos scholdris be declynyng, hauyng but lytil flesch in  
 his thys and kneis, þat hath an hoole voyce, in temperauns of  
 5 hythe and gretenes, and hath a longe palme and longe fyngirris  
 declynyng to sotelnes, þat lawghith but lytil, þat is no scorner,  
 and þat his cher is medyllid with gladnes and myrth. But for alle  
 thyse þat I haue rehersed of tokynnis judicyal þu schalt noȝt  
 3eue soden jwgement of one tokyn, but of many, acordyng  
 10 qwedyr it be to gode or euyl, and euir enclyne to þe bettir part in  
 euiry dome. And now, preysind wurchyp and reuerrens be to owr  
 Lord Jesu Cryst now and euir, þat hath holpyn me in part to  
 fynysch þis boke, Amen.

### Finis Secretorum

15 Her endyth þe Boke of þe Priuyté of Priuyteis.

Explicit liber quartus Secretorum, Deo gracias.

Amen

6 declynyng] ni *written with four minims as though nn but with diagonal overstroke indicating i (perhaps for declyniing)*      7 for] *repeated*

V

DECRETUM ARISTOTELIS:  
 ÞE SECRETE OF SECRETES,  
 AND TRESORE INCOMPERABLE

Around 1448, in hand of John Shirley

(The 'Marmaduke' version)

From Bodleian MS. Ashmole 59, ff. 1-12<sup>v</sup>.

Here begynneþe þe boke made of þe governance of princes com- [f. 1]  
 pyled by þat renommed philosophre Daune Aristotiles, and sent  
 to þat excellent emperour and prince invincyble, Alexandre of  
 Macedoyne, þe whiche is cleped and called þe Secrete of Secretes  
 and Tresore Incomperable.

Marmaduke þe sone of Patryke, þe sage of alle langages, fonde in 5  
 þe regioun of Grece with-inne þe temple of þe Solayle, þe whiche  
 þat famous and gret philosophre Euscalabinis made, þis boke,  
 surely kepte, þe whiche he lete calle þe Boke of Aristotle Secretes.  
 And he translated it owte of Greeke in-to Calddé and, affter þe 10  
 request of þe Kyng of Arrabie, he translated it oute of Arrabeske  
 in-to Latin, and sent it to þe ful reuerent fader and ful noble per-  
 sone Guy de Valence, þe Busshop of Triple. And þus was þis  
 boke translated in-to Latin, nouzt al, but such as is moste profit-  
 able and gode [to] mans vnderstanding, for þestate and gover- 15  
 naunce of princes. þe whiche boke, with þe content, is nouzt to  
 shewe to comvne, ne to rede to every man opunly, but secretly to  
 kepe it and to rede it to-fore þestatly princes of þe worlde, þat  
 may be to hem a mirroure to lyve, and a directe fourme for hem and  
 for alle þeire lieges, wysely to contynue, as þat a renommed philo- 20  
 sophre cleped Aristotle, whiche Alisaundre hade with him, bereþe  
 record, whome he cleped his maistre, by whos wisdam and conseile

1 of þe governance] *fol. by canc.* of the governaunce 8-9 þis boke . . . kepte]  
*between Solayle and þe whiche þat* 8 Euscalabinis] *four minims between b*  
*and s; one over-stroke for i* 11 of Arrabie] of Calde nay but of Arrabie: *see n.*  
 13 Triple] *ms. (f. 1, ll. 14-20) continues with matter of pp. 203|20-204|4 below:*  
*As þat a renommed philosophre . . . honnour and worship. I transpose these lines*  
*and place them after ll. 13-20 here: And þus was þis boke . . . wysely to contynue*  
*(f. 1, ll. 20-27): see n.*

he overcame alle heos enemys. þe whiche Aristotle Alisandre desired to haue with him, but he wrote him lettres of excuse, and wrote him lettres howe he shoulde mainteyne him to his gret honnour and worship. And vppon þis, Alisaundre wrote an epistle  
 4 [f. 1<sup>v</sup>] to Aristotle his maistre, howe | he shoulde resceiue hem of Perce, wheoche wolde þane submitte hem to him for his gret and imperial magnanimitee.

Capitulum j

Off þe firste epistle þat Alisaundre wrote to his maistre  
 10 Aristotle, of his conquest of þe royal revme of Perce

ARistotle, ful noble techer of rightwysnes, I signefye to þi prudence þat I have founden in þe lande of Perce one maner of folke of gret raison and of perceuerant vnderstonding, studying for to get reavmes and for [to] haue gret domynacions and lordshippes above  
 15 oþer. For þe whiche cause we haue purpos for to sleo hem alle. For it is saide by þe olde and wyse naturiens for a gret polleceye, 'Love and lordship wolde haue no feliship.' But sende þowe to me sendently þy wille, whiche we wol filowe and fulfille.

[Capitulum ij]

20 Howe Aristotle makeþe aunswere to Alisandre by lettres

BOvntevous and glorious Emperour Alisaundre, if þou may moeve þe eorþe, þe water and þe ayer and disposicions of þe citees in Perse þanne fulfille þy pourpos hardely. And if þou may not do so, slee not þe people, but governe hem in goodnes, and  
 25 encresce hem benignely and graciously. And if yee do soo, haue gode affiance þat with þe helpe of God þey shoulle alle be þy subgettes, for to perfourne þy wille and þy comaundementes. For, fore þe love þat þey shul have to þee, þou shalt haue þe lordship and þe victorie of hem in pees and in reste. þe whiche lettre resceyved,  
 30 Alisaundre did folowe þe counseyle of Aristotle, and by þis meene

1 Alisandre] *corr. (indistinctly) from Aristotle* 5 howe] *repeated as first word on f. 1<sup>v</sup>. This, as all opening words on pages of this text, has capital initial*  
 6 submitte] *submitte (see n., and cf. 212|19, 215|18, 218|11, 222|4 and 5)*  
 8 Capitulum j] *this and all later chapter numbers in outer margin. Initial C partly removed by cutting of edges of ms.* 19 Outer margin *nota per Shirley*  
 (n partly removed in cutting) 21 Bovntevous] *later (early modern) hand*  
 crosses through second v 23 þanne] *later hand crosses through e* 25 graciously] *fol. in ms. by virgula which later hand alters to colon* 26 shoulle]  
 later hand alters to shall 27 subgettes] *later hand alters to subiectes*  
 29 pees] *later hand underlines and substitutes peace (in outer margin)* lettre]  
 lettre resceyved] *later hand crosses through s: see n.*

weere alle þey of Perce more obeissant to Alisaundre þane any  
oþe[r] nacions þat he hade to-fore wonne or conquerde. |

## Capitulum [i]ij

[f. 2]

**How Aristotle wrote an epistel to Alisaundre excusing him  
[of his absence] frome his so imperial [pre]sence**

5

CONsider, Alisaundre, feyre sone, glorious and precious Em-  
perour, ho[m]e God for weledoiing conserve, conferme, and sende  
þe counsaunce to fele trouþe and vertue, and wol represe and putte  
doune frome þy alle þy bestial desyres, and wol stablisse þy  
reavmes, and lighten þy witte to his wirching and honnour, and to 10  
resceyve alle gode spirites honurably as it þe tyme and cas  
apperteneat. And as I have vnderstonden, glorious lord, þat  
I were with þee by þi gret desire and wille, and þat þou merveylest  
þee howe I may absteyne me from þee and þi presence, and þat  
I am nought tendre ne desirous for to here of þe gode spede of 15  
þine so honorable conquest and prudence þe wheoche þou haste  
emprysed and thenkest to perfourne, for þe whiche cause I purpose  
to make þee a litell boke canonet, þat shall yif þee myn avise inne,  
þe which shall muche helpe for to enhaunce, and beo vaillance for  
to instructe þee tacomplisse alle þyne enperiale desirous courages, 20  
and suffisaunte excuse for me þat I come not to þyne hye emperial  
presence, þe whiche shal beo to þee opun and verray instruccion  
of alle þy doutes and demandes as þaughe I were in persone  
eche houre with þee. Wher-fore, Alisaundre, dere Emperour, me  
semeþe þou shouldest not of right so reherce on me by þyne 25  
epistilles none vnkyndenesse ne despite. But wit þou it  
weele, incomperable conquerrou, þat I let not for none yvell  
wille þat I bere to þine conqueste and enhexaltacion of þine hon-  
nour, but by cause in especiall boþe of gret age þat I am charged  
with, and feoblesse of my weyke persone, haue made me hevy and 30  
ful vnable for to goo any longe weye. And þat þou desirest for to  
knowe and haste desired of me, to wit, þe moeving of | þe sterres, [f. 2']  
þe crafft of þe lowe thinges, þe crafft to constreine nature, and of  
oþer thinges diuers, certes þat were thinge þat vnneþe any mortal  
spirit shoulde vnderstonde. But þat at longeþe for þee tenquere of, 35  
and man shoulde medle off to seye, I lete þee wit of right, and

3 iij] ij  
13 by] see n.

5 presence] absence

7 home] howe

aunswere þee, þat frome hensforþe it longeþe not to þy raison  
 more for to demaunde me, ne to þi raison discretly avysed, þa[n]  
 I haue and shal put in þis boke, wheoche beon my so dere and  
 secrete, þe which if þou rede and eke vnderstande hem and canste  
 5 hem hollye, I leve þat bytwene þee and þat þou desirest of me to  
 witte, þere shoulde be none obstacle, for God haþe given þee  
 plenier and gret witte sotyle, and gret vnderstanding. By my doc-  
 trine and discipline þat þou haste herde and learned to fore þis,  
 þou maist weele comprehende al þi desire brennyng and opneþe  
 10 þee þe weye streght to þy pourpos, þe whiche shal bring and leede  
 þee to gode eonde by þe wille of God. And vnderstonde wele, þat  
 by þe moyene of two thinges þou maist come [to], and acheeve,  
 þyne hole entent. þe first is for to haue miseracion, pitie and mercy  
 of þy subgettis, and despise and leve þeire godes and possessions.  
 15 And also þe knowlegge and þinvestigacion of gode dedis and þe  
 olde secretes and doctrines of olde worþy men, filosofrus, and  
 juges, þe wheoche God haþe chosen, and given hem sapience for to  
 introduce oþer. And vnderstande þou þat þe cause why I reherce  
 and renuwe to þee my secretes figurativement and a lytel derkly,  
 20 and þat I speke to þee derkly by strange examples and figures, þis  
 is þe cause: for I haue gret doute and feere lest þis boke may  
 come oft sypes in to þe handes of yvel and of vntrewe arguwers,  
 þe wheoche beon not worþy to medle with any suche thinges. And  
 24 with-oute fayle, if it so betyde, by myne assent or knowlege,  
 [f. 3] and in my defaute, I were a gret and yvel | tresspassour ageinst  
 God, and outrageous breker of þe hevenly secretes. And þer-fore,  
 Alexandre, in þis maner I charge þee vpon þe attestacion þat I  
 may recorde ageinst þee to-for God, þat þou kepe al þat I shal  
 shewe þee, by worde or be wryting, secrete. For þou shalt wele  
 30 knowe þat a secrete diskouerd, tolde and discoverde, ne may not  
 fayle with-oute gret wronge or sorowe to some partie. And so  
 God sendeþe it and makeþe al þe werke deshonneste in mo  
 maniers þane herte cane thenke, til it come to þe point. But at  
 þe begynning remembre þee what I haue saide to-for þis tyme to þee,  
 35 and let þat by þi mirrour. For it behoveþe of necessité þat every  
 king have thre aydes for to susteine his reavme and comfort [it].  
 þe first ne may not beo hade with-oute þe secoude, I let þee wit,  
 þe whiche oone is þat þer beo a trewe governour and iuste to þe

2 ne . . . avysed] *see n.* þan] þat 3 my] *see n.* 11 *Outer margin nota*  
 per Shirley 35 *Outer margin nota* per Shirley 36 comfort it] comforted

subgitz of þe kinges, by þe which þat þey alle obeye þe kinge truly and faste, þat is to sey in oone maner. For alle reavmes beon destrude and brought to þe desolacion outrelly by inobedyence and rebellion of þe kynges sugitz, by þe which þe kynge and heos lordes may beo calde vnwyse and fooles, and þeire subgitz 5 regnen and governe. And also, in þe same wyse, kynges and þeire reavmes beon replenished in habondant goodes and riches durables by þe due and goode obeysaunce of þeire subgettes to þeire souereine lord, wysely advertysed by his trewe approbate acustumable counsayle, so þat þe prince rescieue, governe, depart 10 and despende heos riches wysely, for he shoulde largely and conveniently give to heos subgetz affter þe place, þe tyme and þeire desertes, yche one affter his estate and degree. Also þat oþer is, þat þe prince sholde exorte and charge heos saide subgetz, and chaunge þeire courages, as þe cas requireþe, to gode maners and 15 condicions, by þensaumple of þe prince living, and of his vertuouse condicions, of his propre persone and estat, always | in his [f. 3<sup>v</sup>] conuersacion priué and appert, to þe counssaunce of heos subgetes. For þe prince shulde do always iustice egales bytwene him and heos people, and bytwene alle his people and subgez, ech of hem 20 with oþer, affter equitye and raison in alle cause, boþe of þeire persones, of þeire godes and possessions, money in any maner goten or hade by hem in tyme passed, and of þe truwe and humble behaving with al þeire duwe obeissaunce to þeire prince, and principally to gif hye thanking to God þat sendeþe his subgetz 25 suche quiete living and encresce, with haboundaunce, vnder þe domynacion of þeire prince, for al þat gode comeþe of God, withoute whome no man may no weele do.

## Capitulum iiiij

**Aristotle wryteþe to Alisandre of [fou]re maner of kynges 30**

DO nowe þy diligent vnderstonding, dere Emperour, for to vnderstonde affter my wryting to þee þat þou shalt weele perceyve, þat þere beon foure maners estates and condicions of kynges. For one condicion is of him þat is large and liberal til him-self and to heos subgetz. þe seconde is of þat kinge þat is tyl hym-self 35 covetous, and large to heos subgetz. þe thridde kynge is he þat is covetous to him-self and to heos subgetz also. And þe feorþe

1 obeye] beo obeye      15 þeire courages] repeated      18 priué] later  
 hand adds question mark above      30 foure] thre

king is large to him-self and to heos subgettz in mesurable  
 avaricious by tymes oportune. To þe which þe Ytaliens affermen  
 þat it is no vice to a king if he be to him-self avaricious, and large  
 to heos subgettz. And þey of Perce seyne þat þe prince is not  
 5 comendable but if he beo large to him-self and to heos subgettz.  
 But to my jugement, seyþe Aristotle, I halde him moste noble  
 kyng perseuerant, þat he þat is large to him-self and to heos ser-  
 vantz, he is moste worþy and beste liche to to-longe endure, for  
 many causes þat beo likly and reasonable, as it shall be shewed here  
 10 more evidently in þis same chapitre towards þe eonde. But þe  
 [f. 4] prince þat is avaricious to him self and in þe | same wyse to heos  
 servaunte, his reavme, his puissance, his domynacion, may not  
 longe stonde perseverant and weele endure by no raison. For of  
 avarice þere fallen so many inconveniencies likly and proveable,  
 15 which defaiteþe and fordoeþe alle maner of reasonable and goode  
 governaunce and rightfull and semblable, or convenient, largesse.  
 And þer fore, noble Emperour, consider þe maner of alle þy so  
 noble tryvmphes, conquestes, and victories in þy werres, þat  
 beon acheved offt syþes by provident and honorable acquestes,  
 20 and so revolve in þine advertence þonnour of covenable largesse  
 in alle laudable and gode gouvernement of princes, and þe vnright-  
 full avaricious fait in werre, for þeire ambission and reprov-  
 able, sore inybit, avarice. For þis is clere thing: þe qualitees of  
 largesse and of avarice beon reprehensible, of boope inordinately  
 25 folowed and vsed, whane þey beon withdrawn longe and fare  
 frome a convenient moyene. For, Alisaundre, it is knowen in alle  
 prudence þat it is a gret charge and harde thing for a prynce for to  
 kepe in his noble estate largesse, and a light thing and esy for to  
 passe largesse. For every creature may lightly beo foole-large or  
 30 avaricious, bytwene þe wheoche twoo every man enspired of  
 raison can thenke to fynde or ymagyne a moyene. And if þou  
 beo disposed, Alisandre, to knowe or seche þe vertue of largesse, it  
 behoveþe þee to kepe threo thinges. First þy powaire þat þou haste,  
 and þe secoude þan þe necessitee þat þey þat haue til do, haue.  
 35 And þanne þe meryte or þe desert þat þy men haue done to þee,

1-2 large to him-self . . . avaricious] large to him-self and large to heos sub-  
 gettz nay but to heos subgettz in mesurable avaricious 1 mesurable] *corr.*  
*reading perh.* mesurable or in mesurable[nes] 11 f. 4 upper margin, later  
 hand liberalitie and covetousnese 17 outer margin nota per Shirley  
 21-2 and þe . . . werre] and þe . . . werre and *between largesse and* in alle *see n.*  
 31 *outer margin* videte per Shirley

to whome þee most give of right. And þeos three thinges considerd,  
 þowe shalt weel so vndrestond þe beste weye to chese þe maner of  
 þi governance, of largesse or of avarice, to attempre þee affter þy  
 mesurable pouair of þy gifftes to þy men þat haue deserved it. And  
 who þat oþer-wyse giveþe, he doþe wronge, and brekeþe þe rule 5  
 of largesse. For he þat giveþe to him þat haþe nouzt ne nouzt  
 deserved haþe, he is not to | beo preised ne thanked. And to gif [f. 4<sup>v</sup>]  
 to any persone þat is not able to resceiue þy giffit, or ellis haþe  
 deserved no giffit, he leeseþe his giffit. And who-so giveþe over þe  
 might of his richesse or þe substance of his gode, he leseþe his 10  
 richesse, and bringeþe him-selff to nought and to yvel arrivage,  
 and is wele resembled to him þat giveþe his enmy victorie above  
 him. And þer-fore I sey, þe prince þat giveþe affter his powair,  
 in tyme and in place, to hem þat ben worþy, or þat haue neode, or  
 haue deserved giffit or rewarde, he is large to him-self and to heos 15  
 subgetz, and þe lordship of his reavme is durable, and men shal  
 wele kepe heos comaundementz. And suche a lorde haþe always  
 beon preised, loved and obeyed of þe olde wyse faders, for he is  
 vertuous and attemperate. But þe lord þat dispendeþe or giveþe  
 his gode desordinately of his reavme to hem þat haue not de- 20  
 served it, and to suche as haþe nouzt [neode of] it ne [beon]  
 worþy to haue it by suche vnresonable moyens, he is a depopy-  
 lai[t]ou[r] and destroyer of þe peple and alle þeire godes, and  
 right vnable for to be called lorde, or to have any lordship, or to  
 have þe domynacion of any royalme, or see royale, for suche a 25  
 prince is sayde a foole-large governour, for by him is al gode  
 providence exyled oute of his roiaume. And in þe cas semblable,  
 avarice of þe prince is thing ful descovenable to royal magestee, and  
 if any kynge or prince be envolupte with any of þeos twoo vices,  
 if he, knowing hem wele in his rete[n]tyf and approbate expert 30  
 raison, [be] wel disposed to leve and eschuwe hem at þe tyme of his  
 neode, and putte remedie, him behoveþe by perfite diligence effec-  
 tuel, and suffisant counsaylliers, comitte þe charge and gover-  
 nance of his reavme to suffisant persones, to suche as cane be  
 thought necessarie and byhovely for him and for þunyversell gode 35  
 of his persone, of his reavme, with heos subgitz.

21 neode of] deserved  
 repeated

22-3 depopylaitour] depopylairois

31 þe]

## Capitulum v

Howe þat princes shoulde eschuwe foole largesse and  
coveytyse |

- [f. 5] EVer drawe to þis, to þy memoratif rayson, Alisaundre, for  
5 ferme governaunce and doctrine: þat þe prince þe whiche trusteþe  
and estemeþe heos domynacions beon of gretter value and  
revenue þane þey may bere or be charged with, he may lightly  
bring al to desolacion with-uten þat he purveye gode and con-  
venyent remedy by ful weele avised provysioun. And þer-fore  
10 I sey to þee, þat for to flee largesse and avarice is þe opun erudicion  
and doctryne to conquerre covenable largesse, and to flee foole  
largesse, and live in þe worldely glorie perdurable, with hye glorie,  
by whiche moyene if þe prince absteyne him, and with-drawe heo[s]  
ambissious hondes frome þe felonous and þe vnrightful ravyne,  
15 frome þe truwe gotten godes of heos subgetz. And þer fore seyþe  
Ermogines, þat if þe king absteyne him and with-holdeþe him  
frome violent rape of þe moneye of heos subgettes, þat is a certaine  
token þat in hyme is verraye and gret bounté of vnderstanding  
and plenté of perseuerant lawe, and pleine perfeccion. For þou  
20 maist wele suppose þat whane in any cuntrey or regioun þe gret-  
nesses of despenses do surmount or excede þe revenuz of þe  
same, þe princes þan spreden þeir handes to gete and haue weye to  
þe goodes of þe comvnes. For þe whiche þe poure subgetes, for þe  
gret wronge and extorcion þat þe princes raveynously surmitten  
25 vpon hem, preyen to þe glorious God almighty to sende some  
vent subtile or chaude mellee amonges suche irraisonable lordes  
and souereynes, þat þey falle nyhande al to adnichilacion of alle  
þeire godes and hyennesse sodainly, with-oute duwe repentaunce  
and þe hye misericorde of God Which chargeþe every reasonable  
30 creature with þe duwe and charitable rule of living, for to so surely  
atteyne and conquere þe everlast and perdurable lyff of His blisse,  
[f. 5<sup>v</sup>] ordeinde for man. And wit þou wele, mighty and | ful noble  
Alexandre, take it for certeine and ferme discipline, þat ricchesse  
lefully gotten beon þe cause of þabbyding and of þe dower of þe  
35 soule, and also partie of it. For þe soule may not dwelle in þe  
bodye, which is duwe herbarowe, but if alle wrongful causes be  
vtturly destrued. And þer-fore every man in himself shoulde

1 Capitulum v] in outer margin of f. 5, placed after the title on f. 4<sup>v</sup>  
7 Outer margin, later hand Exactions 18 hyme] corr. from his  
31 everlast and] perh. everlastand

eschwe large dispenses, foolelargesses and outrageous gifftes, and holde þe attemporance of largesse, for þere is no thing þat exorteþe a lorde to tyranye as þe superfluyté of gifftes and despenses. And wit þou weele þat þe substance þat man shoulde leve of largesse, and gete þe derke secretes celestialles. Man cane not bring to mynde al þat he haþe excessively given. And suche deedis beon gode and vertuous to gif hem þat haue neode and þat haue deserved. And eke forgive þou a wronge done to þee, or iniurie or villanye, and worship hem þat beon worþy, and enhawce hem þat beon worþy. Helpe þe suffratous and supporte þeire angwysshes, aunswere courteysely to hem þat saluwen þee, and kepe þy tonge of villaynous langage frome hem to seye or dissymyle, to-fore or þowe haue founde dede or tyme covenable, and shewe hem þat it is to sette at nought, but wisdame to flee sottye or ignorance. Nowe þeos thinges þat I have writen to þee, right noble Emperour, I preye þee to here hem, and ententyfly learne to folowe my doctrine in hem. And þanne have I certaine and ferme affiaunce þat in þy werkes, in þy weyes, and in þy deedis, þou shalt have þy charité haboundantly, suffisaunt scyence for [to] governe þee al þy lyve. Nought for al þis, solempne Emperour, I shal seye þee here-after a philosophye abregged, þe whiche shale suffise þee to alle þy werkis þat þou shalt haue til do in þis worlde or in þat oþer, alle þe dayes of þy lyff, þe wheoche I exorte þee fermely to reteyne in þy memorialle herte closed and sette.

## Capitulum vj

25

**Howe þat prynces shoulde labour for to gete gode renomnee |**

FOR als muche, feire sone Alexandre, right excellent Emperour, and my chosen nourre and right weele lernde desciple, þat þou desirest to here of myn avyce touching þe provident behaving of [þ]y persone, and in especiale, more desirously, of þy so noble conquest and þavaunsing of þy renommed estate and of þy werres, for þe first þat þou shalt vnderstande, þat [vnderstanding is þe keper of] þe persone of man and his þe hole governement of þe heele of þe soule, and is þe keping of vertues and þasppe of vices. For by vnderstanding man vnderstondeþe and knoweþe þe yvelles, and cheseþe þe goodes. And by þat cause þe entendement is norissher

2 *Outer margin, later hand* Giftes  
pis] *see n.*

3-6] *see n.*  
25 *Capitulum vj] in outer margin of f. 6*

20 Nought . . .  
30 þy'] *my*

of vertues, and þe roote of alle thinges lowables and honourables. þe first instrument of þe mans vnderstanding is desyre of gode renomnee. And with-oute any doute, he þat desyreþe in trouþe for to have gode counseyle, he shal have it, and he þat in flaterie for to have yvel counsaile, and also subtile and fraudelent, by yvel renomnee [is confounded]. And is and shoulde beo þe principale to haue domynacions and seignuries, for to enhance laudable renomnee. For reaumes and lordshippes, ne shoulde not beo rightfully desired ne possessed for a mans propre plaisaunce and persone, but for by þat moyene to gete hem goode fame and rightful renovne. And þer-fore þe comencement of sapience and vnderstanding is of goode fame and loos, þat is goten by þe gode governance of his lande and cuntrey, with þe lordshippes adiacent. But in lordshipes gotun vnlawfully by þe odyble werre of wronge, of coveityse, and of tyrannye, þe which ne may not longe persever in tranquyllité, þoo desires beon goten al in oþer maner moyens. For þat is none geting of gode encesce, ne first engendred in mans conceyte but by lesinges and oþer fals ymaginacions, þe whiche beon roote and begynnyng of all maner of vyces envyous.

[f. 6v] For envye engendreþe detraccion, and | þat same engendriþe hate, þe which engendreþe iniurie and he repugnaunce and rebellion, þe whiche engendre and makeþe enemys. And þey causen battayles, þe wheoche destroieþe þe lawes and citees, all ageinst kynde and nature. And of right þat at is ageinst þe right of þe kynde destroyeþe mans bodye. And þer-fore I rede and fully avyse þee, noble emparour, þat þou studye ne muse þee not to gretly to gete by suche labours oþer mens pocessiouns or riches, in eschewing þe gret inconveniences þat folowen þus by my simplesse here-to-fore reherced to þee. And also by-cause of þat gret desire þat man haþe for to enhance his goode fame, his raison, his witte, his vnderstanding, he ymagineþe and degestipe by alle inwardes gode thoughtes and willis ymaginaries, and induciers to holly and feithful raisouns. þe whiche shal consequently [induce] to gode publyque and is full contrarious enemye to alle

2 Outer margin, later hand: Consilium rectum 6-8 principale . . . renomnee] principale of þe contrarie to enhance laudable renomnee for to haue domynacions and seignuries; Fama ergo est quod principaliter . . . appetitur in regimine B 45: see n. 10 hem] at end of l. Curved horizontal stroke over minims prob. indicates that they represent m. Word ends with long downstroke, perh. as flourish or filler: alternative possibility is to read heim 19 begynnyng] see 218/11 and n. 25 destroyeþe] o badly formed, resembles e

subtilletees and fraudilent purpos, and norisshepe justice and  
 raison. þe whecche twoo engendre evidently conscience and  
 foyaltee, þe wheche engendreþe largesse reasonable, þat engendreþe  
 famuliaritee, þe which þane engendreþe frenship fyable and  
 lawdable, þat engendreþe counseile, comfort, and principal helpe. 5  
 And by alle þeos vertuous meenes þe worlde was establisshed,  
 and þe beninge [lawes] so sette by þe souerein Lord. And þis  
 acordþe with alle raison and nature, þe whiche was first doctrine  
 to alle þe constant and laudable naturiens. And þus full digne  
 Emperour A[lexandr]e, þe sone of þe noble kyng of þe royaume of 10  
 Macydoigne (and some tyme wrote him so in heos epistilles of his  
 subiugacion of þis worlde, and some tyme also he reherced him in  
 heos writynges to heos subgetz, 'Alexander filius dei Amonis,' and  
 an oþer tyme, by conquest and his connyng calde him-self 'Alex-  
 andre sone of þe gret kyng Phelip of Macedoygne'), þus, by þeos 15  
 ensaamples of my doctryne, saide Aristotle to Alexandre, with  
 þe surplus filowing, þy wysdame shal lede þee þe righ[t] weye.

## Capitulum vij

**Howe þat þeorþely prynces shoulde eschuwe luxurye | 19**

GLorious Emperour Alexaundre, and my ful precious nurre [f. 7]  
 and dere desciple, eschuwe þowe vturly þe gret thoughtes en-  
 forcementz, þenchaysouns of voluptuous loustes and bestialles and  
 carnelle synnes, for þey beo corumped and of lytel tyme enduring,  
 for þappetyte and þe charnel desire of man courages beo so corrup-  
 tible, and to vicious wille so sore enclyned to þe bestial delectacions 25  
 of þe bodye, þat is soroufull and hevy. And þerfore þou shoulde  
 þou wit and deeme, þat þe yvel enforcementz of delectacions vnclene  
 engendren carnelle love, þe whiche engendreþe avaryce and  
 ricchesses, þe which makeþe a man litel shamefaste, þe whiche  
 affermeþe decepcions, þe which engendreþe presumpcion, þe 30  
 vntrouþe, desloiaulté, and infidelité, þe whiche engendreþe rob-  
 berye, theffte and all pillages, and bycomþe blame, of þe which  
 comeþe kaytivytee and wrecchednesse, þat bringeþe man to his  
 destruccion of al famuliarité and by [þ]inde of alle gode and ornate  
 werkis, þe which is expressely ageinst alle nature and gode thewis. 35

1 subtilletees] *long faint downstroke through medial e extends above to t of*  
 consequently, here on 212/33, and is prob. accidental, or due to later hand  
 10 Alexandre] Aristotle 17 right weye] righweye: *perh. intended form*  
 18 Capitulum vij] *in outer margin of f. 7* 34 byþinde] by hinde. *Alternative*  
*possibility transcribing of by hende from prototype ms: see n.*

## Capitulum viij

What sapience þe princes and gret lordes þat governe and haue ryal possessyons shoulde have

HONorable prynce and Emperour incomparable, it is ful con-  
 5 uenient and ordinate regyment [to] a gret lord, þat his renomie  
 and glorie be puplissed in sapience and comended, and þat  
 wysely and avisyly he speke til his famulier servantz and officers,  
 and in lyche wyse to all heos subgetz estately and lawfully as þe  
 tyme and þe mater requereþe. Fore þe which governaunce he shal  
 10 [be] þe more preysed, honoured, allowed and dred. And take þis  
 for certaine, Alexandre, þe people shal lightly vnderstande and  
 knowe by certaine signes, if þe princes have sapience or in-  
 sapience. For what-so-ever lorde or kyng þat subduweþe his  
 [f. 7<sup>v</sup>] reavme or his propre | godes to devyne governaunce service, he is  
 15 worpy to regne and have honourable service of heos subgettes and  
 seruauntz, and hye renomee and domynaciouns of alle heos  
 domynacions and seignuries. But þe lord þat putteþe Goddes lawe  
 in-to servage is a traitour and passer of troupe, and despitous him-  
 self of his lawe. And who þat despreiseþe þe lawe, he is despreised  
 20 of alle men, and condampned in þe lawe. And þerfore seyne þe  
 olde gret philosophurs, þat al first at þe begynning it longeþe  
 to a gret lorde þat he vse his lawe with-oute any vanyté with-  
 outeforþe, but þat in dede men may knowe þat in his werkis and  
 dedis he is subgette to God and douteþe Him, and is humble, and  
 25 subget to God to his power. For þanne gode men wol drede þeire  
 kyng and governour, and love him. And if it beo so þat þe  
 princes shewe hem outewardes in apparence to þe people þat they  
 beo religious and gode men, and doone and live wrecchedly in þeire  
 wirkinges and seyinges, al þaughe þei do hem secretly, yitte it may  
 30 not fayle but at þe laste þe people shal knowe þe sooþe al opunly.  
 And douteþe not but suche a prince shal beo condempned of God,  
 and by þat weye his regioun shal beo defamed and reproved  
 vniuersalli to destruccion, and brought to nouzt by his desclaun-  
 derous governaunce of þat vicious lyving. What wolt þou þat I

2 What] Alexandre what see p. xxxiv and n. and cf. l. 4 below 4 in-  
 comparable] displaced Alexandre of heading (see l. 2 above) perh. intended to  
 follow here, being either omitted or so postponed for sake of serial anagram of chapter  
 initials: see pp. xxxiv ff. 14-15 he is worpy] repeated 25 þeire] repeated  
 30 but . . . people] but þe people but at þe laste þe people 33 vniuersalli]  
 five minims between the v and the u

seye þee more? Fore þere is no tresoure ne ricchese þat may bye þat ageine to þe kyng, but for to rekovery his gode fame. Afftir þis, noble Emperour Alexandre, þowe shalt clerely vnderstant þat it is thing ful convenient til a kyng or a gret prince þat he worship heos juges, députés, or any of heos oper officers þat governe his lawe and putte it in execucion, and to love alle gode religious peple, and giff lavde and honeste rewarde and gret thanking to alle heos wyse counselliers and vertu[o]s subgetz, and oft comvne with hem and moeve hem in questyouns and comvnyacions lowables and doutables. But þe prince shoulde deshonestes interrogacions [eschuwe], and discretement to aunswere in þeire questyounes demaundables, and [graunt leve] to alle heos oper subgettes, ordinaries and licensated, to approche þeire princes presence. And þe prince shoulde always thenke and remembre of his wyse easy comunyng with boþe heos lordes, heos officers, heos counselliers and truwe subgites, þat at þe dissolving of heos parlamentz and counsellies þer betyde not none incydent inconvenientz, troubles vnleofull, but if þey touche þuniyersale honnour and welfare of hem alle in generall, and prerogatyffly to þeire prince. And eke to bee wyse and debonaire, withoute yre or male-talent, to holde feythful promesses, for þe whiche comvnyacion sodaine ne doþe not come offte to þe point of þe fait of þe deliberacion with-oute þe knowlegge of his errour to whom þe right belongeþe, þat by þe moyens of gode discrecion where þat neode is þe cas may beo wysely and soignously repellede. For þe soueraine sapiencie in an hie prince is to governe him-self wysely. And þefore þe gret prince whane it komeþe to his knowlegge any gode or any proufit þat is longinge to him, þat he may weele do by him-self, do it wysely and descretely in his propre persone, nought to hastely, þat men holde him not to besye folelye, ne neyþer to slowe ne to desirous in besinesse per-abowte, lest þat he beo hurte.

## Capitulum ix

**Whate hornament gret lordes shoulde haue, and whate habyllementz gret princes shoulde haue for hem**

**I** Notefie to þy roial excellence, imperyal Alexandre, þat it is convenient to þine estate and to alle princes for to beo honourablement

4 til a] til a a      7 lavde] v over a corr.      8 vertuos] ms. vertues may  
*in fact be vertuos with badly formed o*      18 touche] repeated      [þuniyersale]  
*intended form perh. þuniyersale, but cf. 204/6, 212/19, 218/11, 222/4 and 5*

and richely cloped and eke apparaylled, þat shoulde beo more apparissant and noble þane to oper of lower estate of beauté and ricchesse, for þe nobley of his estate roiale, and hyenesse. þe whiche by þat moyene of strange and ryche ornamentz, þat to þe

5 peple, boþe heos subgetz and non-subgetz, may seo and knowe [f. 8v] him, | heos dignytees impariales in alle wyses aboute his persone to magnefye his hyenesse, and þat hye reverence and honnour shoulde [be] more done to him, and nought empaired ne withdrawen, but

10 muche raper enhaunced and encreced. þat þe prince haue a feire voice, and discrete in his langageing, with manly sitting and gode countenance and behaving of his persone, with alle heos visaige, hede, hondes, armes, leggis, body, with alle heos oper membres corespondend, þe whiche adorneþe muche þe prince and doþ him gret profit. And, by especiall, to comforte, moeve and habandon

15 his chiualleris at þe tymes of heos bataylles for to do wele. O noble Emperour Alexaundre, what it is a noble and a precyous thinge for a prince to beo moderate, and absteene him frome muche speking, but if þat necessité ne requereþe it not. For it is more convenient þat þe people eeris beo alweyes dresset to here

20 comandementz and þe decrees of þe prince þat he wol seye, þane þey þat beon sawled and plentyvously, with mete and drynke, wheche haue þanne gret courage to outragiously inordinate tyme, to speke vn-to þe hyenesse of þeire prince, and eke par aventure þe people desire not so offt to come in þe presence of þe prince.

25 And also it is not appertenent þat he acompanie his hyenesse ne his persone offt with þe rude or þe villaines people. For to miche famularité norissheþe despite (or, priuce companie amenuseþe honour). And þer-fore þey of Ynde hade a ful noble and feire coustume in þe disposicion of þeire royavme and þeire kynges,

30 and of þeire giftes, þat þey gif to þeire kynges, whome þey should not see, ne appere in his presence, but in oone tyme of al þe longe yeere. At whiche tyme þe people shal beo þer assembled, every man his best arraye armed, a-boute þeire kinges persone,

34 þe prince vppon a feyre whyte steede armed boþe man and horsse, [f. 9] koverd of þe richest cotez, trappures, and | withe alle oper ryal apparaylles longing to þe kynges estate, embrowded of fyne golde of Arrabye, fretted and kowched with alle maner of moste orientale

13 prince] princes  
to: see n.

24 not so] not to so

14-15 habandon] habandonþe, *perh. for* habandon

35 cotez, trappures] *apparently altered*

*from* cote trappures

perree, and stoones of charboncles, of rubyes, of dyamandes, of saphires, of emeraudes, of amatystes, with þe fynest and þe derrest and moste precious perrye þat may be hade by see or by lande. And þe comvne people innumerable firther frome þe kyng. And þat daye þe wysest, þe worþyest, þe moste acceptable, shale speke 5 to þe kyng, and have agreable and plesante langage in þe name of alle þe saide people, giving hyely thankinges duwe and digne to glorious God, þat hade so ordeinde þe reavme of Ynde so noble a kyng, with so gode governaunce, and so lowly obyssance to þeire kyng, of oone hert and wille. And in preysing of þe people, 10 þe kyng rehersseþe to alle heos subgetz þeire humble obeissaunce, þeire truwe and feythfull governance, þeire gret gifftes, þeire gode maners and dedis, and chargeþe hem so contynue of bettur, with mieeknes, honour and feyth to þeire souerain prince. þe people, for þe ioye þat þey haue of prudencye of þeire prince, þey offre to 15 him þeire godes and persones to heos hye comaundementz, and hertely preyen to almighty God, 'Preserve his so hye persone, his nobley, and his reavme, with þenhabitantz subgitz in reste and tranquyllitee!' þe kyng entreþe in to his palays, of paleys richest and feirest, þe lordes, þe gentylls, þe marchandes, and þe re- 20 menaunt of þe kynges subgitz, eche man to his owen cuntrey and masyouns, þe whiche rehercen and tellen to þeire wyves, þeire children, and þeire servantz, and given hem pleine ensample and clere instrucc[i]on of þeire kynges noblesse, and by þis introduc- 25 tion encressen honoures, graces and gode gouernances in re- gions.

## [Capitulum x]

**Howe þe princes shal puinyshe þe wrong and kepe þe truwe |**

KYnge Alexaundre, it is appertenyng to your estate imperial [f. 9<sup>v</sup>] for to puinyshe þe yveldoers, boþe by ioust iugement and be right, 30 to execute justice affter þe fourme and tenure of þe suggestion veritable of þe compleynant, and in many cas to respite þe duytees of heos subgetz and perdounes, and fynde þe ease covenable to alle heos subgitz. Which shal beo þe supportacion and þe famous glorie of þemperour excellences, by þensaumple of þe reavme of 35 Ynde, þat is so wyse, so iustely, and so prudently governed, þat þe lande is so replenished of al maner of marchandyse, by þe

4 innumerable] u and first minim of m over corr. o  
 acceptable þat daye 30 be] beo

5 acceptable] ac-

renomee of þe princes governaunce, þ[our3-ou]t þe coursse of alle parties adiacens, what of people, what of godes, so many, so noble, and so ryche, and so reasonable pryce bought and solde, by þe reporte of merchandes þe wheoche so honorabully blasen þe hye  
 5 polecye of þe prince, of alle maner of rule and governement by trouþe and right, þat þeire goodes, þeire estates, all maner of worldely suffisaunce þer haboundeþe, encresceþe and multeplyeþe, þat woundre is to be thought. þe whiche þinge palpabully sheweþe þe hye polecye of þe prince consell, and first of gode en-  
 10 sample of him-self, causeþe all, and is þe first spring and welle, and begynniyng principal, þat alle þe rentes and þe revenuz royalls beon waxen, groven, and in any wyse multeplyed. And þerfore þeos eorþely princes shoulde with alle favourable moyens forbere and suffir in supportacion and in þe help of alle þeire  
 15 subgitz, by whome þeire seignuries beon so labourde and borne vp. þer it proveþe wele, þat þe cuntrey is gode þat haþe gret recourse of merchandes, with þeire merchandyse, þe kynge is more worshiped, þenmys beon troubled and tremble, and peysible quiete, concorde and love [haþe] þe prince at his ease.

20

[Capitulum xj]

**Howe þe princes shoulde kepe justyce and beo mercyfull |**

[f. 10] LEove and moste glorious Emperrou, for þe love þowe owest souerainly to þe eternal God and Maker of alle thinges, holde justice, and take þou none hede, ne reche þee nouzt, to encresce  
 25 þy noble estate in geting of thinges corumpable. And þou shalt weel vnderstande, þat þyne nobley, þy prudence, þy trouth, þy gret imperial estate, stondeþe principally, by doctrine and clere inspeccion of alle maner instruccion of alle oþer fadere þat man  
 30 haue herde of, or ellis cane rede off, first in foure thinges þat beon ful rightfull and reasonable, prudent, ioust, and covenable for þe renommee of þe prince, for his enduree moste laudable to alle heos subgetz and þe oþer, of þe worlde in his circuyte. þat  
 is to thenke, in þe first vertue of þe foure, of þe princes encresce, and exaltacion of his fame and honnour, [þat] is to seye, obedyence  
 35 and loyale religion; ferme and truwe loving, for þe secounde; for þe thridde, circumspecte and honestee in alle thinges; and, for

1 þour3-out] þat                      7 haboundeþe] doþe haboundeþe                      11 be-  
 gynniyng] *intended form perh.* begynniyng, *but cf.* 212/19, 215/18, 222/4-5  
 19 haþe] &

þe feorþe, duwe reverence and clene, in duwe places, to hem þat hit belongeþe to, and tyme acustomed and necessarie. O Alexandre, tourne þy duwe benyvotence to þe soules of þy subgites. Take away þe iniuries and þe vnrightwysnes frome hem. Give no mater of oblocucion to þe people of þi governaunce, for litel thing of þy 5 desires, for þe noys of þe people lightly boþe loveþe and spekiþe amysse, and þer-fore contene þe alweyes so þat no maner man may seye reproche ageinst þee, and þerby þou shalt eschuwe þeire ymagin[a]cions to þy reproche. And knowe þowe, discrecion of þy prodommee is glorie of dignytee, reverence of lordship, þe whiche 10 is þe exaltacion of þemperour and al his empeyre. And þy moste souereine prudence is, and may beo, þat þy reuerence of þy subgetz dwelle to-geder in þerthes of þy subgetes to-fore love.

Capitulum xij

Off þe fynal entencion of emperours, kynges and prynces | 15

MOste excellent and redouted precious Emperour, remembre þe [f. 10<sup>v</sup>] neode and þe miserable necessité and feble indigence of þy poure subgetz, and of þy comfortable clemence supponayle hem. Chese one of þy wel-loved servauntz, or officer þat cane speke þe langage þat þey beon off, and of gode eloquence, loving rightwysnes, 20 and þat is wele willing to fullfille þy wille and desires, mercyfully to governe and perfourne, to helpe and execute, and in suche thinges, and oþer semblables werkis of vertue and of charité, is þe kinges comandementz, gladnesse of þe peple, and þe plesaunce of þe Creatour of alle thinges eorþely. And whane any famyne, 25 necessité, or indigent derth or scarcesité, fortuneþe or falleþe in þyne empyres landes or regyouns, amonge þy subgittes, wherby gret hungre or thrust or pouerté emperissheþe, destroieþe, or makeþe hem destroyed or lost in any wyse, or in defaute of money, victayle, or of any oþer godes, to þeire hele or releve opun þane 30 þe coffres of þy tresore or riches of golde, of silver, of iouayles, þy garnners of greynes, of cornes, þy bernes [of] heye and forages, þy celliers of þy diuers wynes and drinkes, þy warderobes of þy cloþes for borde and backe to were, þy parkes, þy pastures, with

|                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1 feorþe] f (written ff) over a corr. | 2 Outer margin nota per Shirley                         |
| 4 away] away frome hem                | 9 ymaginacions] ymaginecions 11 of                      |
| þemperour] of repeated                | 14 Capitulum xij] in outer margin of f. 10 <sup>v</sup> |
| 15 emperours] emperuros               | 23 is] is is 31 iouayles] y corr. from                  |
| another letter, apparently i          |   |

alle þyne oþer necessities, for þy subgettz to live by. In helpe  
 and sustentacion of þyne subgettes, and of þy charité, with gode  
 wille departe it with him. For þe love of þy verraye Creatour so  
 departeþe to þee so largely of Heos glorious haboundaunce, and  
 5 leueþe it to þee. þus þine royal and imperial magnificence shal  
 beo mainteynde in prosperitee. þus þy name and þine excellent  
 wisdame shal be knowen amonge þe peple, þe whiche shal vniuer-  
 sally gif þee laude, and ever obeye, love and drede þee, and ever-  
 more shoule feere to displese or disobeye þee, or any of þyne,  
 10 in tyme comyng.

[Capitulum xiii]

**Of þe vertuous and holly clemence of þe prynces |**

[f. 11] NOwe glorious and excellent Emperour, full oft syþes I haue  
 taught and warned þee, and yitte ageine I counselle, teche, and  
 15 warne þee, þat þou observe and kepe my doctryne, þe whiche if  
 þou kepe and observe, þou filoweste streght þyne owen wille, and  
 þy kyngdame shal durably last, videlicet, þat is to seye, spare  
 þe blode of man-kynde to shedde, for þat longeþe to God alloone,  
 þat knoweþe þe secrete and þe hidde thinges of mans herte. Ne  
 20 take þou not to þe þoffice of God, for it is not given to þee to knowe  
 þe priuee counseyle of God. And þer-fore eschuwe þou, in als-  
 muche as þou canst, to spille mans bloode. For þat solempne  
 doctour Hermogines wrote, seying, 'Whane þe same thing created  
 sleeþe þe creature lyke to him, þe vertues of heven shoule crye  
 25 to þe Hye Magesté, seying, "Gode Lorde, þi servant and bondeman  
 wol beo lyke to þee." For if he slee vnrightfully, þe Hye Maker shal  
 leve him þat sleeþe and forsake him. And þane þe Hye Maker,  
 "For he haþe sleyne, and þer-for is [vengeaunce to] Me, and I  
 shal quite it." And ever in alle þy[r] lovinges þe vertues of heven  
 30 shal represente to þee Lord þe deth of him þat is sleyne, til þat  
 He haþe done and take vengeance of him þat is sleyne, þe whiche  
 shal beo condempned to þe everlasting peyne of helle.' Firþermo,  
 Alisaundre, I haue taght þee to-fore þis, þou knowest weele, alle  
 þe knowlegge of alle yvelles. Drawe to þy knowlegge þe behaving  
 35 of alle þy forþebringers, and departe of yvell thinge frome þat  
 oþer, and þer-of þou may drawe ful many gode ensamples. þe  
 dedis þat beon passed shal give þee teching. Despice þowe never

18 shedde] *first d corr. from e*  
 dictam B 56

28 is vengeaunce to Me] *Mihi vin-*

þe lower þan þy-self, for þe pouer man may by fortune come to gret  
ricchesse and become worþyer þane þowe, to desese þee. Bewar,  
Alisandre, to breke þy feyth, for þat longeþe to yonge folkes and to  
yvel governed wymmen. For by feyth and troupe is assembled of  
peple þe multytude, enhabiting of citees, comvning of vertues, 5  
lordship of þe princes. By feiþe, castelles and citees beon holden  
and kepte, and by feith men beo knowen frome wylde beestes.  
And Hermogines, þat doctour, seyþe | that þere beo two spiritis [f. 11<sup>v</sup>]  
þat kepen þee, þat one on þy right syde, þat oþer on þy liffit syde,  
þat knowen alle þy werkis and decreve[n] hem to þi Creatour, al 10  
þat þowe haste wele governed þee inne. And do þou þy peyne  
to with-drawe al þy reaume frome alle thing in-honeste, and þat  
þou resteine hem oft for to swere, but if it beo by force of gret  
neode, and principally þat þou kepe þe behestes of þy mouþe  
and of þy seel. For breking of covenantz of princes, with þer 15  
adiacentz, haþe beon þe desolacion of hem-self by þeire alies and  
gode freondes. And also, noble Emperour, studye to ordeine  
vniuersitees, studies, and scoles, for to leorne of þe noblest  
sciences to enriche þy reaumes by þeire conninge, and beo to hem  
þeire prerogatyff and support. For þe gret gode þat shal filowe by 20  
þensaumple of þeire besye and honneste ocupacion, give hem of  
þi gode, to-fore oþer scoliers. For by hem also þy governance shall  
be in memoire perpetuata by scriptures in þeire librarijs. þis  
maner is to be preised, for it was first þe vp-areysing of alle Grece,  
by þe meene of þat vniuersal cité of Athenes, of þeire sciences þere 25  
so studied.

### Capitulum xiiiij

#### Of þe gode regiment of þe princes for þeire bodely hele

O Alexandre, I wol not hyde ne kepe frome þee my medecinal  
doctrine, but I shal shewe to þee some secretes þat shal suffice to 30  
þee, þat þou shalt neode no leech. For þe conservacion of þy body  
is better þane any medecyne. For it is to wit al-so, þat þer is no  
wey to knowe any thing, or to do anything, but if it beo by þe  
power of clere vnderstanding. And power of mans persone cane  
not be hade but by might of heele. And heele cane not beo hade 35  
but by equalité of complexiouns, and þer may be no manere of  
compleccion but by temporance of humours, and conservacion of

8 two] *tw corr. from th*  
*slip for decrevet(h)*

10 decreven] *decreved, perh. intended form or*

hele, and oper thinges to beo hade, þe whiche God shewed by  
 reuelacion to Heos holly prophetis and rightwyse, þe wheche He  
 chase before and shewed by þe spirit of þe devyne sapience, and  
 endowed hem with þe dowers of connyng. Ab istis, filosofres  
 5 þat folowed filosoficalli þe principal begynniynge haden, Per-  
 [f. 12] syanes, Juwes, Grekes and Latynes. | Of þeos nacions conyng  
 þey dranke, and wrote sciences crafftes, and of many oper thinges  
 needfull to man in þis worlde. For in þe scriptures of hem was  
 founden no falsede, none vnkunnyng, no reproef of frivoles, but  
 10 ever of wyse and vertuous men, ever sich approved, taughte,  
 and byleved. And who þat so beo, þat is cause of his owen losse,  
 muche raper he shal leue til oper þe cause of losse, for þat at we  
 hawe chosen, þat same we love, and þat we desiren and entenden.  
 Never-þe-leese, we shal wele wit and vnderstande, þat God al-  
 15 mighty amonges þe Grekes enflawmed to þe seching and learning  
 of sciences and of þe kyndes, þe natural sciences to beo koned  
 more to hem at þe begynnyng of þe worlde þane til some oper  
 nacions, affter [þ]influence of þe heven. And if inspiracion of  
 þe celestial hevens with devyne influence affter þe disposicions  
 20 of þis lowe eorþe, might not be holden approbate, and also  
 beleved and taught by þe truwe remembraunce of scriptures lefft  
 here amonges vs, what cane mans wit thenke þat is folowing  
 credible?

### Capitulum xv

#### 25 Of þe consecracion of sapience of heele for mans persone

PEople were assembled and come to-geder of þe moste naturale  
 and renomd philosophre[s] þane beeing on lyve, for to determyne  
 for a principal conclusion medecinable. þe wheoche of one assent,  
 by congruence of þeire studye, þat at þey hade learned or herde,  
 30 [acorded] þat þe worþyest creature of þis midel eorþe, vnder  
 Criste, made affter His ymage, is man, composed of þellementes, of  
 þe foure contraire humours, þat ever nedeþe norissinghes and  
 passiones and moystours. þe whiche if þey wanted, þe substance

4 connyng] *intended form perh. connyng, but cf. 212/19, 215/18, 218/11, and  
 l. 5 below*      5 begynniynge] *cf. l. 4 above*      18 þinfluence] *ms. indistinct:*  
*apparently jinfluence, but poss. þinfluence*      32 humours] *elementis,*  
*nay but humours*

shoulde be corupte, and if in þees were vsed superfluité or dymin-  
 cion, þane it should renne in-to infirmitee, feoblenesse and many  
 oþer gret inconveniences. And if medecine were temporately [take]  
 þer shoulde beo founde helpe, reformacion of þe pacient body,  
 and of al his substance, heele. And þerfore þey acorded to-gedir þat 5  
 he þat passeþe þe duwe maner | of Aristotle in þe fulle or in þe [f. 12<sup>v</sup>]  
 voyde, in slepinges or wakinges, in moevinges or in restis, in leting  
 þe bloode, in dissolucion or withholding of þy wombe, in with-  
 drawing or withholding of blode, he may not escape seeknesse of  
 seeke furores, hevynesses, and many oþer incidences of seeknesses 10  
 and of some intollerable, inportable, or incurable firmitees and in-  
 firmitees. Alle þe saide filosofres acorded also þat he þat eschuw-  
 eþe and kepeþe him frome superfluytate and excesse, and of  
 indigence, keping moderatly equalité and temporance, he shal haue  
 heele hollye, and longe dayes. And I, forsopþe, fonde noone of þe 15  
 filosofhor[es] þat blamed þees sentences, þat is to sey, þat alle  
 þe delitefull thinges wheþer þey beo delites or ricchesses, honoures  
 or loustes, alle þey beo desired and coveited of mankynde for þe  
 durabilité of þe man. And þerfore who-so þa desireþe for to haue  
 longe lyffe and ioyous, late him studie and thenke to gete þat 20  
 thinge þat acordeþe durabull and convenyent to preserve holsome  
 and longe lyff, and forsake his owen propre appetytes and  
 never putte mete vpon mete withe full stomake, but wit gode  
 appetite and degestioun of voide stomake. I haue herde of Ypocras  
 þat he conserued by gode mesure heos dyetes, for þe which he 25  
 kepte his body feoble. To whome oone of heos desciples saide,  
 ‘O noble doctour, and þowe wolde weele ete, þou shouldest not  
 sustene so muche feobulnes of þy body.’ To whome Ypocras  
 aunswerd and seide, ‘I wol ete to lyve, and not to lyve for to ete.’  
 Norisshing for feobulnesse is for to seche, but no feobulnesse for 30  
 norisshing. I haue knowen many hole þat lyteld of þeire foode and  
 [made] abstinence of þeire appetytes, sparing glotonye and living  
 temporately by dyetes, þat by þat moyene were ful hoole of bodye,  
 of longer wirching of lyff, of gode appetyte, and lighter. þe which  
 is proeved in Arrabyens walking by desertes and longe weyes. For 35

7-9 in leting þe bloode, in dissolucion or withholding of þy wombe] in  
 dissolucion of his wombe, in leting þee bloode, in dissolucion or withholding of  
 þy wombe                      10 seeke] seekee                      16 filosofhores] philosophorum  
*perh. form intended. Outer margin* Nota per Shirley.                      17-18 ricchesses,  
 honoures or loustes] ricchesses, honoures or ricchesses loustes                      22 appetytes  
 and lykinges] appetytes and appetites

þat is soþe thing and manifeste argument, to abstene þee frome  
to miche eting and superfluité is þe souereine medecyne generally.

**Et sic explicit Decretum Aristo[te]lis.**

*3 Explicit followed by And begynneþe þabstracte Brevyaire compyled of diuers  
balades &c. Catchword xiiij crossed through and I substituted, although next leaf in  
fact f. 13*

VI  
VIa  
VII  
VIII

## VII

# THE BOOKE OF THE GOUERNAUNCE OF KINGES AND PRINCES CALLED THE SECREET OF SECREETES

Translation from a French version of the  
Abbreviated Tripolitanus text;  
second half of the fifteenth century.  
From University College, Oxford MS. 85,  
fols. 36-68 (pp. 70-134)

Numbering in this manuscript is by pagination, not foliation; page-numbers are therefore here given in the outer margins immediately below the folio-numbers. Where necessary for distinctiveness, readings from the manuscript are designated in the footnotes by the sigil U

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## VIa

### The opening pages of LE LIURE DU GOUVERNEMENT DES ROYES ET DES PRINCES, APPELLE 'LE SECRET DES SECREES', LEQUEL FIST ARISTOTE AU ROY ALIXANDRE

From Cambridge University Library MS. Ff.1.33 (fols. 3-10); this French version of the Abbreviated Tripolitanus text is the presumed basis of John Shirley's translation (VI), *The Governace of Kynges and of Prynces*

With corrections and variants supplied from:

H British Library MS. Harley 219

R British Library MS. Royal 16.F.x

V text printed by Vérard, Paris, 1497

G text printed in Gilles de Romme, *Le mirouer exemplaire*, Paris: Guillaume Eustace, 1517, sig. P5r-S1v

Where necessary for clarity of distinction in the footnotes, the reading of MS. Ff.1.33 is designated by the sigil F. Readings from the later pages of this manuscript are also occasionally given in the footnotes to texts no. VII and VIII.

## VIII

### ROBERT COPLAND, THE SECRETE OF SECRETES OF ARYSTOTLE

Printed 1528

From the unique copy in the Cambridge University Library (STC 770)

With a selection of variant readings

taken from the unique copy in the Folger

Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C., of Anthony Kitson's  
reprint, *The Secrete of Secretes*, 1572 (STC 770(a)) and from the  
unique copy in the British Library of Robert Wyer's fragmentary  
reprint, *The dyfference of astronomy* (STC 6837)

W = Wyer, *Dyfference*

K = Kitson, *Secrete of Secretes*

Where necessary for clarity of distinction in the footnotes,  
Copland's readings are designated by the sigil C

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## VI

### THE GOVERNANCE OF KYNGES AND OF PRYNCES CLEPED

### THE SECRETE OF SECRETES

Translation by John Shirley, about 1450, from a French version  
presumed to be that in Cambridge University Library MS. Ff.1.33

Transcribed from British Library MS. Add. 5467, ff. 211-224<sup>v</sup>

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[f. 3] C'est le liure du gouvernement des roys et des princes, appelé  
'Le secret des secrés', lequel fist Aristote au Roy Alixandre.

|   | Number of<br>chapter in<br>list of<br>contents | Page in this<br>edition |
|---|--|-------------------------|
| Cy apres s'ensuit l'ordonnance et<br>les reb[r]iches des chapitres de ce liure<br>5 et premierement le prologue d'un<br>doteur en recommandant Aristote | j  | 252                     |

[THE SECRETE OF SE-/CRETES, CONTAINING THE /  
most excellent and learned instructions / of Aristotle the prince of  
Philosophers: / which he sent to the Emperour, King A-/lexander:  
very necessarye and profitable / for all maner of estates and  
degrees. / With some instructions in the / ende of this booke, 5  
touching / the iudgment of Phi-/sognomie.

Lordes and maisters, wise and honourable,  
Of this said booke make oft a loking glas:  
For ye shal find it good and profitable,  
With wisdom to bring your nedes to passe: 10  
Make your entent, as the auc[toures] was,  
Which grounded it on right hie grauiti[e],  
Counselling you to lyue in equitye.]

1-13 *Supplied from K, f. A1, which continues: IMPRINTED AT LON-  
don by VV. VVilliamson for An-[thony Kitson, dwelling in / Paules  
Churchyard at / the signe of the / Sunne. 1572. A1 missing in C  
10-12] bracketed portions illegible K*

And thus here endeth the boke cleped Les Bones Meures [f. 211]  
and [begynneth] the boke named The Gouvernance of  
Prynces, seyde The Secrete of Secretes, the whiche Aristotle  
made, and direct hit to Alexandre the grete conqueroure of  
the worlde. 5

[H]ere begynneth The Gouvernance of Kynges and of Prynces, in  
this boke filowyng, cleped The Secrete of Secretes, which Aristotle  
wrote to Kyng Alisandre. And then nexst foloweth the ordenances  
of the titles of the chapitres of this boke. And first the prologe of  
the doctour that translated this same story oute of Grece into 10  
Frensh. And out of Frensh into oure moders tonge by youre  
humble suget and seruyture Johan Shirley in the last | dayes of his [f. 211v]  
grete age, so as his ignorant feblesse wolde souffise, which recom-  
mendeth and submitteth to the noblesse and the supportacion of  
youre excellent discession to correct, adde and amonuse, there 15  
as youre fauourable gentylesse best liketh. The which first doctoure  
and translature recommandeth Aristotle that was full worthy

6 and of] *prec. by seid, crossed through* 12 *From this page onwards  
recurs the running title The governance of kynges and of prynces, the first section  
of the phrase on the versos, the second on the rectos* 15 *amonuse] intended  
form perh. amenuse*

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|  | Number of<br>chapter in<br>list of<br>contents | Page in this<br>edition |
|--|--|-------------------------|
| Une espitre que Alixandre enuoia<br>a Aristote | ij   | 260                     |
| La reponce d'icelle espitre                    | iiij   | 262                     |
| Le prologue d'un docteur appellé               |  |                         |
| 5 Philipe qui translata ce liure en latin      | iiij   | 264                     |

| The table   |    | Page in this<br>edition | [f. A2] |
|---|----|-------------------------|---------|
| ¶ The prologue of a doctour in recommen-<br>dacyon of Arystotle the prynce of<br>phylosophres | a. | 253                     | 5       |
| ¶ An epystle that Alexander sent to Arys-<br>totle  | b. | 261                     |         |
| ¶ The answer of the sayd epystle  | c. | 263                     |         |
| ¶ The prologue of a doctour named Phylp<br>pat translated this boke in to latyn               | d. | 265                     | 10      |

1 Table at end of book, sig. L3 f. K

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| Number<br>of chap-<br>ter in<br>list of<br>contents | Chapter no.<br>in actual<br>text, where<br>this differs<br>from no. in<br>list of<br>contents | Page in<br>this<br>edition |
|---|---|----------------------------|
|---|---|----------------------------|

forto be recommaunded as for  
oone of the most and best philo-  
sophre and astrologien that euer  
was tofore this day.

j ii 253

First an epistel that Kyng Alex-  
andre wrote to Aristotle, that  
solempne clerk

ij iii 261

Then the aunswere of that epistle  
fro Aristotle to Alexandre

iiij iv 263

The prologue of the doctoure  
Philip that translated this boke  
into Latyn

iiij v 265

5

10

6 Aristotle] Alexandre nay bot to Aristotle: see n.



|  |     | Page in this<br>edition |    |
|--|-----|-------------------------|----|
| [C An epystle sent to kyng Alexandre by<br>Arystotle.  | b.] | 269                     |    |
| C The maner of kynges touchynge largesse.              | e.  | 281                     |    |
| C Of largesse & auaryce & dyuers other<br>vices.       | f.  | 287                     | 5  |
| C Of vertues & vices & of þe doctryne of<br>Arystotle. | g.  | 293                     |    |
| C Of vnderstandynge.                                   | h.  | 295                     |    |
| C Of the fynall intent þat a kyng ought to<br>haue.    | i.  | 299                     | 10 |
| C Of þe harmes that folowe fleshely desyre.            | k.  | 303                     |    |

b.] *this sigil re-used thus in body of text*

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|   | Number<br>of chap-<br>ter in<br>list of<br>contents | Chapter no.<br>in actual<br>text, where<br>this differs<br>from no. in<br>list of<br>contents | Page in<br>this<br>edition |                |
|---|---|---|----------------------------|----------------|
| [Aristotle nowe thus writethe to<br>that glorious prince Alexandre] |   | vi  | 269                        |                |
| Of the maner of kynges touchyng<br>largesse                         | v   | vii   | 281                        |                |
| Of larges and of avarice and of<br>moo vices                        | vj  | viii  | 287                        | 5              |
| Of vertues and of vices after<br>the doctryne of Aristotile         | vij   | ix  | 293                        |                |
| Of the naturall vnderstandyng                                       | viii  | x   | 295                        |                |
| Of the vnderstandyng fynable  <br>that a kyng shold haue            | ix  | xi  | 299                        | 10<br>[f. 212] |
| Of the yvelles that folowne by<br>carnall desires                   | x   | xii   | 303                        |                |

1-2 item om. in list of contents; heading here supplied from body of text  
5 avarice] avarices

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|  | Number of<br>chapter in<br>list of<br>contents | Page in this<br>edition |
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| De la saigesce et ordonnance du roy              | xj   | 304                     |
| De la proudommie du roy, religiun et<br>sainteté | xij  | 306                     |
| De la pourueance du roy                          | xiiij  | 308                     |
| 5 Des vestemens du roy                           | xiiiij   | 312                     |
| De la contenance du roy                          | xv   | [Text as given in       |
| De la justice du roy                             | xvj  | this edition ends.]     |

|  |    | Page in this<br>edition |   |
|--|----|-------------------------|---|
| ☞ Of þe largesse & ordynaunce of a kyng.           | l. | 305                     |   |
| ☞ Of þe manhood of a kyng/relygyon/&<br>holynesse. | m. | 307                     |   |
| ☞ Of þe pourueaunce of a kyng.                     | n. | 309                     |   |
| ☞ Of the vesture & clothyng of a kyng.             | o. | 313                     | 5 |
| ☞ Of the countenaunce of a kyng.                   | p. | 315                     |   |
| ☞ Of the Justyce of a kyng.                        | q. | 317                     |   |

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|   | Number<br>of chap-<br>ter in<br>list of<br>contents | Chapter no.<br>in actual<br>text, where<br>this differs<br>from no. in<br>list of<br>contents | Page in<br>text |    |
|---|---|---|-----------------|----|
| Of the wisdom and the largesse<br>of the kyng and his ordenance   | xj  | xiii  | 305             |    |
| Of the prodonomee of the kynges,<br>religioun and holynesse       | xij   | xiv   | 307             |    |
| Of the purveyance of the kynges<br>wit, his estate and his person | xiij  | xv  | 309             | 5  |
| Of the stately clothyng and the<br>royal abiliment for the kyng   | xiiij   | xvi   | 313             |    |
| Of the honest and conuenyent<br>countenaunce of the kyng          | xv  | [ <i>Text breaks off.</i> ]   |                 | 10 |
| Of the justice and rightwisnes of<br>the kyng                     | xvi   |   |                 |    |

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|   | Number of<br>chapter in<br>list of<br>contents |
|---|--|
| Des desirs mondains                         | xvij   |
| De la chasteté du roy                       | xviiij   |
| Des esbatemens du roy                       | xix  |
| De la discrecion du roy                     | xx   |
| 5 De la reuerance du roy                    | xxj  |
| Comment l'en doit soubuenir a ses<br>subgés | xxij   |

|   |    | Page in this<br>edition |   |
|---|----|-------------------------|---|
| ☉ Of wordly desyres.                              | r. | 317                     |   |
| ☉ Of the chastyte of a kynge.                     | z. | 317                     |   |
| ☉ Of the sportyng of a kynge.                     | ∫. | 319                     |   |
| [☉ Of the dyscrecyon of a kynge.                  |    | 319                     |   |
| [☉ Of the reuerence of a kynge.                   |    | 321                     | 5 |
| ☉ How a kynge ought to remembre his<br>subjectes. | s. | 323                     |   |

2 1] rounded r C

3 ∫] long s C

|  | Number of<br>chapter in<br>list of<br>contents |    |
|--|--|----|
| Of the kynges worldely desires                                 | xvij   |    |
| Of the chaste and trew lyuyng of<br>the kynge                  | xviij  |    |
| Of the disportes and playnges of<br>the kynges                 | xix  | 5  |
| Of the discession and wisdom of<br>the kynges                  | xx   |    |
| Of the reuerences of the kynges<br>and thobedience             | xxj  |    |
| Of the kynges supportacions to<br>his gode and trewe subgettes | xxij   | 10 |

3-5 xvij and xix] in margin, xx and xxj, respectively, beside each; below:  
cuncta capitula ord[in]e obiret.

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|                                       | Number of<br>chapter in<br>list of<br>contents |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| De la misericorde du roy              | xxij   |
| Des paines                            | xxiiij   |
| De la congnoissance d'icelles poines  | xxv  |
| [f. 3 <sup>v</sup> ] De la foy garder | xxvj   |
| 5 Des estudes                         | xxvij  |

|                               |    | Page in this<br>edition |   |
|-------------------------------|----|-------------------------|---|
| ¶ Of the mercy of a kynge.    | t. | 323                     |   |
| ¶ Of paynes.                  | v. | 325                     |   |
| ¶ Of þe knowlege of the same. | u. | 325                     |   |
| ¶ Of the keypyng of faythe.   | x. | 327                     |   |
| ¶ Of studyes.                 | y. | 329                     | 5 |

5 y.] *no punct. C*

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|  | Number of<br>chapter in<br>list of<br>contents |                        |
|--|--|------------------------|
| Of the mercy, grace and perdon<br>of the kynge                     | xxijj  | [f. 212 <sup>v</sup> ] |
| Of the peyns, ponysshementes<br>and imprisonmentes of the<br>kynge | xxiiij   | 5                      |
| Of the ful knowyng of all thoo<br>gouernances                      | xxv  |                        |
| Of the feyth and the trewe as-<br>surance of the kynge             | xxvj   |                        |
| Of the vniuersitees, studies, and<br>scoles of the [reavme]        | xxviij   | 10                     |

1 mercy] *preced. by canc. mer, to the r of which a long curling downstroke had  
erroneously been added*      8 Of the] *the repeated*      11 reavme] *studies*

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|  | Number of<br>chapter in<br>list of<br>contents |
|--|--|
| De la garde du roy                               | xxviiij  |
| De la di[f]era[nc]e d'astronomie                 | xxix   |
| De la garde de santé                             | xxx  |
| Du gouuernement des mallades                     | xxxj   |
| 5 En quantes manieres on peut<br>garder sa santé | xxxij  |
| Des diuerses viandes                             | xxxiiij  |
| De l'estomac                                     | xxxiiiij                                       |

2 diferance] diseraïne F; *chapter-heading, fol. 16, is* De la diference du roy; difference HV

|   |     | Page in this<br>edition |                       |
|---|-----|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| ☞ Of the garde of a kynge.                    | z.  | 329                     |                       |
| ☞ Of the dyfference of astronomy.             | &   | 331                     |                       |
| ☞ Of the keypyng of helth.                    | ʒ   | 333                     |                       |
| ☞ Of the gouernaunce of seke folkes.          | &c. | 335                     | 4                     |
| ☞ How many maners a man may kepe<br>his helth | A.  | 335                     | [f. A2 <sup>v</sup> ] |
| ☞ Of dyuers meates for the stomake.           | B.  | 337                     |                       |
| [☞ Of the stomake.]                           |     | 337                     |                       |

2-4 In place of letters, compositor has here used as sigils the ampersand, the abbreviation sign for -orum, and the abbreviation for et cetera: but in body of text the signs used are, respectively, the ampersand, the rounded r, and the abbreviation for -orum

|   | Number of<br>chapter in<br>list of<br>contents |    |
|---|--|----|
| Of the keypyng and the sure<br>gouvernement of kynges | xxviiij  |    |
| Of the desseuerance of astro-<br>nomye                | xxix   |    |
| Of the keypyng of hele and of ease                    | xxx  | 5  |
| Of the gouernance of maladies<br>and sekenesse        | xxxj   |    |
| Of dyuerse metes after the sey-<br>sons               | xxxij  |    |
| Of how many maner of wises<br>man may kepe his hele   | xxxiiij  | 10 |
| Of the stomake for his naturall<br>degestion          | xxxiiiij                                       |    |

10 Of how] *prec. by canc.* Over: *see n.*

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|  | Number of<br>chapter in<br>list of<br>contents | Number of<br>chapter in text<br>in manuscript,<br>where different<br>from number in<br>list of contents |
|--|--|---|
| Des signes pour congnoistre<br>l'estomac | xxxv.  |   |
| Une espitre de grant pris                | xxxvj  |   |
| De la maniere de trauailler              | xxxvij   |   |
| 5 [La maniere de mangier                 |  | xxxviiij]   |
| De abstinence                            | xxxviiij                                       | xxxix   |
| De non boire eau pure                    | xxxix  | xl  |
| De la maniere de dormir                  | xl   | xlj   |

5 Chapter-heading supplied from position in text, f. 19<sup>v</sup>: omission in the table of contents causes discrepancy thereafter between numbering of the chapters in it and in body of text.

|    |   | Page in this<br>edition |      |
|----|---|-------------------------|------|
| [C | The sygnes to knowlege þe stomake.]     | 337                     |      |
| C  | An epystle of grete value.              | 337                     | C.   |
| C  | Of the maner of trauayle.               | 339                     | D.   |
| [C | Of the maner of eatynge.]               | 34I                     |      |
| C  | Of abstynence.                          | 34I                     | E. 5 |
| C  | How pure water ought not to be dronken. | 34I                     | F.   |
| C  | Of the maner to slepe.                  | 34I                     | G.   |

|   | Number of<br>chapter in<br>list of<br>contents |                |
|---|--|----------------|
| Of the signes and the knowlege of<br>the stomake      | xxxv   |                |
| Of an epistle of grete prise of<br>wisdom and lernyng | xxxvj  |                |
| Of the maner forto labore and<br>travaile             | xxxvij   | 5              |
| Of the dewe and covenable<br>abstynence of men        | xxxviii  |                |
| Of the eschewyng forto drynke<br>water al-one         | xxxix  | [f. 213]<br>10 |
| Of mesurable and holsom tyme<br>of slepyng            | xl   |                |

9 f. 213 begins with matter of 241/12-243/4 repeated, *canc.*

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|  | Number of<br>chapter in<br>list of<br>contents | Number of<br>chapter in text<br>in manuscript,<br>where different<br>from number in<br>list of contents |
|--|--|---|
| De garder sa coustume                            | xlj  | xlij  |
| Comment l'en doit garder et<br>changier coustume | xlij   | xliij   |
| Des quatre temps de l'an                         | xliij  | xliiij  |
| 5 De prins temps, quel il est                    | xliiij   | xlvi.   |
| De [esté temps] et quel il est                   | xlvi   | xlviij  |
| De [auptonne] et quel il est                     | xlviij   | xlviij  |
| De yuer et quel il est                           | xlviij   | xlviij  |
| De la chaleur naturelle                          | xlviij   | xlix  |
| 10 Des choses qui engressent le<br>corps         | xlix   | l   |
| 6 esté temps] auptonne                           | 7 auptonne] este temps                         |   |

|   |    | Page in this<br>edition |    |
|---|----|-------------------------|----|
| ¶ The maner to kepe a custome.              | H. | 343                     |    |
| ¶ How one ought to change his cus-<br>tome: | J. | 345                     |    |
| ¶ Of the .iiii. seasons of the yere.        | K. | 345                     |    |
| ¶ Of prymetyme/and what it is.              | L. | 347                     | 5  |
| ¶ Of somer/and what it is.                  | M. | 347                     |    |
| ¶ Of haruest/and what it is.                | N. | 349                     |    |
| ¶ Of wynter/and what it is.                 | O. | 349                     |    |
| ¶ Of naturall heate.                        | P. | 35 <sup>1</sup>         |    |
| ¶ Of thynges that fatteth the body.         | Q. | 35 <sup>1</sup>         | 10 |

2 This is last item in K as extant: f. L<sub>3</sub><sup>v</sup> ends with this, and catchword Of of next item. L<sub>4</sub> is missing

|   | Number of<br>chapter in<br>list of<br>contents |    |
|---|--|----|
| Of thobseruance and keyng of<br>his custumable governance   | xli  |    |
| Of the foure seysons of the yere<br>and theyre attemperance | xlii   |    |
| Of the pryme temps and what it is                           | xliij  | 5  |
| Of wynter and what it is                                    | xliiij   |    |
| Of atumpne and what it is                                   | xlv  |    |
| Of somer and what it is                                     | xlvj   |    |
| Of naturall hete  | xlviij   |    |
| Of thynges that change the body<br>with gretenesses         | xlviiij  | 10 |

9 hete] hete And knowe the soth: see n.

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|   | Number of<br>chapter in<br>list of<br>contents | Number of<br>chapter in text<br>in manuscript,<br>where different<br>from number in<br>list of contents |
|---|--|---|
| [Des choses qui amaigrissent le<br>corps] |  | liij  |
| [De la premiere partie du corps]          |  | liiij   |
| De la seconde partie du corps             | 1  | lv  |
| 5 De la tierce partie du corps            | lj   |   |

<sup>1</sup> This chapter omitted in list of contents; title supplied from chapter-heading in text, f. 24<sup>v</sup>; in the text this chapter and the two following occur out of place, on fols. 24<sup>v</sup>-25<sup>v</sup>, following chapters li and lii (on fols. 23<sup>v</sup>-24<sup>v</sup>): hence they are there numbered liij and lv.

|   |  | Page in this<br>edition |
|---|--|-------------------------|
| ☞ | Of thynges that maketh the body leane. | R. 353                  |
| ☞ | Of the fyrst parte of the body.        | S. 353                  |
| ☞ | Of the seconde parte of the body.      | T. 353                  |
| ☞ | Of the thyrde parte of the body.       | V. 355                  |

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Number of  
chapter in  
list of  
contents

|                                       |      |
|---------------------------------------|------|
| Of the secunde partye of mans<br>body | xlix |
| Of the thirde parte of the body       | 1    |

---

|                                  | Number of<br>chapter in<br>list of<br>contents | Number of<br>chapter in text<br>in manuscript,<br>where different<br>from number in<br>list of contents |
|----------------------------------|--|---|
| De la quarte partie du corps     | lij  |   |
| Des manieres des poissons        | liij   | lvj   |
| De la nature des yauues          | liiij  | lviiij  |
| De la nature du vin et du bon et |  |   |
| 5 du mauuais qui s'enssuit       | lvj  | lix   |
| Du siropt                        | lvij   | lx  |

5 qui s'enssuit] *these two concluding words of the chapter-heading occur on a separate line from the words preceding, and this chapter has been accorded two separate chapter numbers: De la nature . . . mauvais is numbered lv, the words Qui s'enssuit are given the number lvj. I omit the number lv rather than altering all following numbers, which refer to chapters not included in this ed., and which, furthermore, do not correspond to the actual numbering in the body of the text*

|  |    | Page in this<br>edition |   |
|--|----|-------------------------|---|
| ☞ Of the fourth parte of the body.               | X. | 355                     |   |
| [☞ Of naturell heate.]                           |    | 357                     |   |
| [☞ Of the qualytees of meates.]                  |    | 357                     |   |
| [☞ Of the nature of fysshe.]                     |    | 359                     |   |
| [☞ Of the nature of waters.]                     |    | 359                     | 5 |
| [☞ Of the nature of wyne.]                       |    | 361                     |   |
| ☞ Of the goodnes & harme that cometh of<br>wyne. | Y. | 363                     |   |

4 numbered Y in body of text  
6 numbered B in body of text

5 numbered A in body of text  
7 numbered C in body of text

Number of  
chapter in  
list of  
contents

|   |       |   |
|---|-------|---|
| Of the foure partie of mans<br>body                 | lj    |   |
| Of the maner of fisshes and of<br>their naturis     | lij   |   |
| Of the nature of divers waters                      | liij  |   |
| Of naturis of wyne, of the gode<br>and of the badde | liiij | 5 |

|                                    | Number of<br>chapter in<br>list of<br>contents | Number of<br>chapter in text<br>in manuscript,<br>where different<br>from number in<br>list of contents |
|------------------------------------|--|---|
| De la fourme et maniere de justice | lviiij   | lxj   |
| [f. 4] Des secretaires du roy      | lix  | lxij  |
| Des massaiges du roy               | lx   | lxiiij  |
| 5 Du gouvernement                  | lxj  | lxiiiij   |
| De la phi[z]o[n]omie des gens      | lxij   | lxv   |
| Du liure de santé                  | lxiiij   |   |

4 massaiges] *body of text*, fol. 30<sup>v</sup>, has *messaigiers*; *messagiers* HV (both with *messagers* in *body of text*); R has no list of contents, but in *body of text* reads *messagrs* for *messagers*

6 *phizonomie*] *phinozomie* F; *chapter-heading* in *body of text*, fol. 31<sup>v</sup>, reads *phisonomie*; *phizonomie* V; R (in *body of text*, f. 20<sup>ra</sup>) has *philosomie*.

|    |                                   | Page in this<br>edition |   |
|----|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|---|
| ☉  | The forme and maner of Justyce.   | A 365                   |   |
| [☉ | Of kynges secretaryes.]           | B 373                   |   |
| [☉ | Of kynges messagers.]             | C 373                   |   |
| [☉ | Of the gouernynge of the people.] | D 375                   |   |
| [☉ | Of the physonomy of folke.]       | E 377                   | 5 |

Thus endeth the table. |

1 *A] numbered D in body of text*  
 3 *C] numbered F in body of text*

2 *B] numbered E in body of text*  
 4 *D] numbered G in body of text*

Number of  
chapter in  
list of  
contents

|   |       |                        |
|---|-------|------------------------|
| Of the chesyng of the secretaries<br>for the kynges | lv    | [f. 213 <sup>v</sup> ] |
| Of the messages from the kynges                     | lvj   |                        |
| Of the jugement of phisonomyes                      | lvij  |                        |
| Of the content of the boke of hele                  | lvijj | 5                      |

[f. 36] Here begynneth the Booke of the Gouvernaunce of Kinges  
 p. 70 and Princes, called the Secret of Secreetes, whiche was  
 first made by Aristotle to Kynge Alexander.

The prologe of a doctoure recommending Aristotle

5 GOd allmighty preserue oure kynge and the prosperité of his  
 true subgites, and stablissch his reame to the perfeccion of the feith  
 of Criste, to reigne and endure to the exaltacion, laude and worship  
 of the kynge and alle the lande. I that am seruaunt to the kynge  
 haue put his commaundement to effectuell execucion and haue  
 10 yiu en cause of oparacion to geete the booke of good and vertuous

Cy finent les reb[r]iches du liure du gouvernement des  
 roys et des princes

¶ Prologue du docteur en recommandent Aristote .j.

5 Dieu tout puissant vueille garder nostre roy et la gloire de ceulx  
 qui croient en lui, et conferme son royaume pour prendre la loy  
 de Dieu, et le face regner a la exultacion, louange et honneur des  
 bons. Je qui suis seruiteur du Roy ay mis a ex[e]cucion son com-  
 mandement, et ay donné euure d'aquerir le liure des bonnes meurs

[a.] ¶ The prologue of a doctour in recommendacion of Arystotle [f. A3]  
the prynce of phylosophers.

GOd almyghty saue our kynge/ & the glory of all his frendes, and conferme his realme in the faythe of god. And cause hym to reygne in thexaltacyon, prayse/ and honour of his people. I whiche am 5  
seruaunt to the kynge haue put in execution the werke of his commaundement/ in getyng a boke of good maners to his

And thus here endeth the rubriches of the chapitres of this boke of the Gouvernance of Kynges, with Prologe of the doctour translated it, &c., recommaundyng Aristotile.

### Capitulum ij<sup>m</sup>

Almighty God kepe oure souerain lord Kyng of England and 5  
of Fraunce, and of all his trewe and humble subgettes, that they live in prosperité and ferme pece, and graunt to his excellent and noble estate, and all hem vniuersally and singularly to confourme hem lastyngly ever, vnder humble and perfite obeisaunce vnder the Cristen faith of oure dere Lord Criste Jhesu. The which make 10  
and graunte to oure said souerain Lord to reigne and governe to the exaltacion, lovyng and honoure of all gode. I that am servant of the kyng have here put in execucion his hie commaundement, and have putte in warke to sech and rede the boke called | 'Of [f. 214]

4 *This, and all subsequent chapter-numbers and -headings, in side margins.*  
5 Almighty] guide-letter a in space provided for decorated initial. So with opening word of subsequent chapters, no decorated initials being inserted. In one case, indicated below, space provided is left blank, and opening word given in entirety after this space. In another two cases indicated catch-letter omitted 9 vnder humble] vnderhumble

condicions to the gouernaunce of his royall persoone, whiche was made by the prince of philisophers Aristotle, to the noble emperoure Alexandre, sonne to Kyng Philipp of Grece. And this booke ma-  
 [f. 36<sup>v</sup>] de the seid Aristotle in his olde age and debelitee of  
 P. 7<sup>i</sup> his persoone, be-cause he might nat laboure to perfourme the  
 6 commaundement that Alexander had yiuen him in charge. For Alexandre loued him, and made him maistre and gouernoure aboue all othir, because he was a man of grete wysdome and noble wy[tt]e. The whiche Aristotle laboured all-wey withoute cessing to vnder-  
 10 stand and knowe the vertuous condicions and spirituell wysdomes contemplatiue and charitable. And also he was right wyse and lowelye, and loued reson and justice, and rapoorted euer reson and trouth. And therfore diuers of the philosophers reputed him

8 wytte] wysdome

---

au gouernement de lui, lequel liure est nommé 'Secret des secrés' et le fist le prince des philosophes Aristotes filz de Mahommet de Macedomniere [a] son disciple l'empereur Alixandre [lequel] eut deux couronnes. Et ce liure fit le dit Aristotes en sa viellece et en  
 5 sa feblece de son corps pour ce qu'il ne pouoit trauailler ne cheuauchier ne faire les besounges que Alixandre lui auoit enchargiés. Car Alixandre l'auoit fait maistre et gouerneur par dessus tous, et l'amoit moult pour ce qu'il estoit homme de tres bon conseil et de tres grant charge et de soubtil entendement et  
 10 tousiours estudioit sens cesser les bonnes et gracieuses meurs et les sciences spirituelles et contemplatiues et charitiues. Et si estoit moult saiges et humbles et amoit raison et justice et touziours rapourtoit verité et loyauté. Et pour ce plusieurs philozophes le

3 Macedomniere] *six minims between o and the following e* F Macedoine GR  
 Macedoyne H Macedone V a] et FG *and substant.* R a HV lequel] *om.* F  
 lequel RVG *and, substant., H*

gouernaunce. The whiche boke is called the secrete of secretes/  
 made by the prince of phylosophres Arystotle the sone of Mahon-  
 net of Macedony/ to his dysciple þe emperour Alexander sone of  
 Phylyp kynge of Macedony the which Alexandre had two crownes.  
 This sayd boke Arystotle compyled in the oldenesse of his body/ 5  
 bycause that he might no more trauayle nor ryde to do suche  
 besynesses as Alexander had put in to his charge. For Alexandre  
 had made hym governour and mayster aboue all other bycause he  
 was a man of veray good counsell/ of grete clergy/ and subtyll  
 vnderstandyng. And incessantly studyed good & gracyous maners/ 10  
 & scyences spyrytuall/ contemplatiues/ and charytables. He was a  
 wyse man/ & meke/ louynge reason and Justyce/ & euer reported  
 ryghtwysnesse & trouthe. And therefore many phylosophres repute

13 ryghtwysnesse] righteousnesse K (*regular substitution, not indicated  
 hereafter*)

God Maniers' vnto the keypyng and governance of hym, the which  
 boke is named 'The Secrete of Secretes', the which [made] the  
 Prynce of Philosophres, cleped Aristotle, the sonne of Maheu-  
 met of Macidomnere, and his discipule the emperoure Alexandre,  
 which bare two coronas. And this boke made that Aristotle in his 5  
 age and feblesse of his body, bicause that nature souffised not  
 in hym to take the peyn of laboure, ne to ride ne for to perfourme  
 such thynges as Alexandre had charged and gyven to hym in com-  
 maundement. For Alexandre had made hym governoure and  
 maister above all other, and loved and trusted hym full much, 10  
 bicause that he was a man of gode counseile and subtile vnder-  
 standyng, and all his live put hym-self to studying, and noght  
 cessed, vpon gode and gracious maners, and vpon the science[s]  
 spirituall[s] and contemplatives and charitablez. And he was full  
 wise and meke, and loved reison and rightwisnes, and ever more 15  
 he reported all trouthe and sothnes. And therefore many philo-

3 cleped Aristotle] *blank space separates these two words* 16 many]  
*prec. by conc. may Phi.*

of the nommbre of prophetes, saying that they had founde in diuers bookes of Greekes that oure Lorde sent to him His moost excellent angell whiche seid that God wolde make him to be called by the world more angell than man. And wite ye well that Aristotle  
 5 in his lyving made divers tokenys and signes right merueilous whiche shulde be longe to reherce. And also in his deth he made many straunge werkes. For the whiche a religious companye of peep<sup>e</sup> called Pipatike seid and heeld oppinion that he was rauyysht vp to heuen in the semblaunt of a dowe of fyre. And during the lyf  
 10 of the seid Aristotle, Alexander thurgh his good counseill submisid and conquerid alle landes, and had euer the victorie ayeinst his

1 nombre] *intended form perh.* nombre

reputerent du nombre des prophetes et disoient qu'il auoit trouué en plusieurs liures des gres que Dieu lui auoit enuoié son tres excellent aignel qui lui dist, 'Je te feray nommer par le monde plus  
 [f. 4<sup>v</sup>] angle que homme'. Et saiches que le dit Aristote fist | en sa vie  
 5 moult de signes, estranges euures et miracles qui seroient longues a racompter et auxi en sa mort si fist moult d'estranges euures pour ce que vne religion et compaignee de gens qui se appeloient paripatique disoient et tenoient ceste oppinion qu'il auoit esté monté ou ciel en fourme d'une columbe de feu. Et tant que le  
 10 dit Aristote vesqui, Alixandre par le conseil dudit Aristote subiuga toutes terres et eust vittoire contre tous et aquist seigneurie

5 de signes . . . miracles] designes . . . miracles F (*articles, etc. joined to following nouns: see vol. ii*) de signes les quieulx durent estranges œuures et miracles R des signes lesqueux furent estranges oeures & miracles H de choses & de signes qui furent ourages moult estranges, comme miracles V de signes, lesquelz furent estranges oeures, et miracles G 7 ce] *inserted above line*  
 8 paripatique] par ipatique F; paripatique R *and, substant.* H perypathetiques V

hym of the nombre of prophetes. And say þat they had founde  
 dyuers bokes of the grekes which god had sent hym by his moost  
 excellent aungell/ saynge to hym. I shall make þe to be called in  
 þe worlde more an aungell than a man. And wyte ye þat Arystotle  
 dyde in his lyfe many sygnes whiche were straunge in werkes & 5  
 mer-|uayles/ whiche were to longe to be accompted. Before his [f. A3<sup>v</sup>]  
 dethe he dyde many straunge werkes. Wherefore a relygyon &  
 company peryadyc sayd & helde opynion that he had ben in heuen  
 in lykenesse of a douue of fyre. And as longe as he lyued Alexander  
 ouercame all þe worlde through his counsell. And all landes by the 10

3 hym.] cf. 265/5, 325/12 and 17, 363/31 and n., 369/28, 377, 36; but see  
 299/7, 369/10, and 371/16 9 fyre.] no punct. (at end of line)

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sophres reputed hym of the noumbre of profettes, and seid that he  
 had foundon in many bokes of Grece, of Egipt, and of the  
 Ebrayeux, that God had sent hym his glorious aungel that said to  
 him, 'I shall | make the called by all the worlde more aungel then [f. 214<sup>v</sup>]  
 man'. And wit ye well that this Aristotle made in his live many 5  
 stronge sygnes, warkes, and miracles, that sholde be longe forto  
 reherce, and att his deyng did right stronge and grete dyuersitees.  
 Bicause that, a religion and a companye of folk that cleped hem  
 'Paripatik' said and helde this opynion, that he had passed to  
 heuen in the fourme of culuer of fure. And whilst that Aristotle 10  
 lived, by his counseil and his excellent propre chiualous corage,  
 he surmounted, and subdeued in conquest, all the circuyte of  
 this world, and of all landes had soueranit , and victories above

enmyes, so that he gate the lordshippes of alle the worlde. And alle reames and nacions he subdued vnder his emperiall commaundement. And the seide Aristotle made many faire pistles for  
 4 to yive Alexander knowlege of the secreetes. And whan Alexandre  
 [f. 37] had conquerid the reame | of Perse, and sett alle the grete lordys  
 P. 72 of the lande in prison, he sent a pistle to Aristotle in the fourme folowinge.

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de tout le monde. Et par toutes terres, a la renommee de lui, et de toutes nacions, furent soubmises a son imperilité et a son commandement, mesmement de ceulx de Peresse [et] Arable, ne ne furent gens nullez qui osassent resister en-contre lui ne en dit ne  
 5 en fait. Et fist le dit Aristotes maintes belles espitres pour l'amour qu'il auoit eu a Alixandre. Et vne de ses espitres est cy desoubz escripte laquelle il enuoya au dit Alixandre. Car quant Alixandre eut subiugé ceulx de Peresse et mis les plus haulx hommes du pais en ses prisons, i enuoya vne espitre a Aristote en la fourme qui  
 10 s'ensuit.

fame of hym/ were put vnder the imperyall commaundement/ & in  
 lykewyse they of Perce/ & Araby. And there was none þat durst  
 gaysay Alexander/ in worde nor dede. And þe sayd Arystotle  
 made many goodly epystles for þe loue þat he had to Alexander/  
 & for to cause hym to knowe all þe secretes/ he made an epystle 5  
 here vnder wryten/ þe which he sent to Alexander. And whan  
 Alexander had ouercome þe realme of Perce & set þe moost of them  
 in his prysons/ he sent an epystle to Arystotle whiche foloweth.

2 And] and

3 Arystotle] arystotle

all other erthly criaturs, and his passyng renomme[e] spradde  
 above all nacions and mans re[gi]ou[ns], and subduwed at his  
 hie commaundementez and imperiall imperialitté. And they of  
 Persse, of Ynde, of Arabie, ne generally none other, durst neyther  
 in worde ne in wark withstond hym in no wise. And for the entire, 5  
 speciall and pryncipall love that he had euer to Alexander, he  
 made many solempne, faire and fructuous [epistles] to the kyng  
 Alexandre, of the which one seweth next folowyng, that he wrote and  
 sende to his lorde Alexandre. For when Alexandre had subdewed 9  
 hem of Perse, and the grettest | of the lordes of hem had in his [f. 215]  
 prison, he wrote an epistle to Aristotle, this epistle folowyng.

1 renommee] renommes  
 prec. by *canc.* wis  
 2 regions] creatours: *see n.*  
 5 withstond]  
 10 hem] *prec. by canc.* hym  
 grettest] *form*  
*intended possibly grettestes: cross-stroke of t foll. by long downstroke as of contract.*  
*-es but word is at line-division and at foot of page, and the sign is commonly otiose*  
*in this ms.*

### Epistle sent by Alexander to Aristotle

DOctoure of justice and moost noble rectoure, we certifie to thy grete wysdome that we haue founde in the reame of Perse diuers men whiche ben of habundant wysdome and reson, and of grete  
 5 and subtile vndirstandinge. And they weene to haue dominacion a-bouen alle othir, and to conquere alle landis. For the whiche cause we purpose to put thaim to deth. Natwithstandinge, sende us woorde by writinge that thou seemyst best and moost expedient to doo in the premisses.

### Vne espitre que Alixandre enuoya a Aristote

.ij.

Dotteur de justice et tres noble recteur, nous segnifions a ta grant saigesse que nous auons trouué ou royaume de Peresse plusieurs  
 5 homs lesquelz habondent tres grandement en raison et entendement subtil et penestratif. Et cuident par dessus autres auoir seigneurie et acquerir tous royaumes pour qui nous auons tous entencion de les mettre tous a mort. Toutes fois, ce que bon t'en semblera nous vailles par tes lettres signifier.

b. ¶ An epystle þat Alexander sent to Arystotle.

DOctour of Justyce & right noble phylosopher we sygnyfy to thy hygh wysdome/ þat we haue sen[e] in þe realme of Perce many men, whiche habounde gretly in reason/ & vnderstondyng/ subtyl & penetratyfe. Wherefore al we haue intencyon to put them to deth. 5 Howbeit as thou semest best sygnyfy vs by thy lettres.

1 Alexander] alexander

3 sene] sent CK

### Capitulum iij<sup>m</sup>

#### This epistil Alexandre sende to Aristotle

Doctoure of justice and full noble gouernoure, we do signifie to thy grete wisdome that we have found in the reavme of Percy many men the which habundon gretely in reison full subtyll and p[e]n[e]stratyf, and wene to have lordeship above other, and to gete all reavmes. For the which cause we haue full entencion and clere purpos forto put all to deth. But by any wise all that there semeth gode in this mater signifie hus by your lettres with all godely possibull hast. 10

6 penetratyf] prenostratyf

wene] *ins. above canc.* wennen

### The answeere of the seid pistle

IF thou may chaunge the aire of the erthe and watirs and ordinaunce of the citees, than fulfill alle thyne desire. And yf thou may nat doo it, cesse thy-self and refrayne thy desire, but reule  
 5 and gouerne thaim in thy goodnesse, and exalte thaim in thy benignitee. And yf thou doo so, I trust by the grace of God that they shall be alle thy true subgites for to perfourme all thy pleasures and commaundementes. And for the loue that thei shall haue to the, thou shall reigne vpon thaim pesiblely in grete victorie. And  
 10 whan Alexandre had seen this pistle, he founde through the counseill of Aristotle the reame of Perse more obeisaunt to him than ony othir nacion. |

### La responce d'icelle espitre

.iij.

Se tu peus changier et muer l'air de ta terre et l'iaue et l'ordonnance des cités, acompli tout [t]on desir et se tu ne le peus fere cesse toy et n'en fay riens. Maiz les gouerne en ta bonté et les  
 5 excaulce en ta begninité. Et se ainsi le faiz i'ay esperance a l'aide de Dieu que tous seront tes bons subgiés a tous tes bons plaisirs et commandemens. Et pour l'amour qu'ilz aront en toy tu regneras |  
 [f. 5] sur eulx paisiblement en grant vittoire. Et quant Alixandre eut veue ceste epistre il fist second le conseil de [Aristotes et] ceulx de  
 10 Peresse [furent] plus obeissans a Alixandre que autre nacion.

3 acompli] et accomplir F; so, substantially, V; accompli R and, substantially, HG. The different version represented in B.M. Additional MS. 18. 179 reads (f. 5) adonc accompie ton pourpos hardiment, but the e of accompie is written over an r ton] son 9-10 Aristotes et ceulx de Peresse furent] le conceil de ceulx de Peresse F, ceulx de Perse & furent V, ceux de Perse plus obeissans H and, substantially, R

c. ¶ An epystle þat Arystotle sent to Alexander.

YF thou can/ moeue & chaunge the ayre frome þe erth/ & water/  
 & þe ordynance of thy cytees to accomplysse thy pleasure. Yf  
 thou can [not] do it ceas of & | do it not/ but gouerne them in thy [f. A4]  
 goodnesse/ and exalt them in benygnyte. And yf thou do thus I 5  
 hope with the grace of god that they all shall be thy frendes to all  
 thy good pleasures and commaundementes. And for the loue that  
 they shall haue in the/ thou shalt peasybly reygne ouer them in  
 grete vycory. ¶ And whan Alexander had red this epystle/ he  
 dyde after his counsell/ and they of Perce were more obedyent to 10  
 hym than to ony other nacyon.

2 No initial woodcut, but Y supplied as catch-letter can/] no punct.

### Capitulum iiij<sup>m</sup>

Thanswere of Aristotile made to Alexandre, vpon the  
 [receite] of this lettre

[A]lexandre, yf thou maist chaunge and meve theire of thy  
 land, the water and thordenances of citees, and fullfille and ac- 5  
 complissh all thy desires well, then thou maist be avised, and elles,  
 cesse of thy surquydous pruyde and vnstaunchable coveitise, but  
 governe the peple of thyne obeysaunce in benygnité, and enhance  
 hem with thy bounté. And yf thou thus dowe, I have hope that  
 by the grace of God that all they shalbe thy trewe subgettes, to 10  
 all thy gode pleisours and commaundementes. And for the love  
 that they sholde have [thee] in, thou shalt reigne above hem  
 peisibully with grete | victorye. And when Alexandre had seen [f. 215<sup>v</sup>]  
 this answeare, he made the peple of Percy more obeisant then any  
 other nacion, thus doynge by the avise and counseile of Aristotile. 15

3 receite] answeare      4 Alexandre] *guide-letter a missing*      7 vnstauncha-  
 ble] *prec. by canc.* vnstable      15 doynge] *prec. by canc.* doyg

[f. 37<sup>v</sup>]  
P. 73

**The prologue of a docture callid Philipp whiche translated  
this booke in to Latyn**

PHilipp which translated this booke was sonne to Parys and was  
right wyse interpretatoure, and vnd[i]rstandinge all langages.  
5 Which Philipp seide in this wyse: I haue nat knowen nor redde  
nothir temple nor othir place where the philosophers haue accus-  
tumed to doo and vndoo all thaire operacions and secreetes, but I  
haue sought it, nor I haue herd of no wyse man that had vndir-  
standinge in the science of philosophye but I haue visited him,  
10 vnto such tyme as I had knowledge [of] the Sun which made  
Exculapideos. And at the last I fand a solitarie man full of grete  
abstinence, and kunnyng in philosophye, wham in right lowly  
wyse I besought that he wolde shewe me by writinge the knowlege

**Le prologue d'un docteur appellé Philipe qui translata ce  
liure en latin .iiij.**

Philipe qui translata ce liure fu filz de Paris. Et fu tres saige  
entrep[r]eteur et entendeur de toutes langues et dit ainsi: Je n'ay  
5 sceu ne lieu ne temple ou les philozophes estoient acoustumés de  
faire toutes euures et tous secrés que je n'aie serchié ne n'ay nul  
saige homme par qui ie seuce qu'il eut congnoissance des escrip-  
tures des philozophes que ie n'aye visité jusques a tant que ie  
vins a la congnoissance du souloil laquelle fit Exculapidos, et  
10 trouué vn homme solitaire plain de tres grant abstinence et tres  
saige en philozophie auquel me humiliay diligemment et sup-  
plyai deuotement qu'il me monstrat les escriptures de la congnois-

¶ The prologue of a doctour named Phylp that translated this boke in to latyn. d.

PHylp that translated this boke in to latyn was a chylde of Parys/ & was a veray wyse interpretour & vnderstander of languages/ & he sayd thus. I haue not knowen nor seen tyme that the phylosophers haue holpen/ or haue ben acustomed to helpe or to make all werkes or all secretes but that I haue sought/ nor haue knowen by no man by whome I knewe that he had knowlegyng of þe scryptures of Phylosophers/ but I haue vysited hym vnto þe tyme þat I came to þe knowlege of counsell/ þe whiche was Estulapideus/ & a man solytary & of grete abstynence/ and veray wyse in phylosophy/ to whom I meked me dylygently, requyrynge hym that he wolde shewe to me the scryptures of the knowlege of the sonne/ the whiche he gawe vnto me/ with a ryght good

2, 3 in to] into K      5 tyme] so also K: see n.      6 holpen] holden K  
 10 counsell] so also substant. K: see n.      11 Estulapideus] ins. in narrow  
 space in small roman print K

### Capitulum v<sup>m</sup>

The prologue of the doctoure cleped Philip that translated this boke out of Grece into Latyn : beholde and rede it.

Philip that translated this boke, was borne and norished and fedde in the famous cité and vniuersité of Paris, and was a full and discrete interpretoure, and did [vnderstand] all maner of langage, that said thus: I have not knawen ne red in the temple where the philosophres were accustomed to rede to make all werkes and all secretes, but that I have sought ne founde, no wiseman by whome I wist that [he] had knowlege of the scripturs of philosophres, but that I have viseted hem, vnto the tyme that I saugh the counsance of the sonne, the whiche made that connyng philosophre Estulapides, where that I founde a man full solutarie, of full grete abstinence, pleyne and full wise in philosophye. To the whome I humbled me full diligently, and besought hym full devoutly that he wolde shew me the scripturs and the knowleges of the sonne, the

of the Sun, which thinge he deliured vnto me right gentilly. Wherynne I founde all that I sought, according to my desire. And whan I had all myn entent, I went home to my hous, thankinge and hertily yiving graces and laudes to my Creatoure. And afir  
 5 that, at the request of a moost noble kinge, with grete studie and labour I translated this booke out of Greeke in to Latyn, whiche booke was made by the right wyse philosophre Aristotle, whiche

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sance du souleil, lequel les me bailla tres volentiers. Et saiches que ie trouuay tout qua[n]que ie desiroie et tout ce pour quoy je estoie alé au dit lieu et tout ce pourquoy ie auoie lonc temps trauaillé. Et quant ie eus ce que ie auoie tant désiré ie m'en tourne a mon  
 5 hostel a tres grant joye et en rendi plusieurs graces a mon Creatour, et depuis a la requeste d[u] tres noble roy en grant estude et en tresgrant labour ie translaté ce liure de grec en caldee et depuis de caldé en langue arabique lequel liure fist le tres saige Aristote qui



undaunted fore And when that I had that  
 I had undaunted fore or desired then I went  
 me home to myn house with full quiet  
 and volve many thankes to god my  
 creature And after that at the request and  
 the full hie commaundment of the noble  
 King was grete study and diligent besyde  
 us. I have I have translated this booke out  
 of the literal language of Caldee into Ebradre  
 out of Ebradre into Greke Out of Greke  
 into Arabeshe out of Ebradre into latyne  
 out of latyne into frensch and out of frensch  
 now it is translated into ourre vnderstandynge  
 into moder tongue by yo<sup>r</sup> humble s<sup>r</sup>vant  
 in his last yeres and feble age John Evelyn  
 does submittynge both hym and the hie  
 simple worke to yo<sup>r</sup> honorable correction  
 supportacion And I am not where yo<sup>r</sup> wisdom  
 and gentlesse can be thynke there is neede for  
 that English is soe wise and hard  
 to applye in all the curiosite of the  
 fayne and language of frensch which  
 Amonge the multitude of this worlde is  
 moste vendred and desired the latyne in  
 his conuyncees above all other praised  
 and comended the same which dole don  
 Aristotles first studied made and compiled

wyll: | And surely I founde as moche as I desyred/ & all that I [f. A4<sup>v</sup>]  
 had ben about a hole yere/ & wherfore I had longe tyme trauayled.  
 And I thus hauynge my desyre retorned home with grete ioye/  
 yeldyng thankes to god my creatour. ¶ And than at the request  
 of the moost noble kyng with grete study & labour I translated 5  
 this boke out of Greke language in to Caldees tongue & syth in to  
 the speche of Araby. The which boke the moost wyseman Arys-

which he toke hem me with gode will. And witteth well that I founde  
 that all that I desired, and all that for which I was so comen vnto  
 that place, and thyng that I had longe | travailled fore. And when [f. 216]  
 that I had that I had desired, then I went me home to myn hous  
 with full gret ioy, and yolde many thankynges to God my crea- 5  
 toure. And after that, at the request and the full hie commaundement  
 of the nobul kyng, with grete study and diligent besynes, as  
 I kouth, I have translated this boke out of the literal langage of  
 Caldee into Ebrewe, out of Ebrewe into Greke, out of Greke into  
 Arabesk, out of [Arabesk] into Latyne, out of Latyne into Frenssh 10  
 (and out of Franssh now it is translated into oure reude volgaries  
 moders tonge by your humble servitoure, in his last yeres and  
 febull age, John Shirley, ever submytting both hym and this his  
 symple warke to your fauourable correccion [and] supportacion:  
 and amende where your wisdom and gentillesse cane thynke ther 15  
 is nede, sith that Englissh is soo boistous and harde to applie in  
 all, after the curiosité of the fayre said langage of Franssh, which  
 amonge the multitude of this worlde is most renommed and desired,  
 the Latyne in his congruytees above all other preised and  
 commended), this same which boke Daun Aristotles furst studied, 20

4 desired] travailled fore or desired  
 Ebrayeke

10 out of Arabesk] out of

answered alle-vey to alle the requestes of Kyngé Alixandre, as more at large ye shall see here-aftir by ordre.

Most gloriouse sonne and right just Emperour, allmighty God stabliss the to haue knowlege of the wey of trouthe and vertuous  
 5 disposicions, and yiue the grace to refreyne the from all fleshly  
 [f. 38] desires and bestialles, and | conferme thy reame to His moost  
 P. 74 digne seruice and worship. Latinge the wite, moost deere son, that I haue resseyued thy pistle with worship and reuerence, and haue

8 with] whith, *altered from which*

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respondoit touziours a toutes les requestez du roy Alixandre que plus a plain pourries cy desoubz veoir par ordre.

**Cy nous dit après :**

Tres glorieux filz et tres [iu]stes Empereur, Dieu te conferme en  
 5 la uoie de congnoissance et les chemins de verité et de vertus, te  
 vueille demoustrer et te refraigne des desirs charnelz et bestiaux  
 [f. 5v] et conferme ton royaume a son | seruice et a son honneur. Saichiés  
 tres chiers filz, que i'ay receu ton fait reueraument et honnourable-

4 iustes] vistes F justes R *and, substant. HVG; cf. vigne for rigle 270/7*  
 8 fait] *ins. above*

tote made/ whiche answered alwayes to all the requestes of kyng  
Alexandre/ as more playnly appereth in this present boke.

b. ¶ An epystle sent to kyng Alexandre by Arystotle.

RYght glorious sone and ryghtwyse/ god conserue the in the  
walke of knowlegyng the wayes of trouthe & vertues/ and with- 5  
drawe thy carnall and beestly desyres/ & conferme [thy] realme  
to his seruyce/ & to thy honour. Letyng the wyte deere sone þat  
I haue receyued thyn epystle reuerently & honourably as it

3 b.] *sigil shared with section bearing similar title, on p. 261 above* 6 thy]  
his CK

made, and compiled | at the request of Alexandre the Grete, for [f. 216v]  
naturall disciplyne of hem that list to here and rede, as it sheweth  
filowyng by the ordre of the chapitours.

### Capitulum vj<sup>m</sup>

Aristotle nowe thus writeth to that glorious Prince Alex- 5  
andre

Full glorious sonne and full avised emperoure invyncibull,  
God conferme the in the waye of counsance, and the path of trouth  
and of vertuwes. I woll shew the and restreyn the from fleshly  
and bestely desires, and conferme thyne hie empire, thy riale 10  
reavmes and larges landes and provnyces to His service and  
worship. Witte thou, dere sonne, that I have receyved thy lettres  
and thy doynge reuerently an honourably as it apperteyneth,

clierly vndirstande the grete desire that thou hast that I might dayely be in propre persooone in thy noble presence, hauing the grete meruaile how I may so longe absent me from the, repreueing me, saying I reke litle of alle thy besinesse. For the whiche cause I  
 5 haue disposed me in all goodly hast to make a booke the whiche shall conteyne all my werkes, to the excuse of myn absence and defautes, which schall be a moost certeyn reule and doctrine to alle thy needys as well as though I were there present. Right diere sonne, thou shulddest nat put me to blame. For thou knowyst well  
 10 that I wold fayne come to the, alle excusacions laid aparte, sauf that I am so greef and heuy with age and so grete feblenes of my persooone, that I in no wyse may come to the. And for suche thinges as thou hast all-wey desired to knowe, thei ben suche secreetes that mannys wytte with grete peyne may conceyue nor compre-  
 15 hende thaim. How may they than in the hert of a mortall man be vndirstande, which thinge aught nat to be knowen nor publisst,

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ment si comme il appartient et ay plainement entendu le grant desir que tu as que ie fusse personnellement avecques toy, et te merueilles comment ie puis tant moy tenir d'aller par deuers toy. Et si me repreues moult et dis qu'il me chault pou de tes besoungnes.  
 5 Et pour ceste cause i'ay ordonné et me suis hasté de fere vn liure pour toy lequel pesera et contiendra toutes mes euures et suplira mon obstance et mes deffaux et te sera [r]igle et dottrine a toutes les choses que tu voudras et lesquelles ie te mostreroie sy ie yestoie present et avecques toy. Treschier filz, tu ne me dois  
 10 blasmer ne reprendre car tu ses bien que ie ne lairoie pour nulle chose du monde que ie ne venisse a toy sy n'estoit ce que ie suis tres grief et pesant d'aage et en grant foiblece de ma personne, pour quoy nullement ie ne puis aller a toy. Et saichez que ce que tu m'as demandé et que tu desires tant santir sont tieulx secrés

7 obstance] absence HV absence R    rigle] vigle F rigle V regle RH reigle G; cf. *vistes for iustes* 268/4    11 ie suis] *two minims, smaller than usual, between ie and suis: possibly mere filler for gap accidentally left*

apperteyneth/ and playnly haue vnderstande the grete desyre that  
 þu hast that I were personally with the. Meruaylyng how I can  
 absteyne me fro the. Reprouynge me of þat I care but lytel for  
 thy besynesses. For þe which cause I haue ordeyned & hasted me  
 to make a boke for the/ the which shall weye & conteyne all my 5  
 werkes/ supplyenge myn absence & defautes/ and shall be to the  
 a ryght certayne rule & doctryne in all thynges þat thou wyllst.  
 The whiche I will shew as I were presently with the. Dere son  
 thou ought not to repreue nor blame me/ for thou knowest well 9  
 þat for no thyng of | the worlde/ but that I wolde go to the/ and yf [f. B1]  
 were not þat I am so sore greued/ and laden with aege & weykenesse  
 of my persone/ wherby in no wyse I can go to the. And wyte thou/  
 that þe thyng which thou hast demaunded of me/ and that thou  
 so moche desyrest to knowe & haue is þe secretes that nature  
 humaynes thought scantly can compryse nor susteyne. How than 15  
 may in the hert of mortall man be wryten or vnderstande that  
 thyng that he ought not to knowe. And that thyng that is not

6 defautes/] defautes.

11 were] it were K

and pleynly vnderstond the grete desire that thou haste that I shold  
 be personelment with the, and that thou merveilest the gretely  
 that I may kepe me so longe fro the. Of the which reprevest me  
 much, and seist that I rech but litell of thy grete warkes. And  
 therfore I hast me, and purpos to make a boke for the, the which 5  
 shalbe more worthy to the [than] all myn other warkes or con-  
 [f]ectes, besechyng the that notwithstanding my defautes of  
 vnkunnyng or of absence, that thou may take my boke and | my [f. 217]  
 gode will in gree. For it shalbe rule and right doctryne lovable  
 to thee of all thynges that thou most aye desirest, the which shall 10  
 opunly and pleynly be shewed to thee as that I were ever present  
 with the. Right dere and glorious Kyng and sone, thou shalt not  
 blame me ne answeere, for thou wost well that I wolde for no  
 worldely thyng have been so longe fro thee, but that I wolde have  
 comen to the, ne had been that I am in grete age, and feble of my 15  
 person, for the which I may in no wise com to the. And witte it  
 well, that [thou] ha[st] asked of [m]e, and that desirest all forto

3 me<sup>2</sup>] repeated  
 3 sectes

6 to] *ins. above canc.* for

6-7 confectes] con-

17 thou hast asked of me] I have asked of the

nor it is nat my parte to declare it. Neuerthelesse, I am bounde by right and dutie to answere to thy demaundes. And also thou art bounde by thy wysdome that thou shall neuermore aske more than is conteyned in this booke. For yf thou reede it diligentlye, and  
 5 cleerly vndirstande and knowe all that is comprehendid therynne, withoute any doute thou shall haue al thy desire. For God hath given the suche grace of vndirstandinge, with notable wytt and discrecion, and also through the doctrine that I haue yiuē the  
 [f. 38<sup>v</sup>] before this tyme, | that by thy-self thou maist vndirstande and  
 P. 75 knowe all the perfeccion of thyn entent. For the grete and feruent  
 11 desire that thou shalt haue, will open the the weye forto come to thy purpose, and shall guyde to the effectuell conclusion of thy desire. And the cause why that I open the my secretes by derke examplēs and figures is this: I dreede that in tyme comyng this

que humaine pensee a grant poine les pourroit aprendre ne soubtenir: comment donc peut il ou cuer d'omme mortel estre deprimés ne entendu ce qui n'a-partient assauoir ne qui ne soit licite ne conuenable a traitier? Toutes fois, ie suis tenus par droit deuer  
 5 de respondre ad ce que tu me demandes. Et auxi tu es tenus par saigesse que tu ne me demandes jamais nulle chose fors ce qui est contenu en ce liure. Sans nulle doute tu auras ce que tu as desirés. Car Dieu te donne telle grace, tel entendement et subtillece de grant engin et de sience et auxi par la dottrine que ie  
 10 t'ay autres fois donnée, que par toy mesmes pourras conceuoir et entendre tout ce que tu desires et demandes et le sauoir. Car le desir de la grant volenté que tu yas te ouura la voie que tu auras  
 [f. 6] ton propos et te merra | a l'aide de Dieu a la fin que tu desires. Et saiches que la cause par qui ie te reuelle mon secret finiatiuement  
 15 et vng petit obstinnament et que ie te baille par obscurs exemples

2-3 deprimés] deprimez HR de exprimer V 4-5 par droit deuer de respondre] par droit deuoir de respondre H par droit deuoir respondre R de droit de respondre V par droit deuoir de respondre G 14 finiatiuement] see n.; figuraument R, figuratiuement HVG 15 obstinnament] obscurement HRVG

behouefull nor couenable to be spoken of. Howbeit I am bounde by  
 veray duety to answeere to that/ that thou demaundest. I shall neuer  
 other thyng shewe the/ but that whiche is wryten in this boke.  
 For yf thou rede it dyligently/ and vnderstande it playnly/ and  
 that thou mayst knowe þat is conteyned in it/ without doubt thou 5  
 shalt haue all that that thou desyrest. For god shall gyue þe suche  
 grace/ suche vnderstandyng/ and subtylte of grete wyt and scyence/  
 and also by the doctryne þat I haue gyuen the afore tyme/ that by  
 thy selfe thou mayst knowe & conceyue that whiche thou desyrest.  
 And þe cause why that I haue opened and related my secretes 10  
 figuratyuely & somewhat derkly/ & that I haue put obscure  
 examples/ and by fygures/ is that I doubt/ & feare moche that this

1 couenable] conuenient K

knowe, wit and fele, been such secretes that mans witte vnneth  
 without grete payne may knawe, lerne, ne comprehend, ne sus-  
 teine. How may hit then in the hert of mortall man be conceived  
 neyther vnderstonden such thyng as is not couenable ne apper-  
 tyment to be so knowe, and that it is not lefull forto trete of? And 5  
 yit I am by the right of God beholden to that thou askest of me. And  
 also thou art all beholden so much by wisdom that thou demaunde  
 me never no thyng but that at is contained in this boke. And with-  
 out doute | then shalt thou have that at thou hast desired. And [f. 217<sup>v</sup>]  
 graunte the such grace, such vnderstondyng, and such engynous 10  
 subtilité and science also and by the techyng that tofore this I have  
 taght the, that by thy selfe thou may conceyve and vnderstond all  
 that at thou desirest and askest forto witte and knowe. And know  
 that wherfore that nowe I shew to the my secret fynately and  
 a litill obstynatly, and that I woll by dirk ensignes and by figures, 15

1 witte] witte shall  
 thou askest of me.

6 And] *prec. by* And also thou art beholden to that  
 11 science also] *see n.*

14 nowe] nowe that

15 by dirk] -e at end of bye crossed through

booke might come to the handys of vntrue men, and in the power of thaim that ben of ill disposicion, which shuld vndirstande and knowe my secretes, to the whiche they ben vnworthy. Wherefore, truly, I doute me that I haue trespaced ayenst the will and pleisure  
 5 of God, for to open and declare to the His noble secretes. Natwithstanding, by the pleisure of His mooste digne grace I shall declare the this thinge at this tyme, lik as here-before He hath declared bothe to the and to me. Lating the wite, yf thou discouere and open these secretes which aught to be kept priuee, thou shalt  
 10 hastely haue many ywell fortunes, and thou shall nat be sure of the grete myscheeuys that may growe to the-warde, whiche God defende. And aftir alle this, haue in thy remembraunce this noble and profitable doctrine, whiche I make the redy and intende to expounde to the, and it shall be thi grete solace and mirroure of  
 15 saluacion.

Riight deere sonne, euery kinge most haue needes iiij thinges for to susteyne him-self and his reigne. But he may nat well haue

et par figures si est car ie doute qu'i-cilz ne vienne au mains des juuenceaux et a la puissance des arrogans et des mauuais et pourroient sauoir les grans secrés de Dieu. Et Dieu scet bien qu'il n'est mie dignes. Certes je fais doute que ie n'entrepasse la vou-  
 5 lenté et la grace de Dieu pour toy descouurer et reueller ses secrés, mais saiches que par la voullenté de Dieu te reueleré et discripré ceste chose ainsi comme il a esté autres fois de Dieu reuellé a toy et a moy. Saiches donc tres chiers filz ie te descripré les choses qui sont a seler et, les secrés reuellez, tu auras asses de mauuaises  
 10 fortunes et si ne pourras estre seur des grans maulx qui te sont a auenir. Mais Dieu tout puissant vueille garder toy et moy de telles choses et de toutes eures deshonestes. Après toutes ses choses ayes en memoire ce noble et proufitable enseignement que ie t'ay aparailé et entens a exposer et ton noble cuer enfermer, et ce sera  
 15 ton grant soulas et mi[r]ouer de salut. Il conuient, tres chier filz, que chascun roy ait deux choses qui soubstiennent lui et son royaume. Mais il ne les peult fermement gouuerner se n'est quant

6 reueleré et discripré] reuelle et desceure R *and, substant.* HVG  
 15 mirouer] misouer F miroueur H mireur R mirouer VG

boke sholde come to the handes of infect persones/ & in the power  
of arrogant & euyl folkes/ which myght knowe þe secretes of  
god. And god knoweth wel that they be not worthy. Certaynly I  
make grete doubt/ þat I in this trespace not þe wyll and þe grace  
of god. I do relate & dyscouer this thyng/ as it hath ben reuelate 5  
of god (or now) vnto [m]e. Wyte thou then ryght dere sone that I  
haue dyscouered to þe/ the | thynges that ben to be hyd. And yf [f. Br<sup>v</sup>]  
thou dyscouer these secretes/ thou shalt haue shortly euyl fortunes/  
and mayst not be sure from grete harmes that shall be comyng  
toward the. But almyghty god kepe the & me from suche thynges/ 10  
& from all dyshonest thynges. And after all these thynges haue in  
thy mynde this noble & prouffitable doctryne/ þat I make redy  
to the/ & intende to expose thy noble hert/ to informe it to thy  
grete solace/ as myroure of helth yf thou wylt apply þe therto.  
Moost dere sone it behoueth euery kyng to haue [t]wo thynges to 15  
susteyne hym & his royalme. But he maye not stedfastely haue

1 to] into K      6 me] þe C (*and, substant., K*)      7 ben] be K (*regular  
substitution, not indicated hereafter*)      15 two] owo C .ij. K

it is for I doute me that they ne com not to the handes of yonge  
folkes and the puissance of aragans and of yvel [that] may not  
knowe the grete secretes of God. For God knoweth well thay  
be not worthy. Certes, I doute me that I entre not in to the will  
of God and His grace, forto discover to the, and shew the, His 5  
secretes. Bot witte thou well that by the will of [God], I renouell  
and discouer to the tho thynges that been helde an-kepe, and  
discouer the secrete thynges. For thou shalt haue ynowe of yvell  
fortunes, and thou may not be sure of grete aduersitees and  
yvelles that been comyng to the. But God almyghty so kepe the 10  
and me of such thynges, and of all other dishonestees. After all  
thees thynges, haue in mynde this noble techyng that I have taght  
the, and intende yit forto tech the, and thy noble hert confourme  
it, the which shalbe to | the grete solas and hele. It behoveth, dere [f. 218]  
sonne, that every kynge haue ij thynges that shall sustene hym 15  
and his reavme. But he may not fermely governe hem and he that

thaim but whan he is obeied of his subgites, and that the subgites egally and holl with oon assent ben obeisaunt to the as to thaire lord. For thurgh the disobeisaunce of the subgites is the might and  
 4 power of the prince greetly lessid and weyked. And yf the subgites  
 [f. 39] reigne | the gouernoure may no thinge doo. And I shall shewe the  
 P. 76 cause why the subgites ben moost meeuid in thaire corage to obeye thair lord. There is ij causes. Oon is inwarde and a-nothir is outward. And as for that outward, is whan the prince dispendith wisely his richesse amonge his subgites, rewardinge euery man as  
 10 he is worthy. And therwith the kinge most haue a wyle wherof I shall make mencion hereaftir in the chapter of the vices and aides, that is to wite, the kyng eought to laboure to haue the hertes of his subgites by good operacions. And this is the first fundacion of his welfare which may be doon ij weyes, oon outward and the

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le gouverneur est avec ceulz qu'i doit gouverner, et celui qui resne est obeys des subgiés et que les subgiés soient egaument du courage et par vne mesme forme obeisans au seigneur. Car par la desobeissance des subgiés est moult afebliee la puissance du  
 5 seigneur. Et ce les [subgiés] regnent, le gouverneur ne peut riens fere et ie te monstreray la cause pour quoy les subgiés sont emus et encouragés d'obair a leur seigneur. Il [s]ont ij. choses, l'une est dedans, l'autre est dehors, et ie t'ay nagueres desclairié celle  
 [f. 67] de hors, c'est assavoir quant le seigneur dispence | saigement de  
 10 ses richesses a ses subgiez. Et qu'il ait euerés eu eulx en largesse en donnant a chascun selon ce qui sera dignez et avecques ce il conuient que le roy ait vne cautelle de laquelle ie feray mencion cy desoubz ou chapistre des vices et des aides. C'est assavoir que le roy se doit efforcier d'auoir les cuers de ses subgiés par bonnes  
 15 euures. Et ce cy est le premier degré et fondement de son fait et ce cy se peut faire par ij. choses, c'est assavoir l'une dedans et

5 ce les subgiés] celles *poss. for* ce iceles F se les subgez R *and, substantially*, HV 7 sont] font F

it/ but yf he haue good & grete gouernaunce of them that ought to  
 gouerne. And he þat reyngeth so is obeyed of his subgettes. And  
 his subgettes egally with one courage/ & by one selfe forme shalbe  
 obedyent to þe lorde. For by þe dysobedyence of þe subgettes  
 þe power of þe lorde is gretly feblysshed. And yf þe subgettes 5  
 reygne/ þe gouernaunce may nothyng do. And I shall shewe the/  
 þe cause wherfore þe subgettes ben styred & couraged to obey  
 theyr lorde. Two thynges ther is. The one is outwarde & þe other  
 inwarde. It is not longe syth I declared to the þat that is outwarde.  
 That is to wyte/ whan þe lorde spendeth wysely his rychesse 10  
 amonge his subgettes/ and þat he in them worke lyberalyte &  
 þat he gyue to echone as they be worthy. And therwith þe kynge  
 behoueth to haue a wyle/ wherof I shall make mencyon in þe  
 chapytre of vyces & helpes. That is to wyte that þe kynge ought  
 to enforce hym to get þe hertes of his subgettes by good werkes. 15  
 And this is þe fyrst degre & foundacyon in doying of his dedes by

3 egally] equally K (*this regular substitution, together with equal for egal,  
 not indicated hereafter*) 4 to] vnto K 8 lorde. Two] lorde. two  
 12 echone] eche one K

is above is obeyd of his subgettes, and that his subgittes be egaly  
 of will and corage, and by one same fourme, obeisant to their  
 lorde [What that the subgettes governe, the lorde ne can no  
 thyng dowe. And I shal shew to the that cause wherfore the  
 subgettes been moeved in their corages to been obeisant to their 5  
 lorde.] They be two thynges, that one is withynne, that other  
 is without. And I have nocht longe gone declared to the that  
 without, that is to saye, when the lorde dispendeth wisely of his  
 richesse till his subgittes, and that he have also anenst them  
 largesse in gyvyng to everich one after his desert and worthy[nes]. 10  
 And herwithal hit behoveth to have a cautele of the which I shal  
 make mynde here-after in the chapitre of vices and of aides, that  
 is to saye, that the kyng shall enforce hym forto have the hartes of  
 his sugettes by gode werkes. And this is the first degree and  
 grounde of his warke. And that may he dowe by two thynges, that 15

othir inward. That is outward, that the kinge shall kepe and mayteyne justice aftir the possessions and riches of his [s]ubgites and that he be pitefull and mercyfull. The cause inwarde is that he worship and haue in his tendre recommendacion the grete clerkes, philosophres and wyse men. For oure Lord God hath  
 5 yuen His noble science in-to thaire disposicion. And I recommend the this secret principally, with many othir whiche thou shalt finde hereaftir in this book, wherynne is conteyned by grete science and doctrine the finall conclusion of the principall purpose. For aftir  
 10 that thou hast vndirstand the significacions of the woordys, and the derknes of the ensaumples, than shalt thou haue hooly and perfityle alle thy desires. Beseching oure Lord moost gloriouse and moost souerayne Kyng, that He will enlumyne and endue thi reson and vndirstandinge, so that thou may clierly conceyue the

2-3 subgites] bubgites

7 secret] secretes

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l'autre dehors. La cause dehors est que le roy face et maintienne justice selon les possessions et richesses de ses subgiés et qu'il soit pitieux et misericors. La cause de-dans si est que les grans philosophes, clers et saiges il honnore et les ait pour recommandees.  
 5 Car Dieu leur a commandé la science. Et ie te recommande cestui secret principalement avecques plusieurs autres que tu trouueras en plusieurs et diuers chapistres de ce liure, que tu trouueras en iceulx tres grande science et doctrine et aux quelz est contenue la cause finable pour qui tu trouueras la cause de ton principal  
 10 propos. Car quant tu auras aperceu lez significacions des paroles de l'oscurté des exemples, lors auras plainement et parfaitement ce que tu desires. Cy pry a Dieu, tres saiges et tres glorieux roy, qu'il vueille enluminer ta raison et ton entendement affin que tu puisses et saiches apercevoir les secrets de ceste science et que en

.ij. thynges. One inward & þe other outwarde. The cause out-  
 warde is þat þe kyn[ge do/ & mayntene Justyce/ [over] þe pos- [f. B2]  
 sessyons & rychesses of his subjectes/ & þat he be pyteous &  
 mercyfull. The cause inwarde is þat he honoure grete lerned men/  
 & þat he haue them for recommended. For god hath recommended 5  
 them theyr scyence. And I recomende þe this secrete pryncypally  
 with dyuers other/ whiche thou shalt fynde in other chapytres of  
 this boke/ wherein thou shalt fynde grete wysdome & doctrine  
 & þe content of þe fynal cause wherby thou shalt fynde thy pryn-  
 cypall purpose. For in it thou shalte lerne þe sygnifycacyons of 10  
 þe wordes/ & obscurytees of þe examples. Than thou shalt playnly  
 & perfytely haue that/ þat thou desyrest. Wherefore pray to god  
 moost wyse & glorious kynge þat he wyll lyghten thy reason &  
 vnderstandyng to thende þat thou mayst knowe & perceyue þe  
 secretes of this scyence. And in þe same thou mayst be myn heyre 15

3 rychesses] riches K (*a regular substitution, which is not indicated hereafter*)  
 10-11 sygnifycacyons of þe wordes/ &] sygnifycacyons/ of þe wordes & C  
 significacions of the wordes, and K 14 thende] the ende K

is to say, that oone withynne, that other without. The cause with-  
 out is that the kynge dowe and mayntene justice after the pos-  
 sessions and the richesses of his subgittes, and that he be pitous  
 and mercifull. The cause withynne is this, that the grete philo- 4  
 sophres, clerkes | and wise, that he honoure hem, and to have hem [f. 218<sup>v</sup>]  
 specially for recommended, for God hath sent hem theire science.  
 And I recom[m]aunde to the, Alexandre, this secrete principally,  
 with many other that thou shalt fynde her-after in many dyuers  
 other chapitres here folowyng in this boke, in the which thou shalt  
 fynde grete science and doctryne, and in the which is conteyned 10  
 the cause fynable for which thou shalt fynde the cause of the  
 pryncipall purpos. For when thou hast perceyued the significa-  
 cions of the wordes of the derkenes of the ensaumples, then shalt  
 thou pleynly and perfytely [have] that at thou desires, praying  
 God the wise and the most souerain Lorde and Kynge, that He 15  
 will enlumyne thy reison and thyne vnderstandyng to that ende  
 that thou may and can apperceyve the secrete of this science, and

7 recommaunde] recomnaunde 14 desires] *prec. by canc.* desartes

secretetes of this science, and that thou may be myn heire and successour.

**Of the maner of kinges touchinge largesse |**

[f. 39<sup>v</sup>] There is iiij diuersitees, he that is large to him-self and large to  
 p. 77 his subgites, and a kyng that is skars to him-self and large to his  
 6 subgites, and there is a kinge that is large to him-self and skars to  
 his subgites, and som kyng is [skars] bothe to him-self and to his  
 subgites. The Italiens seyn there is no vice in that kyng that is  
 skars to him-self and large to his subgites. The Persiens seyn the  
 10 contrarie, for he that is skars to him-self and to his subgites, his

3] *wording of chapter-heading perh. intended to be repeated as opening words of body of chapter*

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ycelle tu puisses estre mon hoir et mon seul successeur, et si te  
 vueille ottroyer icellui Dieu qui ces richesses alargist et donne  
 abondamment a la vie des saiges et aux estudians donne congnois-  
 sance de ce qui est fort et d'estre dificile a nature, et sens lequel  
 5 riens ne peut estre fait.

**De la maniere des roys touchant largesse**

.v.

Il sont quatre manierez de roys. Il est roy qui larges est a soy et  
 larges a ses subgiés. Et est roy qui est auers a soy et larges a ses  
 [f. 7] subgés. Et est roy qui est larges a | soy et auers a ses subgiés. Et  
 10 est roy qui est auers a soy et auers a ses subgiés. Les Ytaliens dient  
 qu'il n'est nul vice ou roy qui est auers a soy et larges a ses subgiés.  
 Les Judeans dient que le roy est bon qui est auers a soy et ses  
 subgiés. Les Perssiens dient tout le contraire et tiennent cest  
 oppinion, que le roy ne vault riens qui n'est larges a soy et a ses  
 15 subgiés. Mais entre tous les roys dessus diz celui est le pire et ne  
 doit estre riens prisiés qui n'est larges a soy et a ses sugiés. Car s'il

& successour/ & þat he wyl graunt þe largenesse of goodes/ to gyue haboundaunce to þe lyuyng of wyse men & studyentes/ with grace to knowe þat whiche is dyfficile/ & without the same nothyng can be done.

e ¶ Of þe maner of kyniges as touchyng largesse. 5

There be .iiij. maner of kyniges. There is a kynge þat is lyberall to hym selfe/ & lyberall to his subgettes. There is a kynge þat is lyberall to hym selfe & hauyng to his subgettes. The Ytalyens say þat it is no vyce to a kynge þat is hauynge to hymselfe/ & lyberal to his subgettes. The Indyens say þat þe kyng is good þat is hauyng to 10 hymself/ & to his subgettes. The Percyens say þe contrary/ & ben of opynyon þat þe kyng is not worthy þat is not large to hymselfe & hauyng to his subgettes. But among | all þe kyniges aboue sayd he [f. B2<sup>v</sup>] is the worst/ & ought in no thyng to be prayed þat is not liberall

13 aboue sayd] abouesayde K

that in the same thou may be myne heire and my soole succes-  
soure. And that [graunt thee that] God That enlargiseth His  
ricches, and giveth habundantly to the wise and to the scolers  
and the studiantes konnyng and knowlege to that that is stronge  
and harde to nature and witte, without Whiche no thyng may 5  
be done.

### Capitulum vij<sup>m</sup>

#### Of the maner of kyniges of their largesse

[O]f kyniges ther be thre maners. First, ther is a kynge that is 9  
large to hym-self and to his subgettes. And there | is a kynge that [f. 219]  
is large to hym-self and averous to his subgettes. And there is a  
kynge that is averous to hym-self and to his subgettes. The Ytaliens  
saye it is no vice to a kynge that is auerous to hym-self and to his  
subgettes. The Parcians saye all the contrarie, and holden this  
opynion, that the kynge will not acheve, that is not large to hym- 15  
self and to his subgettes. But yitte amonge all thees iij kyniges  
here-aboue spoken of, is the worst and lest worthy forto be preised,

9 Of] *guide-letter o missing*

reame shall soon be destrued. Wherfor we most curiously enquere of the vertues and vices before seid, and declare what thinge is largesse, and what thinge is auarice, and wherynne is the erreure of largesse, and what mischeeuys may enswe for faute of largesse.

5 It is to be knowen that alle thinge that is out of meene is reproveable. And it is a greet thinge to kepe well largesse, and as litle thinge to passe it. And it is light to be couetous and foule-largesse. Than yf thou will haue largesse considre thyne owne power, and the tyme of neede, and the merites. Than aughtyst thou to giue aftir thy

10 power, mesurablely, to thaim that ben worthy and hauen neede. For he that yiueth othir-wise he passeth the reule of largesse. And he that yiveth his good to him that hath noo neede, he aught to haue no laude therfore. And all that is yiuen to thaim that ben

6 as] *perh. a intended*      7 foule-largesse] *poss. slip for foule large, but cf. 283b|11 and 284a|10 and 13: see n.*

estoit auers a soy et a ses subgiés, son royaume seroit tous destruis. Il nous conuient doncques soubtiument ancquerir des vertus et des vices dessus diz et monstrier quelle chose est largesse et quelle chose est auarice, et en quoy est la difiction de largece et que[lz]

5 ma[u]l[x] s'en ensuiuent de non auoir largece. Il est clere chose que les qualités sont a reproveuer quant elles se alongent du moien, et sauons bien qu'il est forte chose de garder largesce et legiere chose de la trespasse, et est a chascun legiere chose d'estre auaricieux et folz larges. Se tu vieulx doncques acquerir largesce, regarde et

10 considere ton pouoir et le temps de la necessité et la merite des hommes. Tu dois doncques donner selon ton pouoir par mesure a ceulz qui en ont necessité et qui en sont dignes. Car qui donne autrement il peche et trespasse la riuelle de largesse, et auxi qui donne ses biens a celui qui n'a nulle necessité il n'en acquiert nulle

15 louange, et de tout ce que l'en donne a ceulz qui n'en sont pas dignes

2 anquerir] enquerir HRV      4 difiction] lerreur HRV *and, substant., G*  
 5 clere] *both preceded and followed by cancelled clere*      maulx s'en ensuiuent]  
 mal sen en suiuent F mal sensuit RHV *and, substant., G*      9 outer margin:  
 nota per Shirley      10 merite] *followed by a stop, with, apparently, an*  
*attempt to erase it*

to hym selfe & to his subgetis. For he þat is hauynge to hym  
 selfe & to his subgetis/ his realme shall be clene destroyed. Than  
 it behoueth vs to enquere of þe vertues & vyces abouesayd/ &  
 to shew what thyng largesse is/ & wherin the errour of largesse  
 lyeth/ & what harmes come for lacke of largesse. It is euident that 5  
 the qualytees ben to be reprodud whan they go fro þe meane/ & be  
 auarycyous [or] folysshe lyberall. But yf thou wyll enquere or seke  
 largesse/ regarde & consyder thy power/ and þe tyme of the neces-  
 syte/ & þe merytes of men. And than thou aught to gyue as thy  
 power wyll (by measure) to them þat haue nede/ & be worthy 10  
 of it. For he þat gyueth other wyse he breketh þe rule of largesse &  
 synneth. And he that gyueth his goodes to hym that hath no nede/  
 he getteth no thankes. And al þat he gyueth to them þat be not

2 shall be] shalbe K (*regular substitution, not indicated hereafter*) 4 wherin]  
*line division between wher and in C wherin K* 6 fro] from K  
 7 auarycyous or folysshe] auarycyous † folysshe C auaricious, foolishe K  
 9 aught] oughest K 12 synneth.] *no punct.*

he that is not large to hym-self ne to his subgettes. For yf he were  
 avarous to hym-self and also to his revme, he and hys lande  
 sholde sone be destroyd. Then it behoveth hus sotelment to en-  
 quere of the verteus and vices here-aboue saide, and expressely 5  
 to shewe what thyng is largesse and what thyng is avarice, and  
 in what thyng is the diffinyssion of largesse, and eke what yvell  
 foloweth yf the kyng hath no largesse. It is clere maters that the  
 qualitees therof been to be reprevd, that when they drawe alonge  
 the moyens. And yitte we wot well that it is a stronge thyng to  
 kepe largesse, and light thyng to passe it. And it is a light thyng 10  
 for every man forto be avaricious and foole-largesse. Yf thou  
 wilt then what is largesse honest, | take hede and consider thy [f. 219<sup>v</sup>]  
 poiard by mesure, and the tyme of the necessité, and the desart  
 that it shalbe given to. Then shalt thou gife after thy power and by  
 grete discrecioun to hem that haue nede [and that be worthy of 15  
 your giftes. For who that giveth in other wise, he dothe wrong and  
 breketh the reules of largesse, and he that giveth his goodes to hem

7 foloweth] ol *in ligature together, inserted in narrow space over canc. letter,*  
*apparently a* 11 foole-largesse] cf. 282a/7, 284a/10: *see n.* 15-285b/1 and  
 that . . . acquireth] it requireth: *see n.*

vnworthy is lost. And he that dispendith his goodis out of reason and mesure, he shall soone come to the bitter cost of pouertee, whiche is likenyd vnto him that yiueth victorie vnto his enmyes vpon himself. The kynge [that] yiueth his good to them that ben  
 5 worthy and in tyme of neede, he shall reigne in grete prosperitee, and his commaundementes shall be fulfilled. And the kynge that  
 [f. 40] dispendith the goodes of his | reame out of reson and yiveth theym  
 P. 78 to thaim that ben vnworthy and haue no neede, suche a kinge shall destrue both his peeple and his land and he is nat worthy to reigne,  
 10 for he is called foule largesse. The name of couetyse is foule in a kinge, and bycometh right ylle to the magestee roiall. Than yf a kynge will reigne worshipfully, he may haue noon of theise ij vices, that is to sey that he be nat foule largesse nor couetouse. And yf the kyng will haue good counseile, he most diligently pur-  
 15 ueye him of a man of wytte and discrecion and politique, to whom he shall committe the reule of his estate and weele of his reame, and the gouernaunce of the richesse of his land and how thei aught to be dispendid.

4 The kynge that] That the kynge

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est perdu. Et qui despent ses biens oultre mesure il viendra toust ou tres amer riuaigne de poureté, et est ainsi comme celui qui donne sur lui vittoire a ses annemis. Qui donne donc de ses biens en temps de neccessité a ceulz qui en ont besoing, tel roy est larges a soy et a ses  
 5 subgiés et vennra son royaume a grande perfeccion et prosperité, et  
 [f. 77] sez commandemens seront acomplis. Et qui despent les | biens de son royaume sans ordre, et donne a ceulx qui n'en sont pas dignes et qu'il n'en ont nul besoing, tel roy destruit son peuple et la chose publicque et son royaume, et n'est pas dignes de regner.  
 10 Car il est appellé foulz larges. Et le non d'auarice e[s]t trop lait au roy et auient trop mal a la royalle maiesté. Donc se le roy veult regner honnourablement il conuient qu'il n'ait ne l'un ne l'autre de ses .ij. vices, c'est assauoir qu'il ne soit folz larges ne auaricieux. Et ce le roy se vieult conseillier, il ce doit pourueoir en tres grande  
 15 diligence d'un saige homme lequel soit esleu entre plusieurs autres auquel il commette tout son fait et soit de son royaume et ait le gouuernement des richesses de son royaume, comment elles se doiuent dispenser.

worthy/ is lost. And he þat spendeth his goodes outragiously/ shall  
 soone come to þe wylde brymmes of pouerte/ & is lyke hym þat  
 gyueth victory to his enemyes ouer hym. But a kynge þat gyueth  
 his goodes mesurably to them þat haue nede/ is lyberall to hym  
 selfe and his subjectes. And his realme shal come to grete pros- 5  
 peryte/ & his commaundement shalbe fulfilled. And he þat  
 spendeth þe goodes of his realme without ordre/ & gyueth to them  
 þat be not worthy/ & to them þat haue no nede/ such a kynge  
 destroyeth his people/ & þe comyn welthe/ & is not worthy to  
 reygne as a kyng. And þe name of auaryce is an ouer foule name 10  
 to a kyng/ & to moche harme cometh to his regall mageste. Ther-  
 fore yf a kyng wyl reygne honourably/ hym behoueth not to haue  
 þe one nor the other of these vyces/ þat is to wyte/ that | he be not [f. B<sub>3</sub>]  
 to lyberall/ nor to coueytous. And yf þe kyng wyl be counceyled/  
 he ought with grete dylygence to pouruey hym of a wyse man/ 15  
 whiche shall be chosen amonge all other/ to whome he shall  
 comyt his doynge of þe realme/ & the gouernaunce of the  
 rychesses of the same as they ought to be spent.

5 and<sup>1</sup>] and to K subjectes.] *no punct.*

that have no nede ac]quireth no preisyng. And of that, all men  
 give to such that be not worthy, that is laste. And who that dis-  
 pendeth his godes ouer mesure, he shall come anone to pouerty.  
 For it fareth by hym as it doth by a capitaigne that wolde give his  
 enemye victorie. And who that giveth his gode in tyme of neces- 5  
 sitee to hem that haue nede, such a kynge is large to hym and to  
 his subgettes, and his reavme shall soo encesse to grete perfeccion  
 and prosperité, and his commaundementes shalbe fulfilled. And  
 he that dispendeth the godes of his reavme without mesure and  
 ordre, and giveth largely to hem that be not worthy, or that have 10  
 no nede, that kynge destroyeth his peple and his reavme, and all  
 the gode ensauple to other, and is not worthy to reigne, for he  
 is called foole large. And the name of auarice is full yvell and  
 foule. And yf the kynge will counseile hym, he sholde purvey  
 hym of full grete diligence of a full profitable man, the which may 15  
 be chosen amonges | many other, to whome he shall committe [f. 220]  
 and gife power of his reavme how to dispende it.

2 laste] *intended form poss. loste, but cf. warldes 303/15* 10 or] *prec. by*  
*canc. ot* 11 that kynge] that the kynge 14 he] *prec. by canc. s*

## Of largesse and couetise, and othir vertues and vices

KYng Alexandre, right deere sonne, I telle the certainlye, yf  
 a kinge dispense more than his land may bere, he most needys  
 encline to foule largesse and couetise. Suche a kinge withoute  
 5 doute shall be destroyed. But yf a kinge encline him-self to largesse,  
 he shall reigne in perpetuell glorye, and this is to vnderstand that,  
 whan a kinge restrineth him from takinge the goodes and pos-  
 sessions of his subgites. And wite ye well, that I haue founde in the  
 writinge of the moost noble doctoure Hermogenes, saying in this  
 10 wyse, that the right grete and souereyne bonté, and true cliernes  
 of vnderstandinge, and habundaunce of feith and science, and signe  
 of perfeccion is whan the kyng withdraweth of takinge of the  
 [f. 40<sup>v</sup>] goodys | and possessions of his subgites. And this was the principall  
 p. 79 cause of the destruccion of the reame of England. For diuers princes  
 15 of the said land made so outragious dispences, that the rentes and  
 possessions of the reame might nat suffise thaim. And for to  
 mayteyne that grete and outrageous dispence, they tooke the

1 vices] s *ins. above*

## De largesse et auarice et de plusieurs vertus

.vj.

Roy Alixandre, tres chier filz, ie te di certainement que se aucun  
 roy vieult faire plus grans despens que son royaume ne peut  
 soustenir, ne peut muer qu'il ne s'encline a celle largesse et auarice,  
 5 tel roy sens nulle doubte se destruit. Maiz se il s'encline a largesse  
 il aura gloire perpetuelle de son royaume. Et ce cy sentent quant  
 le roy se retrait et n'a cure de prendre les biens de ses subgiés ne  
 leurs pocessions. Et saiches, tres chier filz, que ie treuve en escript  
 au commandemens d'un tresgrant dotteur Hermogenes qui dit  
 10 que la tresgrant et souueraine bonté et vraye clarté, doucement et  
 planté de loy et de sience est signe de perfeccion de roy quant il se  
 retrait de prendre les biens et lez pocessions de ses subgiés et ce  
 fu la cause de la distincion du royaume d'Engleterre. Car plusieurs  
 roys d'Engleterre faisoient si grans despens et si oultrageux que les  
 15 rantes du royaume n'y pouoient souffire. Et ainsi pour soustenir  
 leur oultrageux despens, ilz prisent les biens et les pocessions de

13 distincion] dinstincion F destruction HVG *and, substantially*, R: *see n.*

f. ¶ Of largesse and auaryce/ and of many other vyces.

KYnge Alexander moost dere sone I tell the certaynly that yf ony make greter expence than his realme can susteyne/ that he enclyneth to folysshe largesse & auaryce. Suche a kynge without doubt shalbe dystroyed. But yf he inclyne to lyberalyte/ he shal 5 haue perpetuall glory of his realme/ yf he drawe hym fro takynge þe goodes & possessyons of his subgetes. And wyte thou dere sone that I fynde wryten of a grete doctour named Hermogynes whiche sayth that the gretest & souerayne goodnesse/ bryghtnesse of vnderstandyng/ & plente of lawe/ scyence & perfeccyon of a 10 kynge/ is þat it behoueth to kepe hym fro takynge of the goodes and possessyons of his subgetes. It hath ben þe vndoynge of many realmes. For dyuers kynges haue made greter & outragious expences than þe stynt of theyr realmes coude extende/ wherfore they

### Capitulum viij<sup>m</sup>

Kynge Alexandre, dere sone, I saye the certeynment that yf any kynge will make grete dispenses that his reavme may not susteyn, [ne] meve hym but that he will enclyne to such largesse and auarice, such a kynge withouten any doute he destroyeth 5 hym-self. But yf he enclyne hym to largesse, he shall perpetuall ioye of his reavme. And yf the kynge dispose hym to rescure vndewly, to take the godes of his comons with vnreasonable and to grevous impositions, he may not longe governe, neyther by Goddes lawe ne by mannes lawe. And witte ye well, dere sonne 10 Alexandre, that I fonde it wryten by the doctrine and commaundement of a full solempne doctour Hermogines, that the grettest and moste souerain bounté and veray clerenes certeyn is swetely sette and pleynted of lawe and of science, the which is 14 perfeccion of the kynge when he with-|drawethe hym to take the [f. 220<sup>v</sup>] godes and the possessions of his subgettes. And that hath be the discrecion of that honnourable reawme of England, all thynges

11 fonde] o over y (or, conceivably, vice versa: unclear)



considred, the manhode, riches and commoditees, both above  
 therth and in the bowelles of the erth, of men, of wymmen and of  
 all maner of bestes and foules, of all kyndes of fisshes, bothe of the  
 fresshe waters [and of the salt waters], of all maner of cornes and  
 erbes for mannes sustenance, of trees and woddes for bildyng, and 5  
 fynally of all metalles and thynges mynerall, that is to say, of gold,  
 of siluer, of coper, of tynne, of quik siluer, of sulphur, of alablaster,  
 of secole, of wheston, of freston, of milneston, of marle, and  
 specially of the grete riches of wolles, pereles, and of salt, of  
 faire welles, of geete and of many other comoditees which cometh 10  
 not to mynde forto reherce. Consideryng also the litilnes of the  
 circuyte and the grounde of this said litill and honnourable reavme,  
 in all the compas of this mydell erth ther is none lich ne comper-  
 able therto that any man knoweth, ne that the gode of the sayntes 14  
 [and] the holy churche is so reuerently and | devoutely served [f. 221]  
 inne. And that I reporte me both to gentilmen, marchandis and  
 pilgrymes, to hem all that most have seen, and yit nocht reherced

10 geete] *see n.*16 gentilmen] *second e over a*

goodes and lyuelode of thaire subgites, which caused thaim to crye to oure Lorde for socoure, Who sent His vengeaunce vpon the seid prynces in suche wyse, that the comons rebellid agains thaim, and destrued thaim all, and thaire name sett to nought.  
 5 And had nat be the mercy of the gloriouse Lord that susteyned and kept the peeple, the land had ben clierlye destrued. Than thou aughtist to kepe the from outrageous dispence and giftes out of

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leurs subgiés, laquelle chose est jniure, et le peuple cria a Dieu le quel enuoia sur yceulx roys sa vengeance tellement que le peuple  
 [f. 8] se rebella contre | eulx et furent du tout destruis et leur nom mis au neant. Et se ne fust le grace de misericorde du glorieux Dieu qui  
 5 soustint le peuple, le royaume eust esté du tout destruit. Tu te dois doncques garder de foulz et outrageux despens et des dons ou-

toke the goodes and landes of theyr subjectes. For þe whiche iniuryes doynge þe people cryed to god/ whi[c]he sent vengeance on the sayd kynges. In suche wy[s]e that theyr people rebelled agaynst them & put them to destruccyon. And without the grete 4 mercy of god that | susteyned them, þe realmes shold haue ben [f. B3<sup>v</sup>] vtterly dystroyed with þe people. Thou then oughtest to absteyne þe from outragious expences/ & ought to kepe temperaunce in

2-3 whiche, wyse] whishe, wyce (*letters interchanged; the words begin consecutive lines*).

of marble, besechyng almyghty God so to preserve it to his hie pleasaunce, and [in] humblesse and grete devocion preye and seye after Daun John Lidegate, late monke of Bury,

Lord God, preserve vnder thy myghty honde  
Oure Kynge, oure Qwene, their pepull, and this lande. 5

For as is redde in dyuers autentike and credible cronycles, ther have been such kynges of this reavme that have done so grete and outragious dispenses, and so charged and oppressed their poure, trewe subjectes, that their rentes and revenuz myght not souffice to bere hem, the which charges is opun iniure, that the comvne 10 people cried to God, the Which sende vpon the kynges such vengeance to their chastisement, that hi[r] peple rebelled and aroos aganst hem. And in the same wise did they in Fraunce, and were in poynte outturly forto be destroyed, wittensyng in England, Jak Strawe, and semblabully in Fraunce, Jak Bon-homme. And nad 15

4-5 *Written as prose, continuous with the text* 11 sende] *preced. by*  
*canc. charges* 11-12 sende . . . vengeance] sende such vengeance vpon the  
kynges such vengeance 12 hir] his

reason and mesure, and kepe well temperaunce and largesse, and be nat to besy to enquer the derke secreetes, and reproche neuyr the giftes that thou hast yeuen before, for it longeth nat to a good man.

5 **Of vertues and vices and the doctrine of Aristotle**

THE substaunce of alle vertues is to reigne, yeue [to] the nedy, and forgiue iniuries, and doo worship and reuerence to thaim that ben worthy, and cherissh thaim that ben lowly, and amende the defautes of such as ben of symple condicion, and to be liberall  
10 in salutacions to the people, and be nat to full of langage and be

6 to the] the to

7 doo] doo to

trageux et dois garder atrampance en largesce. Et ne vueilles enquerir les obscurs secrés ne reprouchier le don que tu auras fait, car il n'a-fiert pas aux bons.

**Des vertus et vices et de la dottrine Aristote .vij.**

5 La substance de toutes uertus est regner, donner les biens, et pardonner jniures, et honnourer ceulx qui sont a honnourer, et porter reuerance a ceulx qui sont dignes, et soustenir aux humbles, et amender les deffaux des simples, et de saluer volentiers les gens, et toy garder de trop parler, et laisse passer les jnuires

lyberalyte. And gete not the derke secretnesse & reproches that thou shalt haue/ for it belongeth not to them that be good.

g. ¶ Of vertues & vyces/& of þe doctryne of Arystotle

THE substance of all vertuouſ reygnyng is to gyue to them þat be good/ & perdon iniuryes/ honoure & bere reuerence to them 5 þat be worthy/ & haue mynde of them þat be meke/ & amende þe defawtes of them þat be symple/ & with good wyl saue þe people/ & kepe þe fro to moche spekyng/ let iniuryes passe tyll thou se the

they not founden the grace and | the mercy of God almyghty, [f. 221<sup>v</sup>] Which that supported bothe reavmes in the tymes of theire nede, bothe thoo regions had finally destroyed. Therefore þe wisemen shold alway kepe you fro outragious dispenses and giftes. And have a temperance in your largesse, ne that ye enquire not after 5 darke secretes ne reproch not the giftes that ye have given, for it is not conuenient to folkes of gode estate, &c.

Capitulum ix<sup>m</sup>

Of [v]ices and vertues after the doctryne of Aristotle

The substance of all vertues is to reign and to gife of thy gode discretely and wiseli, to perdon iniuries and wronges, to worship hem 10 that bene honourables, and forto do reuerence to hem that bene worthy, to susteyne humble folke, and to amende the defawtes of the simple folke, and salue gladdely the peple, and kepe the fro grete spekyng, and lete the iniuries passe vnto the tyme, and feyne 15

9 Of vices] Of offices  
11 wiseli] *prec. by canc.* sadly

10 The substance] To here the substance

nat [hasty] to reuenge the iniuries doon to the. And fayne that thou vndirstande nat the folye of thaim that ben foolys. Dier sonne, I haue taught the, and shall teche the, many thinges  
 4 whiche thou most kepe in thyne hert, trusting verily that while  
 [f. 41] the seid doctrine shall be with | the in alle thyne operacions and  
 p. 80 besines, thou shalt [a]llwey haue cheeuinge brightnesse and suf-  
 fisaunt science in thy reule and gouernaunce during thy lyuing  
 dayes. And also I shall teche the the science of phisik in breeue  
 termys, which I wolde neuer haue doon had nat ben that science,  
 10 with othir doctrine folowing, aught to suffise in this worlde, all  
 thinge considred.

### Of the vndirstandinge

RIght diere sonne, I lat the wite that vndirstandinge is the key of  
 gouernaunce of man, and saluacion of the soule, keper of uertues  
 15 and meroure of vices. For by vndirstandinge we may knowe tho  
 thinges that aught to be eschewed, and folowe that that aught to

6 allwey] llwey, with first l elongated, rising to top of page, forming part of decorative scheme (see vol. ii)

jusques a temps, et faindre que ne saiches pas la folie des foulz.  
 Chier filz, ie t'ay enseigné et enseigneray encores plusieurs choses  
 lesquelles tu retendras en ton cueur, et ferme sience que tant  
 comme iceulx enseignemens seront tousiours en toutes tes voies  
 5 et en toutes tes euures, tu auras touziours clarté luisant, et souf-  
 fisant sience en ton gouuernement tout le temps de ta vie. Toutes-  
 foiz ie te aprendray la sience de fisique abregee, et jamais ne t'en  
 eust rien dit ce n'est ce que icelle sience avec les enseignemens qui  
 s'ensuiuent te deuront souffire en toutes euures en cest siecle et  
 10 en l'autre.

### De l'entendement

.viij.

Saiches, treschier filz, que l'entendement est chief du gouerne-  
 ment de l'omme et salut de l'ame, et garde des uertus et miroer des  
 vices. Car en celui entendement nous regardons les choses que  
 15 l'en doit fouir, et eslisons se que l'en doit eslire et en-suiure. Il est le

2 choses] stop preceding choses, but none following  
 line 6 tout] final t inserted above line 5 en] inserted above  
 15 que] abbreviation for que  
 inserted above line

tyme of defence þat thou knowe not þe foly of foles. Dere sone I haue taught þe & shal teche þe many thynges þe whiche thou shalt kepe in thy hert. And I ensure þe þat þe sayd techynges shall always be there in al thy doynges & werkes. Bryght & suffycient scyence of physyke shortely comprysed thou shalt haue. And I 5 wolde neuer haue shewed the ony thyng/ but þat þe sayd scyence with þe techynges þat folowe ought to suffyse the & thy werkes in this worlde and in the other.

h. ¶ Of the vnderstandyng.

DERe sone knowe thou þat þe vnderstandyng is þe chyef of þe 10 gouernaunce of man & helth of the soule/ keper of vertues/ & of vyces. For in þe sayd vnderstandyng we beholde the thynges þat be to be chosyn. It is þe key | of vertues/ & the rote of all laudable [f. B4]

3 ensure] assure K

4 werkes] workes K

the that thou knawe not the foly of foles. Dere Kynge Alexandre, I teche the, and yit I shall teche the, many thynges that thou shalt kepe in thyne herte for ferme science and trewe disciplyne. The which yf thou kepe hem aye well and treuly, vnchangeably, that in all thi dedes and thy warkes thou shalt euer have clere sight and 5 sufficient connyng in all the gouernance all the dayes of thy life. For I shall | teche the the science of fisike abreged. And I wolde [f. 222] neuer have tolde it the, but that the same science with thabregementes and the techynges that here folowne, they shall suffise the in all thy besines and warkes, in this warlde and in that other. 10

Capitulum x<sup>m</sup>

How Aristotle writeth to Alexandre of entedementes

Witte thou fore sothe, dere sonne, that entedement is the souerain and chief of the gouernance of man, and the hele of his soule, and keypyng of vertues, and lech to eschewe all vices. For [in] 15

be chosen. For it is the keye of alle vertues, and root of alle goodnesse laudable and worshipfull. And the first instrument of it is good renoun and fame. For he that with good entent desireth to haue good fame, he shall in euery place be glorified and honeured.

5 And that desireth it feyntlye and ypocrytlye, he shall shamefully come to confusion through his euill renoun and fame. The kynge aught principally labour to haue good fame, more for his land than for him-self.

5 that] *intended reading perh.* he that

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chief des uertus et la racine de tous biens louables et honnourables. Le premier instrument d' icelui est desir d'auoir bonne renommee car qui desire par tout auoir bonne renommee il sera par tout glorieux et honnourés. Et qui faintement et ypocrite-  
 [f. 8<sup>v</sup>] 5 il sera en la fin confusus par mauuaise renommee. Le roy doit principalement querir a auoir bonne renommee plus pour le bon gouvernement de son royaume que par lui.

godes. And the best instrument therof is to haue good fame. And yf it be contraryly done/ it shalbe confounded at the last by yll fame. A kynge ought pryncypally seke to haue a good fame/ more for the gouernynge of his reame than for hymselfe.

3 fame/ more] fame. More

---

that same entendement we rewarde thoo thynges that man sholde flee, and eschewe they[m] that been forto flee, which is the souerain thyng of all vertues, and the rotes of all thynges that been to be prayed and moste honoureaible. And the first thyng of that desire is forto haue a gode name and renomnee, for in all places he shalbe 5 honoured and glorified. And he that by fait and ipocritement behaveth hym, at the ende he shalbe confounded by yuell renomnee, for the gouernance of a kynge shold be principally to seche and to have gode renommé, more for the gouernance honourable of his region then of hymselfe. 10

2 theym] they, *perh. intended form: see the in O.E.D., s.v. they, II. 4b*  
 3 and] followed by souerain thyn repeated and *canc.* 8 for] more for

### Of the intencion finall that the kyng aught to haue

THE begynnynge of wisdome and vnderstandinge, it is to be of good fame, by the whiche lordshippes and reames ben conquerid and purchaced. And yf thou desire to haue reames and lordshippes  
 4 through envye, [it] is no good | fame. Lating the wite, that enuye  
 [f. 41<sup>v</sup>] engendreth lesinges, whiche is root and causer of alle vices. Enuye  
 p. 81 engendrith yuell tunges. Yuell tunges engendreth hate. Hate engendrith shame. Shame engendrith wrath. Wrath engendrith diuision. Diuision engendreth faute of justice. Faute of justice  
 10 engendrith bataile. Bataile breketh any lawe and destrueth reames, and is contrarie to nature, and destrueth the man. And therefore,

### De l'entencion finable que le roy doit auoir

.ix.

LE commencement de saigesce et d'entendement est d'auoir bonne renommee par laquelle sont les royaumes et les grans seigneuries aquises. Et se tu aquiers ou que tu desires royaumes ou  
 5 seigneuries ce n'est pour auoir bonne renommee, tu n'aquereras ia a la fin aultre que enuie. Et saichies que enuie engendre mensonge, laquelle est matiere et racine de toutes vices. Enuie engendre mal parler, mal parler engendre haine, haine engendre vilenie et si engendre rancune: rancune engendre contrarieté, contrarieté en-  
 10 gendre jniustice, jniustice engendre bataille, bataille ront toute loy et destruit cités et est contraire a nature et destruit le corps de

8-9 *outer margin: nota per Shirley*      8 et si] *ins. above*  
*after second contrarieté but with no punctuation after the first*

9 *virgula*

i. ¶ Of þe fynall intencion þat a kynge ought to haue.

FOR the begynnyng of largesse that a kynge ought to haue/ is to haue good fame/ wherby the grete realmes & grete lordysshyppes be goten. And yf thou desyrest to get realmes or lordysshyppes/ yf it be not by good fame/ thou shalt gete none other thyng but enuy. And enuy bredeth lesynges/ whiche is mater and rote of all vices. Enuy bredeth yll speche/ yll speche bredeth hate: hate bredeth vniustyce/ vniustyce bredeth batayle/ batayle breketh all lawe/ dystroyeth cytees/ and is contrary to nature. Than thynke

2 For the] *corr. reading perh.* The largesse] *so also K: see n.* 7 yll  
(twice)] euyl K

### Capitulum xj<sup>m</sup>

Of the commandement and the entencion of wisdam, and of entendement fynable of a kyng, by Aristotle

Aristotle writeth to [Alexandre] the commaundement of wisdam | 4  
and of entendement [by] the which fynabully forto have gode [f. 222<sup>v</sup>]  
renommé, by the which the reavmes and the grete lordes[hippes  
be] goten and soght.

And yf thou seche or desire reavmes or grete lordeships, that is no-but forto have grete renommee, thou shalt have nocht elles therof at the ende but envie. And witte well that envie engendreth lesynges, the whiche is the rote and brynger-forth of all vices. And envie engendreth wronge, the which norissheth bataile, the which dystroyeth the lawe and breketh hit, the which is contrary to nature, and dystroyeth mannes body, and maketh dissolacion of

4 Aristotle] *initial A not in space for decorated initial, which is left blank*  
Alexandre] *blank space left at end of one line and beginning of next* 6-7 and  
the grete . . . goten] *canc.* or grete lordeshippes *folll. by* and the grete lordes goten  
12 engendreth] engrendreth 14 dissolacion] *i ins. above*

diere sonne, remembre thy-self and doo thy diligent laboure to haue good fame. For the grete desire that thou shalt haue to haue it, shall drawe to the-ward the trouth of alle thinge, latynge the wite that trouthe is principall root of all goodnes, as it is seid. It engendreth familiarité. Familiarité engendrith loue. Love engendrith counseile and socour, and vndir this fourme was all the world made, and the lawes constituted and couenables to reson and nature. Than it apperith well that good fame is lyf worshipfull and perdurable.

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l'omme. Pense doncques chier filz que tu puisses auoir bonne renomée. Car par le grant desir que tu auras d'auoir bonne renomée tu tireras a toy la verité de toutes choses. Et saiches que verité est racine de toutes choses qui sont a louer et matiere de tous biens. Car elle est contraire a menconge laquelle est racine et matiere de toutes vices comme dit est. Et saiches que verité engendre desir de justice, justice engendre bonne foy, bonne foy engendre largesse, [largesse engendre] familiarité, familiarité engendre amitié, amitié conseil et aide. Et par ses choses fut tout le monde ordonnés et les loys faittes, et sont conuenables a raison et a nature. Il appert donc que desir d'auoir bonne renommée est pardurable vie et honnorable.

dere sone & set thy desyre to get good fame/ and thou shalt haue  
 in the trouthe/ and all thynges laudable/ for it is cause of al welth.  
 For it is contrary to lesynges/ whiche is mater of all vyces/ as it  
 is sayd. And trouthe engendreth the desyre of Justyce. Justyce  
 engendreth good faythe. Good faythe engendreth famylyaryte. 5  
 Famylyaryte engendreth frendshyp. Frendshyp engendreth  
 councel and helpe. And for this cause all the worlde was ordeyned/ &  
 the lawes made which be couenable to reason and nature. It  
 appereth than that the desyre to haue good fame is honourable and  
 perdurable lyfe. 10

8 couenable] conuenable K

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castelles, citees and cuntrees. Tynke then, dere sonne, to gete the  
 gode renomme. For by the grete desire that thou may gete the  
 grete renommé, thou shalt drawe to thee the trouthe of all thynges.  
 And witte well, on that other partye, trouthe is the veray rote of all  
 thynges that oght to be praysed and matiere of all godes. For it is all 5  
 fully ageynst lesynges, the which is matier and rote vniuersally of  
 all vices, as it is said here-to-fore. And witte you well that verité  
 desireth rightwesnes and justice, the which desireth and engen-  
 dreth largesse, the which engendreth familiaritee, the which en- 9  
 gendreth frenship, the which | [engendreth] gode counseile and [f. 223]  
 helpe. And therefore, dere Emperoure Alisaundre, Kynge and my  
 sonne, aboue all other erthly thynges ordeyne that the lawes be  
 done suche and soo truly and wisely, that they be couenable  
 grounded, and accordyng to reason and to nature. Thus by Aris-  
 totle it is fully determynde and concluded that gode renommé is 15  
 lastyng life and honnourable.

3 grete renommé] by grete renomme 5 it] *preced. by conc. is* 10 en-  
 gendreth] *missing from text; supplied from position as catch-word on f. 222<sup>v</sup>.*

## Of the mischeeuys that growen through fleshly desires

Alexander, dier sonne, thou moost leeuve all fleshly desires and bestialles, for thei ben full of corrupcion. The fleshly desires enclineth the hert to delectacions and perdicion of the soule, hauyng  
 5 no discrecion, reioysing the body corruptible, and destrueng the vndirstandinge of man. Lating the wite that such desires engendreth carnall loue, whiche loue engendrith couetyse. Couetyse engendrith desires to richesse. Desire to richesse makith a man shameles. He that is shamelesse most be proude. Pride makith  
 10 man withoute feith. Man withoute feith is a thief. A thief is  
 [f. 42] openly shamed, growing to an | vtter mischeef and finall destruc-  
 p. 82 tion of his body.

1 desires] *final s ins. above*

## Des maux qui s'ensuiuent de charnel desir

.x.

ALixandre, chier filz, laisse tes desirs bestiaux du desir charnel, car ils sont corumpables. Les desirs charnelz enclinent aux desirs  
 4 de corumpacion de l'ame bestiale sens nulle discrecion auoir, et ses  
 [f. 9] iouissent en corps corumpable et corrompent l'en-|tendement de l'omme. Et saichies que tous desirs engendrent amour charnelle, amour charnelle engendre auarice, auarice engendre desir de richesse, desir de richesse engendre souuent homme sans vergoigne, et homme sans vergoigne fait homme orgueilleux, et orguil-  
 10 leux homme est sanz foy et est larron; larroncin est incl[ig]né a vitupere et puis a chetiueté et a la finable destrucion de son corps parvient.

1 s'ensuiuent] s'ensuiuent H, sens *unfinished and with blank space left* R 4-5 ses iouissent en] *so in FV*; & for es ioissent en R, et si ens [*unfinished and followed by space left blank*] en H 10 larroncin est incligné] larroncin est incljoné F larrencin met homme V Larrecin met homme G larcine met homme H larron met homme R

k. ¶ Of euylles þat folowe flesshely desyre. |

Alexander fayre sone leue thy beestly desyres of thy flesshely [f. B4<sup>v</sup>] appetyte/ for they be corruptibles. The flesshely desyres draweth thy hert to beestly corrupcyon of þe soule without ony dyscr[e]cyon/ & dryeth þe body of man. Wotest thou what flesshely loue bredeth? 5 It bredeth auaryce/ auaryce bredeth desyre/ desyre bredeth rychesse and maketh a man without care/ to be a proude man/ without lawe/ and a thefe. Theft bryngeth a man to shame/ and fynall destruccyon of his body.

5 man. Wotest] *no punct. (line division)*

### Capjtulum xij<sup>m</sup>

**Of the yvelles that conveniently folowne of carnal desires**

Dere sonne, O Alisaundre, lese all thi bestiall desires that been flesshely, for they corrupte. Thy flesshely desires been enclyned to corrupcion of bestiall life, without any discrecion had. And they enioyen hem in bodies corrumpable, and corumped vnderstandyng 5 of men. And witte thou it well, that all desires carnalles engendre flesshely delectacion and love, the which [engendre] avarice and coveitise, that engendre the concupissance with riches that desireth oft men to have no shame, the which maketh man to be 10 orgeyllous and proude, and ferre oute of hym-selfe. And man without hym-selfe engendreth thefte and larcine. Larcine maketh men forto stele, the which is much to be blamed and sore imprisoned, and bryngeth his | body to fynabull distruccione and [f. 223<sup>v</sup>] warldes shame. 15

## Of the wysdome and ordinaunce of a Kynge

IT is needfull and couenable that the good fame of a kinge be in laudable science, and good and honest lyf of his body, whiche shall be knowen and cast abrode in alle the parties of his reame. And  
 5 that he kepe noble parlamentes and discreet counseilles with his owne peepel. And whan his subgites heere him speke sadly and discretly, and see him doo alle his besines with wysdome and policie, they will bothe worship him and dreede him. Latinge the wite that the wysdome or folye of the kinge may easely be vndir-  
 10 stande, for whan he lyueth in good and parfite luf to God-warde, he is worthy to reigne and to haue worshipfull dominacion, but the kinge that is of ill lyf, and settith his reame in ill custumes, he trespaceth greetly, and leuyth the wey of trouthe, and despiseth the good wey and the feith of God, and in the ende alle men shall  
 15 despise him.

## De [s]a[i]gesse et ordonnance du roy

.xj.

IL est chose juste et raisonnable que la bonne renommee du roy soit en louable sience et preudommie esbandues par toutes les parties de son royaume. Et qu'il ait parlement souuent et saige  
 5 conseil souuent avecques les siens, et par ainsy il sera loués et honnorés et doubtés de ses subgés quant ilz le verront parler et faire ses besoignes saigement. Et saichies que par le gouvernement se peut acongnoistre la saigesse ou folie du roy. Car quant il se gouuerne en preudommie vers Dieu il est digne de regner, hon-  
 10 nourer et seignourier. Maiz celui qui met son royaume en seruitude et en mauuaise coustume trespasse la voye et le chemin de verité. Car il mesprise sa bonne voye et la loy de Dieu et il sera en la fin mesprisé de tous.

## 1. ¶ Of the wysdome and ordynaunce of a kynge.

IT is behouefull & ryght that þe good fame of a kynge/ be in honourable scyence and worthynesse (thoroughout al realmes) to be shed frome his realme/ and haue communycacyon of theyr wyse councel with his. And therby he shall be praysed/ honoured/ 5 & doubted of his subjectes/ whan they se þat he speketh and doth his werkes wysely. For easely is perceyued the wysdome or foly of a kynge/ for whan he gouerneth hym in worthynesse towarde his subjectes/ he is worthy to reygne honourably. But he that putteth his realme in seruytude or thraldom/ of euyll customes/ 10 he breketh the way of veryte/ and dyspyseth the good way and lawe of god. And at þe last [shal] be dyspraysed of all folkes/ as he hath deserued.

8 hym] him selfe K

11 veryte/ and] veryte. And

Capitulum xiiij<sup>m</sup>

## Of largesse and of the kynges gode ordenance

IT is iuste cause and reasonable that gode renommé of the kynge be preised, science and predonommee spradde, by all the [parties] of his reavme, and that he have oft parlement and wise counseiles 5 with his subgettes when that they will speke to-gidders, and do his besynes wisely. And therby he shall [be] preised and honnoured with grete doute. And witteth it well that by this gouernaunce they shold knawe the wisdom of the kynge. For when the kynge gouerneth hym in predonommé aganst God he is worthy to reigne, 10 to be honoured, and to gouerne as in lordeshippe. But he that putteth his kyngedam in seruitude and in yvell customs passeth the right way of charité. For yf he misgouerne and mistake hym fro the righte waye of God and of the lawe, at the laste he shalbe mistaken of alle other subgettes, fremde and knawen. 15

3 cause] *prec. by reason in the bold chancery hand of chapter-openings, canc. by underlining* gode] *prec. by canc.* kynge 5 his] *prec. by canc.* the wise] e  
foll. by letter begun and canc.

## Of the religiouse lyf and holinesse of a kinge

Eftsones I pray the to doo as the philosophre hathe spoken, saying in this wise: it perteyneth that the moost royall magesté be gouerned aftir the lawe and rightwisnesse, and nat by a feynt  
 5 shewing outwarde, but bi pure deede, to thentent that is subgites may clierly see and knowe the good lyuing of the kyng, and that he dreedith God and demeenyth him aftir His Lawe. Than the  
 [f. 42<sup>v</sup>] kinge shall be worshipped and | dredde of his peeple. And yf he  
 p. 83 shewe him-self outward feynyng to be of vertuous and religious lyf, and that he be yll to his subgites, for yll operacions will nat  
 10 longe be hidde but that the peeple shall vndirstand it, than shall he be disprayed and diffamed both of God allmighty and of alle men, and the worship and dignitee of his corone shall faile. What shuld I sey more? There is no richesse nor othir thinge in this  
 15 worlde so grete of value as the good fame. And on the othir partie,

## De la preudommie du roy, religiun et sainteté .xij.

DE la preudommie du roy, religiun] et sainteté ie te prie derechief et de ce que les saiges philosophes ont parlé et dit. Il appartient que la royalle maiesté soit gouernee selon les droiz et les lois, non  
 5 proferees et apparences, maiz de fait, affin que chascun voie et congnoisse clerement la preudommie du roy et qu'il doubtte Dieu, quar qui se vieult gouerner selon Dieu lors sera doubté le roy et aimé quant on verra qu'il doubtte Dieu. Et se il se monstre sainte-  
 9 ment preudomme et religieux et il soit mauuais a ses subgés, les  
 [f. 9<sup>v</sup>] mauuais | euures ne se peuent celer et ne peut estre que le peuple ne les congnoisse. Et pour ce il sera mesprisés de Dieu et de toutes gens diffamés et de son fait en serra mendres et abaissiés et faudra l'onneur de la couronne de son royaume. Que te diré ge plus? Il n'est tresor ne autre chose en ce monde qui vaille bonne  
 15 renummee. Et d'autre part, chier filz, il affiert que tu honnoures

2 religiun] religium F, religion HRV  
 14 tresor] *prec. by canc.* trest

5 proferees et] pas par fainte-

m. ¶ Of the worthynes/ relygyon/ and holynesse of a kyng. |

AND yet agayne well beloued sone I tell þe that the phylosophres [f. C1] haue spoken and sayd. It behoueth that þe royall mageste be gouerned by ryghtwysnesse/ & not by faynt apparence/ but in dede/ to thende þat euery man may se and knowe clerely the goodnesse 5 of the kyng/ and that he feare god. And wyll be gouerned in godly wayes/ than shall he be honoured & doubted. And yf he shewe hym selfe faynyng to be good/ and is nought to his subjectes/ his yll werkes can not be hyd/ nor it may not be but his people shall knowe it. He shall be dyspysed of god & shamed in the 10 worlde. And his dedes shalbe lessed/ & the honoure of the crowne of his realme shall fayle. What shall I tell þe more? there is no tresure in this world to good fame. And moreouer dere sone/ it

1 m.] *no punct.*  
*indicated hereafter)*

5 thende] the ende K (*expansion of apocope regular, not*  
13 to] *see n.*

### Capjtulum xiiij<sup>m</sup>

#### Of the kynges religioune and his hele

Of the kynges prodonomee, of his hele and religion.

I pray the yit agayne, and of that at the wise Philosophre[s] have spoken and said, I[t] behoveth that the roial maiesté be gouerned 5 after the lawes and rightes before muche approued | and preferred, [f. 224] but to that entente that eche man may knawe the prodonommee and the wisdam of the kyng, and that he love and doute God. For yf he will doute and loue God, then he shalbe douted and loued of all men. But yf he shewe hym a gode man, holy and religious, and 10 is contrary in werkes and all his dedes til his subgettes, and that the peple do well apperceyve [it], it may not faile but that he shalbe disprased of God and of all his peple famed, and of his estate he shalbe lassed and made lowe, and the honoure and the corone of his reavme lasse taken hede offe and obeyed. For ther is no richesse, 15 wisdom ne puissaunce in this warlde, so vailable to the grete

6 before] *prec. by canc. s*  
*prec. by canc. god*

8 kyng] *prec. by canc. prynces*  
12 apperceyve it] *apperceyvede*

9 of]

deere sonne, it is nedfull that thou worship thi knyghtes, and doo reuerence to men of religion and exalte thaim that ben purueid of grete wysdome, and speke oft with thaim, makynge thaim questions and doutes, and also worship the nobles of euery man as he is  
5 worthy.

### Of the purueaunce of a kinge

THE wyse kynge most oft tymes thinke vpon the thinges that may falle, to thentent he may wysely purueye agains that may be to him contrarie, and so shall he bere the more lightly the aduer-

les clers et portes reuerance au proudommes de religion et exaues les saiges et parlement avecques eulx, en leur faisant doubttes et questions de leur demandes. Les honnoure ainsi selon ce que vn chascun en sera dignes.

### 5 De la proueance du roy

.xiiij.

Il conuient que le saige roy pense souuent des choses qui sont a aduenir affin qu'il puisse saigement pourueoir ad ce qu'il lui puit estre contraire et qu'il puisse plus legierement porter les

1 exaues] *fol. by stop*      6 choses] *chos followed by short vertical stroke, presumably abbreviation for es-, at end of line.*

besemeth þat thou worshyp clerkes/ and pouerte of good men of relygon/ and exalt wyse men and speke oft with them. And questyon often of doubtes with them. And demaunde many thynges of them. And answer wysely to theyr questyons. And honoure noble men as eche of them is worthy.

5

n. ¶ Of the pourueyaunce of a kynge.

IT behoueth that a wyse kynge thynke often of thynges to come that he may prouyde for suche thynges as be contrary to hym. And

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estates of this warlde, as is the predonommé vniuersally of the pepull. And on that other side, thou glorious Emperoure, it behoveth and longeth to thy roiall excellence that thou honnoure the clargie and bere reverence to the well lernyng men occupied vertuousli in scoles, in studies and in vniuersitees, and of clene and deuoute religions, to helpe and enhance hem the wise, the well willed men and counsailers and officiars of thy parlamentes, making theire questions and demaundes, with the redy remedies and absolucions, | pro republica, to the honoure, worship and profete of thyn estate roiall and of thyne vmbill true subgettes.

5

[f. 224<sup>v</sup>]

10

### Capitulum xv<sup>m</sup>

Of the gode purveiaunce of the kyng to the gode of his reavme

It behoveth the wise kynge to remembre and thynke on thynges that bene conuenient and oportune for the prosperité and the

15

sitees and sodeyn aduentures. And the kinge aught to be merciabile,  
 and to bere his ire and angir couertly, and wysely refrayne, to that  
 entent he fulfille nat his purpose withoute sad deliberacion. And  
 he aught wysely to knowe how he shuld be gouerned. For the  
 5 moost souereyn wisdome and vertue that the kyng may haue [is]  
 discrecion to demeene him-self wysely and sadly. And whan he  
 vndirstandeth any thinge that may be to him good and profitable,  
 8 he aught to labour it diligently and discretlye, to thentent men  
 shall nat sey that the kinge | dooth his thinges slauly and negli-  
 [f. 43]  
 p. 84 gentlye.

aduersités et les contraires aduentures. Et si doit estre le roy  
 piteux, et son yre et son courros doit saigement couurir et re-  
 fraindre affin que sa[ns] deliberacion il ne vienne ou fait qu'il a en-  
 pensé et son courroux doit raisonnablement congnoistre sens  
 5 esreur et rapeler saigement. Car la plus souueraine saigesce et  
 vertus que le roy puisse auoir e[s]t de lui saigement goner. Et  
 quant il voit aucune chose qui lui est bonne et proufitable, il se  
 doit fere en grant diligence et discrecion affin que les gens ne dient  
 qu'il fait ses besoignes trop soutement et trop negligemment.

3 a] *ins. above*  
 est HRVG, cf. 284b/10

4 doit] *prec. by canc.* et

5 et<sup>2</sup>] est

6 est] et F

pat he may the easlyer bere the aduersytees and contrary aduentures. And the kyng ought to be wysely hyd & refreyned/ to thende that without | delyberacyon he come not to the dede that [f. Crv] he purposed in his anger. And he ought reasonably knowlege his anger and errour/ and appease hym selfe easely. For the moost 5 souerayne wysdome and vertue that a kynge maye haue/ is to rule himselfe wysely. And whan he seeth ony thyng that is good and prouffitable for hym to be done/ he sholde do it with grete dylygence/ & dyscrecyon bycause þe people shal not say þat he hath done his besynesse folysshely/ or to neglygently. 10

4 And] And that K    knowlege] to knowledge K

welfare of hym and his reavme, and to withstond all that may be contrarie to hym, that he may the lightlier bere the aduertise of his enemyes and theire harde adventures. A kynge also shold be pytuous, and his ire and his furious wrath he sholde couuertely restreyne, to that ende that his deliberaciones and his warkes 5 come not to that his vnauysed and inordynate ireous thocht. For of reason he sholde thynke that it is wisdom to restreyne an irous witte. For the moste soueraynst wisdom is vertue that a kynge may have to gouerne and rule hym. And when that he saith any thyng that may be to hym profettable, he sholde dowe it with 10 grete diligence and discrecion, to that ende that his peple say ne deme not that he doth his warkes to folily ne to negligently.

4 couuertely] *prec. by canc.* thenke  
for -es: *intended form perh.* deliberacions

5 deliberaciones] *contraction-sign*

## Of the clothinge of the kynge

IT longeth to the roiall magestee that the kinge be clothid  
 worshipfully and shewe himself in riche and noble clothinge,  
 passing all othir mennys clothinge. And he aught to haue good,  
 5 faire, straunge clothinge whiche in prerogatyf dignitee shall passe  
 all othir. For the whiche his highnesse and power is the more  
 exalted and dredde, and the more reuerence is doon to him.  
 And it is needfull that the kinge be a fair speker and louinge, and  
 that he maynteyne himself in graciouse langage, and in especiall  
 10 in tyme of werre and bataile.

## Des vestemens du roy

.xiiij.

Il afiert moult que le roy en sa maiesté royalle soit vestus hon-  
 nourablement et qu'i tousiours se monstre en beaux et riches  
 [f. 10] vestemens et doit en beauté de | robes seurmonter tous autres  
 5 vestemens. Il doit donc vser de beaux, chers et estranges veste-  
 mens et qui en grant pr[er]ogatiue et dignité apparent et tous  
 autres seurmontent. Car pour [ce] sa dignité en est plus hon-  
 nouree et sa puissance plus exaulcee et plus grant reuerance lui  
 [es]t faite et randue. Et si affiert bien que le roy soit beaux parleur  
 10 et doulz et aimables et en gracieuses paroles et par especial en  
 temps de guerres et de batailles.

[Manuscript continues]

6 prerogatiue] prologatiue F, prerogatiue HRG, preeminence V  
 om. F ce HVG se R 9 est] ait

7 ce]

o. ¶ Of the vestymentes of a kynge.

IT besemeth well to þe mageste royall that þe kynge be clothed honourably. And that he shewe hymselfe alway in fayre and ryall clothes. And ought in beaute of robbes to surmount all other clothynge. Also he ought with grete prerogatyf & dygnyte vse 5 fayre/ deere/ & straunge vestures. For therby is his dygnyte more excellent and his myght more exalted. And more reuerence is made to hym. And also it besemeth a kynge to be fayre spoken/ with softe and kynde wordes/ specially in tyme of warre.

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### Capitulum xvi<sup>m</sup>

#### Of the vestures and clothynge of the kynge

Right conuenient and thyng appurtenaunt to the roiall estate of the kynges maiesté, that his hie person be honnourabully clothed, and that euermore he shewe hym in riche vestures and clothynge 5 to his peple, and that . . .

[Manuscript breaks off]

5 that euermore] that euermore that  
*catch-word*

6 that] *supplied from position as*

## Of the countenance of a kynge

ALEXandre, dier sonne, it is a precieuse thinge and worshipfull,  
 that the kinge speke litle, but yf it be for greet neede. For it is  
 better that the earis of the peepel be feruently desiringe to heere  
 5 the woord of the kynge, than that they shuld be full and annoied  
 to heer his langage through the spekinge to miche. For whan the  
 earis of the peepel ben full of the kinges wordis, the hertes ben  
 weery of the sight of him. And the kinge aught [not] to shewe  
 him-self to oft to his peepel, nor to haunte the felauship of his  
 10 subgites, and in especiall the comons and olde peepel, for thurgh  
 the grete familiarité he shuld be the lasse preised. And therefore  
 the Judiens haue a good custume in the ordinaunce of thair kynge  
 [f. 43<sup>v</sup>] and of the reame. Thaire kyng sheweth neuyr him-self | openly  
 p. 85 before his peepel but onys in the yere, at whiche tyme he shewyth  
 15 him-self in royall apparaile. And all his lordes and knyghtys ben  
 armed aboute him, and him-self vpon a destrier, armed and araied  
 as it perteyned in the magesté royall, and his peepel beinge a cer-  
 teyn space from the lordys and nobles, spekyng and declaringe to  
 the kyng highnesse the grete and chargeable maters of the land,  
 20 shewing him the cases and perillis that ben past, and how notably  
 he and his counseill haue ben demeenyd and guded thereynne.  
 And is the kinge accustomed to gyf grete giftes, and to forgyue to  
 diuers thaire trespaces, and to light the greet charges of his peepel,  
 with many othir good deedys. And whan thaire speches been  
 25 ended, the kinge sitteth downe in a cheyer. And than ryseth oon  
 the wyse princes, spekinge to the peepel, laudinge and recom-  
 mendinge the noble wisdom and good gouernaunce of the kynge,  
 yiuing graces to allmighty God that hath so loued and worshipped  
 the Judiens as to sende thaim so noble and wise a kynge, and hath  
 30 confermyd the peepel alle with oon assent to the obeisaunce of the  
 kynge, and in the benigne lowlynesse, and worship and pleisure  
 of his highnesse. And whan the wyse prince hath thus spoken,  
 [th]an the peepel doon thaire power to exalte the laude and  
 honeure of the kinge, recommending his good and vertuous opera-  
 35 cions, praying to God for him. And by this meene is the god  
 deedys and vertuous wisdom of the kynge raported by citees  
 and townes thurgh-out the reame. And so ben thaire children  
 endoct[r]ined and taught, whiche causeth thaim affir to owe thaire

## p. ¶ Of the countenance of a kynge.

SWete sone Alexander it is a goodly thyng precuous/ and  
 honourable whan þe kynge speketh but lytell. But yf ouer grete  
 nede requyre it. It is better þat þe eeres of þe people be wylling  
 to here þe wordes of a kynge/ than to be wery of his to moche 5  
 spekyng. For whan | þe eeres be gluttet with the kynges speche [f. C2]  
 theyr hertes be wery to se hym. And also þe kynge ought not to  
 shewe hymselfe to often to his people, nor haunt to moche þe  
 company of his subgetces/ & specyall of vylayns. And therefore  
 the Yndyens haue a good custome in þe ordynaunce of theyr 10  
 realme. For theyr maner is that theyr kynge sheweth hymselfe  
 but ones in the yere. And than he is clothed in vesture royall. And  
 all þe barons & knyghtes of his realme ben rychely armed and  
 arayed about hym. And he is set vpon a stede þe ceptre in his  
 hande armed with ryche armures royalles/ and all his people a good 15  
 way before þe barons & other noble men. And ther they shew þe  
 dyuers perylles & aduentures þat be passed. And how þat he & his  
 counsell is well ordred. And þe kynge as than is wonte to pardon  
 grete offences to some of them. And whan þe parlyament is ended  
 þe kynge setteth hym in a chayre & anone ryseth one of þe moost 20  
 wysest men & speketh to þe people/ praysyng & commendyng þe  
 wyt & good gouernaunce of þe kynge/ in yeldyng thanks to god  
 þat hath so well ruled and mayntened þe Yndyens kynge/ & þat  
 they are pourueyed of so wyse & honourable a kyng to reygne &  
 guyde them. And than he confermeth þe sayd people in one wyl & 25  
 courage to þe obedyence of þe kynge. And then he commendeth  
 þe people & aloweth them gretly of theyr good maners & condi-  
 cyons which [h]e reporteth to them. And sheweth them goodly  
 wordes & examples/ þe better to put them in grace & obeysaunce/  
 with mekenesse in the good wyll of the kynge. And whan this 30  
 wyse prynce hath thus spoken/ the people enforce them to exalte  
 the praysynges/ and commendacyons/ and good maners of this  
 sayd kynge/ in prayenge god hertely for hym. | And by this meane [f. C2<sup>v</sup>]  
 by theyr good maners/ and wysdome of theyr kyng they cause  
 countrees and cytees to be obedyent to them. And thus ben the 35  
 chyl dren brought vp in theyr youth/ & taught in the honoure and

9 specyall] specially K; cf. 383/15  
 25 them.] no punct. (at end of line) C

22 kynge/ in] kynge. In C  
 28 he] be C he K

loue and feith and obeisaunce to the kynge. And his vertuous name  
 [f. 44] and good fame is openly shewed and declared in all | the parties of  
 p. 86 the lande. In the whiche tyme is justice kept and punicion executed  
 vpon thaim that haue deserued it, to thentent that they that ben  
 5 willinge to doo yll, refrayne and correct thaim-self. And also the  
 kynge shewyth graces to the marchautes in thaire tributes, and  
 preserueth thaim in rightwisnesse and justice. And that is the  
 cause that the lande is soo full of people and grete richesse. For of  
 10 thaire grete availe. And there ben both riche and poore susteyned,  
 whiche causeth the tributes and rentes of the kinge continually  
 to encrece and amende.

### Of the kynge[s] justice

THE kynge most beware that he doo no wronge nor vilanye to  
 15 the marchautes. But he aught to loue thaim and cherissh thaim,  
 be-cause they goo in to diuers parties of the world, where they  
 make thair repoortes as they haue cause. And the kinge aught by  
 right and justice see that euery man haue his owne good. And so  
 shall his lande, citees and townes be fully replenyssht with goodys,  
 20 and his rentes and reuenues shall encrece and multiplie, and his  
 might and power be dred of his enmyes. And thus shall the kinge  
 lyue and reigne pesiblye and suerly, according to his pleasire and  
 desire.

### Of the worldly desires [of a kynge]

ALexander, dier sonne, coueyte nat the worldly thinges whiche  
 25 [f. 44<sup>v</sup>] ben transitorie and corruptible, and remem|bre that thou most  
 p. 87 needys leue all tho behynde the. Than desire to haue the richesse  
 that is nat transitorie nor corruptible, and the lyf that may nat be  
 chaunged, that is, the reame of euerlastinge joye and glorye. Than  
 30 direct all thy thought and will to good perfeccion, and leue the lyf  
 of the beestes whiche lyuen in thaire foulnesse, and be nat redy  
 alle-vey to beleue alle that is tolde the. And be nat to hasty to  
 pardone all such as haue ben agains the, and thinke wyselye on  
 alle thinges that may falle. And sett nat thy desire to miche in  
 35 meyte and drinke, or in sleepe, nor in flesshly desires.

### Of the chastité of a kinge

MOoste noble emperoure, encline nat thy-self to the luxury of  
 37 encline] en clyne

reuerence of the kynge. And the good fame of the kyng secretly and manyfestly is spredde and knowen. And the ryche and poore ben therby susteyned thoroughout the realme of Ynde. And the kynges possessyons and trybutes encreaseth therby.

q. ¶ Of the Justyce of a kynge.

5

A Kynge ought to ordre hym soo that he do no wronge/ nor harme to marchauntes/ but ought to cherysse them. For they go thoroughout all the worlde/ and by them is reported the good and all renownes of lordes & prynces. And a kynge ought by veray Justyce to yelde eury man his. And so his landes and cytees shal 10 be garnysshed with all welthes. And the kynges werkes shall multiply to his honoure and glory/ and shal be the more redoubted of his foes/ and shall lyue & reygne at his wyl & desyre in quyetnesse.

r. ¶ Of the worldly desyres of a kynge.

Alexander ryght worthy sone/ coueyt not alwayes wordly 15 thynges/ for they be corruptyble. And thynke that thou must leaue all. Demaunde than suche thynges as can not be corrupte. That is the lyfe that | can not chaunge and the realme perdurable. And [f. C3] reyse thy thoughtes in goodnesse/ and therin kepe þe stronge & glorious. And leaue the lyfe of bestes þat alwaye lyue in theyr 20 fylthyngesse. Beleue not lyghtly al thyng that is tolde to the. And be not enclyned to pardon them/ agaynst whome thou hast had vycory. And thynke on the tyme & of thynges that may happen. For thou knowest what is to come. And set not thy desyres in meates & drynkes/ in lechery/ nor to moche slepe/ nor in carnall 25 desyres.

s. ¶ Of the chastyte of a kynge.

Souerayne Emperour encline not to lechery of women/ for it is

2 knowen. And] *no punct.* (at end of line) C  
12 and shal] et en sera F f. 11 14 r.] *no punct.*  
24 desyres] desire K

9 veray] very K  
15 wordly] worldly K

the wommen, for it is an hogges lyf. What lif is that for the, yf thou gouerne thy-self after the vices of the beestes vnresonable? Dier sonne, beleue me, for luxurie is destruccion of the body, shor-tinge of lyf, corrupcion of alle vertues, and trespacinge of feith,  
 5 and in conclusion, ledith man to all yll disposicions.

### Of the kynges disportys

IT is needful at some tyme that the kynge take his disportes with his felawes and princes, and that he haue mynstrellys with many diuers instrumentes, with daunsinge and singinge, for, whan a man  
 10 is anued and wery, suche delectable disportes comforteth nature  
 [f. 45] and yueth | to the body strength and vertu. And yf thou delite  
 p. 88 thy-self in suche dispoortys, be ware that thou drinke nat, and feyne the that thou art to hote to drinke, and let othir drinke who so will, and than shalt thou heere many secreetes. And take suche  
 15 disportes but ij or iij in the yere. More-ouer, it is good that thou haue nygh to thy persooone som true and secreet familiares that shall rapoort the alle thinge that is seid and doon in thy reame. And with thy barons and subgites, worship the wyse menne, and doo reuerence to thaim that therof ben worthye. And kepe iche  
 20 of thaim in his estate, and at som tyme make thaim to eite with the, now som, and anothis tyme som, and gyue thaim gownnes, yche of thaim aftir thaire estate and as they ben worthye. And see that there be noon of thy knyghtys, familier counseilers, but that they feele thy largesse, and soo shall appeere to alle men the noblenesse  
 25 of thy corage.

### Of the kynges discrecion

DIere sonne, it is expedient that the kinge with his wysdome haue good and faire countenance, and in especiall that he laugh nat to miche, for through to miche lawhing is the man lasse prayssed  
 30 and worshipped. And the kinge aught to make of his men [more] in his owne courte or counseile, thann in othis parties. And yf any of his men doo hurt or shame to any othis, the kynge aught to punissh him aftir his deserte, in exauple of alle othis. And thou aught in

a swynysse lyfe. And no glory shall be to the yf thou gouerne the  
 after þe lyuyng of bestes without reason. Dere sone beleue me/  
 for without doubt lechery is destruccyon of the body/ the abrege-  
 ment/ & corrupcyon of all vertues/ the deth of a man self/ and  
 maketh the man feminyne. And at the last bryngeth hym to all 5  
 euylles.

[.] ¶ Of the sportyng of a kynge.

SOthly it is besemyng to a kynge to take his pastyme and sporte  
 with his prynces and lordes. And that he haue many and dyuers  
 maners of mynstrylles/ and syndry instrumentes/ daunces and 10  
 songes. For the humayne creature naturally anoyeth. And in suche  
 instrumentes and pastymes nature delyteth & | the body taketh [f. C3<sup>v</sup>]  
 force & vygoure. Than yf thou wylt delyte in suche thynges/ do it  
 þe moost honestly & secretly that thou mayst. And whan thou arte  
 in thy pastymes beware for drynkynge of wyne. And let þe other 15  
 sporte them as longe as they lust. And than thou shalte haue many  
 secretes dysclosed. And make not this pastyme often/ but twyse or  
 thryse in þe yere. Also it behoueth þe to haue nyghe to the some of  
 thy famylyer seruauentes that shal tel and reporte to þe what is sayd  
 in þe realme. And whan thou arte amonge thy barons & subgetes/ 20  
 honoure wyse men & bere reuerence to euery man as they be  
 worthy. And euery man in his estate/ mayntene & let them ete with  
 þe somtyme/ one after another. And gyue gownes somtyme to one  
 & somtyme to another/ after theyr estate/ and as they be worthy.  
 And in ony wyse se þat there be none of thy knyghtes & famylyers/ 25  
 but þat he fele of thy lyberalyte & of thy grace. And thus ouerall  
 shall appere thy largesse & gretnesse of thy courage and honour.

¶ Of the dyscrecyon of a kynge.

MOst worthy sone it is good that a kynge haue lyberalyte/  
 goodly gesture/ and countenaunce/ & that he laughe not to 30  
 moche. For ouermoche laughyng causeth many to be lesse set  
 by/ and to be lesse honoured. And fynably ouermoch laugh-  
 yng maketh a persone to seme older than he is. Also a kynge  
 ought to loue his people in his courte and of his councel more than  
 in other partyes. And yf ony do vylany to another/ he ought to 35  
 punyssh hym as he hath deserued/ that | other may take example [f. C4]  
 therby/ and eschewe them from yll doynge. And in þat punys-

7 ]] s C (but cf. 237/3 and 7, 323/14) 10 mynstrylles] minstrels K  
 syndry] sundry K 32 fynably] finally K37-321/1 in þat punysshynge] in  
 punishyng K

thy punisshinge to considre the persoone that hath trespaced, and  
 [f. 45<sup>v</sup>] a[s] well aught to be punisshyt an high and | noble man as oon of  
 p. 89 the common peeple. And at som tyme it is good to doo justice  
 with rigoure, and at som tyme with faouure to thentent to make  
 5 a difference be-twixt the persooones. For it is vriten in the book  
 of Macabees, that the kinge aught to be loued and worshipped that  
 is likenyd to the egle whiche hath dominacion ouer alle birdys, and  
 nat to be likenyd to a-nothir birde subgite to the egle. And therefore,  
 yf any man doo vilanye to othir in thy presence, thou aught to  
 10 considre yf he haue doon it in dispoort, to do solace and mirth to  
 thy persoone and othir, or yf he did it in despite of thy royall  
 magestee. For the first cause he aught to be correctid, and for the  
 secunde he aught to dye.

### Of the reuerence of the kinge

15 **A**Lexander dier sonne, the obeisaunce of the kinge groweth by  
 .iiij. sundry weyes. First, through the vertuous lyving of the kinge.  
 An othir weye, that he yiueth his subgites cause to loue him, and  
 for-by cause he is jentill and curteyse, and for the worship and  
 reuerence that he dooth to thaim that haue deserued it and been  
 20 worthye. Diere sonne, doo soo miche that thou may haue the  
 hertes and corage of thy subgites and kepe thaim from alle wronges  
 and iniuries. And be ware that thou yive thaim no cause to speke  
 ayenst the, for through the vois of the peeple may lightly growe  
 greet harme and damage. Latinge the wite, that the wysdome of  
 25 the kinge is the digne glorie of his reuerence, and exaltacion of his  
 reame. It is founde in diuers hooly scriptures, that the kinge is  
 in his reame as the reigne is in the erthe, which is called the grace  
 [f. 46] of God, the bles|sing of heuyn, lif to the erthe and to alle crea-  
 p. 90 tures lyuing. For through the reyne all othir thinges encrecen and  
 30 frutifyen, how be it that at som tymes with gret reyne [cometh]  
 greet wedir, thundyr and tempest, both by see and by land, which

2 as] a followed by blank space sufficient for one letter and gap between two words  
 30 cometh] om. U viennent F, f. 13

shynge thou ought to regarde þe persone þat hath done amysse. For elles sholde a hyghe & noble man be punysshed as another. And yf thou do so thou shalt not be alowed of þe people. And it is good somtyme to do rygorous & strayt Justyce/ & somtyme not/ to thende [þa]t þ[e] dyfference of þe persones be knowen. For it is 5  
wryten in the boke of Machabees that a kynge ought to be praysed & loued/ yf he be lyke þe eygle/ which hath lorshyp ouer all fowles. And not as he whiche wyll be lyke another foule þat is subgete to the eygle. Wherefore yf ony do vylany to ony other in the presence of þe kynges mageste/ it ought to be regarded & considered 10  
yf þe offence were done in game or for to cause the kyng to laugh/ or to make hym or other glad of it/ or yf he dyde it in despyte/ & shame of the mageste royall. For þe fyrst dede he ought to be correcte/ and for the seconde to suffre dethe.

¶ Of the reuerence of a kynge.

15

Worthy kynge Alexander dere sone the obedyence to a kynge cometh by iiij. thynges. That is for þe vertuous lyuynge of the kynge. Bycause he maketh hym to be beloued of his subgetes. Bycause he is curteys. And for the honoure and reuerence/ that he dothe to them that be moost worthy of it. My dere sone do so 20  
moch that thou mayst drawe to the þe courages of thy subgetes/ and auenge them of all wronges & iniuryes done to them. And beware that thou gyue not to thy subgetes cause and mater to speke agaynst the. | For speche of people many tymes may do hurt. Than [f. C4<sup>v</sup>]  
haue in thy mynde suche wyse that nothyng may be sayd agaynst 25  
the. And so thou shall eschue the yll wyl and dedes of them that had yll wyll agaynst the. And forsoth the largenesse of the glory of thy dygnyte and reuerence, and exaltacyon of thy realme, and that reboundeth moost to thy honoure is to haue the hertes of thy subgetes. It is founde in holy scryptures, þat the kyng is ouer a 30  
realme as the rayne is ouer þe erth which is the grace of god and blyssynge of the heuens and cometh on the erthe/ and all lyuynge creatures. For the rayne is called the way of marchauntes/ and helpe of buylders. How be it that in the rayne falleth somtyme thondre and lyghtnyng/ swellynge of the see/ and floodes with 35  
tempestes and many other euyls cometh therby, wherwith medowes

5 þat þe] not þat C and, substant., K  
17-iiij.] foure K  
o of to, e of the, and full stop missing

7 lorshyp] lordship K  
23-24 to thy . . . agaynst the.] corner of page torn off:  
24 hurt. Than] no punct. C

causeth grete hurt to the peeple. Natwithstandinge, the peeple  
 thankyn oure Lord of His grace, consideringe that the reyne  
 comyth of His mercy. Suche anothir ensauple thou may finde of  
 wynter and somyr, in the whiche ceasons oure Lorde, of His moost  
 5 divine grace, hath ordeyned the sharpnesse of coolde, and grete  
 hete, to thengendring and norissHINGE of alle thinges naturell.  
 Neuerthelesse, grete harmys and mortall perilles growen and  
 comen of greet feruent coolde of wynter, and of heete of somyr.  
 And soo it is of the kinge. He most at som tymes doo greuauce  
 10 to his subgites, whiche contrarieth greetly the hertes of the comons.  
 But whan the peeple seeth and knowyth that by the grace and good  
 gouernaunce of the kinge the[i] ben kept in vnitee, peas and justice,  
 than they forgete alle the harmes that ben passed, thanking all-  
 mighty God of His high grace that He hath purueide thaim of so  
 15 noble a kyng.

### How the kinge aught to see to the pouerté of his subgites

I Pray the, deere sonne, enquere of the necessité of thy poore  
 subgites, and that thyne habundant grace preuaile to thy poore  
 subgites in thaire greet neede. And also thou aught to cheese and  
 20 ordeyne a good man that louith good justice and vndirstandeth the  
 langage of thy subgites, and committe him the reule and gouer-  
 nauce of | thy peeple, and that he kepe thaim in rightwisenesse,  
 [f. 46<sup>v</sup>] P. 91 with loue and pitee. And so shall thou performe the pleasire of  
 God to the conseruacion of thy reame and of thy subgites.

### 25 Of the misericorde of the kyng

DEere sonne, I pray the and counseile the, that thou make grete  
 prouision of cornes and of all maner vitailles, to thentent yf the tyme  
 of derth and hungre falle in thy reame, that than thou maist helpe,  
 socoure and counforte thy subgites in thaire necessitee. And sende  
 30 vitailles to the citees and townes in alle the parties of the land and  
 of thyn habundaunt grace relecue thy peeple. And this is a prin-  
 cipall wile and wisdom to the conseruacion of thy reame and  
 saluacion of thy subgites. Than will they haue grete desire and  
 corage to fullfille alle thy pleasirs and commaundementes. And  
 35 shall thou reigne in grete pro[s]perité, and thei shall reioyse gretly,  
 and the wysdome meruailing of thy ferre-casting wytte, which

27 vitailles] s ins. above (at end of line)

and verdures hath perysshed. For god made it so of his grete  
 goodnesse/ benygnyte/ and grace. The whiche selfe example ye  
 may fynde in wynter and somer. In the whiche the souerayne  
 largesse gyueth and ordeyneth coldenesse and heate/ engendrynge  
 and encreasyng of all newe thynges. How be it many euyls & 5  
 perylles cometh by the rygour of grete coldenesse of wynter/ &  
 grete heates of somer. In lyke wyse dere sone is it of a kynge. For  
 many tymes the kynge doth many grefes and euylles to his sub-  
 gectes/ and maketh them to beare grete herte agaynst hym. But  
 whan the people seeth that by the grace and good gouernaunce of 10  
 þe kynge they be in peas and well ruled they forgete the abouesayd  
 euylles/ and thanke the gloryous god that hath pourueyed them of  
 so wyse a kynge. |

[s.] How the kynge ought to remembre his subjectes. [f. D1]

I Requyre þe swete sone that thou of thy goodnesse thynke and 15  
 inquire oftentimes of thy poore subjectes/ and knowe their  
 necessarytees. And set amonge them suche men as be vertuous and  
 that loueth god and Justyce and that knoweth theyr maners/ and  
 vnderstandeth theyr speches/ and can gouerne them peasybly  
 and in loue. And yf thou do thus/ thou shalt do the pleasure of thy 20  
 creatoure. And it shall be saufegarde to thy realme/ and gladnesse  
 of the and thy people.

t. ¶ Of the mercy of a kynge.

DEre sone I counsell the that thou make grete prouysyon of  
 corne and vytayles in suche wyse that thy countrees may haue 25  
 haboundaunce/ in eschewynge (as it chaunceth often) to haue  
 scarcyte/ and famyn. In so moche that by th[y] grete prudence  
 thou mayst saue and maynteyne thy subjectes. And thou ought  
 to haue thy garners stuffed/ and to proclayme throughtout all thy  
 realme and cytees/ how thou hast gadred and stored the of greynes 30  
 and other vytayles. And that thou kepest them to the prouysyon of  
 thy realme/ and to vtter them with plente to the saluacyon of thy  
 subjectes. The which doynge wyll cause thy people to be coragious  
 to do thy commaundementes. And so thou shalt prospere/ and euery  
 man wyll meruayle of thy grete lyberalyte/ & of þe prouydence 35

14 s.] om.      21 saufegarde] safegarde K      25 vytayles] victuels K  
 27 scarcyte/] scarcyte f      thy] the CK ta F f. 13<sup>v</sup>      28 subjectes. And] no  
 punct. C      31 vytayles. And] no punct. (at end of line)

shall cause thaim to gyue laude and preysing to thyne approued manhode, and yche man shall dreede to displease the.

### Of the perill of murdrye

ALEXander, deere sonne, I haue oft desired the, and preyde  
 5 the, to kepe my doctrine, for if thou kepe it trulye, thou shalt with-  
 oute doute come to thy purpose, and thy reame shall endure in  
 [f. 47] good estate and prosperité. That is to | say, that thou be ware aboue  
 P. 92 alle othir thinges as miche as thou may of shedinge of the blood of  
 mankinde, for that longeth alle oonly to God. And therefore pre-  
 10 sume nat to take vpon the that longeth to God Himself. For it  
 perteyneth nothir to the nor to no man to desire and enquere the  
 pryutees of God. Than be ware of murdrye. For the moost noble  
 doctoure Hermogenes seith that he that sleeth or put to deth the  
 creature like to him-self, alle the vertues of heuyn ben withoute  
 15 ceessing beseching and cryenge to the high Magesté of oure  
 Lorde, saying thus, 'Sir, Thy seruaunt will be egall to Thy-self!'  
 And oure Lord answerith to the vertues, saying thus, 'Let be, let  
 be! For the uengeaunce longeth to Me, and I can yelde to him  
 agayn.' Latinge the wite that who that euyr sleeth a man, and in  
 20 especiall withoute a resonable cause, God will take uengeaunce.  
 And the uertues of heuyn ben euer afore God presentyng the  
 bloode and death of him that is slayne, till the uengeaunce be  
 taken.

### Of the knowledge of the seid perilles

DIere sonne, of alle paynes and perilles see that thou haue  
 25 knowlege, for I haue had and knowen in my tyme grete harmes  
 and perilles. And also haue in thy remembraunce the deedys of  
 thy forefadirs, and how they haue lyued. And therby shalt thou  
 see and lerne many good ensaumples whiche shall yeue the vndir-  
 30 standinge of diuers thinges that may falle in tyme comynge. And  
 also I pray the that thou will nat greeue nor disprayse him that is  
 lower than thy self. For it falleth oft that he that is lowe may  
 [f. 47<sup>v</sup>] hastily growe | to grete worship and richesse, and than he is  
 P. 93 mighty to helpe him-self.

afore hande in thy besynesses. And they wyll repute the | as [f. Dr<sup>v</sup>]  
 holy/ and lawde and magnyfye thy worthynesse. And euery man  
 wyll feare to dysplease the.

v. ¶ Of paynes and punysshementes.

MY dere sone Alexander/ I admonysshe/ and also praye the to 5  
 kepe my doctrynes and thou shalt come to thy purpose. And thy  
 realme shall be durable and in good estate. That is to wyte/ aboute  
 all thyng that thou kepe the frome shedyng of mannes blode. For  
 it belongeth onely to god/ whiche knoweth the secretes of men.  
 Than take not on the/ the offyce that belongeth onely to almyghty 10  
 god/ wherfore as moche as thou mayst withdrawe thy hande  
 therfro. For the doctour Hermogenes sayth. That who that sleeth  
 the creature lyke vnto hym/ all the sterres of the skye ceaseth not  
 to crye to the mageste of god/ lorde/ lorde/ thy seruaunt wyll be 15  
 lyke vnto the. For surely god wyll take vengeance on hym that  
 sleeth a man/ and specyally without reasonable cause. For god  
 answereth to the vertues of heuen saynge. Leauye ye/ for in me lyeth  
 the vengeance/ and I can yelde it. And wyte thou that the vertues  
 of heuen without cease do present before the face of god/ the dethe 20  
 and blode of hym that is deed/ tyll that god hath taken vengeance  
 for it.

u. ¶ Of the knowlege of the sayd paynes. |

O Moost louynge sone/ of all suche paynes with the knowlege [f. D2]  
 therof/ wyte thou that I haue sene moche harme/ and many euylles  
 oftentymes come therby. Do soo that thou mayst haue in thy mynde 25  
 the dedes or werkes of poetes. And thynke how they haue lyued.  
 And therby thou mayst se and lerne many goodly examples. And  
 theyre thoughtes shal gyue the grete documentes in tyme comynge.  
 And also I pray the my dere sone, that thou greue nor dyspraye  
 none lesser than thou. For it happeneth often that the small 30  
 estate ryseth ryght soone in to grete rychesses and honoures/ and  
 may be so myghty that he maye endamage the. Many examples  
 therof hath ben seen as phylosophres reherse.

12 therfro. For] *no punct. (at end of line)* sayth.] *see 257/5n. and 363/31n.*  
 17 saynge.] *see n. to l. 12* 26 poetes] *tes peres F f. 14* 30 that the] *the K*

### To kepe his feith

DEere sonne, be ware that thou breke nat thi feith that thou hast  
 promysed, and the aliaunces that thou hast made, for that longeth  
 to common harlottes and people withoute feith. And therfore kepe  
 5 well thy feith and promyse. And yf thou doo othir wyse, harme  
 and in-conuenientes shall enseue, and, in the ende, yll conclusion.  
 Latyng the wite, that through good and stable keeping of the feith  
 and promyse is the good felauship of men assembled, and the  
 citees and townes in-habite with people, and the kinge reigne and  
 10 perseuere. And yf thou breke thy feith, all men shall liken the to  
 the childe or beest vnresonable. Beware than that thou breke nat  
 thy feith, and kepe truly the promisses and aliaunces that thou hast  
 made, how be it that parauentur [falleth] the greeuouse damage.  
 Hast nat thou vndrestandinge that thou hast ij spirites, wherof  
 15 oon is in thy right side and the othir in the lefte, whiche knowen  
 alle thy deedys, and repoorten to thy Creatoure all that thou hast  
 doon? And me seemyth this all only aught to yeue the cause to  
 withdrawe and leeuie all dishoneste and yll operacions. For thou  
 aught neuer to swere but yf grete nede cause it. And if thou wilt  
 20 knowe, the cause why the reame of Ymbre and Assiriens were  
 destrued was this: the kinge made many fals othis and promisses  
 for to deceyue the menne and citees that were next to his lande,  
 [f. 48] and breek the aliaunces and promisses | that he had made, by-cause  
 P. 94 it was to the profite of his lande and him-self. And in the same  
 25 wyse, the wyse men of his lande made many fals othis to begile and  
 deceyue thaim that were thaire next neighbours. But the diuyn  
 sapiencie and the moost souereyn and high Juge might no lenger  
 suffre thaim. Right dier sonne, I will that thou wite, that for the  
 reule and ordinaunce of thy lande I haue made morall doctrine  
 30 and speciall techinges and profitable, whiche perteyneth to the  
 and to the gouernaunce of thy reame, and of thy propre familiar  
 householde, and of thi people. But it is nat yit tyme to declare  
 thaim to thee, but thou shalt fynde thaim in a certayne place of this  
 book heere-aftir. And yf thou kepe and obserue my said doctrine,  
 35 thou shalt by the mercy of God haue alle thy desires. And, deere  
 sonne, be nat repentaunt of thy good deedys passed, for that

## x. ¶ How a kyng ought to kepe his fayth or othe.

ABoue all thyng (dere sone) beware that thou breke not thy  
 faythe and othe that thou hast made. For it is belongynge to  
 strompettes/ and also to people that kepe not/ nor do not care  
 for theyre faythe and othe. Wherefore kepe thy faythe that thou 5  
 hast promysed/ for and yf that thou do otherwyse/ it wyll come  
 to an euyll ende at the last. And yf by aduenture or fortune/ it  
 chaunceth that ony welthe cometh by faythe brekyng/ the trust  
 therof sholde not be good/ but veray euyll & reprouable/ and suche 9  
 a man | is put in the nombres of them that be nought. Wyte thou [f. D2<sup>v</sup>]  
 than that by kepyng of faythe is made þe goodly assemblynge of  
 men. Cytees ben inhabyted with comyns/ and soo is the good  
 sygnouryes of kynges. By kepyng of fayth castelles ben holden and  
 kepte in lordshyps. And yf thou breke thy fayth thou shalt be re-  
 puted of euery man as a chylde or a brute beest/ than beware 15  
 therof. And kepe also the othes/ and alyauces that thou hast  
 made/ though that they be greuous and damageable to the. Wotest  
 thou not þat thou hast two spyrytes alwaye with the/ one on the  
 ryght syde and the other on the lyft syde/ whiche knowe and kepe  
 all thy workes. And reporte to thy creatoure al that thou hast 20  
 done. Of a trouthe thou ought onely to absteyne þe frome all  
 dyshonest workes. And constreyne none to swere/ but yf ouer  
 grete nede requyre it. A kyng ought not to swere/ but he be moche  
 requyred and prayed. And yf thou wylt wyte what was the de-  
 struccyon of Nubye/ and of the Assyryens/ I certyfy the that they 25  
 kyng made othes gylefully/ to deceyue the men and cytezens  
 next by. And brake his alyuances and promysse that he had made/  
 bycause they were profytable to his realme. And also to his sub-  
 gectes he made many fals othes to destroy theyr next neyghbours.  
 The ryghtwyse Juge coude susteyne nor suffre them no longer. 30  
 Moost dere sone I wyll that thou knowe/ that for the gouernynge  
 and ordynaunce of thy realme I haue made the some new doc-  
 trynes/ the whiche specyally is for the profyte of thyn owne  
 famylyers and the. But as yet it is not tyme to gyue them to the.  
 I wyll gyue the them in a certayne place of this boke shortly 35  
 abreged. The | whiche yf thou kepe for thy selfe prouffytably/ with [f. D3]  
 the helpe of god thou shalt haue prosperyte/ and that that thou  
 desyrest. Swete sone repente þe not of thynges that be passed/ for

1 or] and K  
 beast, than K

12 comyns] commons K  
 25 Assyryens/ I] assyryens. I C

15 beest/ than] beest than C

longeth to wommen that ben feble of condicion. And doo so that thy goodnesse, trouthe and jentilnesse be manifestly knowen and vndirstande, and that shall be the conseruacion of thy reame and destruccion of thyne enmyes.

5

### Of the studies and scolys

DOo so miche that thou may haue studies and scoles, and commaunde that thy subgites put thaire children for to lerne the lettres and noble sciences. And thou aught to helpe and socoure the gouernaunce of the scolys and of the poore clerkes, and yeue som  
 10 auauntage and prerogatyf to the grete and notable clerkes, and so shalt thou gyue thaim cause to studie and laboure to haue the high  
 [f. 48<sup>v</sup>] perfeccion of science. And | gyue laude to thaim that ben laudable,  
 P. 95 and worship thaim that ben worshipfull, and giue of thy good to thaim that haue deserued it, and so shalt thou exalte the clerkes  
 15 and stire thaim to gyue the laude and pryse, and to make faire and plesaunt scriptures of the and of thy deedys, whiche shall be by thaim had in perpetuall recommendacion.

### Of the sauf garde of the kynge

ALEXander deere sonne, sett nat thyne affiaunce in no womman  
 20 nor in her dedys nor seruise, nor vse nat thaire companye. And yf it be nedfull that thou haue the companye of woman, take suche on as men may beleue she be true to the. For whan a womman hath thy persooone betwix hir armes, thou art like to the jewell that is leid in the kepinge of a marchaunt, which abideth the  
 25 jupartye of the see. For than she hath thy lyf in hir will. Beware than of suche mortall venyme, for it is no newe thinge that men han ben put to deth with venyme. More-ouer, deere sonne, trust nat a [s]oole phisician alone for oon phisician might likly doo grete harme. And therefore, to escheue the perilles, yf thou may, take  
 30 diuers phisicians, and that they ben alle of oon accorde. And yf

that belongeth to women whiche ben weyke of condycyon. Let thy goodnesse, thy faythfulnesse/ and consyence be all hoole, and manyfest. And they shall be saufegarde of thy realme and destrucyon of thyn enemyes.

## y. ¶ Of studye.

5

TAke hede that thou haue studyes and scoles in thy cytees. And cause all thy people to lerne theyr chyldren lettres and noble scyences/ and vse them to studye. For thou ought to helpe and socoure the gouernayle of studyes and poore scolers. And gyue auantages and prerogatyues to good studyentes that proufyte to  
10  
theyr lernynge, and this wyse thou shalt gyue an example to them that be laye/ exalte theyr prayers and receyue theyr wrytynge mekely/ prayse them þat ought to be worshypped. Gyue thy goodes to them that be worthy. Cherysshe clerkes and styre them to prayse the. And put the and thy werkes in goodly wrytynges/  
15  
which by them shalbe perpetually prayed.

## z. ¶ How a kynge ought to kepe his body.

MOst beloued sone kynge Alexandre/ trust not in women/ nor in theyr werkes/ nor seruyces/ and company not with them. | And  
[f. D<sub>3</sub>] 20  
yf necessity were that thou must haue company of a woman/ do so that thou mayst knowe that she is true to the/ and holsome of her bodye. For whan thy persone is betwene the armes of a woman/ thou arte as a Jewell/ put/ and restynge in the handes of a marchant/ that careth not to whome it is solde. And beyng betwene  
25  
her handes/ is the poyson of thy welfare/ and also the destrucyon of thy body. Beware therfore dere sone/ of suche women/ for they be venymous and deedly. For it is no newe thyng to knowe that by theyr venym many men haue dyed. Thou knowest well that many kynges haue forthered and shortened theyr lyues and haue dyed by poyson. Also dere sone Alexander beware that thou  
30  
put not thy trust in one physycyen onely. For one physycyen maye hurte the/ and shortely do to the moche harme. And therfore yf thou mayst/ do so that thou haue many physycyens. And that they be of one agrement. And yf thou wylt haue any medycyn/ take it not but by the counsell of them all. And that they be such as  
35

1 whiche] that K      8 ought] oughtest K      9 studyes] studyens C  
students K estudes F f. 15      11 an example] example K      20 woman/  
do] woman. Do      32 harme. And] no punct.

thou take any medycyne or receyte, that it be made of a certeyn weight and mesure as the sekenesse may require. And remember whan thou ware in the parties of Inde, where many grete giftes and presentes ware presentid the, amonge the whiche presentes  
 5 was sent to the a faire mayde whiche was of childehode brought  
 [f. 49] vp with venime and serpentis, wherof of | hir nature was [she]  
 P. 96 conuerted and turned to the kynde of serpentys. And than I tooke grete kepe of hir, and with sad deliberacion auised hir countenance. And whan I sawe her straunge looke and bolde countenance  
 10 withoute shame, I perceyued that with a soole bit she might put a man to dethe, as more pleneurly aftirwarde it was preuide before the. And had nat ben that I vndirstande hir nature at the begynnyng, at the first touchinge that thou shuldist haue had with hir, thou haddest ben dede withoute remedye. Deere  
 15 soone, remembre thy noble soule whiche is yeuen the from the felasship of heuen, and put hir nat to endeles perdicion, but kepe hir soo that she may be glorified in the nombre of thaim that ben notable and wise.

### Of the difference of astronomye

20 ALEXandre deere sonne, I pray the, and it may be, that thou nothir ryse nor sitte, nor eite nor drinke, nor do no thinge, withoute the counseill of som notable clerke that hath the perfeccion of the science of astronomye. Lating the wite for certayn, that the gloriouse God hath mad no thinge withoute cause and grete reson.  
 25 And by this weye the noble doctoure Plato laboured to enquere and vndirstand of alle thinges that ben made and composed of the f[ou]re qualitees and humors contrarye. And so he had the knowlege of alle thinge that is create. And more-ouer I pray the, gyue  
 29 nothir feith nor credence to som foolys that seyn that the science  
 [f. 49<sup>v</sup>] of constillacions of the planetes | may nat ben vndirstande, for  
 P. 97 truly they wote nat what they seyn. Latinge the wite, that to the

6 she] *see n.*

21-2 withoute] withoute

27 foure] faire

knoweth the qualyte and nature of the thynges that ben put/ and necessary in the medycyne. And that it be of a certayne weyght and measure/ as the medycyne requyreth it. For by equall porcyons of weyght and measure the arte of physyke is compownded.

¶ And thynke on dere sone that whan thou was in the parties of 5  
Ynde, many people made to the grete presentes and fayre. Amonge the whiche was sente a fayre mayden whiche in her chyldehed had be nourysshed with venym of serpentess/ wherby her nature was conuerted in to the nature of serpentess. And than yf I had not 9  
wysely beholden | her and by my artes and wyt knowen her/ [f. D4]  
bycause that contynually/ and without shamefastnesse euer she looked in the faces of the people/ I perceyued that with ones bytynge she wolde haue put a man to deth as sythen thou hast seen the experyence before the. And yf I had not knowen her nature/ at the fyrst tyme that thou had medled with the sayd mayden thou 15  
haddest ben deed without remedy. Fayre sone kepe thy noble soule/ whiche is gyuen to the and sent from the company of aungelles the whiche is taken to the of god for to kepe. Not that thou soyle & marre it/ but þat it be put amonge the wyse & gloryfyed 20  
spyrytes.

& ¶ Of the dyfference of astronomy.

Alexander fayre sone/ I praye the/ that yf thou mayst do it/ that thou ryse not/ nor eate/ nor drynke/ nor do any other thyng/ but by the counsell of some that knoweth and hath the scyence in knowlegynge the sterres and astronomye. And thou shalte wyte 25  
my dere sone that almyghty god hath made nothyng without cause/ but hath done euery thyng reasonably. And by certayne scyences and wayes/ the wyse phylozopher Platon sought and felte the operacyons of all thynges composed of the foure elementes/ and the humoures contrayres. And hadde also the knowlege of 30  
the thynges created and formed. And also my dere sone Alexander I praye the beleue not such fooles which say þat þe scyence of þe planettes is so harde to be knowen/ & that none maye come therto. Surely they be fooles and wote not what they say. | It is a noble [f. D4<sup>v</sup>]  
thyng to knowe thynges whiche be to come. Yf thou knowest the 35

2 medycyne.] *line-ending not justified* 5 ¶ And thynke] C does not start new line for such sections beginning with paragraph marks, but runs them on was] wast K 13 sythen] sithens K 15 had] hadst K 21 &] used as sigil for chapter C Of . . . astronomy] text of Wyer's Dyfference of astronomy starts here 23 ony] any WK (regular substitution, not indicated hereafter) 31 formed.] no punct.

vndirstandinge of man is no thinge impossible. There ben othir  
 that ben litle wyser, that holden oppinion that [at] the first making  
 of all thinges oure Lorde ordeyned of euey thinge what shall falle  
 in conclusion, and by this means astronomye shuld nat be nedefull  
 5 nor profitable to no man. Suche men ben foolys, and wote nat  
 what they seyn. For yf a thinge most nedys falle, thou shalt the  
 more easely bere it and the more temperatly suffre it with lesse  
 greuauce. And by this ensauple, whan thou vndirstandyst that  
 wynter is comyng, thou makyst thy purueauce of woode, cole,  
 10 and othir nedfull thingis, wherby thou suffrest the more easely  
 and with lesse peyne the feruent colde and sharpnesse of wyntyre.  
 And in the same wyse of somyr, to eite colde meytes, and ordeyne  
 for the grete hete. And also whan a grete famyn and hungre shuld  
 come, to make thy purueauce of corne and of all othir vitales,  
 15 for to passe it more lightly, and suffre the bittyr perilles of hungre.  
 Than it is behouefull and expedient to knowe the thinges that  
 may falle. And yf thou vndirstande a perill comynge, wherto thou  
 can finde no remedye, than with thy good peple make deuoute  
 prayer to oure Creatoure that so hath ordeyned, that of His diuine  
 20 grace He may turne the perilles to an othir weye. And thinke nat  
 that God hath ordeyned the destynyes of alle thinges in suche  
 wise but He may breke thaim as Hym liketh best. Right dere sonne,  
 [f. 50] I lat the wite that the good peple may | so please oure Lorde with  
 p. 98 deuoute prayers, fastinge, oblacions, and allmes-dede with othir  
 25 good deedys, that He will of His habundaunt grace turne and  
 reuoke the perillis that the peple douted so miche. Than turne  
 we agayne to oure first purpose. Lating the wite, that astronomye  
 is diuided in iiij. parties. That is to sey, in the ordinaunce of the  
 secrees, in the disposicion of the signes, and of lenthinge and of  
 30 the meuing of the sonne, and this parte is called science of  
 astronomye. The othir is to vndirstande the qualité and the maner  
 of the meuing of the firmament, and the berth of the signes vpon  
 suche thinges as ben vnder the firmament of the moone, and this  
 parte is called the more digne parte of astronomye, and is sciences  
 35 of the sterres, planetes, and signes. And wite ye well that there  
 be .M!xxviiij. planetes fixed and stabled, wherof we shall make  
 mencion hereaftir.

thynges whiche be to come/ thou and other persones may put  
 remedy by good prayers. And requyre the creatoure that hath  
 ordeyned them to retourne theyr malyce/ & ordeyne them other-  
 wyse. Thynke not dere sone that god hath ordeyned & predestynate  
 such thynges/ but that by his power he may chaunge them other- 5  
 wyse whan he pleaseth. Wyte thou dere sone þat þe good people  
 pray to our creatoure with orysons & deuout petycyons/ by fastyng  
 & sacrefyces/ by almesse & other maner/ axyng of pardon of theyr  
 synnes/ & doynge penaunce/ þat our lorde may retourne & remembre  
 suche predestynacyons whiche other do feare so moche. 10

¶ Retorne we dere sone to our fyrst purpose. Wyte thou þat  
 astronomye is deuysed in .iiij. partes. That is to wyte in ordynaunce  
 of sterres. In þe dysposycyon of sygnes/ & of theyr elongacyons.  
 Of the moeuyng of the sonne. And this partye is called scyence of  
 astronomy: The oth[er] parte is of þe knowlege of the moeuyng 15  
 of the skyes & of the mone. And this partye is called astronomy.  
 And is þe worthyest/ of sterres/ planettes/ & sygnes. And there is  
 .M.xxviiij. planettes sygned/ and formed/ of þe whiche we shall  
 speke more playnly.

[2] ¶ Of the gouernayle of helth. 20

HELthe amonge all thynges is to be goten and hath more than  
 ony myght of rychesses. For þe kepyng of helth is by vsyng of  
 equal thynges conioyned to the body/ as by attemperaunce of  
 humoures. | For the gloryous god hath ordeyned them/ and gyuen [f. E1]  
 dyuers remedies to the attemperaunce of the humoures to the 25  
 kepyng of helth. And hath shewed it to his holy men and prophes/  
 & to many other Just men whiche he dyde chuse and en-  
 lumyned with the holy goost/ in his sapyence dyuine/ and myghty.  
 And hath gyuen them the gyftes of the scyence/ of these thynges  
 here after folowyng. These phylosophers put the begynnyng of 30  
 it. That is to wyte they of Ynde/ of Grece/ and of Athenes. Whiche  
 phylosophres were Just and perfyte/ and theyr wrytynges were the  
 begynnyng of scyence & secretes. For in theyr wrytynges is nothyng  
 founde to be reproued nor spylt/ but approued of all wyse men.

8 axyng] axynge W asking K [pardon of] pardon for K 11 purpose.  
 Wyte] purpose/ wite C (and, substant. WK) 14 moeuyng] mouyng(e) WK  
 15 other] othtr 18 .M.xxviiij.] a thousande and eight and twenty K  
 20 2 ] rounded r, abbreviation sign for q[ua], but cf. List of Contents, p. 241a used  
 as initial for chapter C here 22 rychesses] riches K 27 Just] CW iust K  
 31 Ynde] CW Iude K 32 Just] CW iust K

### Of the gouernaunce of thaim that ben seeke

DIere sonne, I lat the wite that alle the wyse and naturall philo-  
 sophirs sayn that man is made and fourmed with .iiij. elementes  
 contrarye, whiche most all-wey be susteyned with meyte and  
 5 drinke. And yf the nature of man be nat fedde and susteyned with  
 meyte and drinke, the substaunce most nedys be corrupt and failed.  
 Neuerthelesse, yf he shulde eite and drinke alwey he shuld be the  
 weyker and falle to seekenesse and grete inconuenientes. But yf  
 9 the man eite and drinke temperatly and by reson, he shall finde  
 [f. 50<sup>v</sup>] therynne grete helpe, strengthe and helthe of his body | and  
 P. 99 membres. The wyse philosophers seyn all of oon accorde that  
 yf the man passe the cours of nature and temperate maner of  
 lyuinge by, in etynge or drinkinge to miche, slepinge or wakinge  
 to miche, or going or restinge to miche, or going to miche or to  
 15 litle to pryuee, or in latinge bloode to miche or litle, he most  
 needys falle into grete seekenesse. And the philosophirs seyn of  
 oon accorde that he that kepith him from etynge and drinkinge  
 to miche, with the circumstaunces aboue rehercid, kepinge tem-  
 perance, he shall haue hele and longe lyf. And for certayn, I finde  
 20 no philosophre but he kepith this oppinion, saying that all the  
 delites of this world, be it in delicious meytes, in richesse, worship,  
 or in fleshly desires, ben nat ordeyned but for to endure and lyue  
 lenger, and sith it is soo that man desireth longe to lyue and endure,  
 he most diligentlye doo and perfourme that that longeth therto,  
 25 with mesurable temperance. Also I haue herd of Ipocras, that  
 kept certayn dietes to lyue and endure the lenger, nat to lyue  
 and endure for to eite and drinke. And it is holsum at som tymes  
 to pouрге the superfluitees and ille humours that ben with-ynne  
 the body.

### 30 In how many maners helthe may be preserued

Dere sonne, I lat the wite that helthe is kept principally by .ij.  
 weyes. First, that the man vse of such meites and drinks as he  
 hath ben norysht and brought vp with. The secunde is, that he  
 purge him of the yll humors and corrupcions whiche greeuyn  
 35 him inward.

4 meyte and] followed by full stop (at end of line); the first of several occasions,  
 not subsequently indicated, where a full stop is used at the end of a line apparently  
 merely to make the margin less uneven 26 nat] and nat

[&c.] ¶ Of the gouernayle of seke people.

ALL wyse and naturall phylosophres say þat man is made and composed of foure contrary humours/ the which haue alway nede to be susteyned with meate and drynke. The substaunce wherof behoueth to yssue and be corrupte yf ony do alway eate and drynke/ 5 and he sholde waxe weyke and fall in grete dyseseas/ and haue many inconuenyences. But yf he eate and drynke temperatly and reasonably/ he shall fynde helpe of lyfe/ strength of body/ and helth of all the membres. The wyse phylosophres saye that yf any man trespass the god of nature/ and the good maner of lyuynge/ be it in 10 to moche eatynge and drynkyng/ or to moche slepyng/ or wakyng/ in to moche walkyng or restyng/ beyng to laxatyfe/ or to moche letyng | of blode or to lytell/ it can not be but he must fall in many dyseseas/ and greues. Of the whiche dyseseas I haue bryefly founde/ and therin wyll I shewe the my councell/ & remedye 15 for the same. All wyse phylosophres accordeth in one sayeng. Who so kepeth hym fro ouermoche eatynge & drynkyng & frome þ[e] excesses aforesayd & kepeth temperaunce/ he shal be helthfull of his bodye/ & lyue longe. For I can fynde no man but he is of this opynyon/ & wyll saye þat all delectable thynges of the worlde/ be 20 it in pleasure of þe body/ it is but for to lyue þe longer in them. But for a more secrete ye ought to enforce you to do suche thynges as ben belongynge to longe lyfe/ & not to folowe the appetyte/ þat is to wyte/ not to lye meate upon meat. And dere sone I haue herde often spoken of Ypocras which kept many tymes dyete to thende 25 þat he myght lyue & endure the longer. Not for to lyue and endure for þe meate & drynke. Also dere sone it is grete holsomnesse to be purged of superfluytees & euyll humours whiche ben in þe body.

A ¶ In how many maners a man may kepe his helthe.

GOOD sone I praye the haue in thy mynde stedfastly these certayne instruccyons and kepe them. Knowe thou that helth is chyefly 30 in two thynges. The fyrst is lete a man vse suche meates & drynkes as he hath ben nourysshed with. The seconde that he purge hym of yll humours that be corrupte & greue hym. For þe body of man is fedde with meates & drynkes whiche nou|rysshe it by naturall 34 heate that dryeth/ nouryssheth and fedeth þe moystnesse therof. [f. Er]

1 &c.] rounded r with cross-stroke, abbreviation sign for -rum, used here as initial for chapter: but cf. List of Contents, p. 241a  
 17 þe] þat C that W the K 14 greues] CW grieses K  
 24 lye] put lye CW laye K 32 is lete]  
 CW is, let K

### Of diuers meytes |

[f. 51] WHan the body is hoot and full of hoot fume, than grete meytes  
 p. 100 ben good and profitable. And that that is norissht in that body  
 shall be mykyll and of greet quantité, thurgh the grete hete of the  
 5 body. And whan the body is slendre and drye, than smale and  
 subtile meytes ben good. And that that is norisht in that body  
 shall be of litle quantité, be-cause the condytes ben streight. And  
 it is a grete wisdome, whan a man vsith good meytes accordinge  
 to his complexion. That is to sey, whan a man is of hoot nature,  
 10 that he vse temperately of hoot meytes, but yf the heete of the  
 stomac be bolden and growen with superfluitees of hoot meytes  
 and hoot wynes, or by othir cause, than is best and profitable coold  
 meytes for him.

### Of the stomac

15 WHan thy stomac is good, stronge, and hoot, than vse grete and  
 hote meytes, for than thy stomac is likenyd to the grete fire  
 that with his might brennyth a loode of woode. But whan thy  
 stomac is coold and weyke, than vse smale and subtile meytes.

### The tokenys to knowe the stomac

20 THE signes of the stomac coold and of feble digestion ben  
 suche: whan the body is ill at ease, heuy, and full of slaught, and  
 the face bollen and gape often, and is yien [ben soore and he  
 bolkethe] for[th]e right foule, avoiding ill sauoured wynde by  
 24 the whiche ben engendred wyndy bollnes of bely, and with-  
 [f. 51<sup>v</sup>] draweth | thappetite of meyte. And these signes betokne an yll  
 p. 101 stomac, therfore be ware of alle suche meytes and dringes as ben  
 contrarie to thyne hele.

### Epistle of grete pryse

[D]Ere sonne, hou be it that mannys body is corruptible, and  
 30 often fallith in to corrupcions and sekenesse by-cause of the con-  
 trarye humors that ben in him, we therfore haue purposed to write  
 in this booke som thinges that shall be to the needfull and profit-  
 able, whiche I haue drawn out of the secrete medicyne whiche  
 shall be to the plesaunt and agreable. For at som tymes may falle

22-3 yien . . . forthe] yien fore U a douleur des yeux et rote F f. 18<sup>v</sup>  
 29 Dere] Here

## B. ¶ Of dyuers meates for þe stomake.

WHan þe body is fat & full of vapours grosse meates is good for it. & of þe nourysshing of suche a body/ þe dygestyon is grosse/ & of grete quantyte for þe great heate/ & vapours of þe body. And whan the bodye is skl[en]der & drye/ subtyll & moyste meates be 5 good for it. And þe dygestion therof is of smal quantyte for þe streytnesses of þe conduytes. And it is grete wysdome & scyence for a man to vse suche meates as ben good & appertenent to his complexyon/ that is to wyte yf he fedde hym with hote meates temperatly. But yf the heate be to greuous & brennyng within 10 the body by ouer stronge wynes & hote meates/ or other accyidentes/ than contrary meates & drynkes wyl do grete ease & prouffyte/ þat is to wyte suche as ben colde.

## ¶ Of the stomake.

¶ Yf thy stomake be to hote than hote & cours meates be good. 15 For such a stomake is lyke a myghty fyre for to brenne gret weyght of logges. But whan þe stomake is colde & feble than it is good to haue lyght & subtyle meates.

## ¶ The sygnes to knowlege þe stomake.

¶ The sygnes of a stomake þat is of an yll & weyke dygestyon is 20 whan þe body is vnlusty/ heuy/ & slouthful, þe face is swollen/ & yaneth often/ & hath payne in his eyen/ & bolketh often & rudely/ & þe bolkyng is sowre & vnsauery/ watry & stynkyng/ & therby is bredde wyndes & swellynge of the bely & þe appetyte of meate is marde. Therefore swete sone beware of meates and drynkes þat 25 may hurte or be contrary to thy helth. |

## ¶ C. An epystle of grete value.

[f. E2<sup>v</sup>]

MOost dere sone Alexander sythe it is so that the body of man is corruptyble by dyuersyte of complexyon/ & of contrary humours that ben in it/ wherby often there cometh corrupcyon to it/ I 30 thought to delyuer the some thyng þat shall be necessary & prouffyttable to the. In the whiche I wyll treate of the secretes of physyke whiche shall please the. For certayne dyseases come to a

5 sklender] sklneder C 9 hote] whot K (*regular substitution, not indicated hereafter*) 10 brennyng] burning K (*regular substitution, not indicated hereafter*) 12 & proffyte/] &/ proffyte 14 Title not given separate l., but printed to right of preceding words CK separate title in W 15 cours] CW course K 19 title printed to right of preceding words C separate l. WK 25 marde] CW marred K 31-2 prouffyttable] profetable W profitable K

seekenesse to a kinge whiche is nat honeste to shewe to the  
 phisicians. And yf thou wilt cleerly vnderstande and conside my  
 doctrines, thou shalt haue no neede of phisike, but yf it be in case  
 of bataile. Alexander, diere sonne, whan thou rysest from sleepe,  
 5 goo a litle weye, and strecche out thy membres egally, and kembe  
 thy hede, for the strecching of the membres yevith strenght, and  
 the keming taketh vp the fumous smoke that is comen vp to the  
 hede in thi sleepe. And in somyr wassh thyn hede with colde  
 watyr, and that shall kepe ynne the heete of the hede, and yiue  
 10 appetite to meyte. And than see that thou be clothid in faire and  
 precieuse clothinge, for the lyf and the herte taken grete delite  
 and counforte in the sight of faire clothinge. And aftir, rubbe thy  
 teeth with som barke or othir thinge that is hote and drye with  
 14 a bitter sauoure, for it is profitable for to kepe thaim cleene, and to  
 [f. 52] take away the stenche of the | mouthe, and to make the voice more  
 P. 102 cleere. And also vse oft to doo rubbe thyne hede and thy body,  
 for that is holsom, and causeth the sparring of the brayne to open,  
 and encreecyth the nekke, and maketh the face the more cleere,  
 and amendith the blode, and causeth that the man is [nat] so some  
 20 balled. And see that thou be annoynted with good and sweete  
 smellyng oynementes, for in the swete sauoure takith the hert  
 grete pleasire, lating the wite, that alle thinge that is swete sauour-  
 ing is to the herte meite norissinge and grete delite. And whan  
 the hert hath taken his refeccion in the good sauoure, than the  
 25 blode rennyth in grete myrth in alle the veynes of the body. And at  
 som tymes thou shall take a lectuarie of a woode called aloe, whiche  
 thou shall finde writen in the booke of medicines, and also of  
 reuballe, whiche is a precious herbe, to the weight of .iiij. pens,  
 and this shall take the fleume from thy mouthe and stomac, and  
 30 yiueth hete to the body, and driueth away the wynde, and yiueth  
 good sauoure. Moreouer I counseile the that thou comon often  
 with the noble and wise men of thy reame, of alle suche maters as  
 thou hast a-doo, and gouerne thaim graciously aftir the custumes.

### The maner to trauayle

35 WHan thyne appetite comyth to eite, and the houre accustomed  
 is come, than take a litle trauayle before thy meyte, that is to sey, in  
 walkinge or dooyng som occupacion, and that helpeth well the

kynge whiche be not honest to shewe to physycyens. And yf thou  
 wylt obserue this lesson/ thou shalt haue no nede of physycyens/  
 except in causes þat may come in batayle/ the whiche may be  
 exchewed. Alexander fayre sone/ whan thou rysest frome thy slepe/  
 walke and stretche thy membres egally and combe thy heed/ for 5  
 stretchyng of the lymmes gyueth force/ and combynge reyseth the  
 vapoures that ben come in slepyng and putteth them frome the  
 stomake. In somer wasshe thy heed in colde water/ whiche shall  
 yelde the naturall heate/ and shall be cause of appetyte to meate.  
 Than clothe the with goodly and ryche apparell. For the hert of 10  
 man delyteth in the beholdyng of precyous meates & clothyng.  
 Than rubbe thy tethe with some cours lynnyn/ or other thyng  
 that is hote and drye of compleccyon/ and swete of smell for it is  
 holsom for the tethe/ and kepeth them clene/ clenseth the stenche  
 of the mouth/ and clereth the voyce/ and gyueth appetyte to eate. 15  
 And rubbe thy heed often in the same wyse for it openeth the  
 clautres of the brayne/ and thycketh the necke and other membres/  
 and clenseth the face and the syght/ and prolongeth stowpyng of  
 of aege/ and amendeth the blode. | Also anynt the somtyme with [f. E3]  
 swete smellynge oyntementes/ as the tyme requyreth/ for in suche 20  
 swetenesse thy hert taketh grete pleasure/ & is nourysshed therby.  
 And þe spyryt of lyfe taketh refeccyon in good odoures: and the  
 blode renneth meryly thurgh þe vaynes of the body. After that  
 take somtyme an electuary of a wood called Aloes/ and of Rubarbe  
 whiche is a precyous thyng, to the pryce of foure pens. Which 25  
 thou shalt fynde wryten in the boke of physyke/ and this shall do  
 the moche good/ for it voydeth the heate of the mouth of the  
 stomake/ and warmeth the body and wasteth wyndes/ and maketh  
 good taste and sauoure. After this I counsell þe that thou be often  
 with thy noble and wyse men of thy realme/ & speke to them of thy 30  
 besynesses that thou hast to do. And gouerne them sadly accord-  
 ynge to theyr good customes.

D. ¶ Of the maner to trauayle.

OR euer thou eate or thyn appetyte cometh at thyne houre accus-  
 tomed do som trauayle/ that is to wyte walke or ryde a lytell/ or do 35  
 some other worke/ for it helpeth þe body moche/ it voydeth all

1 physycyens] physycyons W phisitions K  
 eschewed K      8 stomake.] *no punct. (at end of line)*  
 K      15 the mouth] thy mouth K      23 meryly] merely W merily K  
 4 exchewed] CW  
 14 stenche] stinke

[f. 52<sup>v</sup>] body, and dryueth | a-wey the wyndynesse, and maketh the body  
 p. 103 mightier and lighter, and counforteth the stomac, and wasteth  
 the yll humours of the body, and causeth the fleume of the stomac  
 to descende.

5

### The maner to eyte

DEre sonne, whan the meite is before the, eite of that that thou  
 desirest mooste, with brede that is resonable laken with leueyn,  
 and eite first the meite that aught to be eiten first. And yf a man  
 haue ij. maner of meites, that is to sey, of harde digestion and of  
 10 soft, he aught first to eite the meyte of hard digestion, and after to  
 eite of that that is of soft digestion, for in the botome of the stomac  
 is gretter hete to digeste the meyte, for the hete of the lyuer is  
 nygh, which causeth the meyte to boile in the stomac.

### Of abstinence

15 WHan thou eytist, halde the streight vp, and eite by layser,  
 though thou haue grete appetite to thy meyte. For yf thou eite to  
 hastilye, the humours multiplie and ouercharge the stomac, to thy  
 grete hurt, and greuance of the body, and the more abideth in  
 the botome of the stomac.

20

### Of drinkege of pure watyr

ALso d[r]inke nat pure watyr, and in speciall after that thou  
 hast eyten thy meyte, but if thou haue vsed i[t] custumablye, for  
 [f. 53] the colde wa|tyr that is drunken aftir thy meyte coldith thy  
 p. 104 stomac, and qwenchith and lettith the hete of digestion, to the  
 25 greuance of the body. And yf so be, for the grete habundaunce of  
 hete in thy body or stomac, or through hote meytes, thou most  
 needys drinke colde watir, than take it temperatlye and as litle  
 as thou may.

### The maner to sleepe

30 AFter that thou hast taken thy refeccion, than slep[e] vpon a soft  
 bedde temperatly. And first slepe an houre vpon the right syde, and  
 than turne vpon thy left side and slepe alle that is resonable, for the  
 lift side is colde. And yf thou feele any soore in the baily or in thy  
 stomac, than, for a souerayne and counfortable medycyne, take  
 35 a warme shert and ley it vpon [thy stomac], or elles take in thyne

ventosytes/ and maketh the body lyghter/ stronger and lustyeth  
the stomake/ and waste[th] euyl humoures of the body and maketh  
the flewme of the stomake descende.

¶ Of the maner of eatynge.

¶ Fayre sone whan thy meate is set afore the/ eate of suche as thou 5  
desyrest moost/ resonably/ with well leuayned breed. And eate  
[fyrst] of such as ought to be fyrst eaten. For there be two maners  
of dygestyon of meat | in a man that is to wyte/ softe/ & harde. [f. E3<sup>v</sup>]  
For in the botom is moost heat for to make [dygestion of] meat/  
bycause it is moost flesshly/ and nyghest the heat of the lyuer 10  
wherwith the meate is soden and dygested.

E. ¶ Of abstynence of meat.

WHan thou eatest/ eate by leasure/ though thou haue grete  
appetyte to eate. For yf thou eate gredely noughty humoures do  
multiply/ the stomake is laden/ the body is greued/ the hert is 15  
hurte/ and the meate remayneth in the stomakes botome un-  
dygested.

F. ¶ How pure water ought not to be dronken.

ALso beware dere sone that ye drynke no pure water/ specyally  
whan thou haste eaten meate. But yf thou be wont therto. For as 20  
soone as the water is vpon the meat/ it coletþ þe stomake/ and  
quenbeth the heate of the dygestyon and comferte of the meat.  
It letteth dygestyon and greueth the body. Yf thou must nede  
drynke water alone/ take it the moost temperately/ and as lytell  
as thou mayst. 25

G. ¶ Of the maner to slepe.

WHan thou hast taken thy refeccyon and hast luste to slepe/ lye  
downe on a softe bedde and slepe temperatly. A[n]d fyrst lye  
downe on the lyfte syde/ and slepe theron a reasonable space/ for  
the lyfte syde is colde and hath nede to be warme[d]. And yf thou 30  
fele ony payn in thy bely or in thy stomake/ than | lay therto a [f. E4]  
souerayne medycyne/ that is a warme lynnen cloth layde theron.

2 wasteth] wasted CW wasteth K 4] title run on immediately after  
prec. words CK 15 laden/] no punct. (at end of l.) 28 And] Aud C  
And K 30 to be warmed] to be warmeth C of warmeth W

armes a faire maide and holde hir surely. Latinge thi wite, that traually before meyte is good, and yiveth heete to the stomac, but aftir meite it is contrarie, for than the meite abideth in the botome of the stomac, vndigeste, wherof ben engendred diuers seekenesse.

5 And wilt thou wite that slepe before meyte is nat good, for it maketh the body lene and dryeth the humors. But the slepe aftir meite is good and holsome, for it filleth the body, and yevith it strenght and norisshing. And whan a man slepith, the body restith, and the naturall hete that is a-brode in all the membres  
 10 draweth and resorteth to the stomac, and yeuith it strenght of digestion vpon the refeccion of the meite. And than the naturall |  
 [f. 53<sup>v</sup>] vertu askith his quiete rest, wherfore som philosophres han seid  
 P. 105 that it is bettyr to eite at evyn than in the mornynge, and for this reson: the meite that is taken in the mornynge greuith the stomac,  
 15 be-cause of the hete of the day, and maketh the body the more weery. And, in the othir partie, a man cha[f]ith himself with goinge or dooinge som othir occupacions. And for the grete hete that apperith in the noon tyde, the naturall hete of the body is enweyked, and enpeireth the might of the stomac, and causeth it  
 20 to be wors of digestion. But for to take his refeccion at euyn, the body is the bettyr at ease, and lesse greeuid of the laboure of the day, and the hert and membres of the man ben in more rest, because of the colde nyght, whiche yeuith naturall heete to the stomac.

25

### Of kepinge of mannys hele

THou aught to vndirstande, that he that custumably takith his meyte at .ij. tymes in the day, and than brekith his custume and eiteth but onys in the day, it is yll and greuous to the body. And in the same wyse, he that is vsed custumablelye to eite but onys, and  
 30 change it, and eite twys. For than the stomac hath no vertu to digeste the meite, and [it] abideth in the stomac vndigeste, withoute any norisshinge. And that is accustomed to take his refeccion at a certeyne houre, yf he change that houre and take it at an othir, he shall in breef tyme apperceyue that it dooth him hurt  
 35 and greuance, for custume chaungeth nature.

13-14 this reson] *run together in ms.*

16 chafith] chasith

Wyte þou dere sone that trauayle is good/ and gyueth heate to the stomake. But after dyner it is a noughty thyngē/ for the meat abydeth vndygested in the botome of the stomake/ and therof be bredde many dyseseas. And slepe before fedynge is not good/ for it maketh the body leane and dryeth the humoures. But slepyngē 5 after fedynge is good/ for it fulfilleth þe body & gyueth force/ & nourysshyng therto. For whan þe body of man resteth/ than þe natural heat draweth þe heat þat was spredde in all þe membres in to þe botom of þe stomake/ & gyueth strength therto vpon þe refeccyon of þe meat. And heat requyreth rest. Therfore some 10 phylosophres haue sayd þat it is better & holsomer to eat at nyght than in the mornyng/ for the eatyng in þe mornynge bycause of þe heat of þe day greueth þe stomake/ & þe body is more trauayled therwith. And moreouer þe persone chauffeth in trauaylyng doynge his besynesse/ in goyng & spekyng/ & many other thynges 15 þat belongeth to þe body of man/ by þe which heat þat is outwarde towarde none/ þe naturall heat þat is inwarde is weyked & appeyred/ & þe meate is harde to dygest. But at nyght it is more easy & lesse greued with þe heat of traueyle. And þe hert & membres of man ben more in quyet by þe coldnesse of þe nyght/ 20 that gyueth naturall heat to the stomake.

#### H. ¶ The keypyng of custome or wont.

THou shalt vnderstande my dere sone that he that is wonte to eate but one meale often is dyseased/ for þe stomake is without dygestyon & þe body hath smal nourysshyng. And he þat is acus- 25 tomed to eate at one time ones | another tyme twyse he shal [f. E4<sup>v</sup>] lightly perceyue that it doth hym harme/ for custome chargeth nature.

### How a man aught to change his custume |

[f. 54] ANd yf nede constreyne the to change thy custume, doo it  
 p. 106 wysely, that is to wite, to change it by litle and litle, and so by  
 Goddys mercy thy mutacion and change shall be good and nat  
 5 greuous. And beware that thou eite no meyte tyll thou knowe for  
 certayn that thy stomac is void, and that he haue digestion of the  
 firste meite. And th[i]s shall thou vndirstande by the desire that  
 thou shall haue to thy meyte, and thy spatill shall subtilye stire  
 in thy mouthe. And yf thou eite thy meite withoute neede and  
 10 appetite, it will cause the hete of thy stomac by processe to be as  
 colde as the glas. And yf thou take thy meite with good appetite,  
 the naturell hete of thy stomac shall be as the fire, and make  
 good digestion. And whan thyne appetite is come, loke that thou  
 take thy meite without longe taryenge. For yf thou make taryenge,  
 15 thy stomac takith his full refeccion of the yll humors that ben in  
 the body, whiche shall trouble the brayne, and enwyke the stomac,  
 and the meite shall doo no profite to the body. And, in cace be thou  
 maist nat take thi meite so soone as thy appetite is come, and that  
 thi stomac be full of yll humors, do so that thou may haue a vomyte  
 20 or thou eite, and than a lectuarye or othir thinge that is counfort-  
 able. And than eite surelye.

### Of the .iiij. seasons of the yere

OVre intencion is to declare in this book the .iiij. ceasons of the  
 24 yere, and the qualité and propirté of yche of thaim, and the con-  
 [f. 54] trarieté and difference | of the same. Whiche ceasons ben diuided  
 p. 107 as here-aftir folowith, that is to sey: vere, somyr, autumpne, and  
 wynter. Veer begynneth whan the sun entrith in the signe of Aries  
 and endureth .iiij.<sup>xx</sup> xiiij dayes, x[x]iiij. houres, and the fourth parte  
 of an houre, that is to wite, fro the xth. day of the ende of Marche  
 30 vnto the xxiiij<sup>ti</sup> day of June. And in this ceason ben the nyghtys and  
 the dayes egall in thaire regions. The tyme is swete, the wyndes  
 risen, the snowes meltyn, the ryuers enforcen thaire cours, and the  
 humors of the erthe taken heete, whiche ascendith to the height  
 of trees, and causeth thaim to floriss. The medues refresshen  
 35 thaire verdure, all maner seede and corne springeth and groweth,  
 alle maner floures taken thaire fressh colours. And the birdes  
 renwen thaire fressh clothinge, and payn thaim to vtter thaire

7 this] thus  
 heures] xviiij heures

28 as here-aftir] ashere *run together*

28 xxiiij.

## J. ¶ How one ought to chaunge custome

ANd yf nede constreyne the to chaunge thy custome/ do it wysely/ that is to wyte by lytel and lytell. And so by the grace of god thy chaungynge shall be good. But aboue al thynges beware that thou eate not tyl thou fele thy stomake empty and that it hath  
5 made good dygestyon of the fyrst meale. And this thou mayst knowe by þe desyre that thou shalt haue to thy meate: and by thy spatle that tornyth subtylly in thy mouthe. And yf thou eate without nede or appetyte the heate of thy stomake shall be made  
10 colde as yse. And yf necessity be þat thou must eate/ & haue an appetyte therto/ þe kynde heate of thy stomake wyll be as hote as fyre/ & of good dygestyon. And beware þat whan thy appetyte cometh that thou eate not forth with/ for it wyll gadre yll humours of thy body in to thy stomake/ whiche wyll hurte thy brayne. And yf thou tary ouer longe or thou eate/ it wyl feble thy stomake/ & the  
15 meate wyll do thy body no good. And yf so be þat thou mayst not eate as soone as thy appetyte requyreth/ and þat thy stomake be ful of yll humours/ do so þat thou mayst vomyte or thou eate/ & after þe vomyte take an electuary/ and eate surely.

## K. ¶ Of the foure seasons of the yere. |

20

OUR intencion is to treat in this boke of þe foure seasons of the  
[f. F1] yere/ with the qualyte/ propriete/ contraryte/ and dyfference of eche of them. And they ben certayne seasons of the yere deuyded as foloweth. That is to wyte [fyrst] prym tyme or vere. And in this  
25 season the dayes & nyghtes ben egall of length. The wether is fayre. The warme wether cometh. The snowes melte/ ryuers renne swyft and clere & waxe warme/ the moystenesse of the erthe ryseth to þe heyght of trees/ and causeth them to smel swete. Medowes and graynes sprowte and corne groweth/ & all floures take coloure/

13 gadre] gather WK      24 fyrst prymtyme or vere] prymtyme or vere  
begynneth whan the sonne entreth in the sygne of Aries/ and lasteth foure  
score & xiiij. dayes/ and .xiiij. houres/ & the fourthe parte of an houre. That is  
to wyte frome þe .x. day in the ende of Marche, to þe foure and twenty day of  
June C and, *substant.*, K: see n.      25 length.] *no punct.*

swete and melodious songes. The trees ben spredde with greene leuys and floures, beestes engendren, and alle thinges taken might and vertu. The erthe taketh beauté, whiche is like to the faire spouse that is clothid in riche and precious clothinge, which  
5 causeth to seeme miche fairere.

### Of the ceason of veer and what it is

WEer is hote, and temperate with humor. In this ceason mannys bloode meeuih and spreedith in all the membres of the bodye, and the body takith perfite compleccion. And in this ceson shuld be  
10 eiten chickenys, kyddes, and egges till .vi. and no moo at onys, and eite letuse that is egre, whiche is called in som cuntree karioles. Eite also gotes mylke. And in this ceason is bettir to be lat bloode  
[f. 55] than in | any othir ceason. And allso it is good to trauayle, and to  
p. 108 haue the bely softe, and to swete, and walke, and to bath him-self,  
15 and to eite suche meites as will purge well the baily, for all the wastinge that thou shall haue through bleedinge or digestion is soon recouerde.

### The ceason of somyr and what it is

SOMyr begynneth whan the sun entreth in the first pointe of the  
20 signe of the Crabbe, and endureth iij<sup>xx</sup>.xij daies, xxij<sup>ti</sup> houres, and the iij<sup>d</sup> parte of an heure, that is to say, from the xxij<sup>ti</sup> day of June vnto the xxiiij<sup>ti</sup> day of Septembre. In this ceason ben longe dayes and shorte nyghtys. And in all regions the hete encrecith, and the wyndes swage, the see is pleasaunt and meeke, the aere is swete,  
25 the cornys drien, the serpentis growen and cast out thaire venyme. The vertu of mannys body is fortified and perfourmed, and alle the worlde is replenysht with goodys. And this ceason is likenyd to the spouse that is faire and plesaunt in hir parfite age. And this ceason is hoot and drye. And beware of all thinges that ben of hote  
30 and drye compleccion duringe this tyme. And be ware also that in this ceason thou eite nat, nor drinke nat, to miche. And eite suche meites as ben of hum[ide] and colde compleccion, as the flessch of calf, mylke with vineger, potage made with barley mele, frutes that ben of egre sauoure, and pome garnadys. And drinke  
35 but litle wyne, and dele but litle with womman. In this ceason

byrdes ben clothed with newe robes/ and enforce them to syngē.  
 Trees ben decked with leues and floures/ and the landes with  
 sedes. Beestes engendre and all people take strength & lust. The  
 erthe is arayed goodly/ & is as a fayre bryde clothed with  
 Jewelles of dyuers coloures bycause she sholde seme the fayrer 5  
 at her weddyngē.

L. ¶ Of prymtyme/ and what it is.

THE prymtyme is hote & moyst temperatly as the ayre. This  
 season þe blode moeueth and spredeth to all the membres of the  
 body/ and the body is parfyte in temperate complexyon. In this 10  
 season chekyns/ kyddes/ and poched egges ought to be eaten/ with  
 letu|ses & gotes mylke in these thre monethes. Prymetyme be- [f. Fr<sup>v</sup>]  
 gynneth whan the sonne entreth the sygne of Aryes and lasteth  
 .xcii. dayes/ an houre and a halfe fro the .x. day of Marche to þe .x.  
 day of June. In this season is the best letyng of blode of ony tyme. 15  
 And than is good to trauayle and to be laxatyfe. And to be bathed.  
 And to eate suche thynges as wyll purge þe bely. For all dyseases  
 that cometh/ eyther by purgyng or bledyngē/ retorneth anone in  
 this prymetyme.

M. ¶ Of somer and what it is.

20

SOMER begynneth whan the sonne entreth þe fyrst poynt of the  
 creuyce/ & lasteth .xcii. days/ & an houre & a half. That is to wyte  
 fro þe .x. day of June to þe .x. day of september. In this season þe  
 days be longe & þe nyghtes short. And in al regyons encreaseth  
 & abateth theyr heate & þe see is calme/ & þe ayre meke & fayre. 25  
 The flours wyther & serpentē encrease & shed theyr venym/ &  
 sprede theyr strength. The myghtes of mannes body be fortyfyed.  
 And al þe world is ful of welth/ as þe fayre bryde þat is [of] goodly  
 stature & in perfyte aege. The season of somer [is] hote & drye/ &  
 than coler is moeued. And in this season is good to beware of all 30  
 thynges þat be hote & drye of complexyon. And take hede of to  
 moche eatyng or drynkyngē for therby is þe kyndly heate quenched.  
 In this season eate meates of colde & moyst complexyon/ as veale/  
 mylke with vyneygre/ & potages made with barly meale. Eate  
 fruyt of eygre sauour/ as pommegarnets/ & drynke small wynes/ 35  
 & vse not the company of women. In this season lete the not

14 .x.<sup>2</sup>] tenth K (so regularly with numerals; this substitution not indicated here-  
 after) 23 september. In] no punct. (at end of line) 28 of] supplied  
 from K 29 somer is hote] some hote CW sommer, whot K 35 pom-  
 megarnets] Pomgranates K

be nat let bloode but yf grete neede cause it, and vse litle trauaile |  
 [f. 55<sup>v</sup>] and litle bathinge.  
 p. 109

### Of the ceason of autumpne, and what he is

[A]Utumpne entreth whan the sonne entreth in the first degree  
 5 of the Leon, and lasteth .iiii<sup>xx</sup> and viij. dayes, and .xxvij. houres,  
 that is to sey, from the xxiiij. day of Septembre vnto the xxij<sup>ti</sup> day  
 of [Dec]embre. In this ceason, the nyghtes and the daies ben egall  
 of lenght. The aire troubleth, the wyndes entren in thaire region,  
 ryuers and springes discreecyn, the gardyn drieth, the frutes  
 10 waxen ripe, the beauté of the erthe fadith, the birdes seekyn the  
 warme cuntreis, the beestes axen the cauys and warme places, the  
 serpentis seekyn thaire repaire, where they gete thaire liuinge for  
 wynter. The erthe is as the olde womman that is naked, and passed  
 youthe, and age draweth neere. The tyme is colde and drye. And  
 15 therfore, this ceason, eite hote meytes, as chykenys, lambys, and  
 drinke olde wyne and eite swete reysons. And beware of all thinges  
 that engendreth blac colour, as to walke to miche, or to mich  
 leying with womman. And take no bathe, but yf it be grete nede.  
 And yf a man haue grete nede of a vomyte, take it at noon tyme,  
 20 for that is the warmest houre of the daye. And at that houre super-  
 fluitees and humors gadren in the bodie. And also it is good in this  
 ceason to purge the belye with a medicyn called asmon and as-  
 macon, and by alle othir thinges whiche withdrawyth the blac  
 24 coloure and refrayneth the humours. |

[f. 56]  
 p. 110

### Of wynter ceason, and what it is

WYntyr begynneth whan the sun entreth in the first degree of  
 the signe of Aries, and endureth .lxx[x]ix. daies and xxiiij<sup>ti</sup> houres  
 from the xxij<sup>ti</sup> day of [Dec]embre vnto the xx<sup>ti</sup> day of Marche. In  
 this ceason, the daies ben shorte and the nyghtes ben longe, the  
 30 colde is grete, the wyndes ben sharpe, the leuys fallyn downe, and  
 alle thinges lose thaire verdoure for the moost parte. And the  
 bestes rasoorten to cauys or dykes for the grete colde, the aire and  
 the tyme waxeth blak, and the erthe is like to a womman of grete  
 age, naked, and in decrepitude nygh to deth. And by-cause the  
 35 wynter ys colde and moist, it is good to vse of hote meytes as

4 AUtumpne] IUtumpne                      5 viij. dayes] dayes and xvij dayes (*first*  
 dayes *poss. intended reading*)              7 Decembre] Nouembre                      28 Decembre]  
 Nouembre Nouembre F.f. 22<sup>v</sup>: *English presumably reproduces error in its original*

blode/ but yf grete nede compell the. Vse lytell trauayle/ & seldome bathynge.

N. ¶ Of Autumpne/ or heruest. |

HERuest entreth whan þe sonne cometh in to þe fyrst degre of [f. F2] the balaunce & lasteth xci. dayes & an houre & a halfe. That is to 5 wyte fro the .x. daye of Septembre to þe x. daye of Decembre. In this season the day & nyght be of one length. And than þe dayes waxe short & þe nyghtes longe. The ayre is derke/ & þe wyndes entre the northen regyons or septentryon. The wether chaungeth/ & þe ryuers & sprynges waxe lesse. The orcheyardes & fruytes 10 wydreth. The beaute of erthe fadeth. Byrdes cease theyr syngyng. Serpentes seke theyr holes wher they assembled theyr luyng in somer for þe tyme of wynter. The erthe is as an olde naked woman þat gooth fro youth to aege. This season of heruest is colde & drye/ this tyme blacke coler is moeued. In this season is good to eate 15 meates þat be hote & moyst as chekyns/ lambe/ & drynke olde wynes/ eate swete reasyns. And kepe þe from all thynges þat brede blacke coler/ as lyenge with women more than in somer/ nor bath þe not but yf grete nede requyre it to be done. In this season yf a man haue nede of vomytynge/ do it at none in the hottest of þe day. 20 For at þat tyme al þe superfluytees of mannes body gadreth togyder. Also it is good to purge þe bely with a medycyn ordeyned therfore & other thynges þat ben to expulce blacke coler & to refrayne humoures.

O. ¶ Of wynter and what it is.

25

Wynter cometh whan þe sonne entreth þe fyrst degre of þe sygne of Caprycorne & lasteth lxx. dayes & an houre & a halfe. And begynneth þe .x. day of Decembre/ and contynueth to þe .x. daye of Marche. In this | season þe nyghtes be longe & þe days short/ [f. F2v] it is veray colde. The wynes be in þe presse/ & þe leues fall/ & 30 herbes leeseth all theyr strength/ or the moost parte. All bestes hydeth them in caues and pyttes of hylles. The ayre and the wether is darke. And the erthe is lyke an olde decrypyte persone/ that by grete aege is naked and nygh to the deth. Wynter is veray colde and moyst/ & than behoueth the vse hote meates/ as chekyns/ 35

10 orcheyardes] orchards K  
erthe] the earth K

11 wydreth] widereth W withereth K  
21-2 togyder] togyther KW

22 ordeyned] ordeynen W

chikenys, hennys, moton, and othir hote flessh and fatte. Also vse figges, nottes, and rede wyne. And beware that thy belye be nat softe, nor blede nat. Also hurt nat thy stomac through eytinge and drinkyng to miche, or with hawntinge wommen to miche.  
 5 Neuyrthelesse, in that ceason the felauship of wommen is good, to take it temperatlye, and bathinge is good. Lating the wite, that through the grete colde the naturall hete gadreth in the body, and therefore the naturall digestion in the stomac is bettre in wynter ceason and in veer, than in the othir .ij. ceasons. For in  
 10 somyr and autumpne, the bely is colde, and the naturall hete of the body is spred abrode, so that the stomac hath litle parte therof, whiche causeth the wors digestion. |

[f. 56<sup>v</sup>  
 p. 111

### Of the naturall heete

ALEXander, deere sonne, I pray the, aboue all thinges, kepe well  
 15 the naturall heete of thy body. For as longe as the kyndelye and temperate heete is in thy body, thou shall haue good heele and longe lyf. Doing the to wite, that a man dyeth by .ij. sundry weyes. Oon is bi kyndely nature of age, whiche werith oute and ouer-throueth the man. And an othir weye is through accident casuel-  
 20 tees, by glayues, seekenesses, or by som othir aduenture.

### Of the thinges that maken the body fatte

DERE soone, that thinge that makyth a man fatte is whan a man takith his rest, and filleth him with diuers swete meytes, and drinks swete wyne and mylke, and than slepe vpon a softe bedde,  
 25 and smelle alle thinge that is [swete, and in especiall take bathes of fresshe water, in the which be] swete smellinge herbys. And tary nat longe thereynne, for longe taryng enweyketh the man. And drinke no wyne but if it be sufficiently temperate with watyr, or of an herbe called alchemyn. And put som in thy wyne for it is of  
 30 hoot nature. And in somyr vse of violet floures, of malowes, and othir thinge of colde nature. And take a vomyte onys in a moneth, and in especiall in the somyr, for the vomyte wasshith the body, and purgeth him of the ylle and stinkinge humours beinge with-  
 35 ynne. And yf they be but litle humors in thy stomac, it will counforte thy naturall hete. And whan thou hast had a vomyte  
 [f. 57] withoute violence, the | body shall take his fillinge of good fatnesse  
 p. 112 and humiditee, and the stomac shall be well disposed of diges-  
 tion. And if thou reule the vndir this forme thou shall haue ioye

hennes/ motton/ and other hote & fatte flesshe/ eate fygges/ nuttes/  
 and drynke grene wyne. And beware of to moche laxe and  
 bledynge/ & eschewe company of women/ for it wyll feble thy  
 stomake/ and bathes be good. And for the grete colde the natural  
 heate entreth in to the body/ and therfore the dygestion is better 5  
 in wynter than in somer. And in heruest the bely is colde/ and  
 than the poores ben open by heate of the season/ and reproueth  
 the naturall heate of all the partes of þe body. And therfore the  
 stomake hath but lytel heate/ wherby the dygestyon is febled/ and  
 the humours assemble there. 10

P. ¶ Of naturall heate.

SOne Alexander I pray þe kepe the kyndly heate of thy body/  
 and thou shalt haue longe helth. For the body of man dyeth in .ii.  
 maners. One is by grete aege the which ouercometh the body and  
 dystroyeth it. The other is accydentally/ as by wepen/ sykenesse/ 15  
 or other aduenture.

Q. ¶ Of thynges that fatteth the body.

Ryght dere sone these ben thynges that fatteth the body. That is [f. F3]  
 to wyte ease of the body and fyllynge it with deynty meates and  
 drynkes/ & mylke/ and than to slepe on a soft bed. All swete smell- 20  
 ynge floures in theyr season/ and bathynge in fresshe waters. But  
 yf thou bathe the/ tary not longe in it/ and haue swete smellynge  
 thynges in þe bath. And neuer drynke wyne but it be well tem-  
 pered with water. And specyally in wynter make water of floures  
 called Assynini and put it in to thy wyne/ for it is hote of nature. 25  
 And in somer vse vyolettes and floures of malowes & other thynges  
 that be colde/ & vse to vomyte ones in a moneth specyally. For  
 vomytes wassheth the body and purgeth it of wycked humoures  
 and stynke that is in it. And yf there be but fewe humoures in the  
 stomake/ it conforteth the naturall heate. And whan thou hast 30  
 vomyte wyllyngly/ the body wyll fyll it with good humydyte and  
 be of good dysposycyon to dygest. And yf thou gouerne the thus/  
 thou shalt be mery at thy hert/ lusty with reasonable helth and

3 company] the company K  
 things K 27 ones in] once K

17 Q.] *no punct.*

18 thynges] the

and mirthe, good heele, reson and vndirstandinge, with glorye, worshippe, and victorie of thyne enmyes. Moreouer, I will avise the at som tymes to take delite and disporte and playe, and to see goodly menne and faire wommen, and to rede bookes that ben  
5 plesaunt and delectable, and were faire clothinge aftir the ceason.

### Of the thinges that maken the body leene

THere ben certeyne thinges that causeth the body to be leene and drye and the weykere: that is to say, to eite and drinke to miche, to miche trauaile, to longe beinge in the sun, to miche  
10 going, to miche sleepinge before dyner, to be full of melancolye and pencyfnesse, and to be bathid in watirs that ben of sulphur kynde, to eite salt meytes, drinke olde wyne, to miche goinge to pryué, to miche bleedinge. Latinge the wite that he that bathith him the bely full, he shall haue seekenesse in the ynnere parties  
15 of the body, and in the same-wyse cace, he that lieth with a womman the bely full, and also that aftir his meite rennyth or rideth or trauaileth to miche. Therof will enswe a grete seekenesse called paralatike. And he that often etith fyssh and drinketh mylke and wyne to-gedir, Ypocras seith he shulde be a lepre by lyklyhode.

20

### The first parte of the body |

[f. 57<sup>v</sup>] THE body is diuided in iiij. parties. The first parte is the heede,  
P. 113 wherynne gadreth superfluités and yll humors, whiche thou shall feele and knowe by these signes folowinge: the yien waxen troubelous and dymme, the browes swellyn, the nosethrilles ben  
25 straight. And yf thou feele any of these signes, take an herbe called aloyne, and lay it in swete wyne, and make it to boile with a roote called pugilchiny, so longe that half of the wyne be wasted. Put som therof in thy mouthe, and kepe it longe ynne, all-wey wasshing thy mouthe, till that thou feele that it doo the good. And also eite  
30 with thy meite the seede of whight mustarde, beten in poudre, and it [shall] ease the greetly. And yf [thou] doo it nat, it may folowe grete seekenesse in thyne yien and brayne, and in othir parties of the body.

### The secunde parte of the body

35 THE breste is the secunde parte of the body. And yf seekenesse come therynne, thou shall knowe it be these signes folowinge: thy tunge shall be letted, thy mouthe shall be salt and byttyr, or

good vnderstandyng/ glory & honour/ & ouer al thyn enemyes  
 vycory. Also I wyll that thou delyte in the beholdyng of goodly  
 persones/ or in redyng of delectable bokes/ or in weryng of pre-  
 cious garmentes/ and goodly Jewelles/ as the tyme requyreth.

R. ¶ Of thynges that leaneth the body. 5

THEse ben the thynges that maketh the body to be leane/ weyke/  
 and drye/ to moche eatyng/ to moche trauelyng/ to moche  
 walkyng in the | sonne/ to moche goyng/ to moche slepyng afore [f. F3v]  
 noone/ melancoly/ feare/ to bathe in water of the nature of brym-  
 stone/ eatyng salt meates/ to moche drynkyng of olde wyne/ to be 10  
 to laxe/ and ouermochete letyng of blode. For Ypocras sayth that  
 he þat batheth him with a full bely/ or lyeth with a woman shal  
 haue sykenesse in his entrayles. And also to renne/ or to ryde/ or  
 to moche trauayle after meat bredeth a grete dysease called palsey.  
 And moche eatyng of fysshe, or mylke and wyne togyder Ypocras 15  
 sayth it wyl make one lazarus.

S. ¶ Of the fyrst parte of the body.

OF þe .iiij. partes of þe body the head is þe fyrst. For in þe heed  
 gadreth all superfluytees/ and euyll humoures/ whiche thou shalt  
 fele and knowe by these sygnes folowyng. The eyes ben troubled/ 20  
 the heryng is thycked & þe nosestrylles ben stopped. Yf thou fele  
 suche a dysease take an herbe called wormwood/ and sethe it in  
 swete wyne tyll the halfe be wasted/ than holde it in thy mouth &  
 washe it many tymes therwith tyl thou fele þat it dooth þe good/  
 & eate whyte mustard sede powdred with thy meate. And yf thou 25  
 do not thus thou mayst happen to haue som dysease/ & specyally  
 in thyn eyes/ in thy brayn/ & in other partes of thy body.

T. ¶ Of the seconde parte of the body.

THE seconde parte of the body is the bulke. Yf dysease come  
 there thou shalt knowe it by these sygnes folowyng. The tongue 30  
 is lette/ þe mouthe is salt/ bytter/ & vnsauery. The mouth of the

9 noone/ melancoly] no punct. (at end of l.) 12 batheth] Bathe W  
 17 S.] no punct. 21 stopped.] stopped/ 29 bulke.] bulke/ 31 vnsauery.  
 The] no punct. (at end of l.)

ellys swete, the mouthe of thy stomac shall be egre, and thy  
 membres shall be sore. Thou most eite litle, and haue a vomyte.  
 Take a litle sugre rosett with aloe and mastic, and alle that eite  
 to-gedirs. Or elles take som good spice confortatif. And aftir this  
 5 thou shall eite with good appetite. And aftir thy meite take  
 a lectuarye clepid dionision, whiche is made with aloe, galingale,  
 and grasegrinte. And yf thou doo it nat, there may folowe doloure  
 [f. 58] and seekenesse in the hede, and feuers, | with impediment of the  
 p. 114 tunge and othir diuers seekenesse.

10

### The thryd parte of the body

THE third parte of the body is the belye. And yf yll humors  
 come therynne, thou shall vndirstande it by these signes folowinge:  
 thy bely shall swelle, and thou shall haue doloure and sterkenesse in  
 the knes, and thou shall goo heuily. Thou most be pouged bi som  
 15 light and subtile medycyne, like as I tolde here-before in the  
 gouernaunce of the breste. And if thou doo it nat, thou may  
 lightlye haue doloure in thyne hip bones, in the splene, and in the  
 bak, and in the jointes, and seekenesse in the bely and in the lyuer,  
 with ill digestion.

20

### The fourthe parte of the body

THE fourthe parte of the body is the genitories. Whan super-  
 fluitees and ill humors gadren therynne, thou shall vndirstande  
 by these signes: thin appetite shall appeire, and a reednes shall  
 come to the stonys and vpon the share. Thou most take an herbe  
 25 callid apium, and fenell sede, and the roote of archemese or of an  
 othir herbe called smallache, and ley thaim alle in good whight  
 wyne. And of that wyne euery day drinke a litle in the mornynge  
 with a litle watir and hony. And eite nat to miche. And yf thou doo  
 29 it nat, it will enswe seekenesse in the bladder and in the lyuer, and  
 [f. 58v] thou nat pisse | easely, and so shall thou haue doloure in the en-  
 p. 115 trailes and longys, and thus may it engendre the stone. Deere  
 sonne, I haue red an historye that there was a mighty kinge  
 whiche was assembled to the best phisicians that were in Inde  
 and in Grece. And he desired of thaim to make him suche a  
 35 medycyne that he shulde neuer neede othir hele. The phisicians of  
 Grece seid that it is good and profitable to drinke euery mornynge  
 twys his mouth full of hote watyr. He shall be hole, and haue no

12 it] if it

26 whight] wihight

31 engendre the] engendreth the

stomake is sowre with | grefe in all thy membres. It behoueth þe [f. F4]  
 to eate but lytel & to vomyte/ than eate a lytel sugre of roses  
 with aloes & take good comforyng spyces & eate an electuary  
 named Dionisium. And yf thou do not thus/ thou mayst fal in  
 dysease of þe syde/ of þe raynes/ & feuers/ & specyally of þe tongue 5  
 wherby þu shalt not properly speke/ & dyuers other maladyes.  
 Decoccyon of ysope is good.

#### V. ¶ Of the thyrde parte of the body.

THE thyrde parte of the body is the wombe [.Y]f it be combred  
 with euyll humoures þu shalt knowe it by these sygnes. The bely 10  
 wyll swell with payne & styfnesse in þe knees goynge a slowe pace.  
 It behoueth to vse some subtile & lyght meates/ as is sayd before  
 with the gouernynge. And yf þu do not thus there wyl folowe  
 ache in the hyppes/ in the mylte/ in the back/ and other ioyntes/  
 and in the lyuer/ with yll dygestyon. 15

#### X. ¶ Of the fourth parte of the body.

THE fourth parte of the body ben þe genytours. Yf superfluyte  
 & noughty humoures gadre in them þu shalt knowe it by these  
 sygnes. The appetyte wyl waxe colde/ & reednesse wyll appere 20  
 vpon them & vpon þe share. Than must þu take a sede called  
 Apij with fenell sede & þe rote of mugwort/ & of another called  
 Acham/ & atracies. And with these herbes put þe rotes in good  
 whyte wyne/ & drynke a quantyte of it euery mornynge with a lytell  
 water & hony & eate not moche after it. And yf þu do not thus þu  
 shalt haue payne in þe bladder/ & lyuer/ & shalt not pysse/ & 25  
 shalt haue grefe in þe intrayles and lunges with bre[d]ynge of the  
 stone. Swete sone Alexander I haue rede also the hystories of  
 a myghty kynge/ whiche assembled all the best phylosophres |  
 that were in Ynde and Grece. And commaunded them to make [f. F4v]  
 a medycyne so prouffitable that he sholde nede none other for his 30  
 helth. The Grekes sayd he that drynketh euery mornynge twyse  
 his mouthfull of warme water shall haue a good ende/ and shall

5 þe syde] that syde W raynes] reignes K 9 wombe. Yf] wombe/ yf C  
 and, substant. K specyally] especiallye K 7 ysope] Tysope W 16 X.]  
 no punct. 18 noughty] naughtie K 26 bredynge] brekyng CW  
 brekyng K (se pourra) engendrér (la pierre) F f. 24: see n.

neede of othir medycyne. The phisicians of Inde said that it is good  
 and profitable to eite euery mornynge, fasting, certeyne cornes of  
 whete myle and nasturcij. And me seemyth that the man that  
 sleepith sore shulde haue no seekenesse by reson in his bely, ne nor  
 5 he aught nat to dreede the palsye nor goute nor doloure in the  
 jointes. And who that eiteth euery day alibi aurei, vij dragmes, and  
 with oo[ue] passes and of swete reysens, he shall be sauf for fleume,  
 and he shall haue the bettir memorye and the more cliere vndir-  
 standinge, and he shall be sauf from the feuers quarteyns. And  
 10 that eiteth nuttes and figges, with a fewe leuys of rue, he is that  
 day sauf from all venyme. Moreouere, I pray the to kepe well  
 the naturall heete, with humiditees in mannys body. He shall haue  
 heele. Latinge the wite, that the destruccion of the body comyth  
 of .ij. soundry causes. The first is naturall. The secunde is ayenst  
 15 nature. That is naturall is for the contrarieté of the compleccion of  
 man. And whan age ouercometh the body, than he most nedys  
 dye. The othir, that is ayenst nature, comyth by casuell auenture  
 [f. 59] with glayues | or seeknesse, through ill gouernaunce. And on the  
 p. 116 othir partie, it is good to haue knowlege of the nature and kynde  
 20 of meites, for som ben subtile and som ben grete, and som is  
 a meane betwixe bothe. Latinge the wite, that subtile meites en-  
 gendreth good bloode and chere, that is to sey: good whete, hennys  
 chikenes, eggys. And grete meites ben good for him that is hote,  
 and vseth laboure, and trauaile after meite. The meite that is small  
 25 and in meene engendreth noo swellinge nor superfluitees of alle  
 humors, that is to say, lambe, capons, and othir suche as ben hote  
 and moiste. How be it that at som tymes suche flessch, whan it is  
 rosted, makith the bely harde, hote, and drye, yf suche meite be  
 taken temperatlye, whan it is hote, it is good and profitable to  
 30 the body.

1 good] second o ins. above  
 curved sign over n as normal in this ms. for oon: see n.

4 sore] see n.

7 oo[ue] oon with

nede none other medycyne. The physycyens of Ynde sayd that it is good to eate euery day fastyng a quantyte of greynes of whyte hony. And me semeth that who so taketh one of these sayd medycynes by reason shall not haue payne in his wombe/ nor ought not to feare palsey/ nor gowte/ nor ache in his Joyntes. And who so eateth euery mornynge .vij. dragmas of clustres of swete wyne grapes/ shall not feare þe dysease of flewme/ and it wyll amende his mynde/ and claryfy his vnderstandynge/ and he nedeth not to doubt feuer quartaynes. And who so eateth in the mornynge a fygge with nuttes and a quantyte of leues of rue, þat day shall not nede to feare venym.

### ¶ Of naturall heate.

¶ Moost myghty kynge I requyre the to study the maner to kepe the naturall heat of thy body/ with þe moysture therof/ in the whiche two thynges lyeth the helthe of thy persone. And knowe thou that the destruccyon of the body cometh in two thynges/ one is naturall/ and the other agaynst nature. And for þe contraryte of the complexyon of man/ and whan aege surmounteth þe body it behoueth for to dye. Other wyse vnnaturally by aduenture/ as by wepen/ or stones/ or by sykenesse and lacke of helpe/ or by venym/ and other chaunces.

### ¶ Of the qualytees of meates.

¶ Forthermore it is good that thou knowe the natu|re of meates/ for some ben grosse/ or cours/ & some ben lyght & subtyle. The subtyle bredeth thynne blode/ & good/ as pure wheate/ chekyns/ & new layde egges. Grosse meates ben good for suche as ben of hote humours/ labourers/ fastyng/ and þat slepe after meales. Meane meates bredeth no hote nor superfluous humours/ as the flesshe of lambes/ yonge porke/ & other that ben hote and moyste/ but suche meates chaunge often in rostynge to hardnesse/ to heate/ and drynesse. And they ought to be eaten forthwith after the rostynge/ and ben good yf they be so taken with good spyces. Some meates brede melancoly/ as befe/ coves flesshe/ and all flesshe that is cours and drye. Other that brede and fede in moyst and watry/ & shadowy places ben more subtyle/ better and holsomest.

6 .vij. dragmas] sixe drams K                      22 qualytees] qualytes W qualities K  
 26 egges.] *no punct. (at end of l.)*              31 drynesse. And] *no punct. (at end of l.)*  
 34 drye.] *no punct.*    brede and fede] feede K              35 *End of text of Wyer's*  
 Difference of astronomy

## Of the maners of fysshes

THE fyssh that is litle and of tendre skynne, and light in the mouthe, and that is norissed in swete watir and rennynge, is bettir and more holsom than is the fissh that is norissed in dede  
 5 watyr nat rennynge. But the fissh of the see is bettir and more holsom than the fressh watyr fyssh. Beware of othir fisshis that ben grete and of harde skynne, for [s]uch ben yll and wyndye. And take this poynt suffisauntlye as for this tyme.

9

## Of the nature of watyrs |

[f. 59<sup>v</sup>]  
 P. 117 THou aught to wite that watyr is profitable to all creatures, and to beestes resonable and unresonable. And alle maner of watirs, bothe swete and bittre, comyn fro the see. And the best and moost holsom watirs and lightest ben tho that ben comynge by a pure ground and cliere, nygh the hilles, and that it touche no fumositees  
 15 nor muddy grounde, for that watir is heuy and nat holsom, and there-ynne ben frogges, serpentis, and othir venyme beestes. And also watyr that is slepinge is nat good nor holsom. The good signes of watir is whan it is light, cliere, and of good sauoure, and that is soone hote and sone colde. In this watir is naturally delite. Othir  
 20 watirs that ben salt, bitter, and muddy, dryen the bely, and causeth it to be of yll disposicion and ille digestion. The watir that is in lowe cuntree is nat holsom, and by nature and kynde they ben hote and heuy and causen the splene and longes to growe. The watyr[s]  
 25 that rennyth thurgh many cuntrees ben greuou hote and heuy, and ben nat holsom, be-cause they haue parte of the kynde of diuers landys. And he that drinketh colde watyr fastinge be-fore diner, it hurtith the body and destroieth the naturall heete of the stomac. And drinking of watir aftir meite, it warmeth the body and engendreth fleume. And if thou drinke mykell watyr with thy  
 30 meite, it corrupteth and wasteth the meite in the stomac. In somyr drinke colde watyr, and in wyntyr leuke warme. For colde watyr in wyntyr wasteth the hete of the stomac, and destroyeth the instrumentes of the body, and hurteth the lunges, and engendreth diuers seekenesses. And also hote watyr in somyr | doth harme, and enweyketh the stomac, and destroieth the appetite.

[f. 60]  
 P. 118

## Y. ¶ Of the nature of fysshe.

Fysshes that ben of small substaunce/ & thynne skynnes/ easy of eatynge/ bredde in rennyng waters nyghe the see ben better & lyghter than they that bredde in þe see or fresshe ryuers. But fysshe that bredeth in þe see is holsomer than fresshe ryuer fysshe. 5  
Therefore beware of fysshe of grete substaunce with harde skynnes for suche ben comynly venemous.

## A. ¶ Of the nature of waters.

THou ought to knowe þat clere rennyng waters that ben nyghe to cytees in pure grounde as small brokes be the best and lyghtest. 10  
Water that cometh out of stony erthe where as is moche fumosytees is heuy/ contagious/ & noysom. Water of puddles or fenne full of frogges/ addres/ and other venymous wormes be vnhol- [f. Gr<sup>v</sup>]  
som. The sygnes of good water is to be clere/ lyght/ & of good colour/ þat lyghtly dooth sethe and lyghtly coole. In suche waters nature 15  
delyteth. Salt water of þe see is fumysse and laxeth þe wombe/ & water of þe see is hote and heuy bycause it moeueth not/ & the sonne is dayly ouer it/ and it bredeth coler/ and creaseth the mylt and the lunges. The drynkyng of waters with a colde stomake fastynge afore dyner greueth the body/ and quencheth the heate of 20  
the stomake. But drynkyng of water after dyner warmeth the stomake and bredeth flewme. And moche of it corrupteth the meate in the stomake. Thou oughtest to drynke colde water in somer and warme water in wynter/ and not contrary wyse. For warme water in somer mollyfyeth and weyketh the stomake/ and 25  
wasteth the appetyte. And in wynter colde water quencheth the heate/ and destroyeth the instrumentes of the brest/ it noyeth the lyghtes and lunges and bredeth many greues.

11 moche] to much K

16 delyteth. Salt water] delyteth salt. Water

## Of wyne, and of the good and yll that folowyth

DEre sonne, I late the wite that the wyne made of the reysen  
 growinge in hilles agains the sunne is of driere kynde than is the  
 wyne made of reysen growinge in playne cuntree and moiste. The  
 5 first wyne is good for olde peep<sup>e</sup>, and to thaim that ben moist  
 and fleumatike, but it is nat good for thaim that ben hote and  
 yonge. The first wyne is hote, and deliureth the man from super-  
 fluités of colde humors, and maketh him mighty. And the wyne  
 10 that is of rede coloure and thikke, engendreth blood. But and thy  
 wyne be mighty and stronge, ant that it be taken to often, it will  
 hurt the body. And whan the wyne of this condicion is swete it  
 hurtith the stomac, and causeth it to swelle, and engendrith  
 wynde. But the wyne that is moost comon for alle maner complec-  
 15 cions is that that groweth in large landes nygh to hilles and  
 vales, and that the raysen be of good swetenesse and ripe, and that  
 it be nat gadred till the substaunce of the might be goon, with the  
 humiditee of the barke. And that the wyne and the raysen be  
 som-what faded. And this wyne aught to be of coloure betwixt  
 20 golde and rede, and of sauoure egre, bitinge and delectable, and  
 that the lyes be thikke in the botome of the pipe, and that it be  
 pure and cliere aboue. And whan thou hast suche wyne, drinke  
 therof with temperaunce, aftir the ceason and ease of thy body,  
 for it yiveth might to the stomac, and counforteth the naturall hete  
 [f. 60<sup>v</sup>] of the body, and helpith the digestion and ledith the meite to  
 P. 119 alle mambres, and kepith thaim withoute corrupcion, till it be  
 26 conuertid in-to good blode, and driveth away ill humors, and  
 restorith the brayn, and reioysith the hert. It yevith good coloure,  
 and byreuith from the man melancolye, and maketh him the more  
 hardy, with othir good thinges. And whan the wyne is taken out-  
 30 rageouslye, out of reson, it causeth theise harmys folowinge: it  
 troubleth the brayn and vndirstandinge, and yiveth impediment to  
 the wytte, the tunge and memorye, and enweyketh the hete and  
 naturall vertue of the body. It makith a man to lese all remem-  
 braunce, and hurteth all his membres. It withdraweth the appetite,  
 35 it maketh the yen foule and yll-farynge, it shewith the coloure  
 dedly and destroieth the lyuer, it maketh ill bloode, grete and blak.  
 It wastith the stomac, it maketh the man to speke to miche and  
 slepe to miche, and fantasieses to come in his slepe. It causeth the

1 and of] *arabesque decoration to right of horizontal stroke of d resembles suspended e*  
 13 wyne] *corr. from wynde*

## B. ¶ Of the nature of wyne.

THE nature of wyne that groweth on mountaynes nygh to þe sonne is dryer than that/ that groweth on the playne grounde/ in moyst places/ & shadowes. Wyne is good for aeged people/ and suche as be moyst & flewmy. And enoyeth them that be yonge and hote. And wyne warmeth & delyuereth colde and cours | super-  
 fluytes. The reeder and thycker that wyne is the more it bredeth blode. But yf it be stronge and bytter/ than it is called the fyrst blode and the fyrst nourysshyng/ and hath the nature of drynke and medycyne. And often dronken it noyeth the body and nourys-  
 sheth it not. And whan wyne is naturally swete/ it noyeth the stomake with s[w]ellynges and wyndes/ but such wyne is comynly swete of complexyon/ and suche as groweth in large feeldes stretchynge towarde the mountaynes and valees hauynge swete clustres/ & rype/ and be not gathred tyll the myght of the sub-  
 stance of the bery is gone with the moystnesse/ and þat the vyne and the grape be somewhat wydred. And thou shalt knowe that wyne ought to be of an eygre taste sharpe and pleasaunt/ and haue thicke lyes on the botome of the vessell/ and fayre and clere aboue/ & whan thou hast fayre and good wyne drynke tem-  
 peratly therof to þe ease of thy body/ as the tyme requyreth. For it strengtheth the stomake and the heates of þe body/ and helpeth dygestyon and kepeth frome corrupcyon/ and rypeth the meate in the membres/ purifyeng it/ & worketh in them tyll it be coniunct in good blode/ & nourysshyng/ and trauayleth & reyseth the heat  
 of the body temperately/ and kepeth a man sure of wycked humours. It gladdeth the hert/ & maketh fresshe colour in the face. It quyckeneth the mynde & soupleth the tongue/ & destroyeth all melancoly/ & make[th] a man bolde/ & to haue good courage & appetyte. And hath many other good propriyetees. But yf wyne  
 be outrageously taken many inconuenyences come therby. It troubleth þe brayne/ þe mynde/ þe wyttes/ þe vnderstondynge. It maketh the vertue of natural | heate wylde/ & causeth forgetfulnesse. It combreth the tongue & weyketh all þe synewes & lymmes

4 shadowes. Wyne] *no punct.* 8 it is] is it K 10 medycyne.  
 And] *no punct. (at end of l.)* 12 swellynges] smellynges C swellings K  
 14 towarde] towards K 15 &] *repeated* 16 þat the] the K 18 eygre]  
 eager K 26-7 temperately/ and . . . humours. It] temperately. And . . . hum-  
 ours/ it 29 maketh] make C maketh K 30 propriyetees] properties K  
 33 wylde] *prob. slip for weyke: afoiblist la chaleur et la vertu naturelle F f.*  
 26<sup>v</sup>: *see n.*

mouthe to stynk and [maketh] the knees and leggis the weyker. It  
 destroieth the seed of man and his good compleccion. And, briefly  
 to sey, it destroieth clerly the body, and engendreth meselrye.  
 Be ware than that thou drinke nat out of mesure, sith that he  
 5 chaungeth his nature as doth an herbe callid reubarbe whiche  
 yevith [lyf] to the lyuer and [hath] many grete vertues, and so  
 hath the wyne, as more plainly is founde in the booke of medicynes.  
 Natwithstandinge, the rubarbe is mortall venyme in him self for  
 him that takith it out of mesure, and so it is of the wyne whan it  
 10 is taken outrageouslye out of reson, for therof ensweth grete  
 mischeeuys and inconvenientes.

### Of the sirupe |

[f. 61] ALEXander, deere sonne, I counseile the that thou take at som  
 p. 120 tymes of the sirupe aigre, that is to sey fastinge, and in especiall  
 15 whan thou feelist the humors and fleume habunde to myche, for it  
 is right good and profitable. And I shall telle the a thinge. I meruaile  
 gretly how a man may dye or be seeke, that eiteth brede made of  
 good whete, and good and holsum flesh, and drinketh good wyne  
 with temperaunce, and that kepith him from to miche etynge and  
 20 drynkyng and trauaile. And whan suche a man fallith in secke-  
 nesse, he most be helid subtilye, as he that is drunken of wyne. That  
 is to sey, that he be wasshen with watyr, and that he be sett vpon  
 a rennyng ryuere, and that he haue greene garleke aboute him,  
 and that he annoynt his stomac with an oynement called assandale,  
 25 and he shulde smell the smoke of frankencesse and othir good  
 spices. And that is right profitable. Than gouerne thy body  
 wysely, yf thou wilt haue longe lyf. Latinge the wite, that these  
 thinges folowinge ben counfortable to nature, that is to sey, good  
 spoortes, to see richesse, to haue grete reuerence, to haue victorie  
 30 vpon his enmyes, to eite good mettes, to heere mynstrellys and  
 instrumentes of musike, to see faire thinges, to were plesaunt and  
 precious clothinge, to heere often tidinges, to speke with thaim  
 that ben wyse, and to enquere of tho thinges that ben passed and  
 for to come, and at som tymes to take delite with faire wommen.

of þe body. It maketh the eyes reed & blered. It chaungeth þe colour/ & destroyeth þe body/ & maketh cours & noughty blode. It marreth dygestyon. It causeth to many wordes/ & to moche slepe. It maketh þe mouthe stynkyng. It letteth þe goynge/ & dystroyeth þe sede of man & bredeth lepry. Beware therfore þat 5  
thou drynke not wyne outrageously/ but moeue & chaunge þe nature therof with rewbarbe whiche causeth þe lyuer to lyue. And wyne with Rubarbe hath many vertues as is founde playnly in bokes of physyke. Howbeit Rubarbe & wyne be bothe deedly 10  
venym yf they be outragously taken. And surely all euyls cometh 10  
of wyne vnmeasurably dronken.

C. ¶ Of goodnesse & harme þat cometh of wyne.

NOble kynge Alexander/ forgete not to take tarte syropes in þe mornyng fastyng whan flewmatyke humours habounde to moch. For it is proufytable & wasteth them moche. Also I meruayle þat 15  
ony man may dye or be seke that eateth breed of clene and good wheat/ holsome & good flesshe/ & drynketh good wyne of grapes temperatly. And yf he kepe hym fro to moche drynkyng/ eatyng/ & trauayle. Yf sykenesse ouercome such a man he must be healed as a dronken man. That is to wyte he must be washed with 20  
warne water/ and than set ouer a rennyng water betwene .ii. grene wylowes/ & his stomake anoynted with an oyntement of sandres/ or sandalles/ & haue a fumygacyon of frankensence: & other swete spyces/ & it wyl do hym moch good. And yf ony man 24  
wyl forsake holly þe drynkyng of wy|ne he ought not to leaue it [f. G3]  
sodeynly at ones but lytel & lytell/ & to mengle it euery day with water more & more/ tyll at the last there be nothyng but clere water. And so he may kepe his helth & good complexyon. Thus gouerne thy body yf thou wylly lyue longe. And kepe my doctrynes/ & consydre these thynges folowyng wherein nature conforteth 30  
gretely. That is to wyte: Goodly pastymes/ syght of grete rychesses/ grete reuerence/ vyctory ouer enemyes/ fedying on good meates/ noyse of mynstralsy/ syght of precyous garments/ often heryng of good tydynges/ speche of wyse men/ to enquere of thynges past and to come/ and communycacyon with fayre gentyllwomen. 35

2 noughty] naughtie K      3 (twice) to] two K      5 lepry] the lepry K  
12 C.] headed Y. in *List of Contents*      23 frankensence] francconsence K  
24 good. And] no punct. (at end of l.)      29 wylly] wilt K      31 wyte] foll.  
by full stop, not colon as regularly in C's introductory clauses: cf. 257/3, 265/5,  
325/12 and 17, 369/28, 377/36; but see 369/10 (and 299/7)

## Of the fourme and maner of Justice

[f. 61<sup>v</sup>] DEre sonne, Justice may nat be praised to miche, | for the moost  
 P. 121 gloriouse God made it, and ordeyned it vpon his seruautes and  
 vpon alle his werkes, for to reigne in all landes. And Justice aught  
 5 to kepe, preserue, and defende the blood, the richesse and pos-  
 sessions of the [s]ubgites in rightwysnesse. And so doth oure  
 Lorde, and therefore [that lord] that kepith well justise, he is in  
 that cace sembleable to God. Diere sonne, Justice is the fourme of  
 vndirstandinges whiche God made and ordeyned, and sent it to  
 10 his creatures. And by Justice was erthe made and edified, and the  
 kinges were made, and ordeyned to kepe and maynteyne justice,  
 for justice causeth the peeples to be of good disposicion and  
 obeisaunt, and it maketh the proude lowlye, and saueth the good  
 people from hurtes and wronges. And therefore the Judiens seyn  
 15 that the justice of a good lorde is bettir to the good people than  
 any habundaunce of goodes. And yit more, they seyn that the  
 lorde that is juste and resonable is bettir than the swete reyne  
 that fallith at evyn. And it was onys founden in a ston written in  
 langage of Caldee, that a kynge and Justice ben brethren, and  
 20 nothir may reigne withoute the othir. For the thinges of the worlde  
 ben made and ordeyne to maytayne and kepe justice, whiche is  
 saluacion of the subgites. Diere sonne, whan thou hast any grete  
 thinge to doo, aske counseill, for thou art a man soole. And telle  
 nat to thy counseillours thy corage nor what thou purposist to  
 25 doo, but suffre yche of thaim to declare his oppinion, and heere  
 what they shall sey. For yf thou vtter thy purpose at the begyn-  
 nyng, it will be to the a disprays. Than tempre thyne hert, and  
 heere thair counseill, and whan thou feelist the counseile good and  
 [f. 62] fruituouse, kepe thy first | purpose pryuee to thy-self, till thou  
 P. 122 come to thyne effectuell execucion, but considre well euery mannys  
 31 counseill, and who hath best spoken, and yiven the most frendly  
 counseill. And than seeth, withoute taryng, the execucion be nat  
 delaied, for it is grete losse to a kinge to lose the tyme, and parill  
 to make taryng and delay in his besinesse and needys. And yf so  
 35 be that a yonge man and of lowe degree yive the good counseill,  
 disprays him nat, for it is possible that a man shall be borne in  
 suche constillacion that he shall haue wysdome. As it felle onys

6 subgites] bubgites  
 gnieur le fait F f. 27<sup>v</sup>

7 that lord that] that U quant un sei-

## D. ¶ Of the fourme of Justyce.

O Moost dyscrete kynge Justyce can not be prayed to moche/  
 for it is of meruaylous sharpe nature/ lyke to the moost glorious  
 god. And he ordeyned it ouer his aungels/ ouer his werkes/ & ouer  
 al realmes. And thou ought to kepe Justyce/ and defende the 5  
 wyttes/ the rychesses/ & possessyons of thy subjectes and all theyr  
 werkes/ for so dooth almyghty god. And ony lorde doying in lyke  
 case is lyke to god. For by maynteynyng of Justyce he foloweth  
 god/ and thou ought to folow hym in all nedefull werkes. And this  
 is the fourme of vnderstandyng the whiche god created/ and 10  
 graunted to his creatures. By Justyce the erthe was made/ and  
 kynges ordeyned to kepe and maynteyne Justyce/ for it maketh  
 subjectes meke and obedyent/ prowde men lowly/ and kepeth all  
 persones in saufe fro wronges and domages. And therefore they of 14  
 Ynde saye that the Justyce of a good lorde is better to | good sub- [f. G3<sup>v</sup>]  
 jectes than the plentyousnesse of the erthe. And also they say  
 that the Just and reasonable lorde is better than the rayne that  
 falleth in the euenyng. And there was ones founde wryten in a  
 stone in the speche of Caldee that wyse kynges ben bretheren  
 hauynge nede eche of other/ and one maye not be without the 20  
 other. For all the kynges of the worlde be to rule/ and maynteyne  
 Justyce/ whiche is the helthe of [subjectes]. Therefore yf thou hast  
 ony thyng for to do aske councell/ for thou arte but one man. And  
 shewe not all thy courage to thy councelers nor lete them not  
 knowe what is in thy wyll to do. For yf þu shew thy mynde at þe 25  
 begynnyng þu shalt be dysprayed. Than attempre thyn herte/  
 and thy wyll/ but here counsel fyrst. And manyfeste not that/  
 that lyeth at thy herte tyll thou come to put it in effecte. Consydre  
 well the counsell of euery man/ and whiche of them hath Jugged  
 thy mater and counceled þe best for the/ and with the best loue 30  
 that he hath towarde þ[e]. And whan thou hast thus recorded thy  
 counsell/ put thy mynde in effecte without delay. For the grettest  
 destruccyon that may come to a kynge is to be slowe in his werkes &  
 to lese tyme. And yf so be that a yonge man of small estate gyue the  
 good counsell/ dyspyse it not/ for it is possyble that a man may be 35  
 borne in suche constellacyon þat naturally he shall haue wysdome.

1 D.] headed A in List of Contents  
 20 hauynge] hauynge C hauing K  
 K 24 thy courage] the courage K  
 þe] þat C thee K

4 aungels/ over] no punct. (at end of l.)  
 22 subjectes] Justyce C and, substant.,  
 29 man/ and] man. And 31

in the parties of Inde, that a childe was borne in an hous wherynne  
 were logged certeyn wyse clerkes, which founde that the childe  
 was borne in suche constillacion, and vnder suche planete and  
 signe, that he shulde be wyse, curteys, and lovinge, deliure of his  
 5 membres, and full of good counseill, well beloued with kinges and  
 lordys, whiche thinge the clerkes tolde no woorde therof to the  
 fader. And whan the childe was waxen of resonable age, the fadre  
 and the modre sett him to crafte, whiche he might neuer lerne,  
 for no betinge nor techinge that his maister might doo to him.  
 10 And the fader and the moder sawe this, they let him alone and doo  
 his owne will. This childe enclined his hert to lerne the science  
 and the cours of the firmament, and of vertuous condicions, and  
 the maner and gouernaunce that longeth to kinges. And finally, to  
 say in conclusion, thurgh his wisdome and science, he was aftir  
 15 governour and reuler of the kynge of the lande. And the contrarie  
 by-fell of a kynge of Inde whiche had .ij. sonnys. And whan the  
 [f. 62<sup>v</sup>] oon | was of age, he was sett to lerne science with the best maisters  
 P. 123 that were in alle the lande, and he was endoctrined and taught  
 in the best and most easiest weyes that might be, and as it aper-  
 20 teyneth to a kinges sonne. But alle thaire diligence, laboure, and  
 techinge was in vayn. For the childe might neuer encline his hert  
 nor his nature to lerne no science nor arte, sauf oonly to the forge.  
 Wherof the kynge was heuy and gretly troubled. For the whiche  
 cause he assembled alle the noble clerkes and wyse men of the  
 25 lande, and askid thaim how it might be that his sonne might lerne  
 no science nor othir thinge saue forgeinge. And they answerde and  
 seide, that the nature of the childe was of suche constillacion that  
 he might encline all-only to that arte and noon othir. Therefore  
 disprays nat the man of lowe degree nor of litle stature, whan  
 30 thou seest in him habundaunce of science and wysdome, with  
 vertuous condicions, for suche a man thou aughtist to loue. And  
 doo no thinge withoute counseile. And I pray the loue him that  
 loueth trouthe, and that yiveth the true counseill, and that at som  
 tymes contrarieth thyne oppinions. For suche a man is ferme and

## ¶ Example.

¶ There was vpon a tyme a chylde borne in the partyes of Ynde. In the hous where this chylde was borne were certayne wyse men lodged/ whiche founde that the sayd chylde was borne vnder  
 suche a constellacyon/ planet/ and sygne that he sholde be wyse/ 5  
 meke/ courteys/ amyable/ fresshe of wytte/ and sholde be loued of [f. G4]  
 kynges & grete lordes. Whiche thyng they wolde not shew to þe  
 fader which was a weuer. Whan þe chyld came to aege þe fader  
 & moder set hym to theyr occupacion/ but he coude neuer lerne  
 for ony beatyng nor chastyement. At þe last they lete him do as he 10  
 lyst/ & he set his mynde to lerne scyences/ & þe moeuynge of þe  
 skyes/ & of all thynges aboute nature. Also he lerned good condy-  
 cyons & maners to þe gouernaunce of prynces & kynges. And  
 fynally by his wytte & wysdome he was ruler of all þe countre.

## Another example.

15

¶ In þe realme of Ynde were .ii. chyl dren. Whan one of them  
 came to aege þe kyng set hym to scole for to lerne scyence/ & all  
 þe studyes of Ynde & had þe best techers in all þe prouynces for  
 to teche hym in all þe spede þat coude be possyble as to a kynges  
 sone belonged. But all the dylygences of his fader and other techers 20  
 auayled nothyng nor coude make hym encline neyther by his  
 mayster nor by his nature to lerne ony scyence nor arte but onely  
 forgyng or smythes crafte/ wherof the kyng merueyled/ and sore  
 troubled sent for all the wysest of his realme/ and demaunded of  
 them how it myght be that his sone wolde lerne nothyng but onely 25  
 smythes craft. And they answered that the kynde of the chylde  
 was of suche complexyon/ and that he was inclyned to that arte  
 and to none other. Therefore dere sone Alexander dyspyse no man  
 of lowe byrthe nor of small stature yf thou se ony scyence or ony  
 wysdome in hym/ and that he haue also good condycyons and 30  
 maners in hym/ and [d]ooth exhewe vyces. Suche one so wel  
 manered is w[or]thy to be loued of prynces and kynges. And thou  
 ought for to do nothyng without counsell. And I pray the dere  
 sone that thou | loue hym þat loueth trouthe & þat counceleth þe [f. G4v]  
 faythfully & somtyme contrary to thyn opynyon. For suche a man 35

1 title not on separate l. CK      2 partyes] partes K      14 of] ouer K  
 15 title not on separate l.      16 chyl dren. Whan] chyl dren/ whan      20  
 dylygences] dilligence K      31 dooth] booth C doth K      exhewe] eschewe  
 K      one] a one K      32 w[or]thy] wrothy C worthy K

stable in his corage, and juste and true to the and to thy subgites.  
 And the counseill of suche a man is good and profitable, for it  
 yiveth ordre of gouernaunce to the kinge and to all the lande. And  
 good counseill encreecith the wisdome of the kynge, through the  
 5 whiche counseill thou shall conquere more than by bataile. There  
 was a mighty man onys in the reame of Medee that wrote a letre  
 [f. 63] to his sonne in this fourme: | 'Deere sonne, it is needfull that in  
 P. 124 alle thy werkys and needes, that thou haue good counseill.' And  
 take it of him that can yeeue the good counseill. And aboue alle  
 10 thinges, spare nat thyn enmye, but, as thou may, shewe thy might  
 and victorie vpon him. And, on the othir partie, be ware of the  
 power of thyne enmye, and trust nat so miche in thyne owne witte  
 and in the height [of] thyn estate, but that thou take awise and  
 counseill of othir. And yf it please the to, take it. And yf it doo  
 15 nat, leue it. More-ouer, deere sonne, I pray the, exorte the, and  
 counseill the, that thou yive neuir thy might and puissaunce to  
 oon man alle-only to reule and gouerne all thy lande and thy  
 subgites, but make many officers. And thou will preeue any of thyne  
 officers, lat him wite that thou hast grete neede of siluer. And yf  
 20 he counseill the to take of thyne owne tresoure, or of thy juelles,  
 that man loueth the and is feithfull and treue to the. And yf he  
 counsaile the to take the good of thy subgites and put thaim in  
 pouerté, he is nat true to the, nor he loueth the nat. And yf so be  
 he profre the such good as he hath of his owne, rather than to  
 25 destroye thy subgites, suche a man thou aughtist to loue and trust,  
 and haue him in thy tendre recommendacion. And also thou maist  
 preeue thyne officers and seruauntes by the diligente labour that  
 they doon in exercisinge thaire ocupacions. And if a seruaunt doo  
 more than perteyneth to his ocupacion, to thy worship, suche  
 30 a seruaunt thou aught to cherissh and trust. And trust nat him  
 that is holly sett to make tresoure, and gadreth good, for he serueth

is stedfast of courage/ faythfull & Just to þe & thy subgetes. And þe councel of such a man is good to þe gouernayle of þe kynge & of his realme. Forthermore lette not thy besynesses þat sholde be fyrst done be þe last. &c. But do euery thyng by counsell & ordre. For counsell is þe shewer of all thynges to come. It is behoueful  
5 therefore þat þu do all thy werkes by counsell of faythfull & secrete counclers. For thy wysdom by þe counsell of them shall encrease/ as the see encreaseth by þe ryuers & floodes þat fall in to it. And þe better þu mayst wyne by þe myght of warryours. It is founde wryten þat a grete wyse man of Ynde wrote lettres to his sone in this wyse 10

¶ My well beloued sone/ it is behouefull þat þu beleue counsell in all thy besynesses/ for þu arte but one man. Take councel therfore of suche as þu knowest can gyue the good. And aboue all thynges spare not thy enmy/ but whan þu mayst shew thy vycory ouer hym. And euer be ware of þe power of thy enmy. Trust not  
15 in thy owne wytte nor in þe grete heyght of thyn estate/ but euer take councel of other/ which yf thou seme good & prouffyttable accepte it/ & elles not. And also I admonest þe & counsell þe chefely þat thou neuer make none of thy offycers thy lyf-tenaunt onely/ nor gyue hym thy myght/ for his coun[cel] may  
20 destroy þe/ thy realme/ & thy subgetes. And seke alway to his own prouffyt & thy vndoing. But thou ought to haue dyuers offycers/ & yf þu wyll assay and proue ony of them thou must fayne þat þu hast grete nede of money. And yf he councel the to take of thy treasure & Jewelles for to spende he loueth þe and is faythful to þe.  
25 And yf he counsell the to take þe money of thy subgetes to make them poore he is corrupte & hateth the moche. But yf he be such one that wyl offre the his own goodes and say. Syr by the gyfte and grace of god I haue gotten some goodes I gyue them to the/ suche ought to be praysed and loued best/ as he which had leuer to gyue  
30 his goodes awaye than the poore subgetes sholde be taxed and destroyed. Proue also thy offycers and yf thou se that ony of them dooth his offyce dilygently/ and more for thyn honoure than he is commytted/ thou ought gretly to trust in hym. And yf there be ony that delyteth in takyng of gyftes and gapeth for promocyon/ & to 35

3 besynesses] *businessse* K      4-5 ordre. For] *ordre* For *perh. for ordre* for  
6 faythfull & secrete] *secrete & faythfull* K      8 see] *seas* K      11 *On same*  
l. as preceding words CK      13 the] *thee* K      18 admonest] *admonish* K  
20 councel] *coun (at end of l.)*      23 wyll] *wilt* K      25 to þe] *vnto thee* K  
26 subgetes] *probably for intended* subgetes      28 one] *a one* K

[f. 63<sup>v</sup>]  
 P. 125 nat for loue but for his owne | singuler auayle. For suche a man is  
 likenyd to [an] abyeme with-oute botome. For the more good that  
 he gadreth, the more wolde he haue. And suche an officer may be  
 cause of the destruccion of the and of thy reame. For the grete  
 5 and feruent desire that he hath to good, he may perauenture doo  
 som grete mischeef, or to slee thy persooone for good. And yf thou  
 haue any suche seruaunt, beware that he haunte nat with noon  
 othir grete lorde, that he make no writinges ne enquire tidinges.  
 And yf he doo, put him away from the withoute taryinge in es-  
 10 chwinge alle perilles. Deere sonne, thou most loue that officer that  
 loueth the, and exorteth and sterith the hertes of thy subgites to  
 loue the, and that puttith his persooone and his goddes in thy  
 seruise. And that he haue the condicions folowing: that is to sey,  
 that he be performed in his membres for to exercise truly his  
 15 office, and that he haue good vndirstandinge for to conceyue his  
 charge. That he be curteys, amyable, and speke faire, and that his  
 woordys accorde to his hert. That he be lettred and true in woorde  
 and dede. That he loue no lesinges. That he be of good condicion,  
 tretable, and temperat of his mouthe with meite and drinke. That  
 20 he be nat lecherous, nor dyse plaier, nor noon othir dishonest  
 games. That he be a man of grete vndirstandinge and corage, and  
 that he loue aboute alle othir thingis worship. And that he sett  
 nat his hert all-oonly in golde and siluer, nor in othir erthly things  
 saue that that toucheth the good gouernaunce of thy worship and  
 25 well of the reame. And that he loue both pryvee and straunge. That  
 he hate iniurie. And that he be perseueraunt in his purpose with-  
 oute | dreede, doinge his operacions touchinge thyne highnesse.  
 [f. 64]  
 P. 126 And that he be nat to habundaunt in spekinge or laughinge, but  
 temperate. And that he be to thy subgitys graciouse and jentill.  
 30 That he entende diligentlye to enquire and knowe tidinges of all  
 the parties of thy lande. That he counforte thy subgites in thaire  
 aduersitee, and that he supporte the trouthe in the pouer people  
 and correcte the rebellys. Deere sonne, I lat the wite that God  
 made and fourmed man right wise creature, and He made neuer  
 35 kinde in no beest but parte is founde in man. Man is hardy as lyon,  
 cowarde as an hare, kynde as a dogge, harde and sharpe as a bore,  
 jantill as turtill dowe, dispitouse as a lyonesse, pryvé as a dowe,  
 full of malice and barat as a foxe, meke as a lambe, light as roo,  
 resemblinge a goote in many condicions, heuy and slaughfull as

gadre treasure/ put not thy trust in hym. For suche a man is lyke  
 a hurle pytte without botome/ for the more that he hath the more  
 he coueyteth to haue. And suche one is the destruccyon of a realme  
 many wayes. For peradventure the brennyng desyre that he hath  
 to gete rychesses maye moeue hym to do many euylles/ and maye 5  
 chaunce the procuracyon of thy deth. Yf thou perceyue suche  
 an offycer/ lete hym not be ferre frome thy presence. And suffre  
 hym not to make treaty with straunge lordes nor prynces/ nor  
 wryte no newes to them. And yf thou doubt that he dooth the  
 contrary/ change hym without ony delay. For the courage of 10  
 many men be soone changed/ and lyghtly inclyned to do con-  
 trary thynges.

¶ Also dere sone thou ought to cherysse þe offycer that loueth  
 & moeue thy subjectes to loue the. And that putteth his per-  
 sone and goodes to thyn honoure/ and that hath these proprietees 15  
 folowyng. that is wyte that he be parfyt in his lymmes for to  
 trauayle in his offyce that he is chosen to. That he be courteys/  
 lowly/ and eloquent/ and that his wor|de accorde with his hert. [f. Hr<sup>v</sup>]  
 That he be a clerke wyse & well condycyoned/ laborous & sober  
 of mouthe in eatyng and drynkyng/ not lecherous/ nor player 20  
 at dyce and other dysordynate games. That he be hardy/ and set  
 not his mynde on golde nor syluer/ nor other thyng of the worlde/  
 but that/ þat belongeth to the gouernaunce of the/ and the realme.  
 That he loue the welth of his neyghbours as of them that be ferre.  
 And that he hate all wronges/ and by Justyce yelde euery man 25  
 his owne. That he be angry with them that do iniuries & extor-  
 cyons/ & that he greue no man wrongfully. And that he be per-  
 seueraunt & stedfast in his purpose which is behouefull. That he be  
 without feare and in good wyll. That he knowe the stynte of his  
 expences. And that he prolonge nothyng that may be prouffyttable 30  
 to the realme. And þat gyueth not thy subjectes cause to complayne  
 of hym in doynge agaynst þe comyn wele. That he be not ful  
 of wordes/ nor a grete laugher. That none be refused comyng to  
 his hous. And that he be dylygent to here & enquere of newes  
 and tydynges. That he comfort the subjectes and correct theyr 35  
 werkes/ & helpe them in theyr aduersytees.

2 hurle pytte] whirle pit K  
 13 ¶ Also] does not start new l. CK  
 15 proprietees] properties K (regular substitution, not indicated hereafter)  
 16 folowyng. that] see 257a/3 and note. 34 hous. And] hous And (And  
 beginning newl.) C house and K 35 tydynges.] no punct.

a bere, precieuse and deere as the olifaunt, foule-made and rude as an asse, obeisaunt and lowly as the pecok, meeuing as the fyssh, luxurious as an hogge, foule as a bugle, faire as an hors. And shortly to sey, there is no beest, birde, nor planete, ne signe in the worlde,  
 5 nor othir kynde, but it is founde in man. And the profecies callen man the litle worlde.

### Of the kinges secretaires

DEere sonne, thou most haue wyse men to write thy secreetes and to vndirstande and knowe thy will and purpose, whiche most  
 10 be faire langagiers for to make thy writinges ordinatly in faire langage. For like a faire and precieuse gowne honowreth the body of the kinge, so doth the faire and plesaunt langage to the writinge. |  
 [f. 64<sup>v</sup>] And ther-with a secretaire aught to be of good feith and true, and  
 p. 127 that he can conceyue clierlye thy will and entent, and that he take  
 15 good kepe to alle thy needfull thingys. And that noon othir man come in the place where he writeth and leith the secretes and writinges. And, deere sonne, see that thy seruauntes be gretely rewarded for thaire seruisse, and exalte thaim so that they be allwey diligent and willinge to doo the true seruisse. For in thaim lieth  
 20 thy worship, thy lyf, and destruccion.

### Of the kynges messengers

DEere sonne, I lat the wite that the messangere shewith the wysdome of him that sendith him forthe. And the messangere is the yie, the eare, and tunge, of the lorde. Than thou most cheese  
 25 to thy messangere the moost suffisaunt man in trouthe, wysdome, and worship, that thou canst gete in thy courte. And that he loue thy honeur and hate thy dishoneure. And yf thou finde suche oon, discover him thyne entent of thy corage. And yf thou can fynde noon suche, at the leest gete oon that will bere a letre trulye and  
 30 bringe the answeare. And yf thou finde any of thy messengers couetouse, and that they desire to haue giftes of thaim that they ben sent to, trust thaim nat, but auoide thaim in alle haste. And make neuer thy messangere of a man will be drunke, for by him shall be tolde and knowen that his lorde is nat wyse. And also  
 35 make no messangere of thy grettest officer, and suffre him nat to be fer from thee, for it may be cause of thy destruccion and of |  
 [f. 65] thy reame. And yf thou haue any messangere that doth any treason  
 p. 128

## E. ¶ Of kynges secretaries.

DERe sone it behoueth to chuse the a secretary for to wryte & knowe thy secretes/ he must be a man of grete wysdome and well lerned/ for to vnderstande thy mynde. He ought to be trusty and eloquent and that can speke dyuers languages for to put thy besynesses in goodly ordynaunce and semely speche. For as | a [f. H2] fayre garment honoureth þe body of a kyng/ so goodly speche arayeth and indeweth a lettre. And also he must be trusty to hyde & kepe close thy doynge. And þat he suffre none to come to þe place where thy wrytynges be & þat none se them. Swete sone 10 such persones ought to be cherysshed & well rewarded for theyr seruyces. And exalte them in suche wyse þat they be alwayes dylygent in thy necessytees & nedes. For in them is conteyned thy glory and honour/ or thy lyfe & destruccyon.

## F. ¶ Of a kynges messagers.

MYghty emperour þe messagers alway sheweth the wysdome of hym þat sendeth them. They ben þe eyes/ þe eeres/ & the mouthe of theyr lord. It behoueth for thy messagers or ambassadours to chuse suche as ben moost suffycyent/ of clere vnderstandyng/ wyse/ honourable/ & trusty/ which loueth thy honour/ & hateth 20 thy dyshonour. (For in thy court þu mayst finde them bothe). And yf þu fynde suche discover & shewe thy courage to them. And yf þu fynde none suche or better/ fynde one þat wyll trustely bere thy lettres/ & brynge the an answeere of them. And yf þu fynde þat messenger be coueytous to do his owne prouffyte & to gete gyftes/ 25 truste not in hym/ but entyerly forsake hym. And also make no man thy messenger þat wyll be dronke/ for by suche one it shall be sayd & knowen þat þe lorde is not wyse. And ferthermore make not thy messenger of thy gretest offycer/ & lete hym not be ferre from the/ for it may well be the vndoing of the & þe realme. And 30 yf þu sende messagers by whome ony treason come to the/ I tel

1 E.] headed B in List of Contents  
messagers] Messengers K (this, substant., a regular substitution: not indicated hereafter) 17 eyes/ þe] no punct.

15 F.] headed C in List of Contents  
18 lord. It] no punct.

to thy persooone, I telle the no mesure that he is worthy to suffre.  
But doo as thou seemyst beste.

### Of the gouernaunce of the peepel

DEere sonne, thou knowyst well that thy peepel and subgites  
5 is the hous of thy memorye, and the noble treasoure whiche confermeth thy reame. For thy subgites arne as thy gardyne, wherynne ben diuers trees, whiche beryn frute and seed, and multiplie to th[y] ease and to thy pleasir. And so is the peepel thy might and power and durable treasoure, and defence of thy lande. Than thou  
10 most curiously see that thy subgitys be well gouerned, and haue regarde of thaire necessitees, and kepe thaim from vilanye and alle wronges, and reule thaim in rightwisnesse aftir the custume of the cuntree. And ordeyne suche an officere as will gouerne thaim justlye be reason and goodnesse, and that he be wyse and pacient  
15 and full of vertuous condicions. And yf thyn officer be of yll disposicion, the subgites that were good and treue will be yll, and redy to rebell agains the and him bothe. And also see that thou haue juges and true notaries, to thentent the juges be nat corrupte with gyftes as it is often seen. And aftir this, I pray the and exorte the  
20 ofte to sett thy self in bataile. And take [nat example of] thaim that thurgh envie and grete presumpcion madly entre in bataile. And take often the counseil of thyne owne housholde famuliers.  
[f. 65<sup>v</sup>] And blame nor dispray|se nat thy menne of werre, but yiue  
P. 129 thaim faire langage, and promitte thaim good and worship. And  
25 beware that thou entre nat in bataile but that thou be armed of euery peece that needith. And whan thou seest thyne enmye, renne nat vpon him sodeynly vnaused and vnpurveide. And see allwey that thyne hoste be surely warded. And logge euyr thyne hoste as nygh as thou maiste to hilles, watirs, and woodes. And that thou  
30 haue euer with the plenté of vitailles. And also that thou haue many trumpettes and mynstrellis, for thei yeue vertu and norisshinge to

the not þe measure of payne þat they ought to suffre/ but do therin  
as | thou semest best.

[f. H2<sup>v</sup>]

G. ¶ Of the gouernaunce of the people.

FAYre sone thou knowest þat thy people & subjectes ben þe  
hous of thy mynde/ & þe treasure wherby thy realme is confortd. 5  
For thy realme & subjectes ben as an orchyarde wherin ben dyuers  
trees berynge fruyte/ the which trees haue dyuers rotes & sedes  
for to bere/ growe/ & multiply þe fruyte/ & be þe defence &  
durable treasure to thy realme/ & of thy myght. It behoueth than  
that thy subjectes be well gouerned/ & þat thou take thought and 10  
care to that/ that is nedefull for them/ and to beware that no  
vyolence nor wronges be done to them/ and after theyr condycyons  
and wontes to ordre them. Than gyue to them a good offycer  
that intendeth not to theyr vndoynge/ but that intendeth to rule  
them well/ Justly and in quyete. And se that suche an offycer be 15  
wyse/ full of good maners/ well condycyoned/ and pacyent. For yf  
he be not suche one/ wyte thou þat the wyse men that were good  
before/ wyll become euyll and rebell agaynst the. Also se that thou  
haue good and dyscrete Juges/ and þat shall be worshyp to the/  
and encrease of thy court/ and of thy reame. And that the sayde 20  
Juges be not corrupte with gyftes and mede/ and that they haue  
good notaryous scribes/ and egall sollycitours & aduocates þat  
wyll not take brybes as it happeneth seldom. Dere sone I pray the  
and admonest the that thou put thy selfe often in batayle/ and  
take oftentimes the councell of them of thy court. But put the not 25  
with them that onely by enuy and couetyse entreth presumptuously  
in batayle. And blame not nor dyspyse thy men of warre/ but  
vse | fayre wordes amonge them/ and often promyse them gyftes  
and honours. And in no wyse put thy selfe in batayle tyll thou be  
pourueyed of al necessary armes and other thynges therto belong- 30  
ynge. And whan þu seest thyn enemy renne sodaynly vpon hym/ and  
not slowly/ and euer haue good outryders and watches about thyn  
hoost. And lodge the alwayes as nyghe as thou mayst to hylles/  
woodes and waters. And haue alway more haboundaunce of  
vytayne than nedeth. And aboue al thynges grete quantyte of 35  
trompettes/ tabours and other mynstrelles. For they gyue force/

[f. H3]

3 G.] headed D in List of Contents 17 one] a one K 25 thy court]  
the Courte K 26 couetyse] couetous K 32 watches] watchers K  
33 nyghe] neare K 35 nedeth. And] no punct. (at end of l.) 36 trom-  
pettes/ tabours] no punct. (at end of l.)

thy peple, and cause thyne enmyes to be ferde. And be nat allwey  
armyd with oone armys but with diuers. And be well purveide  
with archers and crosse bowes, and put thaim in good array. And  
ordeyne som of thyne horsmen to stire the cuntree, and the re-  
5 manent stablelye to abide in array in bataile. And whan thou entrest  
thy self in bataile counforte thy peple with faire wordes, and yive  
thaim hert and corage to perseuere in hardynesse. And of alle  
thinge be well ware of treason, and haue spies in alle suspecious  
places. And yf thou see thyne enmyes flee, chase thaim nat  
10 hastilye, but kepe stablely thy menne in arraye as miche as thou  
may. And if thou will saute any castell or towne see that thou  
be well purveide with gunnys and engynes to breke the wallys,  
and that thou haue kunnyng maisters to make mynes, with grete  
multitude of archers and crosbowes. And laboure to withdrawe  
15 thair watyr, or elles poysone it. And yf thou may, haue spyes  
amonge thyne enmyes to vndirstande thaire purpose. And yf  
[f. 66] thou may | ouercome thyne enmyes by any othir weye than bataile,  
P. 130 take it. For bataile is the last conclusion whan there may be noon  
othir weye. And doo no thinge withoute counseill and good de-  
20 liberacion.

### Of physnomye

AMonge all othir thinges ertly, I will that thou vndirstande and  
knowe a parte of the noble science callyd phisonomye, wherby thou  
shall haue vndirstandinge of the nature and condicions of the  
25 peple. Whiche was founde by the right noble and wyse philo-  
sophre Phisonomias, whiche made a cerche of the qualitees and  
nature of the creatures. And in his daies reigned the wyse doc-  
toure Ypocras. And be-cause there was grete fame in that cuntrey  
of Phisonomias and of his grete wysdome, the familier seruauntes  
30 of Ypocras toke pryuely the figure of thaire maister, and bare it to  
Phisonomias, and prayd him to juge the qualitees and condicions  
of the figure. And whan Phisonomias had seen the figure, he  
seid, 'This man is luxuriouse, barateuse, and rude.' And whan the  
seid seruauntys harde him sey soo, they were gretely displeasid  
35 with him, and said thus, 'A, foole, this is the figure of the best and

myght/ and reioyce them that be with the/ and make dyuysyon  
 & feare to thyn enemyes. And be not alway armed in one harneys/  
 but with dyuers. And be well stored with archers & handgonnes.  
 And ordeyne some of thy men to renne/ and other to stande sted-  
 fastly in thy batayles. Conforte thy men with fayre wordes and 5  
 gyue them courage/ & herty them to fyght. And aboue all thynges  
 dere sone beware of treason with all thy power/ and haue euer  
 good knyghtes about the well & swyftely horsed that yf chaunce  
 happen that thou must nedes flee/ that by them thou mayst saue  
 thy persone. But yf thou see any of thyn enemyes fle haste the 10  
 not to chase them but kepe thy folke alway togyder the moost  
 that thou mayst. And yf thou wylt assawte castelles or townes haue  
 grete quantyte of gynnes/ and artyllery for to breke the walles.  
 And pouruey the of connyng myners/ and grete nombre of archers  
 and crosbowes. And do soo that thou mayst take away the water 15  
 from them of the fortresse. And euer kepe some of thy enmyes  
 for to knowe theyr doynge within. And yf thou can not haue it  
 but by ba|taylor doo it. For alway the last ende of thy werkes ought [f. H3<sup>v</sup>]  
 to be batayle. And this ought to be done whan thou can not haue  
 them otherwyse. And doo all thy werkes by councell and not 20  
 hastily.

¶ Of the physonomy of people.

AMonge all other thynges of this worlde I wyl that thou knowe  
 a noble and meruaylous scyence that is called physonomy by the  
 which thou shalt knowe the nature and condycyon of people. And 25  
 it was founde by a phylosophre named Physonomyas/ the whiche  
 sought the qualytees of the nature of creatures.

¶ In the tyme of the sayde Physonomyas reigned the moost  
 wyse physycyen Ypocras. And bycause the fame of Physonomyas  
 and his wysdome was so gretely spredde/ the dyscyples and 30  
 seruauntes of Ypocras toke hys figure secretly/ and bare it to  
 Physonomyas to here how he wolde Juge and say by þe sayd figure  
 of Ypocras. And bade hym say and tel the qualyte therof. Whan  
 Physonomyas had well beholden it/ he sayd. This man is a wran-  
 geler lecherous and rude. This herynge the dyscyples of Ypocras 35  
 they wolde haue slayne Physonomyas/ and sayd to hym. Aa fole

4 renne] runne K      5 Conforte] comfort K      14 myners] moiners K  
 18 thy] theyr CK      20 otherwyse] otherwayes K      21 hastily] hastilye  
 K      22 ] chap. headed E in List of Contents      physonomy] Physiognomy K  
 (regular substitution, not indicated hereafter)      27 creatures] no punct. (at end of l.)  
 29 Physonomyas] physonomyas      33 hym.] see 257/5n. and 363/3In.

wyseyt man in the worlde!' And whan Phisonomias sawe thaim so meeuyd, he appeasid thaim with faire langage, sayinge thus, 'I knowe well that this is the figure of the noble doctoure Ypocras. And I haue tolde you what I knowe by my science.' The whiche  
 5 seruauntes went home ageyne and tolde thaire maistre what  
 [f. 66<sup>v</sup>] Phisonomias hath tolde | [thaim. Than Ypocras seid, 'Truly  
 P. 131 Phisonomias hath tolde] you the playn trouthe of my compleccion, wherynne were alle the seid vices.' Deer sonne, I haue breefly drawen out the reules of this science, wherby thou shall haue noble  
 10 wysdome. If thou see a man of feble colour, vse nat his companye, for he is enclnyed to luxure and to ill disposicion. And yf thou see a man, whan thou blamest him for som-what, that he looke vpon thee in fere and shamefastnesse, that waxeth rede in the face, that sobbeth, and his yien watir, that man loueth and  
 15 dreedith thy persooone. And be ware as of thyne enmye, of him that is nat perfourmed of his membres, and that is marked in the visage, and also of him that is ill fourmed. Latinge the wite that the best compleccion that is, is he that is of meene stature, and that his here of his hede, and his yien, ben blake, the visage  
 20 rounde, the colour medilde betwixt rede, white, and browne, and that is body be holl and right vp, the hede in a meene, nothir to miche nor to litle, that he speke litle but yf neede be, and the voice of his woorde sweete. Such a man were good and necessarie to be aboute thy persooone.

25 Whan the here of the hede is playne and softe, the man is curteys and jentill, and his brayne is colde.

Whan a man hath the here of his hede harde and thikke, it is a signe that he is a foole and nyce. And whan he hath mykell here on the belye and on the brest, that man is of right good compleccion and singulere nature, and he is louinge and kepith longe in his  
 30 herte the shame that is doon vnto him.

Yf a man haue the here of the hede blak, he loueth justise and reson. And yf they been reede, he is nat wyse, and lightly wroth.  
 [f. 67] And yf they ben of meene coloure betwixt rede and | blac, that  
 P. 132 man is well disposid and l[o]ueth pease.

36 Whan a man hath grete yien, he is envious. And yf they be in a meene, and of coloure betwixt yelow and blac, he is of good vndirstandinge, curteys and true.

AND he that hath the yien longe, and the face longe, suche a man

this is the fygure of the best man of the worlde. Whan Physonomyas  
 sawe them thus moeued/ he appeased them the best waye that he  
 coude with fayre wordes saynge. I knowe well that this is the  
 fygure of the wyse man Ypocras. And I haue shewed you by  
 scyence as I knowe. Whan the dyscyples were come to Ypocras 5  
 they tolde hym what Physono|myas had sayd. And Ypocras [f. H4]  
 sayd, Truely Physonomyas hath tolde you the trouthe, and hath  
 left nothyng of my complexyon in the whiche ben all my vyces.  
 But reason that is in me ouercometh and ruleth the vyces of my  
 complexyon. 10

¶ Dere sone I haue shortely abreged to the/ the rules of this  
 scyence of Physonomy/ the whiche shall infourme the gretely.

¶ Yf thou se a man with salowe coloure/ flee his company/ for  
 he is inclyned to the synne of lechery/ and to many euylls. Yf thou  
 seest a man that smyleth lyghtly/ and whan thou beholdest hym 15  
 he wyll loke shamfastly and wyl blusshe in his face and sygh/  
 with teeres in his eyes yf thou blame hym for ony thyng/ surely he  
 feareth the and loueth thy persone. Beware of hym as thy enemy  
 that is tokened in his face/ and of hym also that is mysshapen. The  
 best complexyon that is/ is he that is of meane coloure with 20  
 browne eyes & heere/ and his vysage betwene why[te] and reed/  
 with an vpryght body/ with a heed of metely bygnesse/ and that  
 speketh not but of nede be/ with a softe voyce/ suche a complexyon  
 is good/ and suche men haue about the.

¶ Yf the heeres be playne and smothe the man is curteys and 25  
 meke/ and his brayne is colde. Harde heere and curled is a token  
 of foly & lewdnesse. Moche heere on the brest and on the bely  
 betokeneth very yll or very good complexyon naturally and is very  
 amerous/ and kepeth in his herte the iniuries þat hath ben done to  
 hym. Blacke heere betokeneth to loue reason & Justyce. 30

¶ Duskysshe eyes betokeneth fooly/ & lyghtly to be angry. Gray  
 eyes betokeneth honeste/ & louynge peas. Bygge eyes betokeneth to  
 be enuyous/ unshamefast/ slowe & vnobedyent. | Eyes meane [f. H4']  
 betwene blacke and yelowe is of good vnderstandyng/ curteys/  
 and trusty. Wyde retchyng eyes and a longe face betokeneth a 35

1 Physonomyas] Physonomyas 11] *All sections in Physonomy chapter  
 are run-on on same line as preceding words* 13 with] of a K 15 smyleth]  
 smighteth K 18 persone. Beware] *no punct. (at end of l.)* 21 whyte]  
 why (at end of l.) 23 of] if K: *see n.* 29 amerous] amorous K  
 to] vnto K 32 honeste] (*poss. for honesté*), honest K: *see n. and cf. 381/11,  
 383/4n. and 10n.*

is full of malice and yll disposicion. And he that hath yien like an asse, loking downward, he is a foole and of harde nature.

Whan the yien ben mevinge lightly, and his face is longe, suche a man loueth debate, falshede, and vntrouthe.

- 5 Whan the yien of a man ben rede, he is stronge and of grete corage. But the worst yien that ben, ben thoo that hauen spottes a-boute, white, rede or blake. And suche a man is of the worst disposicion that is.

10 HE that hath the browys thikke of here, he is euill tungen. And he that hath thaim longe, nygh the earis, he is nat true.

And he that hath mykell here betwixt the browes, he is nat true. And he that hath th[aim faire] of here, and nat to longe, and that they ben of grete here, suche a man is of grete vndirstandinge.

- 15 And he that hath the nose slendyr, he will lightly be wroth. And he that [hath] it longe downe to the mouthe, he is well-disposed and hardy. And he that hath it shorte and lowe, he is easely troubled. And he that hath grete holes in the nose, he is slaughfull, rude and soone meevid. And he that hath the nose large in the  
19 myddys, going vpwarde, he is a grete talker and lyere. But the  
[f. 67<sup>v</sup>] best nose of alle is that that is of meane lenght | and the holys  
P. 133 nothir to grete ne to smale.

25 THE visage that is plat and playne, and is nat sharpe nor grete, it is ill. Suche a man is enuious, iniuriouse, and loueth plee. But he that hath the visage is a meene forme, and the cheekes nothir to fatt nor to lene, he is a true man, lovinge, and of grete vndirstandinge, wyse, and full of good service.

HE that hath a large mouthe, he is manlye and loueth batailes. And he that hath grete lippes, he is a foole and malapert. And he that hath a slendre visage, he is wyse and of grete vndirstandinge.  
30 And he that hath a litle face and of yelowre coloure, he is deceyuable, drunkelewe and of yll condicion. And he that hath a longe face is vn-jantill. And he that hath the earis full and swollen, and the cheekes full, he is oft meeuid and angry. And he that hath the earis to litle, he is a foole, atheest and luxurious.

35 HE that hath the vois grete sownynge, he is a grete langager, and loueth batails. And he that spekith hastily, with a small vois, he is a lyer and of yll disposicion. And he that hath a grete vois, he is lightly wroth. And he that hath the voys swete and sownynge,

12 thaim faire] thynne: see n.

occupying entire line

14 And . . . wroth] repeated, each instance

33 cheekes] s ins. above

man malycyous and yll. Eyes lyke an asse alway loking downe is of harde nature and nought. Waueryng eyes with a lon[g] face betokeneth gyle/ rennyng mynde and vntrusty. Reed eyes betokeneth to be stronge and of a grete courage. He that hath spekles about his eyes/ whyte/ blacke/ or reed/ is the worst of all other men. Thycke heered eye lyddes is an yll speker/ he that hath them hangyng longe to his eyes/ is neyther true nor clene. He that hath heere ynough betwene his two browes and be thynne and not to longe/ is of a good and grete vnderstandyng.

¶ A sklendre nosed man is soone angry. A longe nose hawked to the mouthe/ is a token of honeste and hardynesse. A snytted nose is a token to be soone vexed. Wyde nosethrylles in a man is slouth and boystousnesse and soone angered. A brode nose in the myddes is a grete speker/ and a lyer. But þe best is he that is meane neyther to wyde nor to close. The vysage that is ful & flat/ and that is not swollen nor to bygge is a token of an yll persone/ enuyous/ iniuryous/ and a wrangeler. But he that hath a meane vysage of fourme of chekes and eyes/ neyther to fat nor to leane/ he is trusty/ louynge/ and of grete vnderstandyng/ wyse and full of seruyce and wytte.

¶ He that hath a wyde mouthe loueth batayle and is hardy. He þat hath thycke lypes is folysshe. And he that hath a wrynkled face is a lyer/ and careth not of many debates. He that hath a sklender face is of grete reason. He that hath a lytell vysage and yelowe of colour is a deceyuer/ dronken/ and euyll. Full eyes & | smothe chekes is soone angry.

¶ Small eeres betokeneth foly/ and lechery.

¶ He that hath a small voyce & speketh thycke loueth feyghtyng. He that hath a meane voyce/ neyther to bygge/ nor to lytell/ is folysshe and vnreasonable. And he that speketh to moche with a sklender voyce/ is not ouer honest/ and of smal care. He that hath a femynne voyce is soone angry/ and of yl nature. A softe voyced

1 alway] alwayes K      2 nought] naught K (*regular substitution: not indicated hereafter*)      long] lon (*at end of l.*) C long K      3 vntrusty. Reed] *no punct. (at end of l.)*  
 5 or] and K      10 sklendre] slender K (*regular substitution: not indicated hereafter*)      11 honeste] honest K      12 nose-thrylles] nosthrels K      32 yl] euyll K

[he is of envious disposicion and vntrusty]. And he that hath a faire vois, he is a foole and of high corage.

He that meevith often, [and] in his spekinge meevith his handis, he is yll and deceyuable. And that spekith and mevith nat his  
5 handys, he is of parfite vndirstandinge, wyse and good.

[And he that hath the nek longe, he is of harde vndirstandyng.]  
And he that hath it short, he is hote and deceyuable. And he that  
hath a grete bely, he is proude and luxurious. He that hath a large  
9 brest, grete shulders, and grete bake, he is good, hardy, wyse, and  
[f. 68] of good vndirstandinge. And he that hath a | slender bak, he will  
P. 134 neur agree to no man. And he that hath the brest in a meane and  
the bak playne, it is a signe of good disposicion. And he that hath  
high shulders he is sharpe and of yll feith.

HE that hath the armes longe, comynge downe to knees, he is  
15 a man of grete manhode, good and large. And yf they ben shorte,  
it is a signe that he loueth discorde, and that he is a foole.

And he that hath the palmys and the fingers longe, he is apte to  
lerne many artes and sciences, and in espesiall hande craftes, and he  
shall be of good reule. And he that hath the fingers grete and shorte,  
20 he is nyce and a foole and iniuriouse. And he that hath the feete  
grete and full of flesh, he is a foole and iniurious. And he that  
hath thaim litle he is light and of harde vndirstandyng.

HE that hath smale legges, he is meek and vnkunynge. And he  
that hath thaim grete, he is harde and straunge. And the brede of  
25 the heelys and of the legges betokne strenght of body. And he that  
hath miche flesh in the knees, he is soft and weyke. And whan a man  
goth a large paas and by layser, he shall doo well his besinesse. And  
he that goth fast with litle pace, he is to hasty and evill willed.

HE is of good complexion, that hath the flesh soft and moiste,  
30 and in a meane betwixt euen and sharpe, and that he be nat to  
longe nor to shorte, and of coloure betwixt white and rede. And  
that he haue a swete looke, and the here of the hede swete and  
playne, and the yien in a meane grete and greye. And the hede  
34 in a meane well made by mesure, and good nekke and of a suf-  
[f. 68v] fisaunt lenght, and that the | shulders stoupe som-what, and that  
P. 135 the legges and knees be nat to full of flesh, and the vois temperatly  
cliere, and the palme of a suffisaunt lenght, and the fingers longe

1 he is . . . vntrusty] *om.*: see n.  
*original perh. defective: see n.*  
another hand, feith repeated

7 And he . . . deceyuable] *French*  
13 feith] *in space between paragraphs, in*

man is often angry and enuyous. He that hath a fayre voyce/ is folysse/ and of hyghe courage. He that speketh lyghtly/ lyeth often/ and is a deceyuer. And he that speketh without moeuynge his handes/ is of grete wysdome and honeste.

☞ He that hath a sklender necke/ is hote/ deceytfull/ and 5 folysse. He þat hath a grete bely is proude/ lecherous/ and vnwyse.

☞ He that hath a large brest/ thycke sholdres/ and bygge fyngers/ is hardy/ wyse/ gentyll/ and of good wytte. He with a sklender backe agreeth neuer with ony other. He þat hath his brest & backe egall/ is a token of honeste. Hye reysed sholdres/ is a token of lytell 10 fydelyte/ nought/ and sharpe. He that hath longe armes rechyng to the knee/ is of grete boldenesse/ sadnesse/ & lyberalyte. Shorte armes betoken that he loueth socour/ and is folysse.

☞ Longe palmed handes with longe fyngers/ is ordeyned to lerne many scyences/ and artes/ and specyall handy craftes/ and 15 be of good gouernaunce. Fyngers short and thycke/ betoken foly.

☞ Shorte thycke fete and fleshy/ betokeneth to be folysse/ and full of iniury. A lytell lyght fote/ is a man of smal vnderstandynge. A sklender fote sheweth a man to be symple/ and of small know- 20 lege. He that hath a thycke fote is hardy and folysse.

☞ The length of þe legges/ & the heles | betoken strength of the [f. J17] body. A thycke fleshy kne/ is soft and weyke.

☞ A man that gooth a grete pace/ is wyllynge in all thynges, and to hasty. 25

☞ He is of a good nature and complexyon/ that hath softe flesshe and moyst/ meanely smothe and rough/ and that is kyndly betwene reed and whyte.

☞ He that hath a smothe contaunce/ softe heere & playne/ with meane eyes of bygnesse/ with a well proporcyoned heed/ 30 a good necke and suffycient in length/ with sholders somdele lowe/ and his legges and knees metely flesshed/ his voyce competent clere/ þe palmes of his handes and fyngers longe/ and not

3 moeuynge] mouing of K      4 honeste] honestie K      10 honeste] honestie K  
 12 knee] knees K      15 specyall] specially K: cf. 315/9  
 18 betokeneth] betoken K      30 heed/] heed J      31 somdele] somewhat K  
 32-3 competent] competent K

and nat to grete. And that he laugh litle, and mokke no body, and that his face be laughinge and mery.

Notwithstandinge, deere sonne, thou maist nat juge a man alle-  
oonllye by oon signe, but considre alle his signes. And looke what  
5 signes ben moost habundaunt in the man, and than holde the on  
the better parte and moost profitable.

Explicit &c.

3 Notwithstandinge] *illuminated initial N omitted, but space contains minuscule catch-letter n supplied by scribe for illuminator*      7 Explicit] *design in shape of scroll around extended tail of p contains tous mon [cuer] aues, the word cuer being represented by drawing of heart*

thycke/ and that he laughe but lytell/ and that is no mocker/ with  
 a smylyng chere and mery/ is of good complexyon. Howbeit dere  
 sone I commaunde the not to Juge al vpon one sygne/ but  
 consydre all the tokens of a man whiche moost habounde and  
 sheweth pe foly in hym/ and holde the to the best and moost 5  
 prouffitable party.

¶ Deo gratias.

¶ Thus endeth the abstract of the secrete of secretes of Arystotle  
 prynce of Phylosophres.

¶ Here folowe certayne reasons of the grete phylosophre Sydrac 10  
 to the kynge Boctus/ whiche I haue translated out of the Pycardes  
 speche/ thynkyng it necessary in this sayd treatyse.

¶ How one ought to vttere his speche. |

YF thou hast ony mater of grauyte or sadnesse of reason/ to  
 shewe and declare before noble and wyse audyence/ tell it breuely 15  
 and wysely/ with a good bolde courage and wyll/ and than they  
 wyll take it hertely/ and wyll gyue credence to thy wordes and  
 allowe thy saynge. For wyse men wyll gladly gyue eeres to wyse  
 and short informacyon. And therefore be not shamefast nor aferde  
 to tell the trouth. For many one haue loste theyr ryght by shame- 20  
 fastnesse and feare of theyr vtteraunce of wordes/ though theyr  
 causes were good.

¶ The maner of angre.

THou oughtest not to be angry though thy brother or frende 25  
 shew the heuy chere somtyme/ for peraduenture he hath some  
 cause wherfore he can shew the/ nor other no fayre semblaunt.  
 And this thou mayst consydre in thy selfe. For yf thou were angry  
 thou coude shewe hym/ nor none other good chere or counte-  
 naunce/ and so it is with hym. And yf thou hast had ony wordes 30  
 with ony man/ and he shewe the yll countenaunce, therefore yet  
 thou ought not to be angry with hym. For perchaunce he is too  
 lewde or vnwyttly of hymselfe that he can do no better/ and yet he  
 weneth that he doth wel/ for euer the lewdest sheweth moost anger.

18 eeres] eare K      19 aferde] afrayde K      27 semblaunt] semblance K  
 29 coude] couldst K      none] no K      32 too] so K

For whan a wyse man is angry/ he sheweth it not outwarde by his reason. A man ought more to feare the anger of a wyse man than of a foole/ for the wyse man can better reuenge his angre than a [f. J2] foole | howbeit that a foles angre is often comberous.

5

¶ To vttre secretes.

IN one maner onely thou ought to shew thy secretes/ that is to wyte to almyghty god that knoweth al thyng/ that is to be vnderstande/ to his lyeftenaunt in erth/ and other wyse not. For yf thou dyscouer it to thy frende/ and yf thy frende be but lewde/ & hath  
 10 another frende þat he loueth/ to whome he telleth thy secrete/ and his frende hath another frende that telleth hym the same/ and so frome one to another tyll a grete meyny do knowe it/ & so thy secrete may come out to thy grete shame and rebuke. For whyles thou kepest thy secrete within the/ it is sure. For thou mayst  
 15 shew thy secrete to suche one that whan he knoweth it wyl do the some wronge/ and for feare that thou hast of hym þu dare not gaynsay hym leest he bewrey the. And yf thou can none otherwyse but that thou must vttre it by thy foly/ and that thy stomake wyl swell for to tel it/ go out of company and tell it to thy selfe as yf  
 20 thou wolde tell it to another man/ and thy hert wyll coole and thy stomake swage. And for ony nede that thou hast to dyscouer it/ take hede to whom/ but yf it be to suche one that for ony anger that thou doost to hym wyl not rebuke the with it. And neuer lete thy neyghboure knowe thy nede/ for therby thou mayst be the  
 25 lesse set by in places where thou dwellest.

¶ How thou oughtest to sporte with thy frende. |

[f. J2<sup>v</sup>]

LOke wysely how thou playest or bourdest with thy frende (or other) with thy handes or with thy mouth/ for yf thou do hym harme/ harme may come to the. With sportyng with handes cometh  
 30 angre and murdre/ whyther it be thy brother or frende. For yf thou hurt hym or wryng his hande/ or cast hym downe/ or smyte hym otherwyse/ it shall greue hym/ & shame hym in his mynde/ albeit that he be lytell and weyke/ for eche in hym selfe counteth hym stronge/ bolde and fyers/ and yet he wyll prayse hym selfe

7 ought] oughtst K  
 frende. And

8 lyeftenaunt] lifetenaunt K  
 12 meyny] many K

10 frende/ and]

thoughe he be a cowarde and nought. And yf thou mocke hym/  
 thou shalt spyte hym to the hert/ for he wyll thynke that thou  
 dyspyssest hym/ & þat thou reputeth hym at nought. And yf thou  
 mocke hym before people/ thou doost hym yet more spyte/ & he  
 shall owe the yll wyll and hate the deedly. For of mockynge 5  
 cometh angre and grete hate/ though it be thy brother or other  
 frende. But thou ought to pastyme with fayre wordes/ and to  
 shewe goodly auctorytees and reasons to drawe theyr loue to the/  
 for by that pastaunce thou mayst come to þe goodnesse/ loue &  
 curteysy of people. 10

¶ The maner to doubt and trust thyn enemy.

WHyther thyn enemy be stronge or weyke/ thou ought not to  
 doubt hym to moche/ nor trust to moche to hym/ For he þat is  
 ouercome today/ may be vycour tomorow. And he that is vycour 15  
 today may be ouerthrowen to morow. And he that doubteth none/  
 none wyll haue doubt of hym. To moch doubt | maketh to moch  
 trust/ and to moche trust maketh to moche damage. For he that [f. J3]  
 bereth doubt alwaye with hym/ hath a grete burden & payne. 20  
 And he that hath trust in hym selfe/ bereth his owne damage/  
 and his dethe. For þu ought to doubt whan tyme is to doubt/ and  
 to trust whan tyme is to trust.

¶ Finis.

¶ Lenuoy and excuse of Robert Coplande the translatur and 25  
 Imprynter of this boke

¶ In humble maner/ and moost due reuerence  
 Tremblynge for drede afore thy souerayne  
 Yf thy chaunce be to come in presence  
 Where ony person shall the there retayne 30  
 Submytte thy selfe as one that wolde be fayne  
 His grace to please in all maner degre  
 And of thy rudenesse for to pardon the.

¶ And where as thou art but as an abstract 35  
 As touchynge the auctours compylacyon  
 Yf I therfore be ony wyse detract  
 In defaut of thy abreuyacyon

12 WHyther] WHether K    ought] oughtest K    15 today] to day  
 24 Finis] omitted K    25 Lenuoy not included in K; Table of Contents, as on  
 pp. 231-51 above, follows here in K    34 the.] no punct.

Lay thou the blame in the frensshe translacyon  
Whiche I haue folowed as nygh as I can

[f. J3<sup>v</sup>] Under correccyon of euery wyse man.

¶ Yf ony may dyspyse the language rude

5 Whiche barayne is/ of puryd eloquence

Desyre them that they do not delude

Thy fronsate mater full of sentence |

But in theyr hertes/ enprynt thy morall sence/

Which compyled is/ by wysdome naturall

10 Of prudent men/ the veray gouernall.

¶ Where many wedes be in a felde of corne

All though the weders thynke to wede it clene

Some shall remayne/ whan the fylde is shorne.

Drawke or cokle/ yet there wyll be seen

15 The fawtes therof/ is in the handes and eyen

Lykewyse where many/ wordes and lettres be

No mervayle is/ though I some ouerse.

¶ Yf by impressyon/ ony thyng be amys

In worde/ in sence/ or in ortography

20 I you requyre/ to mende where the faute is

In the best wyse/ it for to Justyfy

For though all be not to your fantasy

In formall maner/ do ye it dyscus

Saue onely god, nemo est perfectus.

25 ¶ Deo gratias.

¶ Dytee du translateur

¶ Tost ou tard/ pres ou loing

[f. J4] A le fort du foible besoing. |

¶ Thus endeth the secrete of secretes of Arystotle with the  
30 gouernayle of prynces and euery maner of estate with rules of  
helthe for body and soule very prouffitable for euery man/ and  
also veray good to teche chyldren to lerne to rede Englysshe. Newly  
translated & enprynted by Robert Copland at London in the

Flete-strete at the sygne of the Rose garlande the yere of our lorde  
.M.CCCCC.xxviiij. the .viij. day of August þe .xx. yere of the  
reygne of our moost dradde souerayne and naturall kynge Henry  
the .viij. defender of the fayth.

[Printer's device]

5

2 .xx.] *no final punct.; at end of l.*

## IX

### SIR WILLIAM FORREST THE PLEASAUNT POESYE OF PRINCELIE PRACTISE

1548

From British Library MS. Royal 17.D.iii

[f. 2] TO the **moste** worthie **and** famouse **prince**, **Edwarde**, **Duke** of **Somerset**, **Earle** of **Herteforde**, **Vicounte** **Beaucham**, **Lorde** **Seymour**, **vncle** vnto **owre** **moste** **dreade** **soueraigne** **lorde**, **Kynge** **Edwarde** the **Sexthe**, **Protectour** **also** **ouer** **his** **moste** **royall** **person**, **Realmes**, **and** **Dominions**, **bee** **honour**, **healthe**, **and** **hyghe** **prosperité**, **withe**, **after** **this** **lief**, **æternall** **foelicité**. **So** **wisshethe** **his** **daylie** **oratur**, **Sir** **William** **Forreste**, **preeiste**.

(1)

AS the olde feeldis bringeth forthe our nwe corne,  
the ethymologie too all men is playne,  
so dothe olde tutours children younge borne  
produce and furdre too knowledge soueraine,  
the olde for the younge too caste and ordayne 5  
by education, as sittethe the case,  
that after their tyme the younge maye take place.

(2)

Suche sorte sage Cicero, that famouse Romaine,  
prouided for Marke, his dear beloued soon,  
at Athenis withe Gratippe, a yeare or twayne, 10  
too lerne and knowe thinges after too bee doon  
when, in this lief, his dayes weare paste and roon,  
too bee thapter the trybune seate too steade.  
Oh, worthie parentes, that so their youthe can leade.

## (3)

[f. 2<sup>v</sup>] **The** steve of the lifes exercitation 15  
 takethe great force, as authours dothe endight,  
 by yowthes firste breakinge and education,  
 while they bee pliant too frame in ordre right;  
 thoughhe Nature workethe vertue too despight,  
 yeat crooked ymps by handelinge are made streight, 20  
 so yowthe muste bee woone on Reason too weight.

## (4)

**Suche** liquour, they saye, as entrethe the vessell  
 when firste the same is put in vsage,  
 eauer after it will therof smell.  
 Whiche maye bee applied too younge tendre age: 25  
 breake yowthe tymelie from viciowse owterage,  
 plantinge thearin vertuouse exercise,  
 so shall it sweete sente too eache manns devise.

## (5)

**Vnto** the purpose nowe present in hande.  
 What shall I wright, comprise, or prolate 30  
 of owre noble **Edwarde**, Kynge of Englande,  
 althoughe hee bee yeat in his infantes date,  
 of princelie nature withoute peere or mate?  
 Neadis muste hee of highe worthynes sent,  
 as prooffe maye bee by reason consequent. 35

## (6)

**Firste**, tochinge the giftes that Nature may geeue,  
 hee wantethe none: his features dothe shewe  
 of graces superne that in hym dothe meeue;  
 it shewithe hee hathe dronke of the heauenlye dewe,  
 for, in the numbre of the fyneste fewe, 40  
 too what thinge witt perspicuat maye reache,  
 hee hathe whearewithe withe the beste too searche.

(7)

[f. 3] The same (his witt) in woorthie wise tapplye,  
 of literate knowledge toptaine some substaunce,  
 hee hathe too **Gouernour** a Duke moste worthy, 45  
**Edwarde** of **Somerset**, a man of puisaunce  
 whoe workethe highest meanis his honour taduance,  
 as dothe appeare in his procedinges all:  
**Scotelande** theareof can make memoriall,

(8)

**where**, the laste yeare, the firste of his reigne, 50  
 hee wrought suche feate and princelie entreprise  
 in the behaulfe of owre saide souereigne  
 as hathe not bene herde so passinge precise,  
 with the losse of **fiuetie** or fewe moe certise,  
**XV thousande** for too confownde. 55  
 Miraculowse it was: God was his grownde.

(9)

**Of** more his endeuer too wright or saye,  
 althoughe the thinge I heere preposterate:  
 when his famowse father was rapte awaye  
 bie **Clothois** cuttinge the threade of his date, 60  
 howe, bie all meanys hee dyd accelerate  
 with suche highe honour as newe in booke was fownde,  
 in **Westmyenster** Churche too haue his Grace crownde.

(10)

**This** is a **Protectour** to hym moste enteere,  
 this is an **vncle** moste faithfull too see, 65  
 this is a freende at hande eauer neere,  
 this is a father for his fidelitee!  
 This is not **Richarde**, rager of crueltee,  
 too whome the **fowrthe Edwarde** his children beetooke.  
 This is the true **Theseus**, and hee an hell whooke. 70

50] 1547 added in margin, immediately next to the rhyming word.

## (11)

[f. 3<sup>v</sup>] **This** is the Duke **Epaminidon**  
 whiche in Athenis beere scepture and ball,  
 too whome **Amintas**, **Philippe** his son,  
 beeinge kinge of **Macedonye** all,  
 can commit for his fame royall: 75  
 the woorthynes that hee hym indude  
 heere to reherse, my phrase is too rude.

## (12)

**The** same hee seemithe, I dare vndretake,  
 that in thaffairs of oure noble **Edwarde**  
 his helpinge hande at no tyme dothe slake, 80  
 bothe lief and goodis therin too ieobarde,  
 to whome I saye, this my warke too forwarde,  
 Ohe woorthie **Duke**, attende my pretence  
 whiche I in suete haue too your excellence.

## (13)

**This** symple booke whiche yee in hande nowe haue, 85  
 I haue comprised in sorte as yee see,  
 firste deuised bye **Aristotele** graue  
 vnto Kinge **Alexandres** maiestee,  
 too thende it maye like your magnanimittee  
 as yee cause see, bye your discretion, 90  
 too bee preferred, or take direption.

## (14)

**As** children that bee of highe progeniture  
 owght not too eate but as their nurice shall assyne,  
 the wief no lettre or tokne too recure  
 withoute her husbonde the same dothe diffyne, 95  
 so yee, bothe Nurice and Husbonde collateryne,  
 the neareste that eauer anye **Orphan** maye finde,  
 ought firste in this too declare your mynde.

## (15)

- [f. 4] **Leste** his highe maiestie heereof might taiste,  
 yee not allowinge the same for hym meeite, 100  
 for lacke of foresight too make suche waiste  
 then had I grownd all on a wronge greeite:  
 therefore too yow, as man moste discreete,  
 ohe noble **Duke**, I itt firste heere present,  
 humblye besechinge too tendre myne entent. 105

## (16)

**As** signe I geue it of myne allegeaunce;  
 for, vnto anye, what can bee higher prayes  
 that in enditinge hathe anye furtheraunce,  
 then to his soueraigne bye some humble wayes  
 hym too present withe sumwhat in his dayes, 110  
 too whome bee reigne that beste maye accorde  
 withe healthe and longe lief too yow, my good lorde?

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**Howe** a kinge owght tauoyde infamye, and aboue althinges (nexte his duetie vnto God) tendeuier his honorable fame, choosinge rather for that too reigne then for thonlie glorie of the princelie estate

442

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448

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457

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470

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*heading to Caput 16: as well] aswell*

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482

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513

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518

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Page

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**Howe** circumspecte and prudent a kinge owght too bee, in prouision makeinge for corne and grayne beefore hande for the sustentation of hym and his, if in his iurisdiction dearth or famyne sholde chaunce tarise. [Remainder of text lacking]

## Caput 26

**Howe** a kinge shall prooue of his officers the iuste and faithful frome the vntrue, and howe he shal trye of them whoe tenderethe his honowre and worthy fame, and whoe the contrarye.

## Caput 27

**Howe** a kinge in anywise owght tauoyde furiousnes and haistie iudgement, and all his deades too ordre and deeme bye thaduisse and counsel of þe wise.

**Caput 28**

**Howe** a kinge shoulde endeuer (so muche as he may without to muche wronge offerde) too haue peace with all men, and in thexecutinge of warre not too shewe vtire vtion towardis the membres for the wronge demeanyng of their heade, consyderinge as thus: subiectes muste doo as their headis shall assigne.

**Caput 29**

**Certayne** documentes for conseruation of bodelie healthe, withe a description of the fowre elementes whereof man is made, and of their effectes.

**Caput 30**

**What** thinges by dyete prescribed for healthes preseruation are too bee obserued, and what meates and | drynkes are cheiflie too bee vsed for the same entent.

[f. 7]

**Caput 31**

**Of** theexercise of tyme ymmediatlie beefore meate, withe a dwe maneire in feadinge, not too the full contentation of thappetyte.

**Caput 32**

**After** what sorte a man, myndinge his health, shall behaue hym-selfe after his refectiōns.

**Caput 33**

**An** admonition for dwe conseruation of natural heat, and what thinges too bodelie healthe are profitable, and what nociuouse.

**Caput 34**

**Of** certayne thinges whiche dothe conforte the bodye, ympinguat, or macerat the same.

**Caput 35**

**A** meanys too knowe goode and howlesome wyne, and of the moderate maners in vsynge of them.

*heading to Caput 28: So muche] somuche*

## Caput 36

At what season bedde reste is beste to be taken, in what howre for too arise, and howe a man shall vse hym-selfe after his reste-takyng.

## Caput 37

Of theis fowre seasons in the yeare: ver, estas, autumnus, hyemps, and of their varieties and qualities, what ordre also is to be taken in them.

At thende of this worke shal ensue certaine narrations, exemplifijng sundry of the maters of the aforesaide tytles, to be fownde by the fygures at thende of the saide titles or their chapters.

[f. 8] Here ensuith a notable warke called the Pleasaunt Poesye of Princelie Practise, composed of late in meatre royall: by the symple and vnlearned Sir William Forrest, preeiste, muche parte collecte owte of a booke entiteled **The Gouvernaunce of Noblemen**, which booke the wise philosopher Aristotele wrote too his discyple Alexandre, the great and mightie conqueroure.

1548

To the moste mightie and puisaunte Prynce Edwarde the Sexthe, Kynge of Engelande, Fraunce and Irelande, Defendour of the Faithe, and heere in earthe (vndre Christe) the Supreme Heade of bothe Churches, Engelande and Irelande, bee regne in state moste fortunate, with thuppre hande ouer his enemies alweyes, thorowe His ayde by Whome all kynges heere dothe governe.

William Forrest.

(17)

THE nobleste of nobles, Alexandre the greate,  
when moste hee sought too florische in his reigne,  
whoe in chyvalrie wrought manye a feate,  
as monumentis olde of hym dothe conteine,  
his throne too stablische in state souereigne,

115

*Title to Caput 36: reste-takyng*] restetakyng

*Title to Caput 37*] Foll. by f. 7<sup>v</sup>, taken up by the picture of Forrest presenting his book to the king.

this caste hee caste bye wisdomede decorate:  
too woorke by cownsell of men approbate.

## (18)

[f. 8<sup>v</sup>] **Emonge** all men that in his fauour stoode, 120  
**Aristotele** wan faouere synguler,  
whois fame appeared too his purpose goode,  
thoughe from his presence his beeinge weare fer,  
whoe in thois dayes shone like the daye ster:  
in fresche philosophie so dyd hee admownte, 125  
for souereigne wise men dyd hym then accownte.

## (19)

**Vnto** this man, this Philosop[h]er sage,  
**Alexandre** his lettres can deuise,  
vnto his presence too dres his voyage,  
in sundrie causes too haue his aduise. 130  
When **Aristotele** herde thambassadise,  
whoe ferr in age that tyme his dayes had spent,  
not able too themperour hym-selfe too present,

## (20)

**whearfore** in studye hee setteled his mynde  
by answer too rescribe what weies hee might take, 135  
consyderinge as thus: a man of suche kynde  
no subiecte becummeth his pleasure too forsake,  
thoughe feblenes hyndrede his iourney too take.  
A while the case hee dyd delyberate,  
concludinge this wise his mynde too satiate: 140

## (21)

**well** dyd considre this auncyent man  
what weightie affaires hym sundrie weies befel  
too bee debated and weyed nowe and than,  
bye office due all errour too expel,  
in whiche was neade of politike counsel. 145  
For whoe of powre hathe mucche in hande too wilde,  
sage aduysours maye not bee theare exilde.

## (22)

[f. 9] **Vnto** that ende this booke that dothe ensue  
**Aristotele** full wiselye can comprise,  
 withe all intent of obedyence due 150  
 for **Alexandre** kynge too exercise  
 bye a dwe meane of princelie iustice,  
 as too his persone an ordynarye rule,  
 withe sage respecte thearfrome not too recule.

## (23)

**Whiche** booke ensuynghe his fame made far too shine, 155  
 for in his doinges men dyd muche honour note,  
 so that thear-thorowe kynges of right highe lyne,  
 mooste of the worlde, vnto his powre hee gote.  
 So was his reigne in glorie set a-flote  
 bycause hee liste bye counsell too proceade: 160  
 the whole worlde yeat recomptethe muche his deade.

## (24)

**Suchewise** this prudent philosopher olde  
 satisfied themperours expectation:  
 from muche hawte outrage it dyd his harte colde  
 when furied hee was bye inclynation 165  
 rigour textende towardis anye person:  
 vnto this booke suche credyte gaue that kynge  
 that moste it ordrede hym in hole his lyuinge.

## (25)

**Not** onlie this booke aduertisement gaue  
 in outwarde assayes what beste was tamplate, 170  
 but also it taught meanys hym-selfe to saue  
 frome sundrye occasions his healthe tenfecte.  
 So that too all sortis of eache manere secte  
 it is a myrroure of perfection true,  
 heerein too contemplate their office due. 175

(26)

[f. 9<sup>v</sup>] **Vnto** my handis wheare late this booke dyd chaunce  
 and had seene what treasure it dyd conteyne,  
 anon it mooued in mye remembraunce  
 the same too turne in to owre Englishe veyne,  
 for youre onlie sake, my cheif souereyne, 180  
 beseachinge youre myghtie Domynation  
 too graunte it youre woorthie acceptation.

(27)

**Thoughe** it bee thinge too youre Magnificence  
 not neadinge, or woorthie in presence tappeere,  
 bycause yee haue men of like equiualence, 185  
 or ferdre surmountinge, in knowledge cleere,  
 too prompte youre Grace in the regale speere,  
 thoffice, I meane, of princelie behauour,  
 then tenn tymes can doo this my present labour,

(28)

**yeat** as the **panther**, moste preaciouse in araye, 190  
 in his pasturinge dothe not his dyett dresse  
 vppon wone kynde of herbys too feeade alwaye,  
 but what hee fyndethe meete his hungre toppresse,  
 so, noble Kyng, thoughe grose bee his processe,  
 for dyuersité youre Grace maye it reade, 195  
 thoughe yee not so doo compelled of neade,

(29)

**in** whiche I haue gathered and knyght of intent  
 sundrye fresche sentencies too the purpose meeit,  
 like too a poesye of flowres redolent  
 that too the odour geuethe pleasaunt smell sweeite, 200  
 so namynge the same (if yee saye, so bee-it)  
**The Pleasaunte Poesye of Princelie Practise :**  
 whiche I heere present in my humblest wise,

## (30)

[f. 10] **acknowledginge** myselfe in this pretence  
 too passe my bondis, and that no small deale, 205  
 that I, so symple of intelligence,  
 in too your presence by this meanys shoulde steale.  
 Construe what men I liste, I wische your heale,  
 with reigne moste fortunat that eauer had kynge:  
 suche of my purpose is hole the meanyng. 210

**An argument concerninge what dreade and feare a man  
 stondithe in, that taketh in hande too write or counseile  
 a kinge or heade potentate.**

## Caput primum

## (31)

**Right** well I wote full ieoberdowse it is,  
 and also harde, a kynge too counsell,  
 or too admonische, in that or this.  
 His mightie powre dothe so far excell,  
 althoughe wone manythe neuer so well, 215  
 if hee it take too the contrarye,  
 for lief or deathe whoe dare with hym replie?

## (32)

**This** is wheare will and powre together  
 regnethe aboute the vertues cardynall.  
 But vntoe whome they bee sent for thither 220  
 eache thyng is take in the weye dextrall,  
 tavoyde all daungre that myght beefall.  
 Beefore **Aristotele** his warke beegone,  
 hee humblie beesought **Alexandres** perdone,

## (33)

[f. 10<sup>v</sup>] **leste** thorowe his brute and pleynnes of stile 225  
 hee myght that touche whiche his harte myght offende,  
 thearbye frome his fauour hym-selfe textile:  
 then weare too late his pennyng to amende.

Too whois example I humblie myselve bende,  
 if, by translation, addition or so, 230  
 I chaunce in this my-selfe too ouer go.

## (34)

Dye had I rather then offende my leeche.  
 For trulie in this if it shoulde so chaunce,  
 (whiche God forbydde, I hartelye beeseche)  
 it is then thorowe cause of ignoraunce, 235  
 lacke of learnynge and wittie remembraun[c]e.  
 Thearfore I make this protestation:  
 if owghtes heere myshappe, too graunte mee pardon.

## (35)

For in this warke whiche Aristotele wrote  
 I doo not thorowlie his pathes ensue: 240  
 hee was an Ethnyke, I haue not forgote,  
 and was in tholde tyme, and I in the nwe;  
 they woorshipped ydollis, and wee the God true.  
 Theis thynges consydered, muche of his writinge  
 I muste then alter too a Christian kinge. 245

## (36)

Hee manye thynges mooued nowe nowghtes sett bye,  
 whiche at that season serued in a sorte,  
 sowndinge too owre purpose nowe farr awrye,  
 of which in this I will make no reporte.  
 In studye hee dothe themperoure exhorte 250  
 in physonomye too applie his witt,  
 whiche in this warke I wholie omytt.

## (37)

[f. 11] The pryncyple selfe ys false, I dare saye,  
 and mannys judgements necligent and frayle.  
 Then false and frayle makethe a mad medlaye: 255  
 when the fundation it-selfe doithe fayle,  
 itt can no-mannys seakinge oughthes countreuayle  
 vnto purpose the truthe too verifie:  
 then is it not meete for a kynges studye.

## (38)

**For** the saide science makethe a pretendinge 260  
 by outewarde signes the thought too descrye.  
 As, if wone hathe in his face suche a thinge,  
 too bee freende or foe, too judge hym thearbye,  
 likewise bye wryncl thorowe **palmystrye**.  
 So maye a kynge caste awaye manye wone: 265  
 too knowe mannys thought it longethe too God alone.

## (39)

**But** oother his lessons necessarye  
 I shall trauerse in sorte as I maye,  
 consyderinge as thus in my fantazye:  
 abowte a kynge too frequent alwaye 270  
 copie of counselours their myndys too saye,  
 but yeat too all men it is not full knowne  
 the cause of greefis beefore they bee growne.

## (40)

**In** euerye case some kynge listethe nott  
 his Cownsell too counseile, for disquyetnes, 275  
 or shamefastenes that anye shoulde wott  
 thynwarde concepte of his pensifenes:  
 softenes of nature maye moove hym no les.  
 Yeat cownsell secreat that bookes can geeue  
 maye frome his harte suche occasions dreue. 280

## (41)

[f. 11<sup>v</sup>] **Lyke** as bookes teachethe withoute maister  
 and hathe too learnynge furthrede manye wone,  
 so by bookis some gatherethe his plaister,  
 too heale his aiche, bothe of flesche and bone.  
 By bookis, deadys doone manye daye a-gone 285  
 are freschelic renued too oure remembraunce,  
 as histories olde geevithe vs resemblaunce.

(42)

**And** bookis agayne too owre posterytee  
 shall sundrye thinges too knowledge represent  
 after oure dayes bye longe antiquytee, 290  
 whiche wee haue seene in practyse euydent.  
 Bookes of wisdomes lefte for a preasydent  
 date too the hawghteste reherse his fawte playne,  
 where dyuerse, for feare or fauour, will fayne.

(43)

**For** ofte it happenethe in sundrye countreyes, 295  
 too what thinge cheeflie a kynges harte is bent,  
 hee shall haue counsell too followe his owne weyes,  
 althoughe they woorke too no woorthie intent:  
 for feare, some dare geeue none admonyschement;  
 some, thorowe flaterye, too stande in fauoure, 300  
 and some, bicause they sent of like sauour.

(44)

**Suche** hathe beene seene, and suche shall ensue,  
 in sundrye royalmys, for the worlde is large.  
 Thoughe not in **England**, **Flaundries**, or **Gascue**,  
 yeat hathe it chaunced bothe in **Ilyon** and **Arge**, 305  
 when kinge **Priamus** wolde needis take in charge  
**Helene** too mayntayne, that **Paris** frome Grece fett,  
 his Cownsell inclynde as his harte was sett.

(45)

[f. 12] **Thoughe** woorthie **Hector** thereagainste heelde,  
 withe dyuerse that knwe the daungere of warre, 310  
 oother, inexperte, too the kyng dyd yeelde  
 his purpose prefixed not to differre,  
 whiche counsell their wealthe dyd cleane set aiarre,  
 as vttre procuringe of their propre soyle,  
 the deuastation and moste spytefull spoyle. 315

(46)

For at that season **Priamus** was slayne  
 and sundrye his soonnys moste woorthie of renoune,  
 withe manye a kynge and noble capitayne  
 the royalme thorowe, and **Ilion** their towne  
 cleane depopulate and pessundate downe. 320  
 Yeat whoo counsell gaue too auoyde suche,  
 for their soothe sayinge obteyned no thanke.

(47)

Iff kinge **Jamye** that gouerned **Scotelande**,  
 whoo was slayne at **Brankestowne** feelde,  
 had followed the counsaile laide in his hande 325  
 of sundrie right sage whois powles hee off peelde,  
 and wolde not vntoo their wise counsell yeelde,  
 hee had not thorowe his headye woorkynge  
 beene brought too **Windesour**, nowe deade there lookynge.

(48)

**Howe** manye hathe loste bothe goodis, londe and life, 330  
 that kinges in their causes hathe contraried,  
 bye highe wisdomes of studye excessife,  
 when theye from the **publike weale** hathe varied?  
 It weare heere voyde the tyme too bee taried,  
 as, too this purpose, histories tenduce: 335  
 kinges indignations hathe none excuse.

(49)

[f. 12<sup>v</sup>] **In** this too make more sermocynation  
 I will cut off, for this concluyson:  
 eache godlie witt by inspiration  
 will leane too right and leaue abusion, 340  
 after the mynde of highe **Oמושון**  
 whoe hathe leuyd what kinges owght too doo,  
 and what obeisaunce wee owe them vntoo.

(50)

**What** more dothe remayne, I will heere now steye,  
 o puyssaunte Prynce, and too yowe remytt 345  
 as yee in processe shall ponder and weye  
 when yee are come too perfection of witt,  
 the meane-tyme, with **Christe** emonge the wise too sitt,  
 heearinge and learnynge, that knowledge may come,  
 Whoo prospere your Grace withe age and wisdom. 350

**A notable description what a kyng is, and what signification in his regales, as firste anyntinge, swoorde, bawle, crowne and throne, dothe reste, with fowre notable ladies to attende on the same throne.**

## Caput 2

(51)

**A kinge** sorted vnto the regale throne  
 by election, succession or so,  
**enoynted**, with **crouwne** his heade set vppon,  
 in highe estate before oother too go,  
 his liegis too hym obeysaunce too doe 355  
 so far as his domynyon dothe strache,  
 thearin too regne withoute peere or mache,

(52)

[f. 13] **firste** in a closett, deckte withe dwe araye,  
 his bodye made bare vnto the girdle steade,  
 withe **sacrede oyle** his right arme for the waye 360  
 bye thexecutour is theare anyntede;  
 his reynes also, too signifie indeade  
 his lief too bee pure frome viciouse pretence,  
 and no-man on hym too woorke violence.

(53)

**In the anyntinge** in forme aforeseide, 365  
 a certayne grace in hym infused is  
 frome the Higheste that althinges hathe weide  
 in the praescience of His aeterne blis,

inerrable goode too all that bee His.  
 Whiche cerymonie offende maye no eare: 370  
**Dauid** for that dyd **Saul** forbear.

## (54)

**In** his right hande a **swoorde** hee hathe to holde,  
 and in his lefte a **bawle** of golde all rownde,  
 of whiche the signification too vnfolde  
 it askethe meanys withe studye too compownde. 375  
 A meanyng was ment when it was first fownde:  
 whither I can vppon the true sense gesse,  
 too saye my mynde I will my deauer dresse.

## (55)

**The swoorde** that wone too hym dothe commende  
 and in his hande all naked dothe beare, 380  
 it meanethe hee muste all right defende,  
 as thearewitheall offendres too feare.  
**The crowne** whiche hee on his heade dothe weare,  
 glorie, honour, and powre dothe represent,  
 by that too bee knowne as kynge excellent. 385

## (56)

[f. 13<sup>v</sup>] **The bawle** of golde, rightye too discernen,  
 meanethe the precinctes of his empredome,  
 whiche in his hande hee hathe too gouerne,  
 by the rownde compacinge of hie wisdomen.  
 Whiche **bawle** appropriated is but too some, 390  
 too suche as regneth by name **Imperiall** :  
 oother hathe **scepture** in steade of the **ball**.

## (57)

**Whiche scepture** hathe too signification  
 the signe and steve of open veritee:  
 too the vnrightfull, is castigation, 395  
 and too the goode, the rule of pitee,  
 the prowde too disperse bie due equitee:  
 wheare so this **mace** or **scepture** shall come,  
 it threatenethe **justice** too all and some.

(58)

Then in his **throne** hee is inthronizate,  
 with the **crowne** on heade and **scepture** in his hande,  
 as place of God too hym theare delegate,  
 thearbie obliged well too vndrestande  
**justice** and **lawe** too mayntayne in his lande;  
 his **regale robes** confirmethe the same  
 in woorthie honour too florische by fame.

(59)

Nowe is hee a **kyng**e perfecte at all poyntis,  
 no iote wantinge vntoo that office dwe,  
 in sowle, bodye, veyne, synue and ioyntis,  
 so longe as his lief shall heere contynue,  
 his rewarde immortall after tensue,  
 as shall in truthe his gouernynge appeare  
 of Hym whois powre regnethe euerywhere.

(60)

[f. 14] Too stablische his **seate** in honour condigne,  
 this weies or that too slippe nor declyne,  
 in feare of fallinge too threat suche a kinge,  
 theis noble ladies that so far dothe shyne  
 as patronesses of prouidence dyuyne,  
 called the **fowre vertues cardynall**,  
 the fowre corners of his **throne** steye shall.

(61)

Dame **Prudence** the firste, the seconde **Justice**,  
 the thirde **Fortitude** or **Magnanymytee**,  
 the fowrthe **Temporaunce**, ladies of hie price:  
 too theis no woorthie comparison may bee,  
 for too attende a kynges maistee;  
 whoo by theis ladies liste too bee ordrede,  
 his brute muste neadis too his honour bee sprede.

## (62)

**F**irste at his elbowe on the right syde,  
 Ladye **P**rudence her standinge shall take,  
 in prudent wise his procedinges too gide, 430  
 no ferdre then shee signethe too medle or make;  
 whiche ladie is a celestiaall flake  
 yssuyng frome the Gohoste moste Holie,  
 vnto the wise nothinge more iolie.

## (63)

**F**or this saide ladie wheare shee dothe manure 435  
 teachethe the cowrse of all hye woorthynes,  
 for whome eache potentate shoulde caste and cure  
 too doo hym steade in his moste busynes;  
 her nature vuede in vearie perfectnes,  
 whoo so by her his dooinges dothe dispose, 440  
 hee may bee sure he shall neuer lose.

## (64)

[f. 14<sup>v</sup>] **S**hee is a maistres incomparable wise,  
 yea, rather a Queene for her woorthynes.  
 Of goode and badde shee trulie can decide  
 the iuste difference, nother more or les, 445  
 what is too allowe, what is too depres;  
 so iustelic shee can all that determyne,  
 for kingis too rule bye, shee is the streight lyne.

## (65)

**O**n the leafte syde, at his oother elbowe,  
**J**ustice right woorthelie maye theare take place. 450  
 As when bye **P**rudence hee dothe duelie knowe,  
 hee maye bye **J**ustice then ordre the case,  
 whoe of no partie respectethe the face,  
 for kithe or kyn, frendshippe or otherwise,  
 but as the beame weieth by ballaunce of iustice, 455

455 ballaunce] ballunce *with contraction-sign usually used for au added above the n: intended form possibly ballaunne*

(66)

the beame whiche shewethe by his ostencer  
 when the scales thearuntoo dependinge  
 dothe eavenlie weye and in no poynte differ.  
 Suche is thoffice of **Justice** pretendinge,  
 by playne open truithe falsehode reuenginge, 460  
 in judgement attendinge bothe ende and induction,  
 by **Justice** too saue, or bringe too destruction.

(67)

**Too** scan of **Justice** the propertie true:  
 shee teachethe too looue and also too hate,  
 as shee cause seeithe in furtheringe vertue, 465  
 too chearische, chaisten or repudiate,  
 too God and man shee stentethe the rate,  
 as thus too doo or not too entreprise:  
 too comment on this belongethe too the wise.

(68)

[f. 15] **At** the back pummell on the right parte 470  
 Dame **Fortitude** shall take her stondinge,  
 in valyaunt wise too corage his harte,  
 too shrinke for none the truthe furtheringe,  
 too all woorthynes his harte inclyninge,  
 by suche hyghe force of **Magnanymytee** 475  
 that what **Right** willethe the same will [he].

(69)

**If** Fortune vnfortunate at him liste caste looke,  
 disdaynynghe his wealthe and prosperowse estate,  
 all her false frowardnes hee easelie can brooke,  
 consyderinge his cause too **Justice** applicate. 480  
**At** tyrauntes threateninges hee stondethe intrepidate.  
 Soaner shall they the bright light darkness prooue,  
 than from that right is his haste too remooue.

## (70)

So strongelie shee stonde the too steye hym in this,  
 that arme, foote and hande at no tyme shall fayle. 485  
 Hee leanethe vnto her and ofte dothe her kys.  
 In her hee more trustethe then in his cote of mayle,  
 for, followinge her, hee can no tyme quayle.  
 Her sister **Prudence** ensencethe hym so,  
 that her hee louethe as behouethe hym too doe. 490

## (71)

**Jumpe** evin withe her at the oother pummell,  
 Ladye **Temperance**, withe cheare full of grace,  
 shall, as becomethe her, contynuallie dwell.  
 Whearso shee restethe the better is the place.  
 Shee temperethe mannys meanis in conuenient case: 495  
 bothe woorde, deade and looke, whoo liste to aduerte,  
 shee doithe too all theis assigne their due parte.

## (72)

[f. 15<sup>v</sup>] **In** meate, drinke and sleepe, traueile or pastime,  
 shee doithe determyne a temperature,  
 in theis and oother all owterage topprime. 500  
 In eauerie reasonable creature,  
 in seeakinge and reeking shee monischethe measure:  
 the mynde too moleste withe superabundaunce,  
 that doithe deteste this ladye **Temperaun[c]e**.

## (73)

**Shee** wolde haue man hymselfe too dispose 505  
 Reasons gouernaunce eauer more tobeye,  
 superfluouse riches not too vpgrose:  
 in no manere wise shee can thearwithe awaye  
 exceedinglie too caste and purueye,  
 for treasure mundayne shee forefendithe cleane, 510  
 bycause eauer measure is the meriest meane.

(74)

**Theis** ladies bestowed in sorte aforesaide,  
 what kinge can take fall that steyethe hym by them?  
 His fame muste florische, it cannot be denaide:  
 they are eache too hym moste preatious gem, 515  
 and cause shall too springe, as braunche oute of stem,  
 imps of renowne, incomparable sweete,  
 pleasinge too God, and heere too gouerne meete.

(75)

**This** little addition of my conceyte,  
 vnto this purpose as mee thought condinge, 520  
 this wise concluded, I will nowe aweyte  
 vppon thintent of my autours meanyng,  
 vnto his lectures from hensforthe leanyng,  
 excepte wheare cause shall ootherwise compell.  
 Thus of this lesson I byd nowe farewell. 525

6] **An excusation of Aristotele too Alexandre, of his let in  
 commynge vnto hym thorowe debilitee of age, for that  
 cause this present booke comprysinge, too bee as a  
 balaunce too pondre and weye his warkis heerebie as  
 thoughe he weare present alweies hymselfe too counsell  
 hym.**

## Caput 3

(76)

**Wheare** late in lettres your Maiestie did sende  
 that I my iourneye towards yow sholde addres,  
 thinke not I doo your pleasure vilipende  
 bycause I take not on mee that progres:  
 I am impeditie bie ages feoblenes, 530  
 and not able your pleasure taccomplishe  
 as wolde God I cowlde, I hartelie wische.

(77)

**Well** I considre my duetie noles  
 as at your sendinge my poure too prepare  
 too payne myselfe in your busynes: 535

suche of all subiectes their due dueties are.  
 But, nowe in case as withe mee it dothe fare,  
 wheare Impotencie your will dothe refuse,  
 your benyng Grace suche partie muste excuse.

(78)

**Merueile** I thinke your Maiestie will no-les, 540  
 whie I frome your venerable presence  
 sholde absent myselfe for anye distres,  
 chalenginge mee thearfore, by this sentence,  
 in your affaires too neglecte my diligence,  
 not curinge, as too saye, howe your causes went. 545  
 O Emperour, knowe yee, I meane no suche intent.

(79)

[f. 16<sup>v</sup>] **Trulie** in state as mee is nowe beeffall,  
 consyderinge myne age and imbecillitee,  
 yee ought not mee an obstinate too call,  
 or ootherwise reprooue of equitee, 550  
 but that mee enuoluethe suche debilitée  
 of age and bodie, makinge mee ponderowse,  
 not able too passe scante owte of my powre howse.

(80)

**That** yee shall yeat thinke I tendre your pleasure,  
 and that my true harte my duetie dothe attende: 555  
 for theis twoe causes, withe all busie cure,  
 this booke haue I framed and brought too an ende,  
 and to your Highnes the same doo commende  
 too bee as a balaunce, so call it I maye,  
 your warkes by true justice euermore to weye, 560

(81)

**as** howe vnto God yee shall your selfe behaue,  
 wheare too shewe mercie, wheare too bee rigorouse,  
 wheare, and in what wise, yee shall spende or saue,  
 wheare too bee streyte, and wheare too bee bownteouse:  
 this shall too yow an honeste meane discus, 565  
 withe muche more matier decent too your degree.  
 O noble Kinge, receaue it heere of mee,

(82)

as full in it-selfe bye contentation,  
 for suche pretence of your necessaries,  
 as I weare present in propre person 570  
 too open all dowbtes before your owne iyes,  
 my place supplijng in sufficient wies.  
 What then more neadethe, but your goode will,  
 as too endeuer the same too fulfill?

(83)

[f. 17] Els what shall it profitt the patient sore, 575  
 wounded and dryuen bie necessitee,  
 too seeke for saulue his hea[l]the too restore,  
 so too bee cured of his infirmytee,  
 if bie his leache hee will not ordrede bee?  
 As goode no medycine as not too bee vsed. 580  
 So farethe withe counsell wheare it is refused.

(84)

**But, Alexandre,** too yow shall I saye,  
 sithe yee in mee parte put your affiaunce,  
 reade auncient writings, and beare them awaye,  
 that treatethe of wise and princelie gouernaunce, 585  
 whiche, beeing placed in your remembraunce,  
 shall thearunto ofte mynistre effecte  
 what yee shall ensue, what yee shall reiecte.

(85)

**For** thinges sett in writinge more pithe dothe contayne  
 then I or any can sodaynlie preferr. 590  
 It is thinge gathered by propensed payne,  
 wheare sodayne tawlke is geuen oftetymes too err.  
 As men see too walke by the daye sterr  
 their weye too conueye from daungre of the darke,  
 so dothe wise writings illumyne manny warke. 595

(86)

In trifelinge trifles I will yee no tyme spende,  
 but wheare maye bee gathrede fruite delectable:  
 by readinge vayne thinges theare sucthe no goode ende,  
 and too your Highnes muche discommendable.  
 Men as yee are, of state honorable, 600  
 that ought too delite too reade, heeare and see,  
 whiche teachethe right orderinge of a commontee,

(87)

[f. 17<sup>v</sup>] too whiche I haue heere sufficientlye,  
 as I suppose, sett my scribelinge pen.  
 If owghtes heere-after of matier weightye 605  
 in your aspecte shall happe nowe and then,  
 of dowbtes too bee doone, or still too let ren,  
 for the solution rightlie in that case  
 but sende, and I shall satisfie your Grace.

**An answer of Aristotele too an Epistle of Alexandres, concerninge the Percians, whome hee mynded uttrelicke too haue slayne, bycause they weare men of nature politike and also of highe corage, contrarious too his purpose, muche rather geuin to gouern then obeye.**

## Caput 4

(88)

**Amonge** all matiers, o souereine Kinge, 610  
 whiche in your lettres yee liste to propone,  
 thearin too haue myne answer, answeringe  
 too that whiche moste myght magnyfie your throne,  
 specyallye yee mooued this alone,  
 concernyng the Percians, whome yee of late 615  
 vnto your powre haue made subiugate.

(89)

**After** this sorte your mynde mentionyng:  
 they too bee people of syngulare witt,  
 aboundinge withe reason and vndrestondinge,

too compace thinges too their publike profitt,  
 whois behauoure in your sight dothe not sitt,  
 bicause they delite, as your lettres tell,  
 ouer oother in honour too precell. 620

## (90)

[f. 18] **SO** that I perceauē they hathē beēne cumberous  
 for too convince, and too your purpose bringe. 625  
 Yeat, notwithstandinge their wit ingenious,  
 their politike workinge, and craftie cumpacinge,  
 yee haue them capiued for the tyme beeingē.  
 Howe longe they shall vntoo your pleasure lowte,  
 I partelie feele yee stonde muche parte in dowte. 630

## (91)

**Where** yee doo mynde them clearlie too deleye,  
 as too destroye by powre of your great might,  
 and so foreauer deuastate that countreye:  
 leste heereafter enuyous appetight  
 their wronges too reuenge their hartes might excite, 635  
 reuokinge their neckis from your subiection,  
 so rather of them too make interfection.

## (92)

**Too** whiche, yee shall thus myne answere receaue  
 (and note my meanyngē, it shall your Honour sit):  
 if yee can firste that regions rightis beereauē, 640  
 as the ayre theare too altre bye your witt,  
 their se[ay]es too stoppe, that they nowēy flitt,  
 their cities also of their disposition,  
 then let your pleasure take expedition.

## (93)

**But**, noble Emperour, and soon moste entere, 645  
 (pleasinge your Maiestie, I maye yow so call,  
 bicause yee please too write mee your fathere,

of looue sincere that towardis mee dothe fall  
of your beneuolence abundantiall)  
in that aforsaide too make transmutation, 650  
too man is graunted no suche domynation.

## (94)

[f. 18<sup>v</sup>] **The** ayre and water are elementis twoe,  
too whiche are added the earthe and the fyre.  
Too frustrate their effectes no man maye doe:  
that dothe beelonge too Thimperour empire. 655  
What, by nature, Hee liste too enspire,  
muste neadis take force, by inclynation,  
excepte wheare Grace withstondethe constellation.

## (95)

This wise excusinge the **Percians** pretence,  
bicause they woorke but natures motionynge, 660  
whiche liethe not in your Magnificence  
as too depryue the occasion gevinge.  
Whie vntoo yow then sholde they bee grevinge,  
sithe your affectis, by that, they muche ensue,  
for, of nature, yee appetite too subdue? 665

## (96)

**But**, if by all your witt and polecye,  
yee can suche properties noweies depryue,  
then withe benignitee dres your fancye  
too reigne ouer them as wisdomes shall contriue,  
with gentle handelinge shewe tenderinge their liue, 670  
with giftes also, their magistratis too wyn.  
Too make them yealde, suche weis yee muste begin.

## (97)

**For** nature grosse, sturdye and contrarious,  
inflexible too bringe easelie too bende,  
by witt muste bee woone, sobre and cautelous, 675  
and not by meanys rasche thearbye too contende.  
Politike wisdomes bringethe too goode ende

muche soaner thinges sundrye in difficulte case  
then dothe ofte mayne powre and headlinge manace.

(98)

[f. 19] **Woorkinge** this weies, yee shall yourselfe assure 680  
that, bye the ayde of the powre supernall,  
theis men shall yealde yow mynistrature  
(in the avoydinge of daungre not small,  
vntoo bothe parties muche preiudiciall)  
after the wischinge of your full intent: 685  
suche is of wise woorkinge the fruite consequent.

(99)

**Wynnyng** their fauours in forme aforesaide,  
so shall yee quyetye gouerne their hole trayne,  
by fame tryumphant, woorthelie displaide, 690  
too bee in this worlde moste noble capitayne,  
theye thearof ioyinge, withe hartis glad and fayne,  
for what can more a subiectes mynde content  
then a loovinge lorde in deadis excellent?

(100)

**Whiche** wise answer by **Aristotele** sent,  
as hym beste seamed, too **Alexandre** greate, 695  
whearwithe hee was moste woorthelie content,  
and steyde anymore the **Percians** too threate,  
bye gentle meanys hee can their fauours geate  
in so farforthe that, before oother all,  
they did obeye his see imperiall. 700

**Howe the distinction of kinges consistithe in fowre properties or kyndis, descriued here by Aristotele too Alexandre in this present chapter foloweinge.**

## Caput 5

(101)

[f. 19<sup>v</sup>] **OF** kinges I note fowre sundrie sortes too bee,  
whiche vnto your Grace I shall heere streite discus.  
**The firste** is la[r]ge, bountious and free  
too hym and his, in exercise as thus:

not passinge at all of anye ouerplus, 705  
 but plentiouslie too bothe hee dothe dispose  
 that neadfull is, whither hee wyne or lose,

## (102)

as too hymselfe; this largenes hee can vse.  
 Nowght is that neadethe to a princis estate 710  
 (so that of rapyne none shall hym accuse)  
 but hee it hathe, his mynde too satiate:  
 palecis pight, of pleasure prefulgeate,  
 forestes and lawndis, his freendis too solace,  
 his healthe too conserue in semblable case.

## (103)

Hee pynchethe or wynchethe at none expense, 715  
 so it bee doone in honorable wise.  
 Plentie appearethe in his presence;  
 fresche Frugalitee freatethe eache office.  
 Whoo, of all his, can anye thinge deuise,  
 wherein hee may hym profite or prefer, 720  
 hee dothe shewe forthe his princelie endeuer.

## (104)

**The nexte** frome the firste dothe far discent,  
 for too hymselfe hee is specyall neare,  
 and too his seruantis, by byll or patent,  
 no maner largesse hee will shall appeare. 725  
 By treasure hee thynkethe all too conqueare,  
 so that, rather then his hunche too mynische,  
 hee will from his table spare many a dische.

## (105)

[f. 20] **Catche** what hee catche can, catchinge will hee bee:  
 howe eauer the worlde weare, waiste shall none of his. 730  
 So hee haue richesse, for nought els passithe hee:  
 onlie in vayne lucre fixed is his blis.  
 Manye hee lettithe looke for that they shall longe mys,  
 for their true labours contentation:  
 too departe withe-owtes is not his fashyon. 735

(106)

**Althings** hee lookethe too come easelie bye,  
 muche readier too take then anyethinge too paye.  
 Whoe of his pleasure dothe hym owghtes denye  
 shalbee assured too haue a fowle daye:  
 suche thinkethe in althings they may haue no naye. 740  
 So dothe false couetise his inwarde iye blynde  
 that from all goode deadis exiled is his mynde.

(107)

**The thirde** in ordre heere streyte forthe too bringe,  
 is hee that faschyonethe his propretee  
 like too the seconde in eauerie thinge 745  
 concernynge himselfe, as heere yee maye see.  
 Nowght hee dothe tendre his owne state and degree  
 the same too set forthe in all princelie porte,  
 but pleiethe Jack Snyderge in a nygards sorte.

(108)

**But** vnto thois that longeth hym vnto, 750  
 whiche hathe free entré vntoo his presence  
 and can craftelie pleye Placebo,  
 of his to vpholde eauerie sentence,  
 too suche no small appearethe his expense.  
 Thoughe streyte hee bee in furtheringe his fame, 755  
 as well myght hee keepe and saue still the same,

(109)

[f. 20<sup>v</sup>] **for** giftes geuyn vnprouydentlie  
 vnto vayne tryfelers woorkinge wickednes,  
 cannot be called but open folie,  
 or, more proprelie, lascyuyousnes. 760  
 Abrode too sundry too bee too laues,  
 and pynche at whome, where plentie sholde appeare,  
 trulye it is no pryncelye maneare.

## (110)

**The fowrthe** too recorde, hath too propretee  
 towardis hym-selfe too shewe plentiousnes, 765  
 but too his subiectis moste nygarde is hee,  
 callinge and catchinge withe muche busynes.  
 Of all aforesaide my mynde too expres,  
 too bee abhorred of eache noble state,  
 this kinde of kynges I vituperate. 770

## (111)

**Too** launche at luste withoute aduisement,  
 no-whit too spare what neade eauer shall come,  
 and then your seruantes too pynche and stent:  
 doo reaçon that no poynte of wisdomē.  
 Dyuyde youre state in-too this ordrede some: 775  
 some saue, some take, some liberallie dispose;  
 so shall yee the honor of your name not lose.

## (112)

Of theis foure sortis, O moste puyssaunte kyngē,  
 for your example let the firste bee,  
 whiche geuethē yowe woorthye instructinge 780  
 too vse pryncelye lyberalytee  
 bothe too your-selfe and your communtee.  
 A prince too bee pynchyngē, sittethe as well  
 as a busserde too beare an hawkes bell.

[f. 21] **Howe a kynge ouwght too humble hymselfe towardis God,  
 and too mayntayne Hys lawes, tauoyde pryde, and too  
 consydre hymselfe a mortall man as oother men are.**

## Caput 6

## (113)

**The** sortis of kinges sithe heere wee haue discuste, 785  
 vntoo whiche ordre yee are sorted frome a-hye,  
 too treatē somedeale in this proces wee muste,  
 what towardis God consistithe youre duetye.

772 no-whit] nowhit

783 as well] aswell

Though heere in earthe youre fame bee moste woorthye,  
 yeat heere your reigne is but dispensatyue, 790  
 as a mynystre, while yee are heere alyeue.

## (114)

Itt is not yowe, the woorthieste of renowne,  
 or whoo else anye of qualitee famouse,  
 in wisdom, strenght, that heere beareth the crowne,  
 but is so sorted in the superne howse 795  
 of **Prima Causa**, in powre affluowse,  
 in Whois affayres, by rightfull justice  
 bothe yow and all muste trulie exercise.

## (115)

Of creatures heere the natures too compace,  
 though muche wee haue of tyme thearin spent, 800  
 of soone, moone and sterris, each in their place,  
 howe ouer Man they hathe the regiment,  
 contrariouse ofte, sometyme expedyent,  
 by excitation of course naturall,  
 whearbye Man is mooued too rise and fall, 805

## (116)

[f. 21<sup>v</sup>] yeat of necessitte their force takethe effecte  
 no m[o]re but as man liste graunte his consent.  
 As when too anye owghtes is obiecte,  
 too take or forsake hathe choyce indifferent,  
 the planetes for man hathe their assignient, 810  
 and man not for them: God can so ordayne,  
 whome hee owght tacknowledge his cheif souerayne.

## (117)

For heere of Hym hee dothe althinges receaue,  
 bothe witt, wisdom and vndrestondinge,  
 and too his vse this worldis monarche dothe leaue, 815  
 on His lieue-teanaunt too haue thorderinge,  
 Hee onlye causinge heere althinges too springe

by procreation, as Hee liste tassigne,  
against whois woorkynge owght none too maligne.

## (118)

**In** His highe power Hee dothe all powres suspende: 820  
no rayne maye rayne, no wynde may heere els blowe,  
but thearuntoo Hee liste too condescende,  
for highest of all Hee will man sholde Hym knowe.  
No herbe, no plante, no grasse can man make growe,  
doo what hee can, by all hee can inuent, 825  
but cheiflie God graunte theartoo His consent.

## (119)

**Too** wage battell with weapon, sheelde, and mayle,  
against his enemye, whoe liste tentreprise  
withoute His defense, hee cannot preuayle:  
the victorie hangethe as Hee dothe decise, 830  
in fewe or manye, all wone in His iyse.  
So that yee owght, in all yee go abowte,  
His fauour toptayne: then are yee owte of dowte.

## (120)

[f. 22] **Doo** duellie your deuer His lawes too mayntayne,  
doo streytelie punysche transgressours of the same, 835  
doo woorke all meanys too bee moste glad and fayne  
too keepe His faythe in right ordre and frame.  
Wheare dwe honour is donee too His name,  
there all procedinges takethe fortunat succes,  
in storms contrarious moste sureste fortres. 840

## (121)

**See** that your lawes from His dothe not discent;  
see, and foresee, that Hym yee not displease;  
see that your owne cause dothe not His preuent,  
so maye yee by vengeaunce His wrathe vprease.  
In woorkinge His weies fynde ye shall moste ease, 845  
for thoughe yee as judge doo reigne heere emonge men,  
too bee judged yowr-selfe, the tyme shall come when.

(122)

Too wade for honour in this trobolowse seaye,  
 withe more then ynowghe too bee heere posseste,  
 enuolued withe daungres manyfolde waye, 850  
 of fortunys fallacies the mynde too moleste,  
 ere yee too your purpose haue featherde your neste,  
 and then **Atropos** your date heere too fyne,  
 will not that sumwhat your harte make enclyne?

(123)

So too consydre this worldis brittlenes, 855  
 and eache degre too ordre hymselfe so  
 when he shall walke, too bee in a redynes,  
 for neadis hee muste hense, whither hee will or no:  
 this sholde expell all pryde mannys harte fro.  
 His goodelie crispe skyn and eache oother parte 860  
 is but woormys meate, if hee liste too aduerte.

(124)

[f. 22<sup>v</sup>] **This** write I heere, o Alexandre Kyng,  
 that yee not too muche in this worlde sholde delyte,  
 but heere so eauenlie too beare yow in althinge  
 that yee woorthelie this sayinge saye myght, 865  
 'The worlde I haue ouercome in fyght,  
 and mee not the worlde,' meanyng thearbye,  
 by vayne worldelie thingis too sett not a flye.

(125)

Yeat muste yee neadis haue worldelie exercise,  
 not as his druge but as his gouernoure, 870  
 and muste endeauer in all priuelie wise  
 for too contynue your regale honoure  
 in the monarche wheare yee are Emperoure.  
 So iustelie rule bothe towardis God and man,  
 that in your reigne no blott any spie can. 875

(126)

Too lose that rightly your auncetours wan,  
 and hathe heere lefte too youre gouernaunce,  
 no honoure it weare for a noble man  
 that sittethe of office too youre attendaunce. 880  
 But yow and yours too put too encumbrance  
 ouer realmys manye too reigne of hawte mynde:  
 defende well your owne and leaue that behynde.

**Howe a kynge owght tattende his estate and too gouerne,  
 whome hee shall chuse too hys cownsellors, and after  
 what gentle and famyliar sorte hee shall vse and make of  
 them.**

## Caput 7

(127)

[f. 23] **A kynge** or prince sett in his maiestee  
 owght too consydre the state hee hathe in honde,  
 and theartoo accordinge too woorke in degree 885  
 that most woorthelye withe his honour maye stonde.  
 Suche state a publike persone is reaconde,  
 in whois wealthe, or hynderaunce lyke-so,  
 the publike weale is compted too and fro,

(128)

as if the prince dothe floorische and prospere, 890  
 the commons ioye in plentie then dothe flowe,  
 if hee perchaunce sholde chaunce in daungere,  
 then weare their wealthe by ebb layde a-lowe.  
 As his wealthe wriethe, theirs muste followe:  
 so that suche persone his state whoo dothe discernen, 895  
 bothe ought and muste searche howe heere too gouerne.

(129)

**But** sithe a kynge is but wone man alone,  
 and can no more doo then some oother can,  
 and hathe too gouerne so manye a wone,

898 no more] nomore

it muste of necessitee dreeue hym than, 900  
 his causes duellie too debate and scane,  
 some woorthie too chuse in counsell experte,  
 that headye woorkinge his wealthe not peruerte;

## (130)

**For** that behaulfe, deere Lorde Alexandre,  
 let seeke and sende all your royalms abowte 905  
 for men wittie, wheare eauer they wandre,  
 and also learned, too discusse all dowte,  
 whois lyuyng knowen, bothe within and withowte,  
 by honeste proof, so far as man may trye,  
 disceauerde cleane from cankerde myserye; 910

## (131)

[f. 23<sup>v</sup>] men sobre, discreete and of conscience pure;  
 men that can meane what beste is too bee wrought;  
 men that beste can mennys hartis heere allure,  
 frome wronge too right agayne too bee brought;  
 too saye that right leadithe, whoo fearithe nought, 915  
 for dreade or meede, prysonment or so:  
 suche are that sholde in a publike weale go.

## (132)

**A prince** also ought not, of hawte mynde,  
 in causes weightie his owne will tensue,  
 and thois too entreate with threatnynges vnkynde 920  
 that hym dothe admonische of the weye true  
 in sobre wise, as sittithe their office dwe,  
 but them too harken and keepe owte of dreade,  
 for sage counseile helpethe beste at neade.

## (133)

**Too** counseile a kynge in his causes greate 925  
 it longethe for no babis or younge younkinge bloode:  
 men graue thearin beste can speake and intreate.  
 Though witt pregraunte ofte yssuith from childhood,  
 yeat hathe not youthe experyence so goode

as hathe sage age, sobre and dyscreete: 930  
 in weightie mattiers they are fownde moste meete.

## (134)

**Yeat** meane I not yowght wittie and towarde,  
 withe learnynge indude and oother graces moe,  
 whiche in their dooinges liste not bee frowarde,  
 but of intent will harke wisdome vntoe: 935  
 suche maye commyxted withe oother wise also.  
 No youthe I repell but yowthe sauage,  
 for wisdome alweies goethe not by age.

## (135)

[f. 24] **Thus** too counsell when yee haue men woorthye,  
 chearische all suche in conuenient wise: 940  
 vse them as freendis famylarlye;  
 in all your affayres they must bee precise,  
 preferr and set them in condigne office,  
 and as yee see their procedinges preeue,  
 from meane too higher so doo them remeeue. 945

## (136)

**If** false reporte by enuyous hate  
 emonges your cowrte shoulde chaunce too arise,  
 anye your counselours for too abate,  
 beefore your judgement yee clearelye decide  
 haue due probation, and, in anyewise, 950  
 thoughe the mattier appeare euydent,  
 yeat doo neuer geeue haistie judgement.

## (137)

**Doo** not condempne for any maner thyng  
 thee partie absent in prison kepte close:  
 againste conscience it weare vnsittyng, 955  
 so men his facte vnrightwiselye maye glose.  
 Nother his enemye facinge at his nose,  
 on hym too diffyne in his rage cruell:  
 for enuye, yee wote, dothe neuer worcke well.

(138)

**For** so it maye remediles befall 960  
 too caste aweye this daye for eauer  
 that whiche too-morowe forthinke yow shall,  
 and wolde muche fayne agayne rekeauer  
 then thousands of golde. A greate deale leauer  
 herken, steye, the case fullye consydre, 965  
 and then judge withe wisemen togidre.

(139)

[f. 24<sup>v</sup>] **The** wiseste of all a woorde maye escape  
 whiche sore his harte may aftrewardis repent.  
 Though theare owght none withe his soueregn to iape,  
 or woorke any poynte withoute aduisement, 970  
 yeat, **Alexandre**, herke myne entent:  
 if hee shewe cheare repentyng his deade,  
 doo shewe mercye in suche extreame neade.

(140)

**But** if the case bee execrable,  
 no les tooching then your owne person, 975  
 thearagainste too woorke meanys vengeable  
 of highe treason, withe full intention  
 your lief too de pryue or els your region,  
 or ootherwise suche miserable deede:  
 bye justice then rewarde hym his meede. 980

(141)

**Or** in his cowntreye oppressethe the poore  
 bye false extortion vndre your pretence,  
 againste whois dooinges theare dare none stoore,  
 bycause hee is neare vntoo your presence,  
 thearbye fortressing his heynous offense: 985  
 doo suche dissolue; the poore dothe them cursse;  
 wheare they dothe reigne the realme is the wursse.

[f. 25] **In what sorte a kynge owght taddres his studye for tattayne knowledge in the dyuersyté of tunges and sciencis. Howe also hee shall caste and prepare for the furtheraunce of learnynge thorowe all his realmys and | domynyons.**

**Caput octauum**

(142)

**Moste** woorthelie a kinge it dothe become  
 his speache too polische in moste facownde wise  
 withe termys and sciencies of highe wisdomedome, 990  
 that of the wittie are had in moste price,  
 in present causes that beste maye suffise,  
 withoute stuttinge, staggering or suche:  
 in a kynges mowthe it shoulde offende muche.

(143)

**Too** haue in this suche promptytude and grace 995  
 as dothe bye office theartoo appertaynge,  
 fresche rethorycians alweyes in place  
 it beste dothe a-gree withe hym too retayne,  
 of them too gathere the florischinge vayne,  
 bye consuetude too answeere or exhorte, 1000  
 and thois too bee sought of the pickedeeste sorte.

(144)

**I meane** not onlie of the Latyne tunge  
 too haue suche promptnes too answeere all men,  
 but Greeke therwithe too bee mengled emunge,  
 too doo hym steade by mowthe or by pen, 1005  
 as shall occasions happ nowe and then;  
 if writinges come from forayne cowntraye,  
 then shall hee not neade too woorke by heerre-saye.

(145)

**Other** languages, Frenche, Duche or suche,  
 if hee can them speake and well vndrestande, 1010  
 vndoubtedlie it shall profite hym muche  
 if noble men from any suche lande

sholde chaunce withe hym too haue dooinge in hande,  
 as ambassadours, excellent of fame:  
 the better hee maye for their answere frame. 1015

(146)

[f. 25<sup>v</sup>] **For** whiche hee maye in this wise prouyde  
 of eauerye suche cowntreie some too retayne  
 in whome honeste gracis maye bee espyde,  
 woorthie aboute a kynge too remayne,  
 withe whome ofte commonynge, hee shall attayne 1020  
 in thois saide tunges feelynge sufficient  
 that maye too his purpose ynoughe content.

(147)

**The** tunge, too tell truthe, is like an instrument,  
 althoughe it tattle in that speache or this  
 whiche, beeinge pleyde on withe an inscipient, 1025  
 no musycall armonye thearin herde is.  
 So tunge withoute knowledge walketh ofte a-mys,  
 wherfore too furnysche talkynge the better,  
 let tunge talke reason sought owte by letter.

(148)

**Thorowe** knowledge, **Tholome** of **Egipte** Kynge, 1030  
 as clarkys sundrye makethe memoryall,  
 all kynges of the worlde passed in gouernynge,  
 whoys fame in earthe shalbee immortall,  
 thearbye woorkynge or lettinge his case fall.  
 Thoughe God the fate of althings hathe in holde, 1035  
 yeate may by science much thinges to come be tolde,

(149)

**and** vntoo God no derogation,  
 for Hee hathe set signes naturallie too woorke,  
 and hathe geeuyn man suche inspiration  
 by science too fynde that longe vnknown did loorke, 1040  
 aswell Thenglysch as Grecyan or Turke,  
 as cowrse naturall geeuythe inclynation,  
 thearbye too saye muche too constellation.

(150)

[f. 26] **The** fowle, the fayre, the prosperous, the peruerse,  
 as the nyne speeris shewithe disposition, 1045  
 knowledge too man all theye dothe reherse,  
 if hee solertlye make inquysition.  
 Of God hathe man suche exhybition  
 by that, the more too rendre Hym thanks dwe,  
 all evyll tauoyde, and the goode too ensue. 1050

(151)

**Whiche** knowledge of man byndethe God no-whit,  
 the case too take force of necessitee,  
 but suche disposition threatenethe it  
 if cowrse naturall not impedit bee.  
 Whoe, knowinge the signes bent tadersitee, 1055  
 and will vncompelled thearagaynste try,  
 judge hym wise whoe liste: it shall not bee I.

(152)

**Thoughe** vndrestondinge bee geevin vntoo man  
 naturallye too judge and discerne,  
 yeat shall hee by scyence mucche moe thinges scan 1060  
 then onlye by witt, bee it neauer so superne.  
 No wise man thearfore owght learnynge too sperne,  
 but the more hee is withe chargis onerate,  
 the more hee neadethe of knowledge literate.

(153)

**Thearfore** too yow, my soueraigne Lorde, 1065  
 I will geeue cownsell, withe all that I maye,  
 for many commodities thus taccorde  
 in places sundrye for learnynge too puruaye,  
 by vniuersities as I myght saye,  
 wheare assemblment myght bee had as thus, 1070  
 when neade shall requyre all dowbtes too discus.

(154)

[f. 26<sup>v</sup>] **Theare**-too plante **scoolis** for them that begynnys,  
**Grammer**, **Sophistrie** and **Logike** toptayne,  
 withe **hawlis**, **collegis**, **hostels** and **innys**  
 on higher learnynge toccupy the brayne. 1075  
 Thearuntoo added, studentis too mayntayne,  
 their myndis in studye too quyete the more,  
 honeste stypende conuenient thearfore,

(155)

**not** too laue is or passynge sumptuous,  
 but as maye serue sufficyentlye 1080  
 too bee dysburste by chargis of the house  
 for meate, drynke and clothe necessarye,  
 withe bookis, and althinge needfull too studye,  
 so that freelie, withoute all maner lett,  
 they maye endeauer learnynge too gett. 1085

(156)

**The** sciencies seauen are called liberall,  
 free too the poore as well as too the riche;  
 not onlie thearfore wee doo them so call,  
 but freelie, withoute care of lesse or myche,  
 studentes thearunto their myndis sure too stiche, 1090  
 lackynge nothings their studye too aduaunce:  
 in wittis setteled regnethe beste remembraunce.

(157)

**When** thus yee haue for studentes prouyded,  
 make statutis honest, godlie and discreete,  
 by whiche in ordre they maye bee guyded. 1095  
 Too range as vnbrayded it weare vnmeete:  
 wheare obedience is trodde vndre feete,  
 too looke for vertue bye learnynge too sprede,  
 I cannot see howe it can bee constrede.

(158)

- [f. 27] **T**oo gather learnynge in sciencis sundrye, 1100  
 and let vertue walke as an abiecte:  
 suche leawde learnynge let all men diffye.  
 It is vngodlie, withe fylthynes infecte.  
 If learnynge woorke not too vertues effecte,  
 it neadis must then bee detestable, 1105  
 muche more superfluous then profitable.

(159)

**O**uer all places for **s**tudies assigned,  
 chuse honeste headys, prouydent and wise,  
 whois sage weyes their yowthe may make inclined  
 frome all owterage apperteynynge too vice. 1110  
 An honeste heade ys of muche highe price,  
 far more preaciowse then can bee well tolde,  
 whither hee bee younge, of mydde age, or olde.

(160)

**S**o, when withe vertue and learnynge also  
 yee haue your realmes furnysched yn suche wise, 1115  
 if any withe yow sholde haue nowe too doe  
 in cawse dowbtfull too tempte your aduise,  
 yee are then able the case too decise,  
 which withoute learnynge cowlde not bee wrought.  
 Too furdre the same, then, trulie of right yee owght, 1120

(161)

**a**nd them too chearische, anymate and bolde,  
 for their necessaries too wante nothyng,  
 withe suche prerogatiue of yow too holde  
 that beste maye bee thought for their furtherynge,  
 by whiche yee shall geeue oother excitynge 1125  
 for too achieue literate knowledge,  
 when they freelye may entre without pledge.

(162)

[f. 27<sup>v</sup>] **Their** supplications when they shall prefer,  
 by verse or epistle, too your presence,  
 benynglye your grace vntoo them confer, 1130  
 geuyng them prayse vndre some sweete sentence,  
 their paynes bownteouslye too recompense.  
 Oh, what encoragement shall they thearbye take,  
 of your hie woorthynes too bragge and make crake.

(163)

**Suche** soueraigne prudence seene in a kynge 1135  
 passethe all other comparysons far.  
 When they shall fynde a kynge so benynge,  
 it shall oothers pryde cleare dysabar.  
 Your woorthye woorkyngis and prowes in your war,  
 or what noble featis shall happe yow nowe and then, 1140  
 they shall take cawse too your hie prayse to pen.

(164)

**By** meyns of suche renowmed is your fame,  
 your see imperiall made fresche and decorate.  
 For too approoue by woorthy meyns the same:  
 what dyd the reigne of the Greekis sublymate? 1145  
 whoo dyd their featis thorowe the worlde publicate?  
 Certaynlye that, too shewe in breeue sentence,  
 was of the learned the probate dilygence.

(165)

**In** Greece the pithe of lyterate learnynge  
 hathe hitherto florished by estymation, 1150  
 that damoyssellis younge, withe their parentes beinge,  
 hauynge theareof suche participation,  
 the cowrse of sterrys, and their constellation,  
 whye this tyme shorte, or that tyme lenger,  
 in this, and mucche more, cowlde true cause render. 1155

(166)

[f. 28] **Saue** tyme too detracte muche wolde I more write  
 concernynge learnynge, it is so preacyowse:  
 mannys duetie too God yt dothe recyte,  
 and also too kyngis in maner seryowse.  
 A goode thinge, theye saye, cannot bee too tedyowse; 1160  
 but in that sayinge, I will not nowe stande:  
 the surplusage I leaue as in your hande.

**Of the maner and solacynge most conuenient for a kyng,**  
 bothe at table, in the feeldis, and other places, at tymes  
 suche as hee shall thinke pleasinge too his mynde to recreat  
 his spyrytis.

## Caput 9

(167)

**IN** decent wise it sittethe eache noble kinge  
 certayne priuate famyliar freendis to haue,  
 withe whome hee maye vse his solacynge, 1165  
 not withe eache histrion, seruaunte or slaue;  
 it sholde hys maiestie muche parte depraue.  
 Hee is a persone frome oother exempte:  
 muche famyliarytee breedethe contempte.

(168)

**The** mynde of man dothe naturallie affecte 1170  
 in musicall myrthe too take his repose,  
 after tyme tedyous, the eare too reflecte,  
 the sensys settelynge in their office close,  
 solycitude of thinges too wordelye purpose  
 thearbye abiected by meanys attentife: 1175  
 moste salubryte sawce for lengthinge of life.

(169)

[f. 28<sup>v</sup>] **More** perfecte forme of solacynge tenduce,  
 as I can gesse bye wittis inuention:  
 if sikenes bee not your lefull excuse,

addicte your dyett withe inwarde intention, 1180  
 in the daye-springe, withoute exemption,  
 (the naturall, I meane, whiche holdethe twelue howres)  
 too owte in the feeldis emonge the sweete flowres.

## (170)

**Att** season, take it, when veare doth vernate,  
 florischinge withe flowres of odour fragraunte, 1185  
 depeyntyng eache pasture with daysies delicate,  
 bothe coweslippe, prymerose and violet pleasaunte.  
 The medowes at suche tyme I wolde yowe too haunte,  
 and vpp the hyllis too payne your-selfe on foote,  
 theare to take ayer, that too healt he breedethe beste  
 boote. 1190

## (171)

**Yowre** howndis after this if yee shall so please,  
 maye run the hare or some oother wylde beaste,  
 your hors assumynge then, for your more ease,  
 and after too haisten till the game bee ceaste.  
 Thus for an howre or twoe at the leaste, 1195  
 yee maye your bodye put too exercise,  
 then after too eate as yee shall deuyse.

## (172)

**When** dyner tyme commythe, this weyes yee may take:  
 your seruice serued, too your appetite dwe,  
 too voyde vanities yowe gladde for too make, 1200  
 some sowght for the nonys that can by cnackis nwe  
 fashyon hym selfe that myrthe maye ensue,  
 withe tawlke honeste moste decent too the same,  
 freelye too saye, appeyringe no mannys name.

## (173)

[f. 29] **And** suche wone on yowe alweyes attendynge, 1205  
 I thynke conuenient, and so doo affyrme,  
 his truste vndre yow too haue defendynge

if any withe hym by hatrede sholde skyrme.  
 Suche merye fellowe maye cease manye chyrme.  
 When dyuerse the greate the small wolde deuoure, 1210  
 his meerye moouyngis maye wynne them socour,

(174)

as vndre cooloure of his iestinge sporte,  
 the truthe too infer of the poorys dammage,  
 wheare yee maye gather by suche his reporte 1215  
 howe often the poore is browght in bondage,  
 wheare yee maye signe meanys their greefes too suffrage,  
 redressynge wheare they are so ouer-throwne:  
 the poore mannys cawse yee muste take as your owne.

(175)

Suche wise weyes woorkinge makethe mery meny  
 that stooode in sorowe saylynge bye nyght and by daye, 1220  
 desperate of cheare, as hopynge for enye  
 that wolde for them withe their aduersary waye.  
 Emonge all your myrthes thinke on this playe,  
 and at meate bee mearye, endeuer euer so:  
 what myght that perturbe, let for the season go. 1225

(176)

When straungers greate youre presence hathe none,  
 take of youre nobles youe compenye too keepe.  
 Doo not your selfe sitt santering alone  
 as wone that weare in studye moste deepe:  
 at meale is no maner too sitt as a-sleepe. 1230  
 Haue communication as yee beste thynke:  
 suche solace as seemelie is as meate or drynke.

(177)

[f. 29<sup>v</sup>] Dynner onys ended, rise not vpp lightlye.  
 Haue then some noyse of musycall sownde,  
 as harpe, vyall, lute or some symphonye, 1235  
 virginallis, rybecke, withe taberlet rownde,  
 that too the eare moste sweete dothe rebownde,  
 sensyblye handeled in their monochorde.  
 No higher solace maye bee too a lorde.

(178)

In steade of whiche, as for dyuersytee, 1240  
 yee maye haue els the lyuelie musyke  
 set forthe in voyce of humayne facultee,  
 by men or chyldren after their best trike,  
 that, formallye handeled, hathe not the like,  
 for God Hym-selfe mannys organ ordayne can, 1245  
 and oother instrumentis deuysed by man.

(179)

All this set a-parte, yee maye ootherwise els  
 att tables, chesse or cardis, awhile your selfe repose,  
 or oother pastyme that pretendethe novels,  
 not passinge at all whither yee wynne or lose; 1250  
 but, playnelye my mynde too saye and not glose,  
 after your meale, but the weather dothe lowre,  
 in sittinge solacinge spende not paste wone howre.

(180)

If weatheringe bee not abrode for too walke,  
 the tyme then passe in some wisdomme readinge, 1255  
 or withe your Cownsell too debate and tawlke  
 of mattiers weightie to a comone-wealthe leadinge,  
 before-hande castyng what after maye bee neadinge.  
 Then if fresche **Phebus** liste shewe his fayre face,  
 after this sorte yee maye yourselfe solace: 1260

(181)

[f. 30] all syttyng pastymes are seelden fownde goode,  
 excepte at nyght when walkyng cannot bee  
 (it is an hynderaunce too purifyed bloode:  
 in your dyatorye yee shall more playne see),  
 thearfore vse practise of hostylitee, 1265  
 as withe the longe bowe too pricke or too roue,  
 or chacyng the fox thorowe thickett or groue,

(182)

or oother vermyne withe begle or hownde.  
 Trulye suche moovinge of bodelye exercise  
 shall keepe yow in health the moste perfectlye sownde; 1270  
 more bettre physike can no man deuise.  
 Or, leauynge all this, yee maye poynte in this wise:  
 too see your knyghtis in tornaynge or justes,  
 or oother warre featis too practyse in their lustes,

(183)

and yee nowe and then, in armur armed sure 1275  
 withe some liste to trye suche as yee shall assigne,  
 in featis aforeseide too haue the more ure:  
 the nature of kyngis the same dothe dyffyne,  
 aduertinge as howe all daungre too declyne.  
 Thus for pastyme of eache noble man 1280  
 I haue the rule layde, the beste wise I can.

**Howe a kynge owght tauoyde infamy, and, aboue althyngis,  
 nexte his duetie vnto God, tendeuere his honorable fame,  
 chosinge for that rather too reigne, then for thonlye glorie  
 of his pryncely estate.**

## Caput 10

(184)

[f. 30<sup>v</sup>] **Knowe yow Alexandre**, prepotent prynce,  
 for your instruction conservinge of fame,  
 I haue conceauyd inwardelye synce  
 an honeste lesson, concernynge the same. 1285  
 In the exercitation shyne shall your name  
 so far as **Phebus** his beamys shall displaye.  
 No treasure theartoo compare any maye,

(185)

**bicause** mankynde bye vndrestondinge,  
 whiche by reason takethe comprobation, 1290  
 frome the brutall hathe greate differinge,

with the much furtheraunce by education,  
 deadys sundrye too deeme by speculation,  
 theartoo accordinge too shewe exercise,  
 for knowledge takethe force cheeflye by practise, 1295

(186)

for vndrestondynge of thingis in dwe place,  
 is too bee take of regyment cheef grownde.  
 The perfecte healthe of the mynde in like case:  
 the conseruation with the vertues tabownde,  
 the meanys too espye each viciowse wownde, 1300  
 as thearbye too knowe what yee sholde abiecte,  
 and what of dwe yee owght also telecte.

(187)

**This** kynde heere mente of vndrestondinge  
 ys the begynnyng of vertues all:  
 the roote also, withoute dissemblyng,  
 of hole that wee cyvile maners heere call, 1305  
 vntoo a kyng moste contubernyall,  
 as freende woorthieste of acceptation,  
 not too bee put in sequestration.

(188)

[f. 31] **The** firste instrument of intellection 1310  
 is the desyre of honorable fame.  
 Whoo thearon passethe shall haue reflection  
 by **Ecchois** voyce, too make famous the same,  
 the worlde too bee ment the brute too proclame.  
 And whoo so of pride settithe thearbye no forse, 1315  
 his honour for nowghtis hee doothe away scorse.

(189)

**Therefore** I saye that fame principallye  
 owght, in gouernynge, by it selfe too bee sought,  
 for seate of honour in her true partes too trye  
 is not for the same in thappetyte wrought, 1320

but florischinge fame too breede as it owght.  
 Thoughe grosenes the bodye hynderethe frome flight,  
 Fame hathe wyngis and tellethe talys far-of quyght.

## (190)

**So**, after the mynde of this Ethnyke man,  
 the sole beginnyng of all sapience 1325  
 is tendeuér, bye all the meanys hee can,  
 of honeste fame too haue a preamynence,  
 for whiche, after his former sentence,  
 lordshippe and domynion is take,  
 and not for the imperiall see sake. 1330

## (191)

**Thoughe** this morall philosopher sage  
 the grounde of wisdomé liste so too diffyne,  
 honeste fame too bee the true gage  
 too cause potentatis in glorye too shyne,  
 otherwise sayethe the sapient dyuyne 1335  
**Salomon**, whois sayinge seamethe odde:  
 'The growne of all wisdomé is the feare of Godde'.

## (192)

[f. 31<sup>v</sup>] **But** too concorde their sentencies so,  
 either their meanyngis in ordynat place,  
 they currantlye togethers maye go, 1340  
 concernyng eache his naturall grace:  
 whoo passethe for goode fame in any case,  
 bee hee lorde, prince, kynge or emperowre,  
 it meanithe hee fearithe some higher powre.

## (193)

**Thus** yee see serue in sorte conuenient 1345  
 bothe their sage sayinges too wone godlie ende:  
 too wyn fame woorthie, eache noble preasident  
 owght withe all dyligence for too attende,  
 not vnto purpose his state too commende,  
 but that his dooingis, bothe lowe, highe and meane, 1350  
 frome all owtrage shoulde see them seauerde cleane.

(194)

If for oother purpose highe romethe bee requyred  
 then is heere saide in sufficient wise,  
 then is suche fame vnseemelie tyred,  
 not sought in sorte of princelie deuise. 1355  
 Too woorke thorowe enuyous auarice  
 fame too achieue, oother too expell,  
 theirs too eclyps that hee maye bere the bell,

(195)

suche fame infamowse is too bee herde.  
 For Enuye suchewise storethe Mendation, 1360  
 whiche is the graffinge stock, muche too bee ferde,  
 of all myscheuous abhomynation.  
 Vntruithe, of enuious operation,  
 bredethe Detraction. And so procedithe  
 odyous Hatrede, that nowheare needithe. 1365

(196)

[f. 32] Whiche heynowse Hatrede in harte conceauyd,  
 speciallye wheare it maye ouercome,  
 woorkethe iniurye of right bereauyd:  
 then Pertynacye entrethe the bosome,  
 whearuppon growethe, for lack of wisdome, 1370  
 rygorowse Rancre, furyouse and fell,  
 withe hawte Repugnaunce togethers too dwell.

(197)

And whoe proternouslye lyste too repunge,  
 in thingis contrariowse too woorke againste right,  
 anon it fyerithe bothe lyuer and lunge 1375  
 by breache of looue on the brydle too bight.  
 Then dothe suche discorde Battell excight  
 thorowe whiche ensuethe, all men too teache,  
 of all goode ordre moste desolate breache.

(198)

For whoe of selfe-will in suche wise is bent, 1380  
 his fame full farr too his diffame shall spredde,  
 whiche too a kynge weare inconuenient,  
 yeat this ensueth wheare suche thingis are bredde.  
 Well maye it make a prince too bee dredde,  
 but looued, in sorte as might his fame set forthe, 1385  
 I wote it well, it helpethe lyttle worthe.

(199)

Compose your actis, thearfor, soueraigne Kinge,  
 after suche sorte as syttethe too your degree,  
 that thorowe the same euerywheare may springe  
 the famouse brute of highe nobylitee. 1390  
 For the true meanyge of right reason, perdee,  
 by famowse desyre, at conclusyon  
 furdrethe truthe, too falsehods confusyon.

(200)

[f. 32<sup>v</sup>] As of wone vice procedithe another,  
 examplified in this present peece, 1395  
 so wone vertue too other is mother,  
 in pullulation frome greece to greece,  
 whearbye is conquestrede the golden fleece,  
 famowse renowne, that sobrethe a kingis seate  
 by due relation, as woorkethe his feate. 1400

(201)

Too call a kynge noble, and is ignomynyowse,  
 too fame hym royall, and vsethe weies beastlye,  
 shynynge withe vertue, and is moste viciowse:  
 suche adulation ought no man set bye.  
 Bee noble in deade, and flaterye diffye. 1405  
 Rather let lyinge abbreache your gode name  
 then thearbye too purches yow any vayne fame.

1380 selfe-will] selfe will  
noman

1385 set forthe] setforthe

1404 no man]

(202)

For Truthe at lengethe will for her selfe speake,  
 and shewe as shee is, magre her foes all.  
 Vertue shall florische when Vice shall crye creake, 1410  
 and sit withe scepture vndre the riche pall.  
 Fauers then Trouthe: shee is no nuryce small,  
 she generatethe Justice, and shee, Confydence,  
 by whiche growethe vertues of passinge excellence.

(203)

The issue that dothe of Confidence sprynge 1415  
 as I doo note, is Liberalitee.  
 And her ensuethe, of her owne nurischinge,  
 the gentle damoyzell Famyliaritee,  
 hauynge too offsprynge frendelye Amytee,  
 whoo, too furdre all princelye affayres 1420  
 bryngethe Ayde and Counsell as her chief heyres.

(204)

[f. 33] Wone pryncipall thinge too a kinge dothe pertayne,  
 too thende that the prayse of his princelie name  
 myght bee dyuulgate in lawde souerayne,  
 as in speakinge his woordis wiselye too frame, 1425  
 his auditours too note no mysse in the same,  
 but placed in ordre withe his dwe grace,  
 so shall hee bee lauded in eauerye place.

(205)

So shall [h]ee bee honowred and feared also,  
 of his, and oother that foryners bee, 1430  
 when they aduerte, withe oother thingis mo,  
 his prudent speache and sage sobryetee  
 too answere or perswade: in hym they see  
 suche promptytude in all hee goithe abowte  
 that woorthye hee is too rule the whole rowte. 1435

(206)

Of wone that is of maners insolent,  
 dissolute in speache and his behauour,  
 it maye bee saide, by prooues euydent,  
 of princelie prudence hee sentithe no sauour,  
 for by the furtheshewe of his lyfes vapour 1440  
 it maye bee knowne whither of theis twayne,  
 wisdome or folye, in hym dothe moste rayne.

(207)

What kynge soeuer his reigne dothe subiecte  
 vntoo the lawes prescrybed of Godde,  
 woorthye hee is too rule in full effecte, 1445  
 withe dyademe, crowne and the scepture rodde  
 in peacible wise, els Godde forbodde:  
 and whoe contempnethe Goddis seruice and lawe,  
 hee shall of men bee had in small awe.

(208)

[f. 33<sup>v</sup>] Thus iustelye dealynge bothe towards God and man, 1450  
 geeuyng to eache their ordynarye parte,  
 towards your selfe woorke in dwe sorte than.  
 Yee maye not that in anywise ouerstarte:  
 let leacherowse lustis not reigne in your harte,  
 content your selfe withe your weddid make. 1455  
 So of this lesson my leaue I heere take.

**Howe a kynge owght to lyue cleane, too auoyde carnal  
 voluptee and inordynat couetyse, for the manyfolde dys-  
 commodities ensuyng the same.**

### Caput 11

(209)

Alexandre, nowe am I come vntoo  
 too geeue yow counseile suche as I can,  
 howe, for your owne wealthe yee chieffie must doo,  
 too voyde voluptee, that men beastlye scan, 1460

whiche manye vsinge at lengethe dothe sore ban.  
 Thearfore I saye as too hym I moste looue,  
 auoyde the same for youre owne behooue:

(210)

**carnall** appetite, inclynynge the mynde  
 too beastiall delytis inordinatlye sett, 1465  
 in whiche the bodye, so beeing inclynde,  
 whoelye reioycethe withoute anye lett,  
 throughe whiche the conscience dothe wamble and frett  
 witheyn the sowle whiche hathe immortall lief,  
 well too bee called a spirituall strief. 1470

(211)

[f. 34] **As** for mannys carkes, whoo liste for too marke,  
 bee it of shape neauer so beawtiowse,  
 it is too bee likened too the treeis barke,  
 rugged, mossye and mucche contrariowse:  
 so is mannys carkes moste far vngratiowse, 1475  
 thoughe it the Sowle clothe, I wote well so,  
 yeat ofte it cawsethe her naked too go.

(212)

**Too** clothe and vncliffe, as thus too bee ment,  
 whiche sensiblye too all men maye appeare:  
 the Flesche too the Sowle is as a garment, 1480  
 so longe as they togethers dwell heare.  
 The Sowle is immortall: that is knowne cleare;  
 the Bodye not so, but earthe, dowiste and claye:  
 wee thearof see tryall heere daye by daye.

(213)

**They** bothe are thingis twoe, and yeat but wone: 1485  
 the Sowle and Bodye makethe but wone Man.  
 And as they are twoe in wone persone,  
 so are their natures dyuerse too scan.  
 The Flesche of it selfe nowghtis appetite can  
 but lustis leacherous, beastlye and nowght. 1490  
 The Sowle no suche thinge wolde too bee wrought:

(214)

in Man, whiche I meane heere beeinge alyue,  
 there regnethe a Will as maister of the soyle,  
 thorowe whome althinge dothe prosper and thryue,  
 or els suynglye put too a foyle, 1495  
 Reason hathe Man too make hym recoyle.  
 But if Will and Sensualitee dothe meeite,  
 Reason anon is then caste vndre feeite.

(215)

[f. 34<sup>v</sup>] Reason laborethe the Sowle too prefer.  
 Sensualitee meanethe nothinge lesse. 1500  
 What the Flesche wolde too mayntayne herr  
 throughe thicke and thyn, hee dothe his busynes.  
 So, commonlye, but God sende redresse  
 by His greate goodnes and grace specyall,  
 the Sowle gothe too wreake, and takethe a great fall. 1505

(216)

So that throughe Frayltie, another shrewde geste,  
 oftener Man fallithe then gettithe thupper honde.  
 Then is the Sowle, when the Flesche hathe her keste,  
 despoylde and made bare, it maye bee reaconde.  
 The staff of Cleanes whearbye she dyd stonde 1510  
 is her depryued throughe fowle Voluptee.  
 Thus beeinge clothed wee naked her see.

(217)

Naked is manns Sowle when Vertue is reiecte.  
 As she is immortall, so muste her habite bee  
 Faithe and suche Warkis as longethe too her secte, 1515  
 Purenes of lief, with Longanimytee.  
 Where theis are secluded, and false Voluptee  
 entrede their place (the harte of man, I meane),  
 then is the Sowle bare and made naked cleane.

(218)

**Consydre** thearfore, thow noble Emperoure,  
 thy Sowle is a thinge thow neadis muste respecte  
 1520  
 aboute all rychesse and wordelye honoure.  
 Geeue heede thearfore the same too protecte.  
 Let not fowle Voluptie thy mynde infecte,  
 leste when Atropos thye lief shall dissolue,  
 1525  
 the floodis infernall the same maye envolue.

(219)

[f. 35] **Auarice** entrede onys in-too mannys harte,  
 desyre of riches dothe daylye encrease.  
 What eauer hee seeithe contentithe hym no parte,  
 withoute hee maye vppon the hole sease.  
 1530  
 Shiftes makethe hee manye his longinge too please,  
 shiftinge, God wottithe, by shiftes that hee vsithe,  
 that manye for feare their owne right refusithe.

(220)

**For**, will they or nyll they, haue it hee will  
 by whooke or by crooke, as the prouerbe is.  
 1535  
 Hee hathe a nose and a vengauce longe bill,  
 that what hee smellithe it shalbee sure his.  
 His byll will so pecke, hee make will no mys,  
 althoughhe it distaunce seauyn myles of and more.  
 So are sheepe oft of a wronge sheaperde shore.  
 1540

(221)

**No** small are the thingis that maye hym content.  
 Whole vppon trasche is his solycitude:  
 hee choppethe, hee chaungethe, hee reysethe his rent,  
 and all too huche vpp, his mattiers too conclude,  
 withe vsurall wynnyngis his fyngres embrude,  
 1545  
 all hee hoordethe vpp in a bottomles coffer,  
 withe what thinge els that any will offer.

(222)

When withe riches hee is meetelie well spedde  
 (but too his full purpose that neuer maye bee),  
 hee is theare-throughe not belouyd, but dredde. 1550  
 So then hee lyueth at his owne voluntee,  
 and dallieth daylie withe his Voluptee,  
 that shamefastnes hee nowhit setteth bye:  
 thus Abundaunce breedeth shameles Folye.

(223)

[f. 35<sup>v</sup>] And thearuppon ensueth Presumption. 1555  
 For whatsoeauer hee doth entreprise,  
 hee reaoneth no man maye looke hym vppon,  
 so is hee blynded thorowe false Auarice,  
 as eauer the nowghtes the wooste doth deuise,  
 and, no-tyme the better, wee daylie heere see, 1560  
 so breedeth Presumption Infidelitee.

(224)

Hee beeing onys withe herr fealishipp frett,  
 by God or man hee setteth not a flye.  
 His will is his guyde, hee oweth God no dett.  
 Thus withoute shame hee liueth moste beastlye, 1565  
 too mayntayne his luste with Voluptie too dallye,  
 hee doth extorte and powle in playne preeif:  
 none so myscheuouse as the great theeif.

(225)

So is hee had in detestation:  
 God so prouideth, too punysche his fawte, 1570  
 Whoe abhorreth his abomination,  
 bringinge suche loweste that looketh moste hawte,  
 and causeth hym as captiue to bee cawte,  
 whiche leadeth hym too the lawes torment.  
 Suche is for synners Goddis punyschment. 1575

(226)

If hee in lief bee lotted heere too lyue,  
 yeat shall hee obloquye of bodye sustayne.  
 Common rumour his goode fame shall depryue,  
 so longe as his sowle in the bodye dothe reigne,  
 his faculties confiscated playne, 1580  
 losse of famyliars, for eauer and a daye,  
 thoughe nature grudge, this muste hee neadis obaye.

(227)

[f. 36] **This** exemplar too this intent I write,  
 not onlye yowe too admonysche heerebye  
 false Voluptie too abolische quyte, 1585  
 withe all her braunches and genealogye  
 (thoughe the reste toochethe yow in no partye)  
 but too thende wheare yee suche owterage see reigne,  
 the same textirpe too doo your busye payne.

**Of a kyngis endeckinge, and howe nothings for hym maye  
 bee too deare or precyowse. Howe all woorthie featis doone  
 by any of his redoundethe too his honour speciallye. Howe  
 hee shall chuse chyualours and actyue men abowte hym.  
 Howe also hee shall chearische and mayntayne suche.**

## Caput 12

(228)

**Whoo** too the honour of a kynge dothe attayne, 1590  
 what kinde of thinges behouethe suche estate  
 too haue dwe knowledge in suffisaunce playne,  
 it sittethe the office wee nowe mynystrate.  
 A kynge in nowise maye haue mynde elate,  
 althoughe his porte, in cheare and araye, 1595  
 in maner thearat dothe muche parte saye naye.

(229)

**Nothyng**e for a kynge maye bee too deere  
 too glase his glorye in princelieste wise,  
 golde nor asure, or preacious stonys cleere,  
 tyssue, withe sylkes of inestimable price, 1600

none in his realme too walke in like deuise,  
for, as his honour surmowntethe oother all,  
so his endeckynge must bee princypall.

(230)

[f. 36<sup>v</sup>] **The** fresche furnytüre, both in hall and towre,  
wheare dothe manure his princelie presence, 1605  
it muste transcende by cawse of his powre  
all oother powres bye farr difference.  
The maister is eauer of more excellence  
then the seruaunte, it seruithe so of right:  
a kynge is a kynge, and a lorde but his knight. 1610

(231)

**Althoughe** it maye his pleasure stonde withe so  
in tyme of tryumphe, his fame to delate,  
too cause whome he liste in glorye too go,  
yeat from his sorte theirs owght too rebate,  
and they thearbye too flasche nor efflate, 1615  
of anye vayne prayse acqyryng the lawde:  
so sholde they their lorde his honour defrawde.

(232)

**Too** see an hoste royall sett in araye,  
so soueraignlye as may by witt bee thought,  
the commendation men muste of right laye 1620  
vntoe the prince at whois commaundement wrought  
theye are so in-too assemblaunce brought.  
So that what woorkethe anye chyualour,  
it ought too redownde too his lordis honour.

(233)

**For** hee, men knowithe, his capitayne is, 1625  
and brought hym vpp in suche exercise;  
bothe horsse and armure, the whole is his.  
Owght not hee then too haue the chief price?  
Hee dothe thearin but his true seruice,  
Whois teachinge causethe the scolar texcell, 1630  
chief prayse too the maister maye bee geeuyn well.

(234)

[f. 37] **Yeate** hee princely his paynes muste recompense  
 by office, rewarde, as hee dothe cawse see.  
 Men mynystringe too a kinges magnificence  
 owght not longe stande unrewardyd too bee. 1635  
 Paynes consydered in dwe degree  
 causethe free hartis no storme too refuse,  
 wheare els they wolde grudge and fayne some excuse.

(235)

**Lyke** as in araye a prince is peerelesse,  
 so in cowrte keepinge his plentie muste passe, 1640  
 his breade, his wyne, at eauerye messe,  
 and oother vytayle, bothe in plate or glasse,  
 that eache maye saye, in place wheare hee wasse,  
 the like in ordre nowheare maye bee fownde:  
 oh, howe shall that too a kynges lawde redownde! 1645

(236)

**Hys** powre, peereles, without peere must appeere,  
 too his bountiousnes oothers too geeue place.  
 As his scepture streachethe bothe farr and neere,  
 so muste hee woorke woorthelie, his fame too blase,  
 that his true lieges maye bragge of his grace, 1650  
 too bee not the like the whole worlde within,  
 so vsynge hym selfe their hartis for too wyn.

(237)

**Oh**, whoo is hee lyuyng, or eauer hathe beene,  
 by witt, learnynge or wisdomedecorate,  
 althoughe hee hathe the seauyn sciencies seene, 1655  
 as their essentialles too enucleate,  
 that can for a kinge duellie inuestigate  
 what vnto hym in full some dothe beelonge?  
 Saye whoo so saye can, I saye hee saythe wronge.

(238)

[f. 37<sup>v</sup>] **Thoughe** heere I patche vpp suche wise as I can 1660  
 my symple conceyte concernynge this case  
 of the endeckynge so noble a man,  
 and oother thinges as seruithe in this place,  
 yeat wote I welle I leaue muche voyde space,  
 the surplusage for oother too supplye, 1665  
 that can conceaue more then as nowe can I.

(239)

**Vnto** whiche thinge theare restithe muche in this:  
 pleasure of princys, what els they will take,  
 vsage of cowntreys as custome theare is,  
 that wone vsethe another will forsake, 1670  
 whearfore longe tale neadethe not heere too make.  
 Wisedome and Prudence, lett theis ladies twayne  
 the dwe for eache prynce in this case ordayne.

(240)

**Too** doo hym mynysterye in feelde and howse,  
 or what place els his persone shall beecome, 1675  
 from all myshappes of sourges dawngerowse  
 that myght his harte bringe in anye thraldome,  
 too attende on hym, theare owght no small some  
 of famouse men in chyualrie tryde,  
 that, if neade bee, dare boldelye by hym byde. 1680

(241)

**His** lief and deathe is sorowe and blis  
 vntoo his true and loouynge liegis all,  
 as if hee shoulde perische or chaunce amys  
 it shoulde moste greatlye their hartis appall.  
 Hee dooinge well, steyethe many a sore fall, 1685  
 sythe in hym restethe the lief of many wone:  
 owght not the same then too bee tended vppone?

(242)

[f. 38] **This**, weyed and peyced in memoryall,  
 shall mooue yow, my renowned soueraigne,  
 too sett by men of whome yee knowe tryall, 1690  
 as of necessité of suche too bee fayne.  
 The more your fame, the noblere your trayne:  
 whiche of a kynge, whoo so the truthe wiste,  
 dothe muche parte in suche his honour consiste.

(243)

**Or** if chalengers of realmys far or nye 1695  
 too juste or torneye shoulde chalenge pretende,  
 or what feate els in all kindes of maistrye,  
 in honour of hym whoo suche dothe too yow sende,  
 if yee haue not then able too diffende,  
 it shoulde redownde tyme, yearis, dayes, and howrs, 1700  
 too the great blankynge bothe of yow and yowrs.

(244)

**Thearfore** by men of actiuytee sett,  
 ordayne for them that necessarye is,  
 geeue them too keepe them from daungre and dett:  
 sithe yee in nowise may suche abowte yow mys, 1705  
 no small is the case yee owght caste in this:  
 for, bee yee sure, the more yee of them make,  
 the more will they payne them selves for your sake.

**Howe** a kynge owght too marrye, what wise and circum-  
 specte weyes hee shall vse yn chusinge his ladye and  
 soueraigne spowes, and howe hee shall, in moste amyable  
 wyse, chearische, looue, and make of her.

## Caput 13

(245)

[f. 38<sup>v</sup>] **Whoo** hathe too gouerne in this present orbe,  
 kingedome, prouynce or oother monarche, 1710  
 leste lacke of ysswe his name might absorbe,  
 whiche, peace too mayntayne, is moste sureste arche

if forayne enemyes towards his shoulde marche,  
it muche conuenia[n]tethe too suche an estate  
too haue some ladye too hym assocyste,

1715

(246)

**suche** wone as maye hym thorowlye content,  
as for her looue all oother too forsake,  
of amytee pure too graunte her suche stent,  
that none the same shall cawse anywise slake,  
of fresche beawtie his inwarde iye too make,  
wholie agreeinge her sole too amplete.  
Oh highe treasure, wheare suche wone is electe!

1720

(247)

**Yeat** meane I not, but that suche ladye  
whiche shoulde bee macht withe suche a potentate,  
vntoo herr yowthe and soueraigne beawtye  
shoulde haue vertues the same too adornate.  
But they togithers doo comunycate,  
thoughe herr fresche semblaunce shyne as the soone,  
too ioyne withe suche wone weare bettre vndoone.

1725

(248)

**Thearfore** before the firme knot bee upp knyt  
of earneste weddelocke and godlye spowsayle,  
too voyde all daungre that myght ensue yt,  
this is my mynde and prouydent cownsayle:  
of her behauour, bye secreat trauayle,  
prudentlie searche too haue perfecte reporte,  
for seelde prouethe goode that are of the light sorte.

1730

1735

(249)

[f. 39] **Sende** there abowgtes suche as are circumspecte,  
excellant wise and fyne in iudgement,  
seene in sciencis eyn too the full fecte,  
that can in this frame your purpose too content,  
whither her nature geauethe preasident  
of honeste likelyhede fruyte too forthe-brynge.  
Suche foreseene sightes shall cause quyetnes sprynge.

1740

(250)

A kynge Godde forbeade too bee nue fangledede,  
 his wief texchaunge for his lustis dalyaunce. 1745  
 Thearfore make searche if shee bee entangledede;  
 let her not reste then in your remembraunce.  
 A kingis wief in perfecte resemblaunce  
 too vue whoo shall so, his dooinges too stande,  
 hee hathe by office no small charge in hande. 1750

(251)

Too haue withe some ladye realms twoe or three,  
 or talentes of golde, as hathe beene well knowne,  
 and scace in her persone wone goode propretee,  
 but is withe vices sundrye ouergrowne:  
 what vaylethe too hym too haue his name blowne 1755  
 withe lordships so manye too bee posseste,  
 and hathe too ioeye hym no wone daye in reste?

(252)

Thoughe like vnto like is moste agreeynge,  
 noble bloode royall withe like for too matche,  
 by meanys suche, muche amytee breedyngge, 1760  
 contactes and grudgis in peace so too patche,  
 I graunte it well, I will not thearat snatche,  
 but if shee serue not too his appetite,  
 then is suche woorkyngge put in error quyte.

(253)

[f. 39<sup>v</sup>] Too matche for riches or realms domynyon, 1765  
 withe suche wone as looue listethe not too abyde:  
 more decent it weare in myne opynyon  
 too marrye for looue, and lett riches slyde.  
 The rakinge vpp riches is but vayne pryde.  
 Ynoughe is ynoughe: then holde I hym blynde 1770  
 that marriethe riches, too troble his mynde.

(254)

**But** wheare ill neighbours, adiaçant or no,  
 that trobolowse are in poyntis manyfolde,  
 if cooplunge togethers maye breede meanys so,  
 thorowe their nobles, peace perfecte too make holde, 1775  
 by leage and looue lynked, moste surelye enrolde,  
 or otherwise the partyes too agree,  
 suche woorthye wedlocke needis allowed muste bee,

(255)

**and** owght too bee sowght in dilygent wise,  
 and prosequeted of all that loouethe peace. 1780  
 Whoo theartoo can helpe and will not deuise,  
 pitee it weare their troobles shoulde cease.  
 But yeat I harpe on mye former lease:  
 for too auoyde eache breache and fowle blott,  
 I wolde haue looue too knytt upp the knott. 1785

(256)

**Too** ioyne in mariage babis in their cradle,  
 or infantis, ignoraunte of wedlockis yoke,  
 withe that sacrament suche-wise too fable  
 it is ynoughe their lyues too vpchoke.  
 Theare owght no man his childe so too prouoke, 1790  
 for landis or like, till they haue discretion,  
 then too matche at their free election.

(257)

[f. 40] **But** yeat, if this weye their parentis liste take,  
 suche as theye mynde too their children prefer  
 too haue in howsholde, and off them too make, 1795  
 withe his thooother too bee famylier  
 vntoo suche time pubertie dothe offer,  
 bye age too bee apte for father and moother,  
 then too adhere, if either like oother,

(258)

theare cannot in wedlocke the wiseste of all 1800  
 too muche honeste meanys for quyetnes caste.  
 A younge damoyzell her mynde too let fall,  
 for worldelie riches whiche fadethe aweye faste,  
 vppon an olde jaade, that is his luste paste,  
 or a fresche youngelinge vppon an olde wiche, 1805  
 too herkne thearunto it makethe my backe iche.

(259)

They cannot prospeire, vnlikelye it weare:  
 yowthe will by cowrse haue sum exercise.  
 Matche like too like, so beste frame shall this geare,  
 as godlye wisdomes can heerein deuise. 1810  
 Bycawse this busynes wee entreprise  
 dothe chiefly compare for princies too treat,  
 wee will leaue the lowe and furthe withe the greate.

(260)

Wheare Kynge and Queene walkethe arme in arme,  
 in wone monochorde my meanyng is ment, 1815  
 theare can no wight their woorthye fame doo harme;  
 if they so doo of inwarde looue feruent,  
 eache withe oother at full too bee content,  
 withe contynuaunce suche as theare owght,  
 suche looue eauer too goode ende shalbee browght. 1820

(261)

[f. 40<sup>v</sup>] Shee loovethe hym withe ardent desyre,  
 and hee herr agayne most amorouslye:  
 so are their hartis by looue sett on fyre  
 that none maye well mysse oothers compenye  
 if neede shall so dreue, their hartis ioynethe surelye. 1825  
 Man maye theare none her harte from hym wynne,  
 nor wooman his, from herr too doo synne.

(262)

**This** is all honeste, and thus it shoulde bee.  
 Looue dyuyded neuer in suche bredde goode. 1830  
 Too use withe sundrye carnall voluptee,  
 whiche neuer yeat withe highe honour stooode,  
 it mooue shall myschief and murmuringe moode,  
 withe many mysfortunys, evill too bee sowght,  
 but woorste of all when they are owte wrought.

(263)

**Heere**, Alexandre, my mynde yee haue herde, 1835  
 sittynge yowre honowre, and oothers also  
 that will bee counseled beefore they ieoberde,  
 of nobles that shall abowte weddinge go.  
 The knott of cooplynge cummythe not too and fro,  
 of and on, as man his mynde dothe bende, 1840  
 but stonde the in effecte vnto the lyues ende.

(264)

**While** yee are yeat sole, looke well ere yee leape,  
 knowe ere yee knytt, bye the counseile of mee,  
 of manye mysspedde are knowe a greate heape:  
 let oothers entreatinge your exemple bee. 1845  
 An honeste wief is highe felycitee,  
 and ootherwise shee is an hell payne:  
 woorke as yee cause see; yee knowe the beste gayne.

(265)

[f. 41] **Joyne** not youre thighe, ham, or bare parte  
 by carnall commyxture withe commune harlote, 1850  
 in sorte of swyne by coitynge peruerte,  
 whois weies abhore and in anyewise vse not.  
 What glorye of reigne shalbee thearby gote,  
 if odyowse vsage of the vyle brutall,  
 man, hauynge reason, shoulde theare-untoo fall? 1855

1844 knowe] curly horizontal-contraction sign over o: conceivably knowen or knowne is intended form

(266)

**Credite** my cownseile, for vndoubtedlye  
 muche carnall coopelinge abbreviatethe the life,  
 weakenethe the powres and strenght of the bodye,  
 corruptethe all vertues by meanys excessife,  
 destroyethe also the lawes prerogatif, 1860  
 and laste nowe of all too determynate,  
 it dothe manns maners cleane effemynate.

(267)

**Too** knytt upp the whole whi[ch] is in hande nowe,  
 that after no-more wee shall neade heereof wright,  
 of muche medelinge, I admonysche yowe, 1865  
 withe wief or wooman, by daye or by nyght,  
 it shall greate hynderaunce woorke too your sight,  
 weaken your bodye, and shorten your dayes:  
 let **Reason** in all thynges ordre your wayes.

**Howe a kinge shoulde make of ambassadoures, bee they freendis or ootherwise, of merchauntes, straungers or of his owne cowntrey, also beehaue hym selfe too his communtie, in difficulte cawses, too heeare their greefes, and withe sage respecte, accordinge too right, too determyne the same.**

## Caput 14

(268)

[f. 41<sup>v</sup>] **Yee** noble kinges that hathe the gouernaunce 1870  
 of realmys, prouyncis, domynyons also,  
 no small disquyet tossethe your remembraunce,  
 as sowrgis of seayes dothe shippe too and fro,  
 for of office it beelongethe yowe vnto,  
 too hym and hym, whatsoeauer they bee, 1875  
 too herke and answeare of necessitee.

(269)

**Thoughe** in some cawses yee substitute some  
 too answere some, suche some as yee signe shall,  
 yeat some sometyme vnto yow shall come,

1863 which] whis

1864 no-more] nomore

that at their mowthes will not bee answerde at all: 1880  
 their busynes only vnto yow dothe fall.  
 Although ye your Cownseile yee thearof preevy make,  
 yeat at your mowthe they will their answeare take.

(270)

Att leaste wise suche maye in your realme arryue,  
 that vnto none they will their cawse relate, 1885  
 so yee doo not their arryuaile depryue,  
 but onlye vnto yowre noble estate,  
 bee it too yowe hyghe pleasure or hate;  
 theye beeing, yee knowe, but messengers sent,  
 the maisters malice may not the seruant shent. 1890

(271)

And woorthy hee is in suche beehaulfe too walke,  
 that shrynke will not his maisters mynde too saye,  
 so hee presume not passinge his bowndis too tawlke,  
 but in dwe wise as a messenger maye, 1895  
 consyderinge, if yee like charge on yours shoulde laye,  
 if they yowr pleasure wolde feare too set foorthe,  
 yee myght woorthelye accompte them small woorth.

(272)

[f. 42] For whiche cawse and consyderation,  
 A kynge it becommethe as I consydre,  
 too compase in his ymagination, 1900  
 when vnto hym suche men are sent thydre,  
 for peace or warre, their cawse shewing whydre,  
 too arme hym-selfe for the purpose meete,  
 them to entretayne in weyes moste discreete.

(273)

If they bee freendis, whiche yee soone maye trye 1905  
 by the some of their ambassadise,  
 as freendis vse them moste amyablye,  
 in all woorthye weyes that yee can deuise.  
 Poynte for them pastymes of pleasaunte practise,  
 meete vntoo men of suche authoritye, 1910  
 the more their cheare, the more your lawde too bee.

(274)

**Haue** somewhile withe them communycation  
 vppon graue cawses of woondrefull weyte,  
 beaten before in yowre estimation,  
 wherin yee maye attempte their conceyte, 1915  
 leyde beefore them in maner as a beyte,  
 too prooue their wisdoms and sage iudgement,  
 for lightlye no babes in suche cawses are sent.

(275)

**In** wittie wise yee framynge the same,  
 no les solutyng if stickinge bee made, 1920  
 it shall mucche highelye furdre your fame  
 a kynge in suche wise so wiselye too wade,  
 evyn as too freendis this doothe yow perswade,  
 too shewe pryncelye lyberalytee,  
 like so make of foes, thoughe no suche cawse bee. 1925

(276)

[f. 42<sup>v</sup>] **They** muste neadis leane as their maisters mynde liethe,  
 thearfore no blame vnto them maye bee layde.  
 After her husbands eache goode wifes harte wriethe,  
 and so eache true subiecte on his kinges cawse is stayde.  
 For their lordis sake they owght not bee abbrayde, 1930  
 so they behaue them in sorte as theye shoulde,  
 too shewe them gentlenes noble bloode woulde.

(277)

**Sayinge** as thus, 'Freendis, welcome are yee,  
 howe eauer the mattier dothe in his case stande  
 bytwene the Prynce your maister and mee. 1935  
 Wee twoe shall recon by proces at hande;  
 bothe hee and I the tittle of owre lande  
 bee sworne too defende by fyre, swoorde and myght,  
 as I mynde no les in that is my ryght.

1920 no les] noles

1939 no les] noles

(278)

**But** as for yowe, whiche but messengers are, 1940  
 I maye not chalenge for your princis cawse.  
 Hym I diffie, let hym mee not spare.  
 As I mynde hym, witheowte takinge longe pawse,  
 sithe hee by yowe so hawtelye dothe mee hawse,  
 his answeare shalbee, "Whoo dothe the oother wronge 1945  
 muste make thamendis." This is the shorte and longe.'

(279)

**By** this shalbee knowne a cowragiowse harte,  
 by this shall they gather yee feeade withoute feare,  
 by this shall they feele yee passe for your parte,  
 by this too bee dreade of your foes eauerywhere, 1950  
 by this they maye lerne too tell heere and theare  
 the nobleste of princis, too name and not feyne,  
 dothe at this season in suche a realme reigne.

(280)

[f. 43] **After**, when hense frome yow they shall departe,  
 withe placable cheare, bothe too frende and fo, 1955  
 that they maye bragge of your golden marte,  
 dispose youre rewardes largelie ere they go.  
 Too eache noble prince it appertaynethe so:  
 thoughe not too bothe like reason will so bynde,  
 yeat so may yee make of your foe your frynde. 1960

(281)

**Withe** merchauntis, too tell what too yow dothe belonge,  
 straungers, or oother of your owne cowntreie,  
 shewe them ofte fauour and thankes emonge,  
 for that they doo for yow and yours purueye.  
 Your woorthie workinge by them far dothe streye, 1965  
 vntoe the earys of manye a straunge kynge:  
 too make then of suche it is muche sittynge,

(282)

Let not your officers too sore them extorte  
 for custome, cartage, portage or suche like.  
 So maye yee dreeue them too some oother porte, 1970  
 and yow too flee froe, as frome pyrate or crike.  
 Greeuous exactours are woorse then a mastike  
 whiche them behalethe that commethe within his taye.  
 As yee doo vse them, so will they by yow saye.

(283)

Itt is thearfore for a kynge too auoyde 1975  
 all maner iniuries, offenses also,  
 whearbye anye suche myght bee annoyde,  
 of right occasion your realme too parte fro.  
 For theye, as is sayde, a-broade as theye go,  
 of youre princelye prayse the portatours are: 1980  
 too suffre them wronged, I cownseile yow beware.

(284)

[f. 43<sup>v</sup>] By suche your iestis are thorowe the worlde borne,  
 by suche your cities hathe fortification,  
 by suche are renued olde ornamentis owte-worne,  
 and too your reuenues greate augmentation. 1985  
 So of youre fame is made locupletation,  
 so shall youre enemyes of yow stonde in awe,  
 so as yourselfe liste yee shall althinges too yow drawe.

(285)

Whoo of your subiectis, other hye or meane,  
 hauynge too your Grace some singulare sute, 1990  
 your earis beningelye doo thearuntoo leane,  
 if they so requyre doo make no depute:  
 of suche beningnitee rise shall a brute,  
 howe noblelye yee your subiectis dothe tendre, 1994  
 whiche shall them muche mooue true seruice too rendre.

1993 a brute] abrute

(286)

Itt is not heere ment eauerye suetour so  
 too troble a kynge in hearinge his cawse,  
 no sicke or vncleane owght neare hym too go,  
 but nowe and then, at conuenyent pawse,  
 wheare stickinge is in a difficulte clawse, 2000  
 thearbye too geeue knowledge in princelie wise  
 how hee tendrethe the furtheraunce of justice.

(287)

For trulie what thinge a kinge takethe payne yn  
 too quyet his commons in case perticulere  
 or vnyuersall, it shall bee spokyn 2005  
 of manye wone too his prayse singulere,  
 howe muche their wealthe hee duelie dothe pondere,  
 by whiche suche meanys their hartis are too hym knyt,  
 that what so they hathe hee maye commaunde it.

(288)

[f. 44] What is a royalme wheare diuision is, 2010  
 wheare headde and commons greeithe not in wone?  
 Goethe not theare manye thingis a-mys  
 attingent vntoo their owne destruction?  
 Hee hawte, they stooburne, this is induction  
 of vttere decaye bye warre intestyne, 2015  
 whiche chauncethe not wheare bothe drawethe by wone lyne.

(289)

Hee muste commawnde, they owght too obeye.  
 Hee muste foresee in studyowse wise  
 howe in goode ordre hee shall them conueye  
 in thobseruyng of legale justice, 2020  
 not burthenyng them no more then shall suffice,  
 in whiche consyderyd a temperature,  
 hee maye their looues assuredlye allure.

2016 chauncethe] *between h and c, u and n written in clearly differentiated manner; above the u the usual abbreviation sign for au, apparently intended for a alone: Cf. l. 455*      2021 no more] *nomore*

(290)

A kynge cheeiflye and aboue althinge  
 a commone-wealthe owght too respecte, 2025  
 and they towardis hym their duties ministringe,  
 withe all their powres his persone too protecte.  
 Thus headde and membres setteled in wone secte,  
 what forayne potentate withe batt, byll, or clubbe,  
 dare theare entreprise the peace too disturbbe? 2030

(291)

When so it shall happe, suche headde potentate  
 too passe his progresse his commons emonge,  
 whoe, preasinge too see his pryncelye estate,  
 or stondinge styll in companyes alonge, 2035  
 it shall beecome hym, els dooinge them wronge,  
 his pryncelye face, withe moste cheerfull harte,  
 towardes them all lowlye too conuerte.

(292)

[f. 44<sup>v</sup>] Signifinge, 'Your prince I am and headde,  
 and yee my subiectis, moste faithefull on too truste;  
 yee, too see mee thynke youre selfe well speadde, 2040  
 as mee heere seeamythe by forecinge as yee thruste,  
 whiche hartie greetynge I thanke and thanke muste,  
 for yow my treasure abooue oother all  
 I accompte alweyes, and eauer compte shall.

(293)

Yee gladde too see mee, youre naturall lorde, 2045  
 right so muste I yow, if I naturall bee.  
 If at your dooinge I shoulde oughtis remorde,  
 then of ingratitude yee myght chalenge mee.  
 I wische your wealthe withe all prosperitee,  
 as yee doo myne witheoute dissemblaunce.' 2050  
 Whiche thinge shall muche mooue in their remembraunce.

(294)

**Althoughe** they bee but symple plowe-draggis,  
 yeat muste eache governour neadis make of suche.  
 If byckeringe bee and rappinge on the raggis,  
 they sure bee theye then that susteynethe muche. 2055  
 Heere withe the stone wee haue geeuyn a sure tuche  
 of right behaouere sittyngē too a prynce:  
 grose thoughte it bee, I can it no better mynce.

**Howe a kynge hauynge ysswe ought by all diligent meanys  
 tendeuē their woorthye education, moste accordinge vnto  
 their noble byrthe, bee they manye or fewe, as Godde shall  
 please too sende.**

## Caput 15

(295)

[f. 45] **Emonge** all mattiers oure mattier too supplye,  
 whiche heere in hande wee haue too exercise, 2060  
 for so muche as it is necessarye,  
 wee owght and muste too the purpose deuise,  
 if vnto a kinge ysswe shoulde arise,  
 too shewe heere in dylygent fashion  
 what doth serue too suche education. 2065

(296)

**A kinge** too bee barayne greate pitie it weare,  
 so Godde dothe not the same so decree:  
 throughe malice of men that myght hym so steare,  
 for that theye will not his adherentis bee.  
 Hee, we knowe, cawsethe ofte sterilitē, 2070  
 and also fertilenes, in all kynde of thyngis,  
 in Whois hande restethe the hartis of all kyngis.

(297)

**Lett** man deuise all the meanys hee maye  
 for procreation too sprede or springe,  
 by herbys, potions in portion too weye, 2075  
 or meatis too the purpose moste furtheringe,

with the dyett, complection in aptitude too bringe,  
 or what meanys els by witt maye bee sought,  
 but God saye 'Yee', it cannot too pas bee brought.

(298)

**The** seadman sowethe, the dewe geeueth the moysture, 2080  
 thearthe in her matrice enuolueth the seade,  
 Apollo geaueth heate too nurische nature,  
 and dryeth awaye that buddinge dothe forbeade,  
 yeat fruyte for all this maye nowheare spreade,  
 tyll Nature naturaunce her helpe sendithe, 2085  
 then too perfection of fruyte it kendlithe.

(299)

[f. 45<sup>v</sup>] **In-too** this lief brought after humayne cowrse,  
 what kynge hath the ysswe, male or woomankynde,  
 too fostre the same hee bownde is no wourse  
 then all kynde of lawes as howe hath diffynde. 2090  
 As in kyngis offspringis hangethe in the wynde  
 of no small fewe the disquyet or reste,  
 so owght their breakynge too bee of the beste.

(300)

**As** fruyte geeueth taiste accordinge too the tree,  
 and tree too burgien by powre of the roote, 2095  
 if eyther corrupte or rotten bee,  
 the fruyte will shryuyll and fall vndre foote.  
 Graffe, proouynge a wyldinge, geeueth sent vnsoote,  
 not too bee eate off or hadde in regarde,  
 too serue honestlye nother goode roiste or parde. 2100

(301)

**The** roote is the perfection of nature,  
 grownded as longethe too male and femynyne,  
 whiche beeing sowne defected or vnpure,  
 in feelde forayne or menstruatyne,  
 by roote and treeis suche fruyte adulteryne 2105  
 must neadys aryse, for roote and tree nowght  
 neuer naturallie goode fruyte foorthe browght.

## (302)

**More** playnlye this case too elucydate,  
 what father by feedyng or frankyng vnclenlye  
 on meatys manye that crudenes dothe mynystrate, 2110  
 by surfeites sundrye that woorkethe semblablye,  
 or vppon drunkennes sowethe too multiplye,  
 trulye, I saye, note well this my sentence,  
 it muste neadys breede some inconuenyence.

## (303)

[f. 46] **Or** bee the woman vnclene or vnchaiste, 2115  
 other of sorte as is 'of the man' sayde,  
 the childe of the moother shall muche parte taiste;  
 practice will shewe prooife, it shall not bee denayde.  
 Thearfore wiselye bee this mattier wayde  
 of eache potentate that ysswe desyrethe, 2120  
 for their framynge their childis affectes fierethe.

## (304)

**Thoughe** wisdom, Grace and prudent demeanynge  
 maye natures motions mynysche or moderate,  
 I speake howe disposition is leanyng,  
 too the parentis properties appropryate, 2125  
 too whiche fra[il]tie will man muche excitare,  
 that natures cowerse, in some, dothe oftener take place  
 then wisdom, reason or Goddis speciall Grace.

## (305)

**Too** haue althinge well, so muche as man maye,  
 the beste weyes eauer is beste too bee taken; 2130  
 knowinge the beste and will trye another waye,  
 I saye it owght too bee rather forsaken.  
 Ferdre in this owre sense too bee waken,  
 for chylidren borne we shall forthwithe devise  
 too their education, as beste maye suffice. 2135

(306)

**Bycause** greate ladies for cawses immynt  
 listethe not their ysswe too nurische at their breste  
 (althoughe Nature weare muche thearwithe content  
 yeat I conceaue it weare not for the beste:  
 the cawse too all men is ynowghe manyfeste), 2140  
 thearfore by all circumspection at onys  
 bee there forthesowght a nurice for the nonys.

(307)

[f. 46<sup>v</sup>] **In** choyce of whome this muste bee pondered well:  
 that shee bee woman of complexion pure,  
 of honeste trade, not drownken, hawte, or cruell, 2145  
 or geeven withe sundrye too haue commyxture.  
 Too fyne can shee not bee, I am well sure,  
 that shoulde vppon her suchewise take in hande  
 too haue in cure the treasure of a lande.

(308)

**Thoughe** suche wone be hadde meete for the purpose, 2150  
 yeat owght shee to haue wone her touer-see,  
 some duches or cowntes of maners not grose,  
 that as it owght eauerye thinge maye bee.  
 What longethe too the nurcerye-women passethe mee;  
 it is their office, and to them moste fytt, 2155  
 whearefore the resydue too them I commytt.

(309)

**But** after the tyme of ablactation,  
 and can commone in the vulgare speache,  
 knowledge tenduce, make preparation  
 for suche as shall hym his elementis teache, 2160  
 and as hee too more maturytee dothe reache  
 of age and witt, too mynystre hym more,  
 as his capacitee shall serue thearfore.

## (310)

**For** easye weyes and quycke expedition,  
 hym too accompenye, matche twoe or three, 2165  
 with the whois tawlke and ofte inquisition  
 hee maye the soaner instructed bee.  
 Eauen nowe at the firste it shall well agree  
 too haue abowte hym, doo hee lerne or playe,  
 that can too hym tawlke in sundrye tungis alwaye. 2170

## (311)

[f. 47] **Yeate** in this place we ought too admonysche  
 that honeste instructours bee ouer suche sett,  
 with the languagis moste pure his tunge too polische,  
 as daye bye daye somewhat thearin too gett.  
 When knowledge, wisdome, and judgement are mett 2175  
 in any prince with the dwe discretion,  
 theare althingis muste come to right perfection.

## (312)

**All** whiche instructours ought too bee adorne  
 as well with the vertue as soueraigne doctryne.  
 If they thearwithe bee not sauerlye cornde, 2180  
 their dooingis myght seeme entrickeled with the vermyne,  
 of lustis lewde that too lightnes dothe enclyne,  
 for trulye whoe merkethe shall fynde this ofte true:  
 the scolar his teacher in sundrye poyntis tensue.

## (313)

**Suche** sobre demeanour sought, as is meete, 2185  
 in breakynge too vertue and pluckyng from vice,  
 maye cawse hym florische too furnysche the fleete  
 of noble champatours, too wyne hym the price,  
 when yearis, as too reigne, shall fullye suffice  
 too trayne them in trace of trade tryumphaunte, 2190  
 in highe honowre his estate too warraunte.

## (314)

**For** onys a prince woorthelye brought vpp  
 in kyndis of learnynge and vertue also,  
 and is of wisdome made sauerlye too supp  
 by men prudent whiche hathe withe hym too do, 2195  
 his gouernynge neadys muste cleaue the tuche vnto,  
 as thus too meane: what sittethe a noble kynge,  
 hee knowethe in full some the perfecte orderinge.

## (315)

[f. 47<sup>v</sup>] **As** learnynge furderithe in forme aforesaide  
 thearbye too gouerne by witt and science, 2200  
 so muste a prince, at some conuenient brayde,  
 in featis of maistries bestowe some diligence.  
 Too ryde, runne, leape, or caste by violence  
 stone, barre, plummett, or suche oother thinge,  
 it not refusethe anye prynce or kynge. 2205

## (316)

**In** the longe bowe hymselfe too exercise,  
 by cleane handelynge in furtheringe his shote,  
 the iye on his marke, howe hee shall deuise,  
 and also orderinge bothe bodye and foote,  
 too sent the right weies it shall doo hym boote, 2210  
 by princelye cowrage his harte too attende,  
 oother nobles too chalenge or defende.

## (317)

**And**, breeuelye too saye the some of my mynde,  
 I wolde no prynce too bee ignoraunte  
 of anye feate that is of honeste kynde. 2215  
 It shall hym rendre muche prompte and pleasaunte.  
 Movinge exercises are for a prince too haunte,  
 and not too muche on literate cure too care:  
 ynowghe is ynowghe, the reste hee maye spare.

(318)

**Though**e heere wee haue, as oure fancye dothe leade, 2220  
 saide too the purpose wee traueyle vppon,  
 yeat meane wee not but whoe so hathe in steade  
 a prince tenstructe, shoulde geeue hym in lesson  
 too honowre God for anye condition,  
 his noble parentis too reuerence and obeye: 2225  
 too prospere and reigne this is the redieste weye.

(319)

[f. 48] **For** thus I saye: yowthe vertuouslye vpp brought  
 shall eauer lightlye vertuose trade ensue,  
 and contrarye, yowthe bredde vpp in weyes nought  
 seelde hathe beene seene too embrace vertue. 2230  
 And this I woulde men shoulde note too bee true:  
 whiche weyes of bothe a prynce dothe invre,  
 the more parte of his will vse the same sure.

(320)

**More** too entreat of this shall not heere neede,  
 for eache princelye parent withe this is enurde, 2235  
 that is descendyd of suche noble breede,  
 for lyneallye they are thearwithe assurde.  
 Owre processe ferdre may bee thearfore up-murde,  
 for Nature will of all maner kynde prouyde,  
 their little youngelingis too foster by their syde. 2240

(321)

**And** what shoulde mooue too worke their hynderaunce,  
 they will endeauer maynlye too withestande.  
 The sealye byrdis shewithe suche resemblaunce;  
 muche more Man then is clampete in that bande,  
 too shifte and caste for the heyre of his lande, 2245  
 bee it hee or shee, all lawes dothe so dyffyne,  
 their education too sett in right lyne.

Howe a kynge his judgis and chief offycers vndre hym, as well spirituall as temporall, ought to admonysche and entretayne, layinge to them the due administration of their officies. And that for like fawte like punyshment tassigne, withoute respecte of anye personne, except in some cases in this chapter followinge mentioned.

## Caput 16

(322)

[f. 48<sup>v</sup>] [A] lesson at lengthe heere mynde wee to write,  
 howe yee, my lorde and chief souerayne,  
 owght in due sorte and withe all delyte, 2250  
 your **judges** and **sage men** that takethe payne  
 right religion in your realmes too mayntayne,  
 too chearische and fauour in all freendelye sorte:  
 they are youre treasure and speciall comforte.

(323)

**For**, doo yee sleepe, wake, walke, woorke or pleye, 2255  
 if they bee suche as indeade theye ought,  
 theye caste althinges too keepe in goode steye,  
 or in right ordre deuise too bee brought,  
 disburdenynge yow of mucche carefull thought,  
 for whiche yee ought, they so endeueringe, 2260  
 too shewe them fauoure and grace benynge.

(324)

**Withe** them too confer, debate, and consulte,  
 your welthe too furdre, too steye and too guyde,  
 all daungres tauoyde of the commone tumulte,  
 too reigne in honour and not in vayne pryde, 2265  
 withe their sage supportes upsteide on each syde,  
 fall can yee not in the diche of displeasure,  
 so longe as men suche your cawse takethe in cure.

*Heading to Caput 16: as well] aswell 2248 A] From here to end illuminated initial at head of each chapter missing, a blank space being left in every case*

(325)

**The** nobler they bee in wisdom and science,  
 semblablye seene sorted withe vertue, 2270  
 the higher withe yow take them in credence;  
 they shall yowre honour in althinges pursue.  
 Chaunge not the true triede for the vnknowne nwe,  
 for what kynge too hym hathe suche assistaunte  
 too sleepe the quyeter I dare hym waraunte. 2275

(326)

[f. 49] **Suche** too your purpose conuented and hadde,  
 them tadmonysche your duetie sittithe noles,  
 the goode too chearische, and chaisten the badde,  
 after the rule rated of rightyousnes,  
 their lyfes depured from vitious exces. 2280  
 So shall they oother from all enormytee  
 reduce vntoo a dwe conformytee.

(327)

**A** rightfull **judge** by this yee shall well knowe:  
 that whoelye endeuerthe vyce too suppres,  
 and too geeue justice fearithe highe nother lowe, 2285  
 althoughe the case partely toochethe your highnes.  
 If yee make lawes yee muste them fortres,  
 too suffre wronges reigne your lawes dothe forbydde:  
 then ought not in yow suche thinge too bee spydde.

(328)

**Tenacte** or make **statute** after this sorte, 2290  
 no-man to commense suche kynde of abuse,  
 the same too take force by generall reporte,  
 so that none of all hym-selfe shall excuse,  
 if yee shoulde offende, wolde not men then muse,  
 oother too bynde, and yee the same too breake? 2295  
 Yeas, bee yee certayne, they wolde therof speake.

(329)

All if a kynge bee ruler of his lawes,  
 and maye with the same sundrye weies dispense,  
 yeat, **Alexandre**, respecte well this clawes:  
 punysche not the poore for dooyng offense, 2300  
 and too the greate too graunt your indulgence,  
 whois fawte is equall or dothe rather surmownte.  
 No justicer men will yow then accownte.

(330)

[f. 49<sup>v</sup>] **The** poore for an oxe, a sheepe, or a cowe,  
 a hors, or suche like too bee caste awaye, 2305  
 whoe dyd so for neade, as hathe beene ere nowe,  
 lackinge for howse roomethe, meate and drinke, too paye,  
 and a ruffeler, ryotous in araye,  
 robbinge and sleyng, whoe had goode and landys,  
 too let goe at large: this passethe lawes bandys. 2310

(331)

**Thearfore** I saye, sithe lawe is generall,  
 not made for wone pertycular person,  
 let justice serue the great as the small  
 if their offense in quantytee bee wone.  
 If meanys bee made too purches your perdone, 2315  
 consydre the likelyhoode after too come,  
 whiche is a poynte of syngular wisdom.

(332)

**If** thoffendre shewe sorowefulnes greate,  
 beweylinge his fawte, detestyng the same,  
 by signes so-muche as man maye knowledge gete, 2320  
 as in dyuerse maye bee had a great ame,  
 the meanys consyderyd of his feare and shame,  
 whiche wiselye weyed, maye [ye] soone gesse by lot  
 whither theare owght too bee perdon or not.

## (333)

A deade deadlye, doone casuallye by chaunce, 2325  
 vnpropensed for anye greeif or grudge,  
 theare ought not bee shewed the lawes iuste peanaunce,  
 but hym for too feare, too geeue hym a pudge,  
 of some satisfaction weyed by his iudge.  
 God forbeade, in eache offended case, 2330  
 the lawes rigour shoulde euermore take place.

## (334)

[f. 50] A publyke persone that yll maye bee spared  
 somewhile maye incurre the daungre of the lawe.  
 Of some suche the peanaunce maye bee pared,  
 excepte it too far in daungre dothe drawe, 2335  
 and that in no-wise without feare and awe,  
 and speciall signe of emendation:  
 of suche maye bee borne thaccumulation.

## (335)

**Thoughe** lawe is leadde by **justice** and **right**,  
 yeat lawe muste sometymes **mercy**e respecte, 2340  
 els weare lawe vengeaunce and horror quyght,  
 able all men withe dispeyre tenfecte.  
 I beeinge fawtie and therof defecte,  
 maye not my **judge** in his conscience feele  
 hym-selfe infecte withe lyke absurded zeele? 2345

## (336)

**Howe** can hee then well his doome on mee caste,  
 beeinge in fawte as culpable as I?  
 but that Synderisis shall saye at the laste,  
 'Alas, on this wretche yeat shew some mercye!  
 Heere stonde the hee tremblinge in shame openlye, 2350  
 and thow sittynge, vnknowne, far woorse then hee.'  
 Sholde not this mooue a iudgis harte too pytee?

(337)

**Althoughe** hee neadys muste execute judgement,  
 yeat maye hee use some tolleration,  
 the playntief thearwithe-all too bee content, 2355  
 vpon full truste of his emendation,  
 so too let cease his accusation.  
 This is not in all cases too bee take,  
 but wheare the partie maye honeste mendys make.

(338)

[f. 50<sup>v</sup>] **Heere** is a note too bee looked vpon, 2360  
 of what syncere lief a judge ought to bee.  
 Hee maye not bee the Dyuyllis dungeon,  
 a vessell implete withe iniquytee,  
 prowde, covetous, deuoyde of pytee,  
 affectionat too wone or oother, 2365  
 but too doo justice too his owne broother,

(339)

**except**, præexcept, for Mercies only sake,  
 for a **judge** mercyles ought not too reigne,  
 althings at the woorste euermore too take:  
 suche seueritee is cruelnes pleyne. 2370  
**Mercye** and **Justice**: let theis ladies tweyne  
 sit on eache syde of the trybunall seate,  
 vpon the gyltye his judgement too pleate.

(340)

**As** of highe judgis ouer the laye fee  
 wee haue heere treated the beste wise wee can, 2375  
 withe more streyte chardge, if possible maye bee,  
 is too bee saide too the spirituall man,  
 whoe in his office must bee as a phan,  
 the peoples lyuyngge too purge from all ruste,  
 as corne is clenسد from darnell and duste. 2380

(341)

Not by his woorde or highe authorytee,  
 correction or so, their lyfes too euerse,  
 but chief of all, by dwe conformytee  
 of holy exemple thearbye too coerce  
 their hardenyd hartis from synne too reuerce, 2385  
 vndre suche forme by wisdome owte sought  
 that they maye vntoo goode ordre bee brought,

(342)

[f. 51] **sometyme** offendours reprouynge streytelye,  
 sometyme blamyng their wylfull wyckednes,  
 sometyme perswadyng, withe woordis moste gentelye, 2390  
 too emendation their weyes too addres.  
 Wheare nought apparithe but stoborne sturdynes,  
 and no maner signe of turnynge too grace,  
 theare ought correction of dwe too take place.

(343)

**In** this sufficient wee thinke too bee sayde. 2395  
 That more dothe wante youre maiestie may adde.  
 What kynge hathe suche faithfull men too ayde  
 hee hathe in his harte highe cawse too bee gladde.  
 Honour the woorthie, abolische the badde.  
 False dyssemblers, payntyng holynes, 2400  
 as dyvillis deceytfull detest them no les.

**Howe** prudentlye a kynge ought to searche the miseries  
 moste accustomed emonge his people, and for thextirpation  
 therof, and other vitious enormyteis, tenacte statutes and  
 ordynauncis, not too austere or streyte, but as hee maye  
 fynde in his harte partely to beare therwithe-all hymself.

[Caput 17]

(344)

[C]**Onsyderinge** and weyinge al-thinges well,  
 of all estatis in this waueringe lief,  
 howe muche doth they stande, obiurge and rebell  
 againste the quyet myndys prerogatief, 2405

too thinke thearuppon it makethe mee pensief:  
for the whole discommodyties too wryte,  
truly I am not able too recyte.

## (345)

[f. 51<sup>v</sup>] **None** that in this worlde hathe habitation,  
bee hee **kynge, duke, baron** or **capitayne,** 2410  
**knyght, squyre** or **man** of domynation,  
that hathe too conducte anye maner trayne,  
yae, the poore **ploweman,** is not free from payne,  
but eache, for his parte, muste caste for that and this,  
accordynge as his vocation ys. 2415

## (346)

**Whoe** moste hathe too wylde, the more is his care,  
for muche harueste manye handes requyrethe.  
The gallye that is fretted withe muche riche ware,  
of wittye rectours of neade desyrethe.  
Recheles folke moste soneste their howse fyrethe. 2420  
In all estatis, their charges well too frame,  
let wise circumspection fore-see the same.

## (347)

**If** all degreeis ought heereunto too harke,  
howe muche chiefflye too kynges it dothe pertayne.  
For if they by ignoraunce bee made darke, 2425  
as not too knowe for theirs howe too ordayne,  
goode ordre muste neadys thearevppon complayne.  
Therefore, o kynge of hyghe generation,  
your iye conuerte to this exhortation.

## (348)

**Emonge** althinges that in your mynde dothe mooue, 2430  
caste and conueye your realme too keepe in awe,  
in whiche appearethe a perfecte pryncely looue,  
so it bee doone by due ordre of lawe.  
Let not wone anothers throte owte gnawe,  
for lacke of rules too rule them in rule right. 2435  
Wheare ordre is none, all is in errorr quyght.

## (349)

[f. 52] **Of** decreis and ordynauncis cyuyle  
 somewhat too saye for due obseruation  
 as mee semythe sittinge heere will I compyle,  
 for your peoples exercitation, 2440  
 the same too bee had in veneration.  
 What els helpethe too institute a lawe,  
 but it bee had in due reuerence and awe?

## (350)

**Where** is no disordre, offense or trespace,  
 theare neadethe no lawe: all is in saufegarde. 2445  
 But sithe offendres regnethe in euerye place,  
 lawes must be made, their merytes tawarde.  
 Lawe in-no-wise ought too bee disabarde;  
 for thoutragiouſ it is ordayned so,  
 els wolde the euyl the goode ouergo. 2450

## (351)

**Firste**, tuchinge lawes of right religion,  
 due vnto God of man heere too bee kepte,  
 see them vpsteyde for any condition:  
 they bee of force without anye excepte.  
 If hynderaunce theretoo bee anywhere crepte, 2455  
 dyrecte theare-againste otherwise then well,  
 see meanys deuysed the same too expell.

## (352)

**As** God is **Justice** and **Verité** endeles,  
 permanent in His promyses all,  
 so are His lawes of moste highe worthynes, 2460  
 too bee obserued tyme perpetuall.  
 The meryte great, the daungre not small  
 that shall ensue wheare breache shal-bee founde:  
 the more vsed, the greuouser the wounde.

## (353)

[f. 52<sup>v</sup>] **Too** cawse all florische too Goddis complacence, 2465  
 and Hym too o[bb]e[i]e, oother too feare,  
 His lawes tobserue, applie your dyligence,  
 throughe whiche, no doubtte, muche quietnes shall appeare.  
 If yee doo make lyght, and sett them areare,  
 the more parte your exemple will cleaue too. 2470  
 So maye yee profit: so maye yee harme doo.

## (354)

**For** suyngelye suche as gouernethe the cytee,  
 bee they goode or bee they vitious,  
 suche comunlye the inhabytauntes bee.  
 So farethe bye maister and seruauentes of his howse. 2475  
 Thus wicked headys are repudyous.  
 A hearde that wise is and circumspecte,  
 auoydethe that whiche myght his grege infecte.

## (355)

**Toochinge** as nowe of ordynauncies tentreat,  
 for the mayntenaunce of a publike weale, 2480  
 in whiche consistethe a wondrefull feate:  
 howe too eache sorte yee muste their due partes deale  
 so that no cawse maye bee had too appeale,  
 as, this too bee kepte, this too bee forborne,  
 vnto the same eache subiecte too bee sworne 2485

## (356)

**their** soueraigne heade, as yee for the tyme,  
 too honour, reuerence, and lowlye tobeye,  
 and yee, by mayne powre, them not to oppryme,  
 but by true lawe too holde in a right weye,  
 robbers and reauers too chaisten deye by deye, 2490  
 by suche due ordynaunce as yee shall sett,  
 that oother toffende maye bee a maner lett.

(357)

[f. 53] **By** meanys as physike too the bodye sore  
 woorketh endeauer by maisters of that arte, 2495  
 the patient syke too health too restore,  
 that after, agayne, hee maye bee in goode quarte,  
 semblablye the lawe mynistreth her parte,  
 too the enormous in rule too reuoke,  
 or-els withe lawes rewarde their lyues tupchoke.

(358)

**For** whiche goode ordre eacheweare too bee kepte, 2500  
 offycers honeste, dyscreeite and trustie,  
 vyces that are emonge the people crepte  
 too see reformed dylygentlye,  
 muste bee owte sought withe circumspecte iye.  
**Schryues, baylifes, cunstables** and suche, 2505  
 vyce too auoyde, their helpe shall doo muche,

(359)

**whoe**, in their walkes yowre powre muste present,  
 too punysche and pryson, none them too wistonde.  
 To ayde them, too haue at their commaundement  
 suche as they liste too requyre at honde, 2510  
 if anye contende, obiurginge lawes bonde,  
 your saide officers too streeke or too threate,  
 as too your persone let lawe hym entreate.

(360)

**If** vndre saufegarde, vnchekte or vnharnde,  
 your officers maye not passe peacyblye, 2515  
 thorowe malefactours togethers swarmde,  
 but too bee streeaken or fared withe fowlye,  
 they will geeue backe texecute their duetye.  
 So shall eache peasaunte rage at lybertee,  
 and honeste ordre dryuen textremytee. 2520

(361)

[f. 53<sup>v</sup>] **For** true it is, bothe in citye and towne,  
 if your officers bee not had in feare,  
 the quyete ordre fadethe and goithe downe.  
 Myschiefe and mysrule muste neadis reigne theare,  
 the rumour therof too roare at youre eare: 2525  
 as thus too meane, it shall youre earys glowe,  
 that men will not too goode ordre bowe.

(362)

**The** chief adoo is, and shalbee alweyes,  
 emonge slaues, vagabundes and suche lyke,  
 whoo are the moouers of myscheif and frayes, 2530  
 wheare the honeste too goode ordre dothe sticke.  
 Therefore lawe muste suche noughtypackes pricke.  
 If lawe bee weake, not able them too tame,  
 let ordayne streighter, too bringe them in frame.

(363)

**Oother** errors emonge the riche dothe rise, 2535  
 when of that sorte some wolde the poore oppres,  
 for too satisfie his fowle couetise,  
 by wronge the poore-mannys lyuyng too posses.  
 In suche case, use this kynde of righteousnes:  
 hee that hathe too muche and dothe the poore greue, 2540  
 let hym paye dooble that hee dothe bereue.

(364)

**Dyscretion, Justice, Wysedome and Truthe,**  
 theis muste bee autours and factours of lawe,  
 for too reclayme the vnbrydeled yuthe  
 and oother bye-walkers in right rule too drawe. 2545  
 Sharp, eagre bryne suckethe furthe the bloode rawe:  
 so lawes ordynaunce reformythe eache wronge,  
 when they bee dysperste the people emonge.

(365)

[f. 54] **As** to this disease, this medycyne dothe serue,  
 so too this trespace, this peanaunce assigne. 2550  
 Let lawe to transgressours digne punyschment kerue,  
 so shall goode ordre euerywheare shyne,  
 at whiche so dooinge no goode will repyne,  
 for wheare lawe lackethe not greinge too this,  
 theare goithe too ruyne all that euer ys. 2555

(366)

**Whoe** lawes shall deuysse, institute or make,  
 the natures of men hee muche muste respecte,  
 wheare-as hee the jurisdiction hathe take,  
 too what disposition inclynethe their secte,  
 thearto accordinge his lawes too dyrecte, 2560  
 this too bee doone withe counseile of the wise:  
 vppon this I can no bettre deuise

(367)

**but** that no man of autorité sholde  
 withe burthens too sore his people ouerlaye.  
 Vngodlye it weare, sure, if hee so wolde. 2565  
 Wisedome in that muste for the poore saye,  
 too whiche Discretion will not saye naye.  
 Though Fortune the greate too gouerne hathe brought,  
 yeat oother touerpres their office streachethe nought.

**Howe** a kyng speciallye ought tattende and prouyde for  
 a commone wealthe, and, too his powre, too abolische  
 vtterlye all kynde of meanys that workethe anye annoy-  
 aunce or hynderaunce vnto the same.

**Caput decimum octauum.**

(368)

[f. 54<sup>v</sup>] **[I]f** men shoulde gather and perpende in mynde, 2570  
 why kinges and rulers firste ordeyned weare,  
 sithe wee are all come of wone stirpe or kynde,  
 this hathe heeretofore bene scanned manywheare.

2569 streachethe] *r ins. above*

As scarcitee of thinges causethe dearthe tappeare,  
 so, in fewe, at this worldis erection 2575  
 thinges weare not brought too their due perfection.

(369)

By proces as the same can springe and growe,  
 and men of experience gathered the fruyte,  
 wone then labored another touerthrowe,  
 thorowe highe preamynence too beare the bruyte. 2580  
 As suche prospered in their saide pursuyte  
 at laste it fell by wyse perswasyon  
 men too beare rule and haue domynation

(370)

whoe, by wisdomes and magnanymytee  
 ordered their weyes so wondrefull too tell, 2585  
 vndre the forme of highe noblytee,  
 vntoo the peoples contentation so well  
 that they them heelde as woorthieste of the bell,  
 in peace and warr afore them too take place,  
 and they tassiste them in all maner case. 2590

(371)

When thus too rule men had the state in hande,  
 and had woone people at their commaundement,  
 they caste all meanys in state suche still too stande,  
 as bettre too rule then bee obedyent,  
 aduoydinge althinges of daungres immynent, 2595  
 by suche behauour of highe woorthynes,  
 that more and more their fauour dyd encres.

(372)

[f. 55] In all their studye and wise compasynges,  
 their priuate wealthe they dyd postponerate,  
 the commune commoditie firste preferrynges, 2600  
 of thiose that they had too them made subiugate,  
 vndre higheste weies of looue affectionate,

as, if thynges stooode in indifferencye,  
their ayde inclyned too the more partye.

## (373)

**Of** wone that thus can fashion his affeires, 2605  
as fame the same in due kynde can dylate,  
another tooke light too bee of his heires,  
in suyng the steppes of suche men approbate,  
too whome then was geven the brute of estate,  
as woorshippe, honour and highe nobylitee: 2610  
thus woorthye woorkinge sett men firste in degree.

## (374)

**As** ferdre in reigne grue their contynuaunce,  
theye caste and purueyed for the weale publyke,  
by moste honeste meanys of lawes ordynaunce,  
sought owte wondreslye by witt polytike, 2615  
In Europe, Asya, and also Affryke.  
The barbarouse behauour beastelye and nought  
too cyuyle maners at the firste was thus brought,

## (375)

**sythen** contynuyng in wondrefull wise,  
withe mucche furtheraunce too many a region, 2620  
whaere noble princes moste excellent precise  
hathe on them weytinge many a legion,  
as yee, of the highest accompted for wone,  
whois wise endeuer attendethe no les  
in semblable sorte too doo your busynes, 2625

## (376)

[f. 55<sup>v</sup>] **not** as too saye of free liberalitee  
too chuse in the same whither yee will or not,  
but bownden by office of principalitee  
(Nothing should els more a princis honour blot)  
what knyttethe too the contrarye, too loose the knot, 2630  
and what goethe loose, in hynderinge the same  
too see a restreynte: els are yee too blame.

(377)

Of meanys too speake concernynge the saide case,  
 firste is too bee had in consyderation,  
 by streyte punyschinge vice in euerye place 2635  
 that vertue maye bee hadde in digne estymation,  
 when synne so is hadde in detestation;  
 that whiche seemed by custome afore light  
 shal-bee scene odyouse in euerye manns sight.

(378)

Vertue thus mayntenyd and vice depressed, 2640  
 then are the people like the gardeyne plot,  
 that is depured, leauelyd, and dressed,  
 too sowe or sett theare what thowner will allot,  
 as your wisdomes and counseile dothe well wote,  
 for the commune-wealthes beste preseruacion 2645  
 nowe maye yee put in exercitacion.

(379)

See, and well pondre in all your dooinges,  
 whiche thearunto dothe any meane conclude,  
 that wone pryuate persone in vse of thinges  
 dothe not annoyne or harme a multytude: 2650  
 wone, withe the lyuynge of fyue too bee endude,  
 of twentie or threscore, eache wise man maye saye,  
 the publike weale holdethe not theare the right waye.

(380)

[f. 56] Or if yee shall of affablytee  
 vnto some wone suche libertie graunte 2655  
 temparke or enclose for his commoditee  
 that the hynderaunce of moe myght waraunte,  
 or any suche weyes taccustome or haunte,  
 by bynge or sellynge too others hynderaunce,  
 no suche thinge suffrethe a cyuyle ordynaunce. 2660

(381)

In tyme of plentie the riche too vpp mucker  
 corne, grayne, or chafre, hopinge vppon dearthe,  
 for his pryuate wealthe so daylye too hucker,  
 this criethe for vengeaunce too heauyn from the earthe.  
 Leste it shoulde happen it manye wone fearthe. 2665  
 For suche solayne snydges caste reformation  
 by forfeiture too the poores sustentation.

(382)

The poore, for neade, is dreeuyn too make sale,  
 the riche reseruethe and muckerthe vpp more:  
 by whiche risethe this commune prouerbe tale, 2670  
 'Some muste bee sauers, store is no sore'.  
 So is it indeade if the riche therfore  
 wolde woorke after this neighbourlye deuyse,  
 too helpe the poore for a reasonable pryce.

(383)

A kyngis honour, disertlye too aduerte, 2675  
 is not vpsteyed, mayntened, and fortified  
 by wone, twoe, or thre, or the fewer parte,  
 but by the more some it hathe euer bene tried.  
 Then ought a kynge for his commons prouyed  
 that wone clubbed cobbe shoulde not so encroche 2680  
 an hundred mennys lyuynges: it weare greate reproche.

(384)

[f. 56<sup>v</sup>] **Your** realmys commodytee, in what it dothe consiste,  
 for twoe or thre too haue the specyall trade,  
 the publike weale is sore in that place myste,  
 and goethe too decaye, as flowres dothe fall and fade. 2685  
 In this eache potentate by witt muste wade,  
 bothe by hym selfe and his wise counseile,  
 that pryuate commoditee not so maye preueile.

(385)

If merchauntes that be too yow but straungers,  
 althoughe your custome by them bee copious, 2690  
 shoulde bee enriched and made great geyners,  
 your owne hynderyd, and made indigeouse:  
 this weare a mattier in maner litigiouse,  
 too make them murmure and their hartes withdrawe  
 from the due obseruation of the lawe. 2695

(386)

**Chieflie** your owne yee ought too respecte,  
 for yee of them in your neade may bee bolde,  
 wheare straungers passethe not your fauour to reiecte,  
 or in your right title will oughtes withe yow holde.  
 Custome vncumlye is too bee controlde, 2700  
 wheare priuate woorkinge shall shewe euydent,  
 too a commontie too doo detryment.

(387)

**Heere** too wryte all too this mattier meanyng  
 I cannot compase or caste thuttermuste,  
 but ferdre I shall yeat tuche this wone thinge, 2705  
 as shalbee pleasinge too your Grace, I truste.  
 Let not of yours wone another owte thruste  
 furthe of his lyuyng, his lease, or his holde:  
**Res publica** thearat her harte wexithe colde.

(388)

[f. 57] **A** pooreman whiche hathe bothe children and wief, 2710  
 whoe withe his parentes vpon a poore cotte  
 hathe theare manured manye a manns lief,  
 and trulye payed bothe rent, scotte, and lotte:  
 a couetous lorde whoe conscience hath notte,  
 by rent enhauncyng or for more large fyne, 2715  
 suche wone too caste owte, it goethe oute of lyne.

(389)

**This** too bee seene too, the publike weale criethe:  
of reformation it sittethe your office.  
Manye iniuries too the poore pliethe,  
done by the bygger without all justice. 2720  
As the great fowle the small dothe supprise,  
deuour and eate vpp all flesche too the bone:  
so farethe the riche if they bee let alone.

(390)

**That** kynge, bee sure, can neauer bee poore,  
wheare-as his commons lyuethe welthelye. 2725  
If they bee not able to keepe open doore,  
it muste withe hym then but small multyplye,  
for kynges of their commons sumtyme muste ayde trye.  
The more therfore the publike weale dothe afflowe,  
the more is their wealthe: this reason prouethe nowe. 2730

(391)

**And** true it is, the highe Opificer  
sendethe not His giftes too wone pertycularlye,  
but that a multytude, wone withe other,  
the same shoulde partycypate mutuallye.  
Sithe hee althinges heere dothe make too multyplye 2735  
too thende aforesaide, o kynge of God electe,  
see then the same stonde in her full effecte.

[f. 57<sup>v</sup>] **Howe** a kynge ought too deteste ydlenes, the moother of all  
myschief, and too ordayne meanys too haue his subiectis  
euermore occupied in honeste exercises, to the may-  
tenaunce of their own lyuynge, and furtheraunce of the  
common weale, that the ydle shall not deuour that which  
pe diligent doth truly get by the labour of their sweate.

## Caput 19

(392)

[L]este kinges and gouernoures that heere dothe rule  
myght this neglecte, whiche is expedyent,  
wee shall make remembraunce in this schedule 2740  
of **Ydlenes**, that hydeouse serpent,

whoe, loighteringe like a peasaunt pestilent,  
lurkethe in corners vnoccupied,  
too doo any goode lothe too bee espiede.

## (393)

**This** beastelye bodye, this mawltische matrone, 2745  
deuowres of the true laborers frute,  
of nature desirethe too bee let alone,  
as too contynue in her maners brute.  
Too sleepe, eate, and drinke, suche is her sute,  
and what els longeth too lustis dalyaunce, 2750  
she is readye too shewe herr furtheraunce.

## (394)

**The** daye in too the nyght shee can conuerte,  
the nyght in to daye, for dalyaunce sake.  
Too pleye is shee preste, woorke is a deserte,  
too hieere therof tawlke herr harte will not wake. 2755  
Whoe too herr compenye shee maye onys take,  
for seaun yearys after, I dare the truthe mooue,  
the woorser husbonde hee shall surelye prouue.

## (395)

[f. 58] **Or** bee it woman, in like maner wise,  
no profite risethe where shee dothe frequent, 2760  
but propagation of vice owte of vice:  
the prooif shall shewe practice moste euydent.  
Let loyterers lyue as they are content  
and they shall plucke too their societee  
feloshippe that neuer will after goode bee. 2765

## (396)

**Yowthe**, brought vpp ydlelye in games and pastyme,  
not taistinge the trade of honeste busynes,  
as vice detestethe vnto vertue too clyme,  
so farethe withe all that louethe Ydlenes;  
of all maner myschief shee is patrones 2770  
againstst whome the heauyns dothe openlie exclaime,  
by plage to punysche this Ydlenes by name.

(397)

What kynge is hee in this worlde so greate,  
 or potentate els, fewe or manye, 2775  
 what clarke also in his studyous seate,  
 or whoe that hathe too gouernaunce anye,  
 but moste their tyme liste not too dallye  
 withe Ydlenes heere mentioned,  
 then of their mattiers they myght bee euyl sped.

(398)

**Kynges** can noles but compace, searche and caste 2780  
 how too prouyde for the publike weale,  
 the same too contynue in state stedfaste,  
 as too eache partie true justice too deale,  
 oother magistrates hauynge like zeale  
 vnto their offices dwe admynistration: 2785  
 shoulde loyterers lyue then in their ydle fashion?

(399)

[f. 58<sup>v</sup>] **For** reformation of suche nowghtyepackes,  
 bee it proclamed vnto their earys all  
 that whoe endeuorethe any suche knackes,  
 at ale howse too sitt at mack or at mall, 2790  
 tables or dyce, or that cardis men call,  
 or what oother game owte of season dwe,  
 let them bee punysched without all rescue,

(400)

**owte** of season in this sorte too bee take.  
 When dayes of labour are presently come, 2795  
 eache man too his arte his voyage too take  
 withe willinge harte, not too glomer or glome,  
 it is cyuyle iustice and no thraldome,  
 for as the byrde is heere ordeyned too flee,  
 so is man too woorke, olde writinges tellethe mee. 2800

(401)

**Trulye**, I wolde in all that [in] mee liethe  
 wright all I cowlde this vice tabolische,  
 for Ydlenes all vertue despisethe,  
 wheare honeste exercise the lief dothe polische.  
 Thearfor all kynges I doo admonysche 2805  
 heereunto too geeue goode aduertence,  
 for noughtes it breedithe but wretched indigence.

(402)

**As** in honeste artis wee wolde haue occupied  
 eaueryman after his vocation,  
 so wolde wee haue youthe too vertue applied, 2810  
 that are not readye for occupation  
 of hande crafte too use thadmynistration,  
 infantes I mean vndre eight yearis of age.  
 Their tyme I wolde thus too bee put in vsage:

(403)

[f. 59] **at** fowre yearis olde let suche too scoole bee sett, 2815  
 too gather and lerne some literature,  
 bye whiche they maye after knowe their due dett  
 too Hym that is Authour of eache creature,  
 bye readinge in bookes His will and pleasure.  
 For, whoe-so listethe to remembraunce call, 2820  
 too woorke in that age their powre is but small.

(404)

**Leste** some perhaps at this myght thus obiecte,  
 the pooreman his childe cannot so prefer,  
 bycawse hee hath not substaunce in effecte  
 for so longe season to fynde his scoler, 2825  
 as for his schoolinge too paye his maister,  
 to whiche I answere, it muste prouyded bee,  
 in eauerye towne the scoole too go free.

(405)

**Suche** townes whiche hathe a curate to bee ment,  
 dueties too persolue that bee spirituall, 2830  
 whome too bee ydle weare inconuenient  
 beyonde all oother, eauen the wurste of all:  
 thearfore, to teache it dothe their office fall,  
 and bringe vpp yowthe to saye, to singe, or write,  
 that God too serue they after maye delite. 2835

(406)

**Suche** honeste stipende towardis hym to remayne,  
 that for his paynes hee nothings scholde expecte,  
 for so longe tyme as a-fore dothe contayne.  
 Mee thynkethe this sowndethe too goode effecte.  
 If vnto office they after bee electe 2840  
 when reade they can and their vulgare speache knowe,  
 their princis pleasure they maye bettre followe.

(407)

[f. 59<sup>v</sup>] **When** they hathe knowledge indifferentlye so,  
 too oother artis then maye theye bee preferde:  
 and not loyteringe ydlye too go, 2845  
 thorowe whiche the publike weale is ofte merde.  
 Thearfore this lesson I wolde to bee herde,  
 in townes, goode ordre too shyne and florische,  
 this obseruation I wolde gladlye wische.

(408)

**An** ouerseer, **Controwler** to bee calde, 2850  
 to see vnoccupied none to remayne,  
 vnles they bee withe sicknessies appalde,  
 or by debilitee of age ouerlayne;  
 if case theare bee, too punysche them by payne  
 of stockes or scowrginges, whiche suche maye compell 2855  
 to earne their foode, els to haue no morsell.

(409)

And the saide officer to haue by fee,  
 owte of the towne coafer, thre or fowre pownde,  
 that for suche stipende the rather maye hee  
 to the execution thearof bee bownde; 2860  
 if in thoffice hee negligent bee fownde,  
 to bee depnyed withe reproache and shame,  
 and neauer againe too entre the same.

(410)

In thelection of suche ouerseer,  
 this owght, and muste, firste consydrede bee: 2865  
 that hee bee knowne an honeste towne-beer,  
 and hath a zeale too cyuile equitye,  
 too cawse hym earnestlie thearto too see.  
 But wone yeares space let hym thearin endure  
 excepte hee bee fownde moste fitte for the cure. 2870

(411)

[f. 60] True it is, no lyuyng man this daye  
 can presentlie for the publike weale frame  
 so syncerelie the vttremuste too saye,  
 that maye bee breache or staye too the same,  
 inuolablie too byde withoute blame. 2875  
 But, as tyme wearithe mannys maneirs vued,  
 so muste custome and lawe bee renued,

(412)

the soyle and people consydered also.  
 That will not serue heere that seruithe elsewhere.  
 Some hathe commoditeis, some lesse, some mo, 2880  
 which dothe the chargis of the publike weale beare,  
 bye merchaundise conueyde heere and there,  
 as, heere in **Englande** wone speciall haue wee,  
**woole**, for whiche manye greate suetours hither bee.

## (413)

Of whiche to saye, as my fancye dothe leade 2885  
 (the judgementis of bettre not offendyd),  
 I wolde it weare duellie consyderede  
 howe **foryners** by **woolle** are assendyd  
 and owre weale publike little amendyd,  
 for by owre **woolle**, of Christians and Turke, 2890  
 thowsandis thowsandis hathe daylie handye wurke,

## (414)

**and** wee the same of them agayne to bye,  
 sixefolde doble price moare then of them had wee.  
 Oh, some witt politike shewe reason whye  
 myght not the same heere so perfected bee, 2895  
 wee to profite by owre owne commoditee?  
 If honeste meanys myght bee thearto espied,  
 how sholde owre **commons** then bee occu[p]yed!

## (415)

[f. 60<sup>v</sup>]. So many **beggars** sholde not reigne as reigne,  
 so many **neadye** sholde not for conforte crye, 2900  
 so many **rouers** sholde not vse the pleyne,  
 so many sholde not then lyue ydlelye,  
 a few to profyte to hynderaunce of manye,  
 as **thowsandis** to lacke and **twentie** to abownde,  
 oh, howe it geauethe a myserable sownde! 2905

## (416)

**Moste** worthie it is a kynge to excell  
 in honowre, richesse and glorye decorate,  
**lordys** in degre in woorthynes to dwell,  
 withe **gentyls** also as sittethe their estate,  
 and they to the meane to communycate, 2910  
 that theye maye lyue bothe childrene and wife,  
 and them not to streyne by meanys excessife.

(417)

**The** pooreman to toyle for twoe pense the daye,  
 some while thre haulfe pense, or-els a penyē,  
 hauynge wief, childrene, and howse rent to paye, 2915  
 meate, clothe, and fewell withe the same to bye,  
 and mucche oother thinges that bee necessarye,  
 withe manye a hungrye meale susteynyngē.  
 Alas, makethe not this a doolefull compleynyngē?

(418)

**The** worlde is chaunged from that it hathe beene, 2920  
 not to the bettre, but to the warsse farre:  
 more for a penyē wee haue before seene  
 then nowe for fowre pense, whoe liste to compare.  
 This sucthe the game called 'Makinge or marre':  
 vnto the riche it makethe a great deale, 2925  
 but mucche it marrethe to the commune weale.

(419)

[f. 61] **Too** reyse his rent, alas, it neadethe not  
 of fyne texacte, for teanure of the same,  
 fowrefolde dooble; it is a shrewde blot,  
 to the greate hynderaunce of some mennys name. 2930  
 I knowe this to bee true, els weare I to blame  
 too mooue this mateir in this present booke  
 at whiche **Respublica** lookethe a-crooke.

(420)

**A** rent to reyse from twentie to fiftie,  
 (of powndis, I meane, or shealingis whither), 2935  
 fynnyngē for the same, vnreasonablye,  
 sixe tymes the rent, adde this together:  
 muste not the same great dearthe bringe hither?  
 For, if the fermoure paye fowrefolde dooble rent,  
 he muste his ware neadys sell after that stent. 2940

(421)

So, for that **oxe** which hathe beene the like solde  
 for **fortie shealingis**, nowe takethe hee fyue pownde,  
 yea, **seayn** is more, I haue herde it so tolde;  
 hee cannot els lyue, so deere is his grownde.  
**Sheepe**, thoughe they neuer so plentie abownde, 2945  
 such price they beare whiche shame is to here tell,  
 that scace the pooare man can bye a morsell.

(422)

**Twoe** pense **in beef** hee cannot haue serued,  
 other in mutton, the price is so hye:  
 vndre a groate hee can haue none kerued. 2950  
 So goethe hee and his to bedde hungrelye,  
 and risethe agayne withe bellies emptie;  
 whiche turnethe to tawnye their white Englisch skyn,  
 like to the swarthie-colored Flawndrekyn.

(423)

[f. 61<sup>v</sup>] **Wheare** they weare valiaunt, stronge, sturdy and stowte,  
 to shoote, to wrastle, to dooe anye mannys feate, 2956  
 to matche all natyons dwellinge heere abowte,  
 as hitherto manlye they holde the chief seate;  
 if they bee pinched and weyned from meate,  
 I wisse, o kynge, they, in penurye thus pende, 2960  
 shall not bee able thye royalmes to defende.

(424)

**Owre** Engliche nature cannot lyue by rooatis,  
 by water-herbys or suche beggerye baggage,  
 that maye well serue for vile owtelandische cooatis:  
 geeue Engliche men meate after their olde vsage, 2965  
 beef, mutton, veale, to cheare their courage  
 and then, I dare to this byll sett my hande,  
 they shall defende this owre noble Englande.

(425)

[T]he Tytle heere nowe whearon wee entreate,  
 bicawse it dothe suche weightynes contayne 2970  
 (a publike weale, whiche is a matter greate)  
 wee shall deuyde it into lessons twayne,  
 declaringe as seruethe my symple brayne,  
 howe, thorowe God and yowe His mynyster,  
 thinges owte of frame maye bee brought in order. 2975

(426)

[f. 62] If that I heere speake bee to no purpose,  
 perdon I haue askte for my symplenes:  
 if it maye serue withowte coment or glose,  
 moste happelie then seruithe this busynes.  
 Eache mannys writingis dothe not althinges redresse 2980  
 accordinge as his trauelinge dothe tell:  
 thoughe this like so, yeat wolde I althinges well.

(427)

Too saye howe ydlenesse maye bee expellyd,  
 and this owre royalme enriched by the same,  
 somewhat thearto all-readye is tellyd: 2985  
 for the reasydue wee shall nowe heere frame.  
 Woolle is the thinge wee will steye on, by name:  
 thoughe oother thinges moe geauithe assistence,  
 yeat woolle, for this tyme shall haue preamynence.

(428)

The woolle that staplers dothe gather and packe, 2990  
 owte of this royalme to cowntreys forayne,  
 bee it reuoked and steyed abacke  
 that owre cloathiers the same maye retayne,  
 all kynde of woorkefolkes heere to ordayne,  
 vpon the same to exercise their feate, 2995  
 by tuckynge, cardinge, spynnynge, and to beate,

2969 *Nine-line space left before this stanza, as for seven-line stanza or for heading to chapter. Though numbering of chapters shows no missing title, first three lines of stanza are set back to right, leaving space for missing illuminated initial.*

(429)

**weauynge**, fullinge, withe dyinge if theye liste,  
and what sorte els to cloathing dothe belonge,  
by suche true handelinge that nothings bee myste,  
whiche myght chalenge their woorkinge to bee wronge, 3000  
that whearsoeuer they shall come emonge,  
thorowe Christendome or heathenes grownde,  
no fawte theare bee in the woorkemanshippe fownde.

(430)

[f. 62<sup>v</sup>] **Shrynked** befoare and perfected at full,  
gaged and sealed iustelye as it is: 3005  
if it bee fawtie in woorkinge or in wooll,  
owre foalkes to weare them, I gree beste to this,  
rather than straungers sholde fynde vs amyse,  
for owre false dealinge owre cowntrey tappeache:  
what the salys-man is, the ware ofte dothe teache. 3010

(431)

**No** towne in Englande, village, or burrowe,  
but thus withe cloathing to bee occupied:  
thoughe not in eache place cloathing cleane thorowe:  
but as the towne is, their parte so applied;  
heere **spynners**, heere **weyuers**, theare cloathes  
to be **died**, 3015  
withe **fullers** and **shearers** as bee thought beste,  
as the cloathier maye haue his cloathe dreste.

(432)

**When** they haue groaced vnto a some  
of scoarys or hundredis as they appoynte shall,  
owre Engliche merchauntes by custome to come, 3020  
and them receaue to go ouer withe all;  
or, bee they fechte bye greement speciall,  
by forayne merchauntes as they haue agreeede,  
moneye receaued, God geeue them goode speede!

(433)

**Heere** is not meaned the Kinges Maiestee  
 his custome to loase or thearof wone joate 3025  
 that heeretofore accustomed hathe bee,  
 but hee to haue still the vttremuste groate;  
 befoare they hense passe by shippinge a-floate,  
 the cloathes knowne what of a packe dothe come, 3030  
 and thearto accordinge to paye custome.

(434)

[f. 63] **Withe** all oother dueties in eauerye place,  
 both vnto his Grace and oother also,  
 as of conuenyence sittithe the case.  
 Wee will by no meanys theare-againstste go, 3035  
 but heere this peece wee shall adde nowe vnto,  
 whiche withe conscience is mucche agreable,  
 that **woolle** maye bee at a price reasonable.

(435)

**The** leaste price to bee, the **todde** accowntinge,  
 not vndre **ten shelinges**, beeinge no reffuse, 3040  
 the beste **fyuetene shealinges** not surmowntinge:  
 betwene theise pricis conuention to vse.  
 These pricis to lymyte let no-man muse:  
 it hathe beene so seene att within twentie yearis,  
 and so maye agayne withe helpe of owre hedde pearis. 3045

(436)

**But** heere liethe a mateir mucche difficulte,  
 whiche greatlie I feare neauer to take force,  
 thoughe I with manye sholde thearin consulte,  
 and crye theare-vppon eauyn till wee weare horse:  
**pryuate comodye** withe **commone** wealthe to  
 scorse, 3050  
 as **rentis** to come downe from owterage so hye  
 too **price** indifferent to helpe manye bye.

3039 todde] T in black ink; remainder of word in red

(437)

**Theis** raginge **rentis** muste bee loked vpon,  
 and brought vnto **tholde accustomed rente**,  
 as they weare let att **fortie yearis** agone. 3055  
 Then shalbe **plentie**, and moste men content,  
 thoughe greate **possessioners** liste not tassent:  
 yeate bettre it weare their **rentis** to bringe vndre,  
 then **thowsandis thowsandis** to perische for **hungre**.

(438)

[f. 63<sup>v</sup>] **In** whiche youre Highnes this ordre maye take, 3060  
 discret men of youre Cownsell too assigne,  
 that wilbee corrupted for no mannys sake,  
 and theye withe helpe their endeuer tencline,  
 ouer youre royalmе wheare this is owte of lyne,  
**growndis** and **fermys** to peruse and surueye: 3065  
**rentis** to reforme that bee owte of the weye.

(439)

**And** as their wisdoms withe conscience shall see,  
 the soyle consydered, barrayne or fertyle,  
 the owners by them ordered too bee,  
 their **rentis** tabate, enhaunced so longe while, 3070  
**pryuate commodye** to put to exile,  
 ratynge the same indifferentlie so:  
 the **farmers** to lyue and by them oother moe.

(440)

**Not** in thraldome and pynchinge penurye,  
 to bee as drudges vnto their landelordis; 3075  
 but as yeomen becomethe honestlye,  
 and of Goddys lawe conuenyatethe the conchordis.  
 At too muche bondage **Englische hartis** remordis.  
 for what kinge heere will lyue honorablye,  
 hee muste then make of **Englande yeomanrye**. 3080

3056 *plentie*] p in black ink; remainder of word in red      3060 *In*] I in red  
*nk*; n in black      3078 *Englische*] E in black ink; remainder of word in red

(441)

For they, all men knowethe, are the maior parte  
 whiche by all lawes ought to bee seene vntoo  
 speciallye withe moste intentife harte,  
 sithe they for their princis their daylie labour doo,  
 the myndis of whome they can no better woo, 3085  
 to lyue and dye in furderinge their enquestis,  
 then to see mayntened their olde enterestis.

(442)

[f. 64] **Suche** poore lyuynge as their fathers dyd enioye,  
 meanlye to lyue, their lyues to contynue:  
 alas, a pooreman it greatlie dothe annoye, 3090  
 when hee for a lyuynge shall eauermore sue,  
 and withe non assuraunce hym-selfe can indue,  
**custome** nor **copie** can keepe hym in, scace,  
 if **fawnyng** **fyne** attemptethe his lordis Grace.

(443)

**Thoughe** he bee dyuyllische that byddeth for it so,  
 more diuyllische is hee that thearto dothe graunte,  
 and for their dooinges shall too the Dyuyll go,  
 els false vnto vs is Goddis couenaunte;  
 for hee them cursethe and byddithe 'Auaunte!  
 that so procurethe his neighbours lyvinge. 3100  
 To see heereunto sittethe thoffice of a kinge.

(444)

For what is it in **ferme** or **copye-holde**,  
 or oother semblable habitation,  
 owte of the same to bee bought and solde,  
 for lucre sake, to the lordis contentation? 3105  
 the sealye **pooreman** by suche euasion  
 withe wief and children so forced to go begge:  
 so they maye profite they passe not an egge.

(445)

**Anoother** disordre of oppression,  
 aduerte this wone whiche is muche odyous: 3110  
 a lorde geauyn to pryuate affection,  
 lettinge the pooareman an olde rotten howse,  
 which hathe, to the same, profyttes commodious  
 as **cloase** and **common**, with **lande** in the feelde,  
 but noate well heere howe the pooareman is peelde. 3115

(446)

**The** howse shall hee haue and a gardeyne plott,  
 [f. 64<sup>v</sup>] but stonde hee muste to the reperation:  
**close**, **comon**, or **londe** fallithe none to his lott,  
 that beste myght helpe to his sustentation.  
 The whoale rente payethe hee for his habitation, 3120  
 as thoughe hee dyd thappurtenauncis possesse.  
 Suche soare oppression neadethe speadye redresse.

(447)

**Thoughe** some will obiecte hee is the more asse  
 so to bargayne to bringe hym in thraldome,  
 hee can none otherwise bringe it to passe, 3125  
 els muste hee paye largelie for his income.  
 To settle hym-selfe, place muste hee haue some,  
 his wief and childrene in like maner wise,  
 whoe for pure penurye ofte waterethe their iyse.

(448)

**Thus** thorowe rentes-reysinge and pillinge the poore, 3130  
 Pouertie regnethe and is induced muche,  
 compelled to begge nowe from doore to doore,  
 as tyll owre tyme hathe not beene herde of suche.  
 Your Highnes, o Prince, this case dothe sore tuche,  
 for chieflie youre crowne to this intent yee weare, 3135  
 wronge to reforme that **equité** may rule beare.

## (449)

No right it is the pooare to bee so vsed,  
 and some to the Dyuyll throughe richesse to flytt  
 (Christian charité of them refused)  
 which drowned **Dyues** in the deepe hell pytt. 3140  
 More occasion to treate on this as yeitt,  
 is wheare some wone the lyuynge dothe possesse  
 of twoe thowsandis well knowen to bee no-lesse.

## (450)

[f. 65] **Firste** in goode rentes a thowsande powndis or more  
 in fermys and abbeys coequall to the same, 3145  
 reuenues by sheepe, thowsandis by tayle score,  
 oxon and neate, greate multytude to name,  
 personages of profites wondrefull in fame,  
 and yeat is as greadye more to procure  
 as hym to mayntyne: this weare but small sure. 3150

## (451)

**And** what hee onys into his clampis catche maye,  
 the pooreman thearof no peece shall come bye,  
**cowe leayse, horse grasse,** or one loade of **haye,**  
 thoughe hee before had theare-for his monye:  
 his chargis, hee saithe, are so passinge hye 3155  
 that for hym-selfe all is little ynowghe,  
 yeat on his whoale growndis hee keapeth not one plowghe.

## (452)

**To** speake or repyne againste his fell factes,  
 alas, theare dare none their lippes to open;  
 the like togethers hathe dryuen suche compactes 3160  
 that truthe into an whoale is nowe copen,  
 and for his tawlke his hedde all to-broken:  
 the more is the pité, conscience knowithe.  
 Goode kinge, thearfore searche wheare such darnell  
 growithe,

(453)

**and** set an ordre of reformation 3165  
 that eache maye lyue to his gree accordinge;  
**dukes** and **lordis** of highe domynation  
 ouer the people to haue thorderinge,  
 that the meane sorte abowte them borderinge  
 maye lyue by them and their neighbours become 3170  
 [f. 65<sup>v</sup>] by Christian loue, and not holde in thraldome.

(454)

**For** lordys and men of highe nobilitee,  
 or oother indude withe possessions greate,  
 to vse thoffice of thinferior degree  
 to choppe and change, aduantagies to geate, 3175  
 as merket men dothe, it sittethe not their feate,  
 or fermys tencroche whiche oother myght releue:  
 suche doinges, no dowbte, dothe many hartes greeue.

(455)

**I** will not saye all that neadethe to be saide,  
 to longe then sholde I heere tyme occupye, 3180  
 but by suche meanys common wealthe is decaide  
 and hath heere of late cawsed great owte-crye  
 by muche disordre moste sclauderouslye,  
 cheif to them-selves to woorke so withoute witt,  
 and next to those that weare cawsers of itt. 3185

(456)

**If** great bee their charges, the wiseman ought  
 them to rebate, accordinge to his stent  
 to keepe a porte. In hatrede to bee brought  
 thorowe meanys whiche are inconuenient,  
 holde whoe thearewithe will, **I** will not assent: 3190  
 bettre is meane estate hauynge frindys manye  
 then highlie to ruffle, scace to fynde anye.

(457)

**Moste** merieste it is in eache cowntrey  
 when euery degre obseruethe his dwe  
 Dame **Justicis** lawe trulie to obeye: 3195  
 theare muste then neadys great quietnes ensue.  
 And wheare **diuision** by grudge dothe renue  
 it breadethe nowght els but desolation,  
 [f. 66] from all quyet wealthe to dissipation.

(458)

**And** all this makethe the goodis of the worlde: 3200  
 for that will men toyle, for that will men scrache  
 for that olde frendshippe shalbe all to-chorlde,  
 the wone brother readye thother to dispache,  
 the soone withe the father also to mache,  
 by vttr diffiaunce his deathe to exopte, 3205  
 thoughe thousandis for the like hathe into hell dropte.

(459)

**The** highest of all that regnethe in estate  
 hathe in this worlde but meate, drinke and vesture:  
 then what dothe mennys myndis so intoxicate  
 inordynatlye to toyle for treasure, 3210  
 purchacinge thearbye so mucche displeasure  
 bothe of God and their neighbours heere neadinge,  
 whiche hungrethe ofte soare throughe their fatt feadinge?

(460)

**Of** this this tyme I will no-more entreate;  
 by wone woorde the wise perceaue can the whoale. 3215  
 I doo this mateir but roughlye heere beate:  
 the disposition, partelye and soale,  
 o noble kyng, belongethe to youre doale,  
 as to perceaue the comon-wealthes noyaunce  
 and for the same to deuise ordynaunce. 3220

(461)

So that the pooare bee eauer seene vntoe,  
 the riche hym-selfe will sure saue harmelesse.  
 A little hynderaunce the poore dothe vndoe,  
 and can no remedye againste distresse,  
 but still susteyneth all busynesse. 3225  
 Though drudges muste bee, yeat Christian loue wolde  
 that iuste rewarde redownde to them sholde.

(462)

[f. 66<sup>v</sup>] **T**oo thresche all daye for peanye haulfe-peanye,  
 and delue in diches upp to the harde kneeis  
 for like valure, howe can hee lyue thearbye? 3230  
 God wote it risethe but to a small feeis:  
 with that he laieth vpp hee maye well bye beeis,  
 and after go begge when age on hym dothe fall,  
 for noughtes can he saue to helpe hym then with all.

(463)

A laborer trulie doinge his duetye, 3235  
 as well the woman, I meane, as the man,  
 let them haue for their traueile worthelye,  
 so shall they delyte to doo what they can,  
 els will they loighter euer nowe and than,  
 comptinge as goode to bee ydle vnwrought 3240  
 as soare to traueile and profite right nowght.

(464)

So ordre that eache doinge their labour  
 iustelie and trulie withe most diligence,  
 may bee worthe them and theirs to succour,  
 fyndinge them-selfes on shorteste daies sex pense, 3245  
 and oother lengre, as the soone takethe ascense,  
 seaun or eight pense. So shall they bee able  
 meanlye to lyue, and mayntayne their cradle,

3236 as well] aswell

(465)

**and** townes let downe to grase sheape vppon  
 withe dwellinge howses, as fermys and abbeyes, 3250  
 reduced agayne to habitation,  
 for lack of which muche lyuynges nowe decayes  
 and dothe great hynderaunce as this wone waies.  
 Thowsandis thear bee that right gladlie wolde wedde  
 if they had holdings to coauer their hedde, 3255

(466)

[f. 67] **of** journeyemen and seruynge-men also,  
 withe oother dyuerse of oure owne nation  
 that nowe a-roauynge in oothers growndis go,  
 to this royalmys great depopulation,  
 at whiche the heauyns maketh exclamation, 3260  
 burdeynynge your Grace by othe that yee haue take  
 of this, as yee can, redresse withe speede to make.

**Howe a kinge sholde ordre his expensis, howe to retayne,  
 and wheare to bee free, that althinges bothe in takinge,  
 kepinge, and spendinge, maye bee done as they owght,  
 haistie rigour and all oother meanys resemblinge lightnes  
 and folye to be voyded and set aparte.**

## Caput 20.

(467)

[T]hoffice and maner of expensis dwe,  
 whiche euerye prince ought to respecte,  
 by right description heere shall ensue, 3265  
 so well as oure witt can bringe to effecte.  
 Thoughe withe all plentie a kinge ought to bee decte,  
 yeat is it goode and requysite perdee,  
 that althinges sholde in a dwe ordre bee.

(468)

**For** that behaulfe and consyderation, 3270  
 to yowe, **Alexandre**, I fyrmelie saye  
 that what-euer kinge vsethe this fashion  
 superfluous expensis to flasche and furthe laye

ootherwise then his royalmē easelye beare maye,  
 vndowbtedlye eauerye suche kyngē 3275  
 vndoethe oother, and workethe his owne hynderinge.

(469)

[f. 67<sup>v</sup>] **Thoughe** plentie in a kinge ought to appeare,  
 yeat muste **Discretion** haue the ouersight.  
 And what plentie is, yee firste muste enqueare,  
 that thobseruation hathe his office right, 3280  
 whiche difficulte is, thoughe dyuerse makethe light.  
 But the mysusinge of largesse indeede  
 is easie to fynde if yee take not heede.

(470)

**If** thearfore yee please your selfe tendeuē  
 the vertue of **plentie** for to acqyre, 3285  
 consydre your coafers and reuenues eauer,  
 and what tyme of neade shall chaunce to requyre  
 the mearites of men that woorkethe your desyre,  
 in which is ment this prouydent meanyngē:  
 in their fauour to bee sumwhat leanyngē, 3290

(471)

**meanyngē** suche as hathe, or heere-after shall,  
 in your affaires ieoberde goodes and lief,  
 whois seruice yee ought to remembraunce call,  
 and shewe your Grace bothe to children and wief  
 in deadys of pytie eauer to bee rief, 3295  
 cawses aforesaide seene and looked too.  
 Trulye, suche-wise yee shall prudentlie doo.

(472)

**Of** princelie duetie yee ought doo no lesse,  
 suche thinges as yee maye conuenyentlie spare  
 but to bestowe them of your bountyousnes, 3300  
 firste, to the symple that indigent are,  
 and oother suche as your selfe can compare,  
 woorthie of rewarde their state to sustayne:  
 suche largesse sittethe a prince souerayne.

(473)

[f. 68] **What** kinge so eauer endeuorethe otherwise, 3305  
 hee dothe offende and the lawe transgresse  
 of liberalities leafull practise,  
 to the disgracinge of his worthynes.  
 The poore suffringe to departe penillesse,  
 and to thunworthe to shewe his almys deade: 3310  
 it is but vayne, it purchesse shall no meede.

(474)

**And** whoe-so the treasure that hee hathe reached  
 lanchethe heere furthe without aduisement,  
 his doinges are worthie to bee appeached,  
 for thearbye hee shall bee brought incontynent 3315  
 vnto the shoare of trobles indigent.  
 Thea[r]fore, I admonysche eache princelie hearde,  
 superfluouse expensis are to bee fearde.

(475)

**For** whatsoeuer kinge or emperoure  
 the goodes dothe deuaste inordynatlye 3320  
 of his kingedome, ouer whiche hee hathe poure,  
 or them bestowethe by meanys vnworthe,  
 suche wone a waister maye bee called aptelye,  
 a destroyer, a depopulator bothe,  
 vnworthe to rule: to lye I wolde bee lothe. 3325

(476)

**By** whiche demeanynghe hee maye bee called well  
 a prodigall persone muche lascyuyous,  
 bicawse from his dwe hee far off dothe dwell,  
 the prouydent **Prudence** that makethe kinges famous:  
 discinge from her, all goethe contrarious. 3330  
 To voyde the daungre of all suche owterage,  
 let **Prodigalité** bee **Reasons** page.

(477)

[f. 68<sup>v</sup>] **Thearfore** eftesones to Your Maiestie I saye,  
 as I haue ofte saide to remembre the more,  
 that, wrynging from **Prodigalité** awaye, 3335  
 yee use good **gouernaunce** to purge that sore,  
 as partelye wee haue mentioned before,  
 whiche of all kinges the glorye makethe cleere,  
 by longe contynuaunce of their reigne heere.

(478)

**And** that doethe ensue when euery suche kinge 3340  
 withe his propre rentes can holde hym content,  
 greuous exactions clearlye aduoydinge,  
 which his **commons** moleste myght or torment:  
 except great neade of stormys ymmynent,  
 his royalme to conserue from daungre of conqueste, 3345  
 then to take ayde wheare it spared maye bee beste;

(479)

**other** rebellyous to bringe in frame,  
 to owe obedyence to their souerayne,  
 or what great cawse els, to furdre the same,  
 helpe muste bee had, Discretion shewethe playne. 3350  
 But **howe, wheare, when, and of whome** certayne,  
 let **Wisedom** thearin your Grace aduertise:  
 so shall yee woorke in moste woorthieste wise.

(480)

**If** yee use weies your commons to keepe bare,  
 as vppon them to bee callinge ouersore, 3355  
 it shall their frayle hartes bringe in suche care,  
 that murmure maye rise when yee looke leaste thearfore.  
 If they bee wealthie, your parte is the more,  
 for what vnnaturall subiecte is hee  
 that grudgethe his prynce in his necessitee? 3360

(481)

[f. 69] **Greuous** exactions of subiectes taxed  
 hathe beene the cawse of muche subuersion  
 of dyuerse royalmys, when princis hathe axed  
 inordynatlye, to their destruction,  
 vndre pretence of false seduction, 3365  
 alledginge cawses for the publike weale,  
 when it hathe differde frome that a great deale.

(482)

**And** that hathe happened, wee maye gather so,  
 thorowe the meanys of superfluous expense,  
 when that the rentes of assise dothe ouer go, 3370  
 so, wantinge wealthe to mayntayne their pretence,  
 then dothe they extorte by powre and violence  
 their subiectes lyuynges, to season vppon,  
 whearbye arisethe muche sedition.

(483)

**Then** dothe the people, at Goddis excitation, 3375  
 againste suche tyraunys greuouslye arise,  
 their names in this worlde, to their detestation,  
 clearlye deleye and vtterlye recise.  
 And, wheare not Goddis mercye aboue His justice,  
 piteinge the people to bee so annoyed, 3380  
 their royalmes for eauer weare cleane destroyed.

(484)

**Consydre** therefore, theis rychesse mundayne  
 cawsethe in manye the lief to persiste,  
 whoe, for the same, hathe taken great payne,  
 that for them and theirs it cannot bee myste: 3385  
 their rentes and oother charges it dothe assiste,  
 so that if thearof they bee depryued,  
 trulye then can they not bee longe lyued.

(485)

[f. 69<sup>v</sup>] **Thearfore** aduerte in all dyligent wise,  
 by all circumspection that maye bee sought, 3390  
 to spende so and saue that no rumour rise,  
 but that all suche thinges bee done as they ought.  
 Honour the woorthye, amende that is nought,  
 furyous tawlke, superfluous and inane,  
 repryme and exchue: it breadethe muche bane. 3395

(486)

**Euerye** iniurye doo not revenge,  
 vnles it bee heynous not to bee borne:  
 all small dyssymull, and make no chalenge,  
 vntill suche tyme your furye bee owte worne.  
 Flee flickeringe folye that men lawghe to scorne, 3400  
 then shall this lesson profite yowe so muche  
 as neuer erste I had moued any suche.

**Of the pité and prouydence of a kinge bothe in aduersité and  
 againste the same, in mynistringe of charité to the neadye  
 and penitent, in punishinge of malefactours to the xemple  
 of oother. And to beeware cawseles of humayne bloode  
 sheadyngé, for the feare of Goddis vengeaunce.**

Ca[put] 21

(487)

**[T]he** pité and prouydence nowe texpresse  
 that dothe belonge to a kingis maiesté,  
 which shall muche garnysche his hie worthines, 3405  
 bothe towardis God and eauery degré:  
 firste by **prouydence** hee muste afore see,  
 by wise aspecte and polecye prudent,  
 daungers tauoyde of sourges immynent.

[f. 70]

(488)

**Firste**, to consydre what hee hathe in holde, 3410  
 a kindome of people in numbre not small.  
 In tyme of plentie hee maye well bee bolde  
 of theirs to take and liberallye to call.

But after, when **dearthe** maye fortune to fall,  
 and hathe not by muche, them-selfes to sustayne, 3415  
 howe shall hee then woorke his royalm to mayntaine?

(489)

**Hee** wil be fedd thoughe thowsandis perische,  
 yeat, pité and nature muste in hym meeue  
 againste suche daungre to caste and accomplische,  
 that his saide subiectes no suche thinge sholde greue, 3420  
 as by wise meanys aforehande to preeue,  
 of straungers adiacent, or oother some,  
 to bee in suertie if suche chaunce dothe come.

(490)

**And** he, agayne, in sembleable neede,  
 of princelye pité them to consydre, 3425  
 suche foarehande driftes ought in his harte to breede,  
 daungers tauoyde that so myght chaunce hither,  
 or in tyme plentyous to gather to-gither  
 that in necessité myght steade or serue,  
 rather then for lack his people to sterue. 3430

(491)

**If** oother affliction bee hither soarted,  
 and that by mannys helpe ineuitable,  
 for syn, so sent, from whiche hee was exhoarted,  
 and wolde not cease to bee-come culpable,  
 let hym not grudge by meanys damnable, 3435  
 but withe meeke harte to tolerate the same:  
 to stryue againste God weare woorthy muche blame.

(492)

[f. 70<sup>v</sup>] **For** synne wee see muche plages to appeere,  
 as pestilence, pockes, with agues ardent,  
 some throughe mysdyet, bothe yondre and heere, 3440  
 and some by euyl ayre, corrupte and pestilent,  
 in which afflictions man muste bee content,  
 all if it doo vpon his owne headde light:  
 God dothe the great emonge the small ofte smyght.

(493)

Or, what oother els calamyttee 3445  
 maye chaunce or happe the mynde to moleste,  
**patience** vincethe aduersyttee,  
 as in all daungres the remedye beste:  
**enemyes** moouynge withe mortall meanys preste,  
 or **traytor** vntrue, your royalm to bereaue, 3450  
 yeat, for all this, still to **patience** cleaue.

(494)

**Beinge** assaulted withe trobles so saide,  
 or oother what kinde so eauer they bee,  
 wrought by mannys meanys, they maye bee downe laide,  
 obseruyng **patience** as yee haue herde mee. 3455  
**Wisedome** moste helpethe in extremyttee,  
 vnight withe **patience**, colde and discreit:  
 so are all **enemyes** sonest brought vndre feeit.

(495)

So that, what myschefe so eauer dothe rise 3460  
 againste a **kinge** or headde **gouernour**,  
 arme hym withe **patience** after this wise,  
 so shall he conuerte into **sweete** all **sowre**.  
 Euerye thinge is not woone by mayne powre,  
 nor euerye **wronge** reuenged at full,  
 but, **vice** to punysche, hee maye not bee dull. 3465

(496)

[f. 71] A **kinge**, indeade, it dothe conuenyate  
 to bee gentle, pitefull, and meeke,  
 the wrathe of oother to hym subiugate  
 for to appeace, some quyet meanys to seeke,  
 not in his furye to geeue them a gleeke, 3470  
 but to endeauer, withe gladde deuotion,  
 all meanys tauoyde that cawsethe commotion,

3462 sowre] r over a corr. (apparently an unfinished s)

(497)

and that before it commense anye acte,  
 for a **commontee** harde it is to staye  
 when theie togethers are onys compacte, 3475  
 except wise handelinge their malice delaye.  
 Therefore a **prince** muste prudentlie waye  
 that hee, nor his, occasion sholde geeue  
 whiche thearunto his **commons** myght dreeue.

(498)

Yeat more againe to a kynge dothe belonge 3480  
 to knowe his errowre if hee bee fawtie,  
 and not to persiste in his doinge wronge  
 but of free harte, discrete and wiselye,  
 the same tacknowledge and reuoke lightlye,  
 for the higheste grace that a **kinge** maye haue 3485  
 is in right ordre his honour to saue.

(499)

When hee knowethe anye thinge to bee doone,  
 profitable, expedyent and goode,  
 let hym withe **discretion** complete it soone,  
 not raschelye in anye furyowse moode, 3490  
 noather to tractinge, as chowinge the coode,  
 but, tyme oportune, by **Prudencye** spidde,  
 to put in prooife so shee it not forbydde.

(500)

[f. 71<sup>v</sup>] If subiectes sholde their owne myndys ensue  
 vnyoaked by anye princelye restraynte, 3495  
 then myght goode ordre bydde farewell adwe,  
 and the **publike weale** become theare attaynte.  
 But, þat tauoyde, headde powres maye not wax faynte,  
 other to haistye or to remyssyue:  
 let **Reason** woorke their folye to depryue. 3500

(501)

As ouermuche **haistines** dothe confounde,  
 rather then bylde to perfection dwe,  
 so to muche **pité** peuschnes dothe sownde:  
 the meane betwene bothe is beste to ensue.  
 Eache **prince** is bownde, his right to rescue, 3505  
 no **pité** or **patience** that to rebate:  
 better, saithe the wise, betyme then to late.

(502)

The **pité** that a **kingis** harte sholde contayne  
 is, not to punysche with extremyte:  
 though he **offenders** deserue deadlye payne, 3510  
 yeat **pité** mouethe to shewe **charyté**,  
 speciallye wheare hee **repentaunce** dothe see,  
 weyinge in ballaunce of misericorde,  
 sithe hee of the lawe is bothe **judge** and **lorde**.

(503)

**Pyté** bredethe **patience**, whiche quengethe all **ire** 3515  
 that is accended by passyons colerike,  
 whiche, in anye, beinge onys set on fyre,  
 disposethe thinwardis to bee soare and sicke,  
 moultringe the lyuer like ouer-brent bricke,  
 withe more inconuenience then I can wright 3520  
 so soare at the harte it gnawethe and bight.

(504)

[f. 72] **Patience**, thearfore, is moste soueraigne salue,  
 rancre to heale that dothe so the **harte** frett,  
 cawsinge manye wone his lief to vpp caulue  
 before the date of his dwe dyinge dett. 3525  
 Let **Disposition** no suche maistrye gett,  
 but as **Reason**, for healthes preseruacion,  
 shall in your care geue determynation.

(505)

**Ferdre** yeat more of pité to speake,  
 make searche to knowe wheare **pouertie** dothe reigne; 3530  
 of that is neadfull their myserye to wreake  
 do gladlye departe to qualyfie their payne.  
 Oh, it shall purchesse yowe tenne doble gayne!  
 All if they bee of forayne cowntreyes borne,  
 sithe they of man come, take at them no scorne. 3535

(506)

**Doo some** assigne that honest are and goode,  
 and can their language speake and vndrestande,  
 in your behalfe to mynistre them foode  
 with the oother neadys as geauyn of your owne hande,  
 of their pouertie subleuyinge the bande. 3540  
 Suche wise what **prince** dothe heere his seade sowe,  
 his meryte a-fore God shall greatlye growe.

(507)

**Of pité** also moste speciallye  
 bownden yee are the **poore** to respecte,  
 that in your **warrys** are maymed in bodye, 3545  
 or, thorowe the same, ootherwise infecte,  
 with lyuynges likelye them to protecte.  
 Sithe they their lyfes for yow ieoberde can,  
 yee ought no-lesse but prouyde for them than.

(508)

[f. 72<sup>v</sup>] **One** thinge more, o **Alexandre**, I haue to saye, 3550  
 whiche to omyt I wolde for no worldys goode:  
 beware by all meanys yee possible maye  
 of wronge effusion of humayne bloode.  
 Doo not vppon yowe in your raginge moode  
 assume thoffice dwe vnto the highe Godde, 3555  
 so, beateinge oother, yee maye taiste the same rodde.

(509)

**Tauoyde** suche kynde of dealinge damnable,  
 thus writethe the famous **Hermogenes** :  
 when a creature that is reasonable,  
 anoother, formed to his owne likenes, 3560  
 liste by violence his lief to oppresse,  
 whoe uniustelye suche thinge dothe commense,  
 the Heauyns of vengeaunce criethe owte for sentence,

(510)

**this** wise to **God** makinge exclamation,  
 'O **Lorde**, beholde, a wretche inhumayne 3565  
 of pompous pryde and hawte elation  
 vppon hym takethe thy powre to disdayne,  
 to bee consilimate to Thee, his soueraigne,  
 in spillinge the bloode of his equall borne,  
 Thye powre vsurpinge as Thowe weare owte-worne. 3570

(511)

'**Hee** that so sleyethe', thus dothe the case crye,  
 'let hym like deathe, of Thye **justice**, sustayne,  
 Thowe that doiste saye, as the **Judge** moste hye,  
 "Let Mee take vengeaunce: I shall poynte hym his payne".'  
 So dothe the Heauyns on hym still complayne 3575  
 till suche offense bee punysched in hell.  
 This in remembraunce thearfore imprent well.

[f. 73] **Howe a kynge ought to be muche desyrowse too | knowe thopynyon of his commons towardys hym, by the exploration of some secreat wittie seruaunte whome he doithe beste credyte, and thearto accordinge to reforme hym-selfe, that hee and they may bee in looue togethers knytt as one head and membres.**

## Caput 22

(512)

[S]O sure in this lief hathe none his holdynge  
 to stande in estate deuoyde of greefes all,  
 but in some parte he may haue controwlinge 3580  
 to his exoptation partelye synystrall.

In many headys manye masinges ofte doithe fall.  
 Althoughe to some no-deale it doithe belonge,  
 yeat vayne clatteringe ofte risethe men emonge.

(513)

**And** owte of doubtte their tungs shall walke and chatt 3585  
 euyne as their heade doithe cheiflye exercise,  
 be it of vertue, of this vice or that.  
 Comone rumor thearin will entreprise,  
 mutteringe, as whoe saithe, in secreat wise,  
 muche more chalenginge his vicyous factes 3590  
 then oughtes commendinge his notable actes:

(514)

if hee bee geauyn to carnalytee  
 besydis his ladye twoe or three to keepe,  
 'Suche wone vnlawfullye oure kinge keepethe hee,' 3595  
 dislaudinge hys name, doithe hee wake or sleepe.  
 Or doithe couetise into his headde creepe,  
 eauermore callinge his coafers tencroache,  
 they wylbe tawlkyng to his great reproache.

(515)

[f. 73<sup>v</sup>] **Or** bee hee beastlye withe drounkenes oppreste  
 customablye, whiche odyous weare to heeare, 3600  
 emonges them-selves they wolde thearof then ieste,  
 'Whye not wee drounke, as well as owre heade peare?'  
 Or shoulde hee shewe forthe prowde disdainfull cheeare  
 to thois whiche to hym hath some certayne sute,  
 as his sorte shewethe so wyll they hym repute. 3605

(516)

**Or** after this maner: if hee shoulde pretende  
 a boacherlye beaste, rauenous and wylde,  
 that hathe delyte dyuyllischlye to contende,  
 by whome manye are of their right begylde,  
 dysquyeted sore and cruellye reuyld, 3610  
 to sett and mayntayne in authorytee,  
 to their lordys chardge they wolde laye it perdee.

(517)

**For** hee on his prynce beareth the hym so bolde,  
 that 'Wee', they will saye, 'dare speake nother stooare'.  
 Thorowe whiche risethe vpp this true prouerbe olde: 3615  
 the great thorowe force oppressethe the pooare.  
 Woorse is his dealinge then the strumpet whooare  
 for her may they stock and bannysche with shame,  
 but they are blanked at sownde of his name.

(518)

**Sythe** better is goode name then golde or treasure, 3620  
 whiche aboue althinges garnyschethe a kinges reigne,  
 and that so purelye lyuethe no creature  
 but some mysdemeanynge the same maye disteyne,  
 speciallye whois factes maye none restreyne  
 withoute wondrefull Grace doithe theare consiste, 3625  
 thearfore this deuysse ys not to bee myste:

(519)

[f. 74] **some** secreat seruaunte let hym owte espye  
 that hath discretion and pregraunte wytt  
 to walke abroade in sorte moste secreatlye,  
 in commone companyes to tawlke and sytt, 3630  
 and what hee heareth for-to commende ytt,  
 other dispraysse, to this ende and effecte  
 that hee maye so walke withoute all suspecte.

(520)

**And** surely hee shall, o noble kynge, I saye,  
 of that ys amysse thorowe youre occasion 3635  
 heere suche reporte that muche profyt maye  
 when hee to youre eare shall make relation.  
 Yee, weetyng thinge worthy of reformation,  
 and sholde neglecte youre princelye endeauer,  
 then doe yee vniustelye from justice dysseauer. 3640

3636 muche profyt] profyt muche *marked for reversal by letters b and a  
 added above in red*

(521)

If ytt youre honour personallye ympeache  
of this synne or that to your conscience knowne,  
no better instruction can youre Grace teache  
then to acknoledge suche fawte of youre owne.  
All if it hathe in yowe longe season growne, 3645  
no synne so sore in the wise taketh place  
but hee can extirpe ytt as seruethe the case.

(522)

As in yowre royalmе wheare your throne is erecte,  
wee haue heere signifyfied owre true entent,  
so wolde wee haue yowe some wyttie electe 3650  
in forayne cowntreyes slylye to bee sent,  
to heeare and debate of kynges regyment,  
by whiche hee shall gather, I dare bee bolde,  
what opinion the worlde of yowe doithe holde.

(523)

[f. 74<sup>v</sup>] For trulye a prince, what soeauer hee bee, 3655  
cannot caste meanys moe then shall suffice  
for to vpholde his pryncelye maiestee,  
suche instabilité ofte tymes doithe arise,  
sometymes thorowe some accustomed vice.  
Howe-eauer it bee, when hee the case knowethe, 3660  
hee maye it remedye wheare the greeif growethe.

(524)

No-man so wise in this worlde can bee fownde,  
but some inconuenience his fame maye blott.  
Knowinge the same, muche more hee is then bownde  
to stoppe or reforme, that it ferdre growe nott. 3665  
As smoake is not seene withoute some fyre hott  
so commone Rumor takethe occasyon  
to treate and frame his communicacion.

3662 No-man] Noman

3663 blott] 1 corr. from r.

(525)

A prince, bee hee neauer so noble of myght,  
 to herken his fawte it shall hym well become, 3670  
 els myght hee bee geauyn into errour quyte,  
 and ren in hatred of no lyttle some.  
 Hee that endeauerthe the scoole of wisdome  
 can bee contented his fawte to heere tolde  
 in sorte as it ought, withe termes not to bolde. 3675

(526)

**But**, as wee haue heere geauen monytion  
 men to bee sent in sorte aforesayde,  
 and hathe thearin had expedition  
 of thinges neadfull in balawnce to bee wayde,  
 suche messengers ought not to bee abbrayde, 3680  
 doithe his relatyon content or byte,  
 but his endeauer withe meede to requyte.

(527)

[f. 75] **And** as the case rehersed shall assigne,  
 of youre partie or oothers if it bee,  
 doe yowe by counsell spedelye inclyne 3685  
 to bringe althinge to goode conformyté  
 that yowe, youre nobles and whoale comontee  
 maye bee vnyte as membres and wone hedde:  
 then is that royalme moste happelye spedde.

**Howe a kinge ought muche to haue in remembraunce the  
 highe worthynes of his creation; his sowle, bodye, and  
 senses, howe theye vnyte in wone globe or mateir, seruethe  
 eache in his propre office too the furnytüre of a perfecte  
 reasonable creature: þe sowle, hedde maister; the bodye,  
 his castell; the fyue senses as baylyffes or offycers vnto  
 the same.**

Ca[put] 23

(528)

**[A]lexander**, my moste redowbted kynge, 3690  
 knowe yee, that when the Creatour of all  
 had to His purpose ordeyned althyng,

Hee formed Man, passinge ymperiall,  
 withe doatys sundrye, surmountynge the brutall,  
 bye whiche hee had a certaigne maiestee  
 to subiecte them to his soueraigntee. 3695

## (529)

**The** same saide Lorde Mannys corps can ordayne  
 as it weare a cytee fensed all rownde,  
 in whiche **Vndrestondinge** as cheif soueraigne  
 had place to gouerne the saide soyle or grownde, 3700  
 the **fyue Senses** as bayliffes to bee bownde  
 to Vndrestandinge, withoute cauyllation  
 to doe their iuste admystration.

## (530)

Whiche is to meane, to the same presentynge  
 their officies moste necessarye, 3705  
 bothe of **Seeinge** and also of **Heearynge**,  
 [f. 75<sup>v</sup>] **Taistinge**, **Feelynge** appropyatlye,  
**Smellinge** also, to sauer thearbye  
 the goode and hoalsome from the infectyfe,  
 as posterns to the Sowle Intellectyfe. 3710

## (531)

Whiche Sowle hathe state of immortalyté  
 by consymylation vnto Ens-beeinge,  
 thorowe the respiratyon of theis thre,  
**Reason**, **Memorye** and **Vndrestondinge**,  
 to weeit the weye what ys belongynge 3715  
 to **justycies** parte proporcyonatlye,  
 the wronge from the right to seauer and trye.

## (532)

By **Reason** to knowe hee had hys begyn[i]nge  
 of Cawse cawsinge all procreatyon,  
 and hathe agayne a hense-returnynge 3720  
 to seeke elswhere hys habytation,  
 for **Atropos** shall geeue mynatyon

bye cowrse and custome of hys fate cruell  
owre **Mycracosme** from this lief to expell.

(533)

**By Memorye** thinges in mynde to conceaue 3725  
passed, as present in playne apparence,  
to caste and conteyne as knowledge grauntethe leaue,  
bye maneire impressynge, and sure permanence.  
Althoughe eache hathe hys propre dyfference,  
**Reason, Memorye, and Intellectyon,** 3730  
one withoute all cawsethe ymperfectyon.

(534)

**Vndrestondinge** hathe this soueraigne grace:  
to feele and perceyauē the substaunce of thynges.  
**Reason** geauethe judgement in euerye case,  
whither agaynste or withe **justice** it wrynges, 3735  
[f. 76] moste needefull of place in all noble kynges,  
bycawse yt fallethe theyr mynysterye  
in their **officies** to traueyle daylye.

(535)

**For** whoe-so hee bee that them abusethe,  
hys fame dysgracethe of noble estate, 3740  
and for that hee them suche-wise refusethe,  
a beaste brutall men maye hym nuncupate.  
Hys deadys then ragethe far illicytate:  
nothinge more odyble can bee trulye  
then man vnmanlye to become beastlye. 3745

(536)

**Specyallye**, the myghtyer thowe arte,  
set in degree ouer oother to reigne,  
the more greater of them ought to bee thy parte,  
sythe theye include all polecye humayne.  
Whereare wantethe **Reason**, feoble is the brayne. 3750  
And lyke so, **Reason** withoute her dwe vse  
is as treasure in a muckehyll tencluse.

(537)

As theare bee graces infused in man,  
 so bee theare graces acquysite, no naye,  
 some moe, some lesse, as prooif well prooue can, 3755  
 geauen by Nature, the fyrste, as wee saye,  
 thoother, by studyous industrye alwaye.  
 The more withe eyather whoe so doithe abownde,  
 the more to gouerne suerer is hys grownde.

(538)

Whoe theis gyftes hathe abundantlye so, 3760  
 and doithe confownde them by fowle abusyon,  
 not vsynge them as **Reason** wolde to doe,  
 hee hathe them, then, to hys owne confusyon.  
 For what can bee a more illusyon  
 to hym that ys withe **Reason** heere indude 3765  
 [f. 76<sup>v</sup>] and leauethe **Reason** as thearof destytude?

(539)

**Concludinge** thea[r]fore my meanyng in thys,  
 moste worthy **Emperour**, pondre youre parte,  
 what noble workynge by God in yowe wrought ys  
 freelye by His moste perfecte dyuyne arte, 3770  
 not bought or gote in anye mundayne marte  
 but, as wee haue sayde, from the Cowrte Superne.  
 Doe not thearfore theis graces prowdeleye sperne.

(540)

**Confownde** not **Reason** by madde immanyté,  
 or weyes sensuall furyous and nought. 3775  
 Brydle the breathynges of **Sensualyté**  
 by **Reasons** rayne, sithe shee knowethe what beste ought.  
**Vndrestande** also, and peyse in youre thought,  
 betweene goode and evyll thyndyfferencye,  
 and chuse the beste, to lyue honorablye. 3780

(541)

**Marr** not youre **Memorye** withe muche meatyng,  
 surfeites, or suche inordynate crapull.  
 Beastelye bancatyng, drynkeinge and eatyng,  
 that **needefull freende** dothe dampnyfie and dull,  
 whearuppon sucthe the myndys sore trobull, 3785  
 forgettyng matiers expedyent to frame.  
 Knowinge the dawnger, whoe recketh not is to blame.

**Howe** a kynge ought to bee ware of all maner thynges that  
 myght in anywise maculate hys conscyence, for the mercy-  
 full rewarde hee doith aspecte at the handys of God,  
 thorowe His benygne goodenesse, for hys juste admynys-  
 tration in his pryncelye offyce and gouernaunce heere.

## Caput 24

[f. 77]

(542)

**[I] Synge** of kynges this solempne idyome,  
 or idiograph, whyther yt bee sayde.  
 Although yt procede froe mee, moste rude mome, 3790  
 to traueyle it styll I holde me well apayde.  
 Emonge matiers manye heere shalbe layde  
 a matier muche compendyouis and meete  
 to bee consydered of nobles dyscreete.

(543)

**The** some thearof this wise I shall vnfolde 3795  
 to yowe, moste nobleste of noble men all,  
 wearinge the dyademe and crowne of golde  
 thorowe thys royalme of reigne imperyall,  
 that yee wyll vouchesauf to remembraunce call  
 youre woorthye estate in full effecte moste stronge, 3800  
 what to the same in eache parte dothe belonge.

(544)

**Fyrste**, in honowre howe yee doe heere excell  
 the whoale orbe of your domynation,

*Heading to Caput 24: His] H with contraction-sign normally standing for -es  
 3802 howe] e indistinct*

and are a persone, as yee doe wote well,  
 pryuate and publyke in estymatyon. 3805  
 For pryuatlye yee haue coronation  
 withoute compare, the publike weale to see,  
 and yee protected of your commontee.

## (545)

**Sythe** suche highe honour your Grace dothe ensue,  
 all men to yowe to kneele and to bowe, 3810  
 yee must adorne yowe withe godlye Vertue,  
 whoe cawsethe Honour to florische and flowe  
 as parte supream, I am bolde to tell yowe.  
 For **Vertue**, wheare shee extendethe her grace,  
 before **Honour** eauer chalengethe place. 3815

## (546)

**Honour** heere maye bee feared and obeyde  
 withe salutatyons dwe to the same,  
 but in the Hyghe Cowrte it is not so weyde:  
 [f. 77<sup>v</sup>] abbreachement maye bee, bye some kynde of blame.  
**Vertue** cheiflye settethe furthe Honours fame, 3820  
 whoe vntoe her, successe of thinges foareseene,  
 subiectethe **Fortune** as her maistresse or queene.

## (547)

**In** whome so **Vertue** dothe predomynate,  
 and hathe hymselfe knyght to her in alyauce  
 fymelye foreauer, non to cancellate 3825  
 his saide godlye and faithfull affyaunce,  
 let hym neauer passe for mannys annoyaunce,  
 other the Dyuyllys, capytayne of all myscheif:  
**Vertue** vtterlye expellethe all greif.

## (548)

**Thearfore**, Alexandre, to yowe I wryte, 3830  
 withe all cyrcumspectyon keepe and defende  
 thy moste noble sowle and angelyke spiryte  
 to yowe deputed to the prescrybed ende,

as **Hermogenes** counsell dothe pretende,  
that by synnes vsage and fowle enormytee 3835  
it bee not brought to beastis difformytee.

(549)

**But** rather that shee by youre woorkinge sage  
bee withe Vertue garnysched and endecte.  
Whiche, if yee so endeauer your courage,  
when yee this worlde shall clearlye reiecte 3840  
emonges the heauenlye yee shalbee electe,  
in the Presence moste excellent to name,  
to Whois symylytude hers shewethe the same.

(550)

**If** by youre neglygence and mysdemeanour  
shee bee difformed ootherwise then soe, 3845  
shee shalbee downe throwne to payne and dolowre  
[f. 78] voyde of all p[l]easure, neauer to parte froe.  
so **Vice** shall peryshe and **Vertue** shall goe  
in estymatyon æternallye sure  
withe the heauynlye in glorye to endure. 3850

(551)

**For**, knowe yowe certaynlye, o noble kynge,  
that Godde nothinge made vacuat or in vayne  
in the creation of his dyuyne workeinge,  
but althinges to an ende, perfecte and certayne,  
of cawse probable, as Hee liste tordayne: 3855  
then, if yee sholde dyfface that Hee hathe wrought,  
so maye your honour to dishonour bee brought.

*[Manuscript breaks off without completing the page]*

3847 voyde . . . pleasure] voyde . . . preasure (sine spe placendi Deo B132)

# APPENDIX A

## X

### JENKYN GWYNNE

THE translating into the Englische tonge of the Epistle which Aristotiles wrote to the greate Emperor Alexander, intituled, **De conseruatione sanitatis**, and owt of an Arabique booke called

#### Tyrocaesar

translatede into the Latyne by one Joannes Hispanus, a famous cleark.

1569

From *Wellcome Medical Historical Library MS. 71*, fols. 2-22

To the Right Honorable Syr Wa[lter] Myldmay, Knyht, [f. 2]  
Chauncellour of the Maiesties Highe Courte of Escheaquer.

To the Right Honorable Syr Wa[lter] Myldmay, Knight, [f. 3]  
Chauncellour of the Quenes Maiesties Highe Courte of Escheaquer, and Threasurour of the same, one of Her Highnes  
5 most Honorable Pryueye Counsaill, your humble orator,  
Jenkin Gwynne, one of the particuler Surueyours of the same  
Courte, and Seruante to the Right Honorable Earle of Penbrok,  
Lorde Stewarde of the Queenes Highnes most noble householde,  
wishith continuall healthe, longe lyeffe, with increase of honor. 10

Sundry occasions do move me to salute your honour withe this, the  
argumente of my good will, of whose goodnes I haue tastede more then  
20 yeares nowe paste; neyther did passe any one yeare syns, but such as  
ministrede vnto me good cause to knowlege hit with all obsequye and  
seruice; yea, the leanger I do lyve, the more I remaine bounde to re- 15  
taine the same in good remembraunce. And whear the protestation of an  
inferior, whiche otherwise cannot yelde the recompens, may be taken  
for mere fflatery, howe then may one of my sorte shewe himself a  
gratfull rememberer of benefytes, but by some outwarde signe or  
token. Iff, therefore, I had your Honors ffurtherance, I cane declare hit 20  
in perticularities, and a greter falte it were to fforegett then to aknow-  
ledge the same.

19 rememberer] remembreter

21 a inserted above line

- [f. 3<sup>v</sup>] Your late sicknes, Right Honorable, offerede me the occasion | to aquite my self, bothe of debte and duetye. For vnto the sycke eache counfortable woorde ys a probable remedye. And, vppon this gronde, I fell to examyn withe my self howe I might performe my long de-  
 5 syrede affecte towardes Your Honour. And loo, among certaine odde bookes I ffounde writtyn in an olde texte the transcrypte of the Epistile which Aristotiles wrate to the greate Emperor Alexander, intituled, **De conseruatione sanitatis**, and owt of an Arabique booke callede **Tyrocaesar** translatede into the Latyne by one **Joannes Hispanus**, a famous clearik. Hyt muche encoragede me to geve the ad-  
 10 venture in the translating of the same into the Englishe tonge, vppon this full truste, that Your Honor, adornede with a mylde surname, wolde with myldenes and affabilitie dayne to accepte the good lore of Aristotiles, thoughe offerede by the symple and ignorant.
- 15 Therunto also ys addede some thing not ympertynent to the matter, as by the sequeale dothe appere. And, ffynding that nothing in earthe doth ensample man more lyvelye to the ymage of God then dothe the **præscience** and foreknowlege of thinges yet to come, and that man, taking pleasure therin, ys neuer satisfiede vntill he do acheve his owne  
 20 Centre, whiche ys God, as hit ys writtyn, **Sic enim homini mancipantur terrestria, fauent Cælestia, quia Cælestium, et terrestrium, uinculum est et nodus**, I have therefore in the later ende  
 [f. 4] hereof wryttyn | of the destruction of the Sea of Rome, of the defection and revoulte against the Empyre, spoken of by the holy Apostle [2]  
 25 **ad Thessalonii Caput 2**, of the commynge of Antichriste, off the libertie and conuersion of the Jewes, of some other mysteryes in magik naturall, and fynallye of the peryode of periodes, that ys, the laste ende of the woorlde, wherin Your Honor shall see sundry probable coniec-  
 30 tures, and reasonable authoritie touching the sames: and the processe of the matter dothe shewe that I am but a gatherer of other mens woorkes: the auctoritye ys theirs, the credite and dyscredite ys theirs whose woordes and sentences I alledge, the order and ymperfection I do chalenge for my portion. And withall, my paynes were the more, in that my desire was greate, and my arte oversleander, to deale with so  
 35 wightye a cause, and withe so honorable a counsaillour as yow bee.
- Thereffore the matter I do present vnto your woorthynes as a confusede chaos: Your Honor cane fframe the bodye and substaunce thereof vnto some proportionable quadrature: and hit ys true that ther ys not  
 39 writyn so yll a booke but hit ys woorth the readinge to some ende or  
 [f. 4<sup>v</sup>] other. And hit ys also expedient to geve sometymes eare to the | vn-

5-6 *in margin* Epistola Aristotilis ad Alexandrum magnum 7 Epistile]  
 Epistile 21-2 *in margin* Homo vinculum omnium rerum et nodus  
 25 *ad Thessalonii, Caput 2]* *in margin, again,* 'Ad Thessalonii' 2 of Antichriste]  
 of *ins. above* 29 sames] *form intended perh. same*

learnede; and hit were the parte of the writer not to write, rather then the reader not to reade, specially whear a ffole differeth not from a wiseman whiles he vsithe scilence.

Vnto Your Honor, and to none other, I have writtyn: vnto Your Honor I committe the correction of my writinge, and the exposition of my syncere meaninge, which was to preserve your healtie by good diete and the readinge of pleasaunte and woorthy coniectures, touching the matters before remembrede. And of Your Honor I most humbly crave pardon for my boldnes. **Et si aliquid in hoc opere imperfectum inueniatur, humanæ imperfectioni deputetur, nec ideo quod in eo utile erit uituperetur.**

**Hec enim, propter unum male dictum, bona sunt uituperanda, neque propter unum bene dictum sunt mala laudanda: quandoque enim uigilat Tharsites et dormitat Vlyxes.**

Your Honors most humbly  
at commaundement  
1569

15

Jenkyn Gwynne |

**O Alexander**, Monarche and Emperoure of the vnyuersall woorld, consyder that as touching your bodye yow are corruptible as other men bee. And by reason of whote and colde humors yow ar subiecte to meny incomodytyes, ffor the advoydinge whereof I have determynede to wryte vnto Your Grace certaine rules vearye proffitable and necessarye, drawn ffrom the seacreate of Nature, and the bowelles of Phisycke, and whiche maye contente Your Grace, syns hit ys not honorable for so mightie a Prynce to make all his greffes and deceases knowen to any phisicien. Yff therefore Your Magnyfycence doo observe this dyscypline and example, Your Grace shall not nede the phisicien, excepte when casuall woondes which require surgerye do happen, and therin also may heale.

[f. 5]

20

25

30

I beseche Your Grace therefore that, ymediatly when yow do arise from your sleape and naturall reast, that yow ffail not to walke and to kyme your heade, and withall to extende and streache your membres. For the extention of membres dothe cause strength to the body, and the kymmynge of the heade drawethe furthe the fumosityes and vapors which whiles yow sleypthe ascendede from the stomake to the heade.

35

Then I do notyfy that hit is holsome to wasshe your handes in

1 and hit] and *ins. above*      25 not] *ins. above*      34 extention of mem-  
bres] *in margin* Extensio membrorum      36 sleypthe] *final five letters over*  
*erasure, and unclear. In outer margin, sleypthe repeated, with asterisks in text*  
*and margin as guides*      37 is holsome] *ins. above*

sommer withe colde water, ffor colde water constraynethe the naturall heate to remayne in his natyve place, restrayninge his commynge ffurthe, whereby a more better appetyte to dayly meales ys sturrede and excitede.

4  
[f. 5<sup>v</sup>] Then consequently, hit ys a pryncypall rule to be clothede | withe ffyne and honorabile garmentes, ffor suche do gladdede the mynde, and the nutrytyve vertewe takethe pleasure in the bewtie and vse of robes.

I require also that yow doo rubbe your teathe and jawes withe whote, plesaunte, and aromaticke rootes, whose propertys are to drye vpp the rawe and moist humors. For such rootes doue proffite muche, do counfforte the teathe, cleanse the mouthe, raryfye the ffeugme, make the tonge more diserte, the voice more shrill, and ffynally doo sturre good stomake and appetyte.

10 Also to incence and fume into the mouthe and nosethrilles suffumigations answerable to the season of the yere, ys very necessarye for the preseruacion of healte. For by suche meanes the closures and rystes of the brayne are oponede, the armes maide more stronge, the neacke more fatte, the fface more bewtiffull, the senses more quicke, and consequently whore and whit heares, which be accidentes of olde aege, are staide and kepte backe.

And pursuante herevppon, the vse of swete oyntementes ys agreable vnto Nature. For by good odours the mynde ys reffreasshede, and the soule of man being therby counfortede, causethe the bloode to joye and rynne in-to all the vaynes, to the counfforte of the membres, wherunto yow muste adde electuarye of rubarbe and aloys: therby fleugme ys enforcede from the mouthe of the stomake, the heate of the bodye ys excitede, wyndes ar expulsende, swete breathe and good taste ar inducede.

[f. 6] Then | to sytte withe the noble and wise, and to treat of wisdom and vertewe, answerable to the tyme and place, to vse the accustomed 30 houres at meales, withe a moderate exercise to the bodye, are commendable, and very naturall for the preseruacion of healte. For thereof meny commodities do springe, to the helping of nature, as wyndbreches, heate of the stomake, the closing of the ligatures in the body, the dissolution of superfluous humors, and, ffynally, the digestion of the 35 meates, whiche do descende in-to a boilling and a whote stomake.

And for a pryncypall rule I warne Your Grace to have respecte and good regarde to the differences of meates seruede at your table: to begynne therefore your meale withe one good disshe of light digestion, ys allowable, but to make commyxtures of meny sortes of meates, grosse

1 *in margin* vsus aquae frigidae ad manus lauandae  
pulchra indumenta prosunt  
9-10 *in margin* fricatio dentium prodest  
16-17 *in margin* suffimentum laudatur  
31 ff. *in margin* Diaeta secundum Ciceronem est ea pars medicae, quae uictu morbos curat: Ad At[t]i[cum] 56, sed ego diaeta curari incipio.

and ffyne together, ys not to be allowede, specially the vse of grosse meates after fyne meates, but rather the grosse meate ys to be receavede ffurst in-to the bottome of the stomake, for the bottome of the stomake, beinge so nere the lyver, ys of more heate and streangthe then the vpper parte of the mouthe of the stomake, and therefore makethe an equallitie 5 in the digestion.

And forgett not in any wise to staye from eatinge whiles yet the appetite dothe partly remayne, for superfluytye of meates doth | make [f. 6v] narrowe the passage of the stomake, and the meate remayninge in the bottome of the stomake ys not digestede. And in like maner beware 10 overmuch drynkinge and carrosinge, and drynke no waters vppon meates, exceapte yow have vsede so to doo: for water after meates coolethe the stomake, quenshith the naturall heate, confoundethe the meate, and dothe ingender ympedymente in digestion, then the whiche nothinge ys more pernicious to the healte of man. But if the heate of 15 your stomake be suche that yow cannot refrayne from the drynkinge of water, in such extreamtye lett the water be colde, and drynke a small quantitie thereof. And ffurthermore, after dyner to laye downe vppon a conveniente softe couche, and therevppon temperatlie to reste, and to take a swete nappe, ys not against the rule of phisick; but to sleape be- 20 fore dynner wasteth the bodye and makethe hit macylente and leane, and dryethe vppe the bloode and naturall moisture: so, sleape after meate reffreasshithe and doth noorisshe hit.

And amonge the nombre of which naturall preceptes, marke that at no tyme yow doo ingorge one meale vppon another, but rather refrayne 25 from eatinge vntill the stomake be purgede and well emptiede of the formor meates receavede, which yow shall perfityly knowe by your appetyte and by the subtillitie of the spettell | descendinge in-to the [f. 7] mouthe: whiche dyete iff yow will negleacte, and ffall to your vittaill contrary to this dyscyplyne, then your meate shall fynde the naturall 30 heate ffrosen; but contrarye wise, iff yow do vse your meate at neade and withe appetite, then the meate which yow do take shall fynde the naturall heate a kyndlede ffyre. Therefore as yow ought not to eate witheout appetite, no more ought yow to refrayne from meate when that yow have desire there-to. For by such abstynence the stomake 35 shulde be fylled with yvell humours which he drawethe from the superfluytyes of the bodye, and therby the brayne ys troblede of a most wickede vapor, and the stomake maide rawe, in sort that he cannot doo his naturall offyce.

24 which] w<sup>ch</sup>: conceivably error for these 34 no more] nomore in margin  
 Abstinencia nocet 38 vapor] written over an erasure of which the latter  
 portion is still visible. In outer margin vapor is repeated, with an asterisk over the  
 word in the text, and another preceding the marginal repetition

- And having by these ffewe preceptes prescribede an order of dyete vn-to Your Magnificence, ther ys yet vntouchede a due consideration to be hade to the ffoure seasons of the yeare, **Vær**, **Æstas**, **Autumnus**, and **Hyems**. Therefore like as **Vær**, whiche we call the springe, ys
- 5 whot and moist, and therby the ayre ys temperate and the blood sturred, even so meates of that complexion, and agreable to that season, ar conveniente to be eaten, as chikyns, quaylles, newelaid eaggess, withe the wilde leatise callede of the Latynes **Scariola**, and goates mylke,
- [f. 7<sup>v</sup>] and no tyme more conveniente to leatt bloode. | **The motions of the**
- 10 **Bodye, withe the vse of Venus, purgations, bathinges, laxes, spicede and artificiaall drynkes**, do well accorde withe thys season, the springtyme. And whatsoever errors do happen by meanes of formor medicines, the spryngtyme, thrughe his humydytye, for the more parte, dothe quallifye and resarciate.
- 15 Then **Aestas**, whiche wee call Sommer, ffoloweth, by nature whote and drye. In this season reade **Colera** ys ingenderede. Beware, therefore, duringe that season, from all thinges that be of whote and drye complexions, whiche are theese: mucche heate, whote drynkes, but speciallie surffeates, ffor thes before remembrede do queanshe the
- 20 heate naturall. Also duringe all the sommer, suche meates must be vsede that are of colde and moist complexions, as veale, vinegre, cowcumbres, feadde chickyns, and suche fruetes that ar sowre in taste, as crabbes and pomegranates, withe the like. And during the sommer season **Dame Venus** may be sparede, and licencede to beholde her
- 25 glasse, or myrror, by which priuilege she may pamper herself for the winters seruice.

The sommer ones endede, **Autumnus** presentethe hymself in-to the theatre, withe his colde and drye complexion, sturringe vppe blacke **Colera**, an Impe of his owne generation. During all this season, eat

30 no coloricke meates. And, in especial, **Venus, purgations, and bathinges** are most inconueniente. |

- [f. 8<sup>j</sup>] For therby may yow the better receave winter withe his colde and whorye blastes, whiche by nature ys colde and [moist], in whiche season, touchinge your meates and drinkes, the diete ys to be alterede
- 35 alltogethers. For in wynter your meates ought to be of whote complexions, as pygyons, fleasshe of the male kynde callede of the Latynes **Carnes castratiuæ**, pyping whote, and rather rostede then boyllede, fygges, nuttes, good claret wyne, and whot electuaries. Purgations and

5-6 *in margin* vaer durat a medio Martii usque ad medium Junij. 8  
*Scariola*] repeated *in margin* 15 *in margin* Aestas du[r]at a medio Junij  
 usque ad medium Septembris 27-8 *in margin* Autumnus durat a medio  
 Septembris usque ad medium Decembris. 28 colde] *partially rubbed out*  
 33 moist] drye 35-6 *in margin* Hyems durat a medio Decembris usque ad  
 medium Martij

laxes ar not conueniente, neither bloode leattinge, **but in cases of extremities. But Venus, for feare of her mallice, and doubte of her frowninge aspecte, may be well admitted and reclaymede.** And the more meate may be eaten withe the leasse dangier, because digestion ys stronge. 5

Adde thereunto joye, myrthe, and solace, ffor honor, and hope of glorye, joynd withe musycall harmony, the reading of good bookes, the vse of ffayre garmentes, and good company, doo make ffatte, counfforte and moiste the bodye. But to eate litle, to drinke muche, longe watche, sulphureous bathes, ofte leatting of bloode, overmuch **venerye, feare, and heuynes,** do drye and make weke the bodye. 10

Beware, therefore, o **Alexander,** most victorious prynce, from thees forebooden thinges, and observe the formor precieuse rules and admonitions, and with all circumspection preserve the heate naturall. For as longe as temperate heate is within man, and that humiditie excede not measure, | man ys in perffitt health. For by these twoo the naturall heate ys reffreasshede, and vndoubtedelye the lyeff of eache lyvinge creature ys prolongede. Man, therefore, waxethe olde by twoo maner of meanes, the one naturallie, proceding of drynes, which destroithe and conquerethe nature, the other accydently, that ys, by infyrmities, and dothe procede of most wickede causes. 15 [f. 8<sup>v</sup>] 20

I ffounde, Right Honorable, a pece of the said epistill Englishshed by some auncient learnede man, whose name I colde not fynde, whiche I thought good to place here for the more clere vnderstandinge of Aristotiles mynde. The copie was ffalsiffiede and corrupteded by the iniquitie of tyme, which at leangethe drawethe all thinges withe hit in-to the doongion of Obluuiou. And the said verse, conteigning the said epistle, doth ensue in this maner: 25

### Naturall philosophers assented all in one . . .

[This is line 1240 of the rime royal version of the 'Secretum Secretorum' written by John Lydgate and Benedict Burgh, and published by Robert Steele, under the title 'Secrees of Olde Philisophres' as no. 66 of the Old English Text Society (1894). From here to f. 16 Gwynne gives his version of the section of this poem which deals with hygiene and corresponds to his prose translation of the Hispaniensis tract. This section runs from l. 1240 to l. 2016: up to l. 1491, the work is Lydgate's, and thereafter, Burgh's. Gwynne omits the following lines: 1254-60, 1282-8, 1293, 1286-1449, 1492-1589, 1634-5, 1649, 1674-80, 1716-29, 1772- 30 35

3 reclaymede] unclear in body of text, first five letters over a corr.; reclaimede repeated in margin, with asterisks in text and margin as guides 29] preceded, as last l. of text of f. 8<sup>v</sup> (not written in position of catch-phrase, by the words Naturall philosophers &c.)

1820, 1856-1904, and 1982-95. There are some dozen Latin marginalia, a few of which constitute glosses, while the remainder are indications of the subject discussed in the text: Gwynne then concludes with a Latin aphorism, as given below, and resumes his own contribution.]

[f. 16] **Naturae assecla medicus.**

6 And nowe, Right Honorable, having endede the Epistill in prose, and also in verse, wherin the matter ys to be considerede more then the obseruation of the trowe nombre of sillables, hit may be said that those verses ar not rare, but comon, and therfor not woorthy to be presentede  
10 vnto your honnour, **quia nihil praecl[arum] est, quod idem non sit rarum.** To that I answeere for my parte, I do fynde the said verses very auncient, and also rare, full of pithe and syncerytye, and therefore not to be reprove,de, syns peradventure the Martilog also cannot shewe the like of his owne invention.

15 Also a ffarther question may growe, whither any man cane at all tymes observe the before-remembred and prescribede dyete, and, if  
[f. 16v] not, than wrate | **Aristotiles in vaine.** Therunto I say, that the obseruation of the said rules must nedes be very necessary and proffitable for mans healtie. Albeit I do graunt that hit were over-greate a taske  
20 for eny man allwayes to be tiede to suche obseruations, wherin marke what Roger Bachon the frere wrate in his book 'De admirabili potestate Artis et Naturae', thus :

**Est impossibile, ut sanitas regatur in omnibus sicut exigit regimen sanitatis, mediocritate, quia neque diues, neque  
25 pauper, neque sapiens, neque incipiens, nec ipsi medici quantumcumque perfecti, possunt hoc regimen in se nec in aliis perficere. Sapientes tamen uias excogitauerunt, non solum contra defectum regiminis, sed etiam contra corruptionem parentum, non ut reducatur homo ad uitam Aadae, seu Artephij,  
30 sed ad centenarium annorum, uel plus, in vita prolongetur, et passiones senectutis retardarentur, ultra estimationem humanam.**

Whiche tendethe to thus-muche in effecte, that wisemen have founde within the lymites of nature reasonable means to kepe an vnyformitye  
35 in mans body. And that accordithe well withe the difinition of philosophy and phisick. Thus:

**Philosophia est sapientiae studium diuinarum humanarumque notitia. Philosophia est eorum quae sunt et uidentur, et eorum quae sunt et non uidentur certa comprehensio. Et phisica  
40 est de natura causis et effectibus, et accidentibus corporis naturalis mobilis scientia.**

10 praeclarum] praeclarum  
24 mediocritate] mediocrietate

23-4 in margin Ro[gerus] Bachon[us]  
37-9 in margin Philosophia quid

Then by good consequence hit followeth that philosophy and phisick tende to a certaine knowelege of naturall effectes, causes, and accidentes of mans bodye. | But experience doth teache vs that ther [f. 17] be certaine sycknes whiche our phisiciens do pronounce to be incurable, as the leapre, the ffawling sycknes, the inveterate goute, and the like, 5 and therefore the formour difinition ys ffalse. But that may not be graunted, for the ymperfection ys not in the science, but in the ignorant phisicien, whiche ffawling to practise before he become an absolute theoricien, omittethe to searche out and seeke the kyrnell, sappe, and sparne, whiche ys hydde in the philosophers tree. Against whom 10 Arnaldus Nouauillanus dothe with open mouthe exclame in this maner followinge:

**Reduxit me fortuna in medium, et in eo inueni tres doctrinas principi dignas, quarum una docet aequum ab iniquo, iustum ab iniusto, discernere, alia docet sanum in sanitate regere, et 15 egris reddere sanitatem. Et hec inuenitur in libris scientiae medicine, licet imperfecte, et ideo sequentes eius operationem, propter illius doctrinae defectum, et intellectum occultum, errare sepissime consueuerunt.**

Loo, Right Honorable, how Arnold (whom Chauser in the Chanons Tale callethe the greate clerck) ys not affraid to accuse our phisiciens of ignoraunce, affyrm[i]ng further that the certaintye of phisyck was never sett furth by writing in sorte as may be vnderstandede by every student, or by any one amonge a thowsande, wherunto agrethe Aristotiles thus: 25

**Esset fractor sigilli caelestis, qui com[m]unicaret secreta naturae et artis, et multa mala sequ[un]tur eum qui reuelat secreta, etiam rerum minuit maiestatem, qui diulgat mistica. 29**

And agayne our | countreyman saithe that **In pellibus caprarum et ouium non traduntur secreta naturae, ut a quolibet intelligantur: Whereunto Raymunde doth agree as followith: [f. 17]**

**Pauci perueniunt ad notitiam rei talis quia medici et philosophi nostri temporis nichil faciunt nisi pecuniae desiderio, quare Deus nequaquam hoc uult illis conferre. 35**

Many of the like testymonies might be vouchede out of auntient and newe writters, were hit not a thing over-superfluous, to stande vppon the proffe of that whiche daylye experience teachethe vs. The philosophers doo therefore all conclude that ther ys lefte of God

10 philosophers] *prec. by phisol crossed through* 15 f. in margin Arnaldus  
in sua epistola 'De accidentibus senectutis et senij' 22 affirming] *only five*  
*minims between r and g* 26 f. in margin Aristoteles in libro Secretorum.  
30 our countreyman] *in margin* Ro[gerus] Bachon[us] 33 f. in margin  
Raymundus, dist[inctio] prima libri sui de quinta essentia

amonge men one heavenly medycine, whiche prolongethe mans lyef, and dothe preserve hit from all deceasses, and from the tokens and messengers of olde aege, vntill the tyme appointed of allmightye God, whiche no man canne passe, as ys wryttn, **Constituisti michi terminos, quos preterire non possum. Breues dies hominum, et numerus eorum apud te est.** Then hit were a ffantastycall thing to seke perpetuation to mans bodye, wher as ther ys no healpe or meane to reskue any from the ffynger of God, as the heathen theymsel do confesse:

10 **Mors etiam saxis marmoribusque venit.**

And nowe, again, to the better proffe of this necessary and most vndoubtede medycyne. **Diascorides hathe thes woordes: Possibile est, ut sint medicinae aliquae, quae prohibent hominem a uelocitate senectutis, et frigore et siccitate membrorum, ut | per illud elongatur uita hominis.** And also Haly Regalis, in Libro de operationibus simplicium medicinarum, Canone 2: **Est una medicina que ponit et diuidit omnem complexionem ad partem quam meretur.** The noble Englisshe philosopher **Joannes Garlandius**, whiche lyved Anno Domini [12]40 was not ignorant thereof  
 15 when he wrot in this maner:

**Est quadam aqua uitae summe rectificata, quae conseruat corpus, et contra omnes infirmitates est curatiua, et huic aquae nichil est extraneum appositum, sed omnes eius amouentur superfluitates, vincet omnem rem subtilem, et omnem rem solidam penetrabit.**  
 25

And of this mynde was **Hypocrates** in his aphorismes, wher thes woordes ar:

**Est etiam quoddam caeleste, quod ipsum medicum preuidere oportet, cuius si tanta sit gratia prudentiaque, fit admirabilis, nimiumque stupendum, rerum periculum prohibebit, et salutem competenti adminiculo administrato, tollerabilius facit.**  
 30

And **John Damascene**, in his book of symple medicines, hath a lyke conclusion thus as followeth: **Nulla querenda est causa, nisi a Caelo**, calling thys medicine **Caelum** by reason of the purenes thereof. Wherunto **Raymunde** beareth the like witnes:

**Et haec medicina (saith he) futurum periculum a corporibus euitari potest, quia omnem corruptibilitatem, ex qua infirmitas prouenire solet, expellit, et humores inequatos equat, preterea**

12 **Diascorides**] *margin repeats* **Diascorides** 15 *in margin* **Haly Regalis**  
 19 1240] 4040 21-2 *in margin* **Garlandius Anglus** 26 *margin repeats*  
**Hypocrates** 33 *in margin* **Joannes Damascenus** 38 *in margin*  
**Raymundus**

admirabilis est sapientia magistri hanc naturam cognoscentis, quia, cum hac natura talia opera in medicina faciet, quae miracula uideantur.

And Plynye dothe make | mention that Octauian the Emperour de- [f. 18<sup>v</sup>]  
maundede of a certaine olde man, whiche was very aegede in yeares 5  
and very yonge to the sight and apparraunce of men, howe he pre-  
seruede hymself, and his answeere was, '**Posui oleum exterius, et  
mulsum interius**', by which woordes he ment the medycyne nowe  
treatede of. And so the greate clerck **Arnolde expoundeth the said**  
**woordes as followith: Hic sermo occultam habet interpreta-** 10  
**tionem.** And a lik recorde we do ffynde, that in the tyme of King  
Ostus, king of Scicilia, a certayne laborer, dygging in the ffelde, founde  
a golden vessell withe a certaine lyquor in hit, whereof he drank, and  
thereby was restorede to his fformor strengthe, and woonderfully  
alterede in mynde and bodye, and, being a heardeman, was appointed 15  
one of the kinges offycers.

The noble Prynce **Barnarde**, Earle **Frauerense**, had the vse of  
this dyvyne medycyne, as he hymself dothe reporte by thes woordes  
ensuinge:

**Hac medicina usus sum in caducis, hydropicis, hecticis, pti-** 20  
**sicis, colicis, lientericis, melancholicis, et omni denique morbo,**  
**quod longum esset recensere, et nunquam credidisset hanc**  
**medicinam habere tantas uirtutes, nisi uidissem et probassem.**

And **Euonimus** writethe that of late at Padua, not ffarre from  
**Venetia**, ther was founde an earthen potte having vppon hit wrytyn 25  
this hexasticon in maner and fforme ensuinge: |

**Plutoni sacrum munus ne attingite, fures: [f. 19]  
ignotum est uobis hoc quod in urna letet.  
Nam elementa graui clausit digesta labore,  
vase sub hoc modico, maximus Olibius: 30  
adsit fecundo custos sibi copia cornu,  
ne premium tanti depereat laticis.**

And ys thus Englishshede by an Oxforde man:

This sacred, theues, ware that ye touche not:  
Vnknown hit ys unto you all, this that ys hydde in potte. 35  
For the elementes hath upshut, digested with many payne,  
In this small vessell, the great Olibius certayne.  
Plentye with the frutefull horne, as a garde be thow present,  
Least the pryce perryyshe of this liquor most excellent.

1 magistri] *ins. above* 4-5 *in margin* Plinius 15 heardeman] man  
*ins. above* 15-16 *in margin* Baiulus regis factus est ex bubulco 20-1 *in*  
*margin* Barnardus Comes Frauerensis 27 *in margin* Euonimus 30 maxi-  
mus] *for Maximus: see n.*

And within that potte was a litle potte, with the inscription hereafter followinge:

Abite hinc, pessimi fures :  
uos quid uultis cum uostris oculis emissitijs ?

5 Abite hinc, uostro cum Mercurio petasato caduceatoque :  
Maximus maximo donum Plotoni hoc sacrum facit.

Thus Englisshede :

Away from hens, ye mightye theues, trudge elswher and goo bye:  
What seke ye with your espeynge eyes? why doo ye pore and  
10 pryve?

Hens with your hatede Mercurye, and with his rode also :  
Thys ys sacrede, by the greateste, vnto the greate Ploto.

And hit were over-tedious, and also nedeles, here to sett furthe  
what Bartholomeus Amantius, Hemolaus, Democritus, Ap-  
15 pianus, Trismagistus, Merlinus, Socrates, Plato, Thrytemius,  
[f. 19<sup>v</sup>] Paracelsus, Agryppa, yea, and all the rowte | of the philosophers  
do wryte touching this matter, and against whom ther do not want  
some yonglinges whiche do ympugne, and inferre suche small knowe-  
lege they have, and frame this argumente: **Quicquid aliud conuer-**  
20 **tendo mutat, eundem mutari necesse est.** As, for example, wee  
do norrishe our bodyes by eating and drinking: likewise, by eating and  
drynking wee do destroye the same invisiblye and vnknownen vnto vs,  
by the meanes of the vnequall natures of the sustynance we receave.  
And againe this ys another of their maximes: **Continua resolutio re-**  
25 **quirit continuam reperationem:** otherwise, saye they (whose  
iugementes ar most ffallible) wee were ymortall. For healthe ys nothing  
elles but a good disposition of the bodye, by the whiche the same bodye  
dothe or suffrethe some **action or passion** naturall vnto hyt, without  
any notable greffe. For dyvers men haue dyvers complexions, and hit ys  
30 not possible to ffynde twoo men in all the woorld of one equall com-  
plexion **secundum gradum totaliter.** Then hit ys consequente that  
dyuerse men do want dyuerse regymentes, and this ys gathred out of  
**Galene**, whose woordes ar these: **Cum enim regimen sanitatis fit**  
34 **per similia, et si complexiones diuersorum hominum sunt dif-**  
[f. 20] **ferentes, oportet quod per huiusmodi | differentiam conseruentur.** Then howe cane hit be that one medecyne shulde be curatiue to  
all men, to all aeges, and for all deceasses? This invncible argumente  
and **Gordians** knotte may be thus easelye answerede, and that **sine**  
**pulvere** as the proverbe goithe: **Vnum simile, additum sibi simili,**  
40 **facit maius simile, et nulla res quae non habet inclinationem ad**

11 his] *ins. above*  
*over canc. notable*

15 Thrytemius] *for Trythemius*  
31-2 *in margin Galenus 3 regni*

28 *natural]*

**consimilem rem, conseruari potest per consimilem rem.** Then, if any one substance or nature hath contrary operation, and dysposeth himself according to the matter that he findeth, and is diversified according to the nature of the patient, the former argument is quite overthrown. As, for example, the sunne, by his heate, mollifieth the waxe, and maketh the claye harde, yet the proper acte of the sunne is but one, and worketh in the objecte whereunto he is infused. I persuade therfor that this medycyne I meane is elevated into such simplicitie and purenes, and hath appetite to this or that complexion, and is to be made of the 4 elementes, as did **Olibius**, and in him actually the 4 elementes are with all their actes settled respectively, as in the **eye of the basilisk**. And as the heaven doth the power upon vs sometymes colde, and sometymes heate, drynes, and humiditie, so doth this medycyne, by applynge vnto hit certaine hearbes, stoues, and mineralles which be the proper starres of this hevenlye medicine, and which doth augment the vertue of every simple ioyned vnto hit in **millecuplo**, a thousandefolde. **Quia qualitates primas, siue elementa prima, quae a naturali sym[m]etria deflectuntur, et actiones labefactas, humoresque peccantes, et corruptionis causas, siue internas, siue extrinsecus incidentes, ad naturam suam reducit.** For **Aristotiles** sayth that the elements of naturall things in their owne centres are most pure. Therefore, take from them their heterogenall partes, which they have **per accidens**, then the most pure **homogenall** parte, that is the **sperme, sperite, and soule** of them, will remaine. Then, to conclude, **the philosophers medycyne** is only a multiplication of naturall heate in a durable and permanent substance. And by this tyme I trust that the former grave arguments of our comon scolemen is more than answered.

Then hit doth rest to knowe how to come by this medycyne, and whereof hit is made, elles hit may be said that all the former commendation may seme to be but a heape of fruitles wordes, for **Principium et medium** allway is **propter finem tantum, et spes premij solatium est laboris**. Theunto this shalbe myne answer:

I was neuer no expert iueller, with suche matters to putt myself in prese:

With philosophers myne eyne were not clere, nether with Plato nor Socrates,

Excepte the prynce, **Aristotiles**, of philosophers, to **Alexander kinge**

Wrote of this secretes the greate maruail and workinge.

5 sonne] *prec. by canc. sinne* In margin qualitas solis 12 in margin oculus basilisci. And] repeated 21 margin repeats Aristotiles 25-6 in margin Definitio 32 allway is] in italics, like preceding and succeeding Latin phrases

Notwithstanding, touching my sinceritie, I will not be nyce to ymparte vn-to Your Honnor what the aforenamede **Arnolde** dothe declare, and that the matteriales are ffounde in the bowelles of the earthe, adding further that all the secreates dothe consist in the preparation thereof. And I swere that **Quicquid queritur, inueniri potest in spermate Solis et Mercurij tantum**. Studye therefore aboutes the preparation, and be assured that hit is **donum Dei**, the whiche God of His mercies graunte vnto yow, and then shall yowe be more then Aristoteles **felix**. And this Your Honnor may take for the ffurst pryn-  
cipall:

Vnusquisque nascentium, a progenitore suo trahit famulatum demonum, sicuti humanam naturam. Et hiis expulsis virtute sancti ba[p]tismatis, per fidem Christianam, et studiosam orationem, sanctum spiritum aduenire certissimum est. Et quicumque hanc impetrauerit gratiam, futura preuidet, et prescientem euadet, Deo propitio. Nam humanam scientiam reddit crebra meditatio, et exercitatio meliorem scientiam, eamque uero que gratia Dei conceditur, quia mens quidem spirituali intellectu potita, perfecte purgatur. De prouidentia et iuditio, apud temetipsum exerce sermones, et studij materiam memoria retine, et tale quiddam Sanctus Bernardus de so ipso testatur. Nullum denique tempus magis se perdere, | dixit, quam quando dormierit, et propter suam magnam abstinentiam ad cibum accessit quasi ad tormentum. Quicquid de sacris scripturis dedicerat, maxime in siluis et in agris meditando et orando hauserat, nec alios se habuisse magistros, quam quercus et fagos fatebatur. Et preterea consimilem habemus testimonium de illo Sancto Anthonio quem Constantinus Imperator unice amabat, litteras uero neque sciebat, neque mirabatur, sed potius mentem bonam litteris antiquor[um], et laudabat et predicabat ueram namque beatitudinem in Dei cultura. Dicebat, et itaque docebat, oportere quemlibet animam purgare suam, quo posset inspicere, et futurorum notitiam possidere, Deo uero huiusmodi prescientiam declarante. Idem Anthonius Didymum quondam Alexandrinum, eundem caecum, hijs magnificis consolatus est uerbis : Nil te, in quid offendat, o Didyme, quod

3 and] *ins. above*      5-6 *in margin* The spearme of golde and quycksiluer  
7 is] *ins. above*      11 *ff. in margin* Calodaemon bonus angelus: 'calon' est 'bonus';  
'daemon', id est 'sciens'      13 *baptismatis] bap*tismatis      15 *ff. in margin*  
Cacodaemon malus angelus, quia 'cacos' est 'malum'      18 *conceditur] prec.*  
*by canc. cons.*      21-2 *margin repeats* Bernardus      28 *in margin* Anthonius  
31 *antiquorum] antiquiorem: possibly for antiquioribus*      35-6 *in margin*  
Modus perueniendi ad omnes scientias.

carnalibus oculis uideris orbatus, desunt tibi oculi illi, quos mures et muscae habent : sed letare, quia habes oculos quos angeli habent, per quos uidetur Deus, per quos magnum tibi scientiae lumen accenditur.

And ffynally, Right Honorable, make not comon the secretes of 5  
nature, but note the woordes of God to Esdras, libro 4, capit[e] 14,  
thus : Scripti sunt autem per quadraginta dies libri quatuor et  
ducenti, quibus quadraginta diebus peractis, locutus est  
supremus hijs uerbis : Quae prima scripsisti, in propatulo 10  
propone, et dignis et indignis legenda, sed ultimos septuaginta  
seruabis, quos doctis popularium tuorum tradas, in hijs enim  
ingenij uena, sapientiae lumen et scientiae fons inest.

Proffane not therfor | the mysteryes of God, least yow make your- [f. 22]  
self, by your owne negligence, not capa[b]le of the grace that our  
Sauour Chryst most frely doth offer. Quia nec oculus uidit, nec 15  
auris audiuit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, quae preparauit  
Dominus diligentibus se, Cui sit laus, honor et dignitas per  
omnem aeternitatem. Amen.

### Finis

3 magnum tibi] *prec. by canc. tibi* 6 *in margin* Esdra lib[ro] 4,  
Cap[ite] 14 14 capable] capaple 17 dignitas] dignitatas *with some sign*  
*of alteration through erasure, expuncting and writing-over.*

## APPENDIX B

### XI

#### THE 'WALWYN' VERSION:

##### ARISTOTLES'S SECRET OF SECRETS CONTRACTED

Printed for H. Walwyn, 1702.

1520 = Achillini recension of *Secretum secretorum* as printed Paris, G. de Pré, 1520

[p. i] ARISTOTLES's / Secret of Secrets / Contracted; / Being the Sum  
of his Advice / TO / *Alexander* the Great, / About / The Preservation  
of Health / and Government. / Formerly Translated out of the /  
Original **Greek** into **Latin**, and di- / vers other Languages, and being /  
5 very scarce, is now faithfully ren- / dred into *English*, / For the Good  
of *Mankind* / [line] / LONDON, / Printed for *H. Walwyn*, at the  
three Legs in / the *Poultry*, 1702.

[p. iii]

#### The Bookseller to the Reader.

THE following Treatise in my Opinion hath justly merited a rescue  
10 from Obscurity, on two the most considerable Accounts. First, the  
Credit of its Author *Aristotle*, a Person so famous for many Ages  
throughout the whole learned World; that to name him is to tell what  
he was, and forbids me the needless attempt to say any thing of him.  
Secondly, the Excellency of the matter contain'd therein, which singly  
15 consider'd, is enough to recommend it (as divers Authors have done,  
particularly *Bacon* of Old Age) and what methinks should have given  
[p. iv] this Discourse a | place in the Volumes of the rest of the Author's  
Writings, which, for what Cause I know not, is not to be found, either  
there or in its Original Greek Language; being for a long time since  
20 (as far as I can find) to be found only in a somewhat barbarous Latin  
Translation, or in an *English* Abstract, but sorrily translated into  
now obsolete Language. Which Abstract coming to the Hands of a real  
Lover of Mankind, who now gives it a Resurrection from its obscurity,  
did discover so much Excellency under all its blemishes, and a Design  
25 so well agreeing with his own, *the Good of Mankind*, that he could not

be satisfied till he had with some Trouble and Charge got as near the Fountain as he could, viz. the *Latin* Edition of *Paris 1520*: the *English* printed at *London 1572*, he found to be out of Print, and that the Latin was not be bought or seen (as far as he could find) any where but in the *Bodleian* Library at *Oxford*, and with one Gentleman 5  
in *London*, who was pleased to give him the perusal of it; by which he had not only the means to supply his Abstract, which | was not [p. v]  
complete, but to see with how little Judgment the old *English* Grapho-  
chymist had attempted to separate the Quintessence of *Aristotle's*  
Instructions to Alexander, leaving out some things very material, 10  
and putting in others not much to the purpose, and even missing  
the true sense of the Author in divers places. Whereupon he soon  
resolved with himself to make a new Translation and Abstract of  
the most excellent Counsel of the greatest Philosopher to the greatest  
King, which he knew would be of the greatest Advantage to what- 15  
soever Prince and People in general, who shall observe it as to the  
Government of the Body Politick, and to every Man in particular, who  
shall follow these Rules as far as they are of general Concern, in pre-  
serving the Health of the Body Natural. I know it is not common for  
Physicians to be very sedulous in teaching Mankind how they may 20  
preserve their Health, and thereby prevent their advising for its Re-  
covery; yet the Publisher from a generous Philanthropy, willing to  
serve the World as well in the Preservative, as in the Curative part of |  
Physick, gives this publick Specimen, of what he has been more [p. vi]  
privately used to desire, and do for the Head and Body of his beloved 25  
Country. And I will be bold to say, how little soever this his Gift may  
seem, had it been received according to the intent of the first Author, or  
shall it be us'd according to the desire of the present Restorer, *Alexan-*  
*der* might in all probability have died an aged and lamented Governour  
of happy Subjects, and any other Prince may live the desire of a Healthy 30  
and Blessed People. And wheresoever the Bodies Politick and Natural  
shall be govern'd according to these Rules, the churlish and ungrateful  
Remedies of Statesmen and Physicians shall have but little or no use,  
because there will not be easily found a diseased State of either Bodies  
to work upon. 35

That which *Alexander* seems to have desired of *Aristotle* was some  
of the great Hermetick Secrets, if not the grand Aurifick Elixir which  
that Philosopher was as likely to be Master of as any, but seems un-  
willing to discover to his Pupil, | probably judging it might be abus'd [p. vii]  
to serve his Ambition, and which perhaps might be a great cause of his 40  
excusing his Absence. But thinking it not prudent positively to deny  
the Request of so great a Prince, he tells him he hath said enough to  
him Enigmatically, and under a Veil; which indeed seeming abundantly

more abstruse than many other things written on that Subject, it was not thought fit to trouble the *English* Reader with it any more, than with some other things not so directly relating to the better design of *Aristotle*, and the Author of this Abstract. Yet this I must say for that  
 5 noble Philosopher, he hath given his Scholar a Lesson as much better than the communication of the great Hermetick Secret, as moral Riches are than natural, and Eternal than Transitory. And had he only given the Rules of preserving the Health of the natural Body, so necessary to all the due Purposes of this mortal Life; they are more precious and  
 10 eligible than all the Remedies even Chymists boast of for the recovering  
 [p. viii] the damages of indulg'd Debauches, the most | common Causes of Diseases. But I will no longer withhold my *English* Reader from the Legacy the antient *Greek* Philosopher hath left him by the hands of a Modern *English* one, wishing him as much Profit in the use of the  
 15 Treasure, as I had pleasure in reading over the Will, I must call it, of both of them. |

[p. i]

### The Introduction.

WHILST *Aristotle* lived, *Alexander* became Potent, by the Observation of his wholesom Counsel, and by keeping his wise Precepts. He  
 20 subdued Cities, and triumphing, got to himself Kingdoms, and held alone the Monarchy of the World; and his Fame was heard in all Parts, and Nations subjected themselves to his Command and Empire; nor was there any People that durst resist him in Word or Deed. Now when he had subdued the *Persians*, and made their Nobles Captives,  
 25 he directed a Letter to *Aristotle*, after this manner. |

[p. 2]

### Alexander to Aristotle.

Excellent Master, and teacher of Justice; I signify to your Wisdom, that I have found in the Land of *Persia*, certain Persons having great Reason, and penetrating Understandings, studying to rule over others,  
 30 and to get the Kingdom; whence we have propos'd to put them all to Death. Signify to us by Letter what you shall think right in this matter.

### Aristotle to Alexander.

'If you are able to put them to death, in this the Power is in your  
 35 Hands, and then you cannot slay them for the Kingdom. If you can change the Earth, the Air, the Water of the Land, and also the Disposition of the Cities, you shall fulfil your purpose. But will you rule over them with Goodness, hear them with Benignity? Which if you do, I  
 [p. 3] trust, with the Help of God, they will be all sub-|ject to your Pleasure  
 35 and then . . . Kingdom] . . . in hoc propter regnum, tamen non poteris occidere terram 1520: see n.

and Command; and for the Love they will have for you, you shall rule them with Triumph in Peace.'

*Alexander* therefore having received this Letter, followed his Counsel diligently, and the *Persians* were more obedient to his Government than all other Nations.

5

### Aristotle to Alexander.

Glorious Son, and just Emperor, God confirm you in the way of knowing the path of Truth and Vertue, and repress in you brutish Lusts, and confirm your Government, and enlighten your Understanding to his Service and Honour. I have received your Epistle honourably, as becomes me, and I understand that you have a Desire that I should be with you personally, and wonder that I care but little for your Business: For this cause I have determin'd to make a Rule for your Clemency, which shall be | a Book to weigh all your Actions, [p. 4] supplying my Place, a certain Rule to all that you desire, and what I should teach you, if I were present with you: Therefore you ought not to blame me, when you know, or should know, that I refuse not to come to see your spreading Glory, by reason of Contempt, but because the unweildiness, and weakness of my Body hath made me incapable of Travel. The thing that you have asked, and desire to know, is such a Secret which human Understanding can scarce bear. But as to that which becometh you to enquire, and is lawful for me to discourse of, I am bound to answer, as you are obliged by the Debt of Discretion not to require me to teach you more of this Secret than I have deliver'd to you in this Book; which if you shall read attentively, and understand, and shall fully know what is contain'd in it, I undoubtedly believe that there shall be no hindrance between you, and what you desire to know. But this is the Cause wherefore I figuratively reveal the Secret to you, discoursing with you in Examples, *Enigmas*, and Signs, because | I [p. 5] fear, lest the Book should come into the hands of Infidels, and into the power of the Proud, and so the Divine Secret should be disclosed to them, whom the most High hath judged unworthy; so should I be a Transgressor against the Divine Grace. Know therefore, that he that reveals Secrets brings many Misfortunes upon his Neighbour, from whence he cannot be safe: Therefore the Lord keep you and me from the like, and from every dishonest Deed. After all I put you in mind of that wholesom Document, which I have always been us'd to explain to you, and to inform your Noble Soul; and this shall be your Comfort and salutary Mirror.

It behoveth therefore every King of necessity to have two Helps sustaining his Kingdom: the one of them is strength of Men, by which his Government is defended and fortified, and this cannot be had, but

40

when the Ruler rules among his Subjects, and the Subjects likewise obey their Ruler; as by the Disobedience of the Subjects the Power of the

[p. 6] King is weakned, and the Subjects rule. And I will tell you | the Cause from which the Subjects are induced to obey their Ruler; and this

5 is twofold, Extrinsick and Intrinsick: I have lately told you the Extrinsick, viz. That he dispense his Riches to them wisely, and exercise his Bounty, by rewarding all according to their Merits. And with all this, it behoveth Kings to have another Caution, of which I will make mention in what follows in the next Chapter, of Riches and Aids. The

10 other is to bring their Minds to Operations; and this precedes, and is in the first Degree; but this second has two Causes, one Intrinsick, the other Extrinsick: The Extrinsick is, that the King exercise Justice about the Possessions, and Mony got by the Subjects, sparing and having Mercy. But the Intrinsick Cause is the secret of the Philosophers,

15 and Rulers, whom the glorious God hath fore chosen and endowed with Knowledg. And I give you this Secret, with some others which you shall find in divers Titles of this Book; in which you shall find extrinsically great Wisdom and Learning, but intrinsically the final

[p. 7] Cause | intended is contained; for there is your Principle, and final

20 Purpose. When therefore you shall perceive the significations of the Sayings, and the Mysteries of the Examples, then you shall fully and perfectly attain your Desire. The most Wise and Glorious God therefore enlighten your Reason, and give you Understanding to perceive the Secret of that Science, that you may deserve therein to be my Heir,

25 and faithful Successor, by his Help who gives his Riches abundantly to the Souls of the Wise, and to those that study the Grace of knowing; to whom nothing is difficult, and without whom nothing can possibly be had.

#### Of the manner of Kings about Liberality and Covetousness.

30 THERE are four sorts of Kings; a King liberal to his Subjects, and liberal to himself; a King covetous to his Subjects, and covetous to himself; a King covetous to himself, and liberal to his Subjects; a

[p. 8] King liberal to him-|self, and covetous to his Subjects. [The *Italians* say that it is no Vice in a King if he be covetous to himself and liberal

35 to his Subjects.] The *Indians* say, a King covetous to himself is good: The *Persians* affirming the contrary, and contradicting the *Indians* and *Italians*, said, A King is good for nothing, who is not liberal to himself, and his Subjects. But in my Opinion he is the worst of them, and to be rejected, who is liberal to himself, and covetous to his Sub-

40 jects, by which the Kingdom will be soon destroyed. It behoveth us therefore nicely to enquire of those Virtues and Vices, and to consider

9 next Chapter] see n.

what Liberality is, and what Covetousness, and where lies the Error  
 of Liberality, and what Evil follows the want thereof; for it is plain,  
 that these Qualities are to be disapproved, when they depart too much  
 from the Medium; and we know, that the Observation of Liberality  
 is hard, and the Neglect of it easy; and it is easy for any one to be 5  
 Prodigal and Covetous, but hard to be Liberal. If therefore you will  
 acquire the vertue of Liberality, consider your Ability, the Times, Neces-  
 sities, and Deserts of Men; you ought therefore to give your Gifts |  
 according to your Ability, with measure, to indigent and worthy Men: [p. 9]  
 He that gives otherwise sins, and goes beside the Rule of Liberality, 10  
 because he that gives to those that do not want, has no Praise; and he  
 that gives not in due time, is like one that sprinkles salt Water on the  
 Sea-shore. And whatsoever is given to the Unworthy is lost; and he that  
 gives his Wealth beyond measure will soon come to the bitter shores of  
 Poverty, and is like one who always gives himself a prey to his Enemies. 15  
 The King therefore that gives of his Goods in a time of Need to Men  
 in want, is liberal to himself and Subjects; his Kingdom shall prosper,  
 his Commands shall be obeyed; such a King the Antients praised; such  
 a one is said to be vertuous, liberal, and moderate. But he that wastes  
 the Goods of his Kingdom on the Unworthy, and those that do not 20  
 want, he is a destroyer of the Commonwealth, and a spoiler of the  
 Kingdom, and unfit for Government; whence he is called a Prodigal,  
 in as much as his Wisdom is alienated from the Kingdom. | But the [p. 10]  
 name of Covetousness does much dishonour a King, and is not be-  
 coming Kingly Majesty. If therefore any King hath either of those Vices, 25  
 Covetousness, or Prodigality, if he will consult his own Interest, he  
 ought with all Diligence to provide a faithful discreet Man, chosen out  
 of many, to whom he should commit the management of the Affairs  
 of the Commonwealth, and the keeping the Treasure of the Kingdom.  
 O *Alexander*, I tell you verily, what King soever shall superfluously 30  
 continue his Gifts beyond what his Kingdom can bear, such a King  
 without doubt will be ruined, and ruin his Kingdom. I tell you therefore  
 again, what I never omitted to tell your Clemency, that the avoiding  
 Prodigality and Covetousness, and the acquiring Liberality, is the  
 Glory of Kings, and the Continuation of Kingdoms; and this comes to 35  
 pass when a King abstains and withdraws his hand from the Goods  
 and Possessions of his Subjects. Whence I have found it written in the  
 Precepts of the great Master *Hermogenes*, That Charity is the | chief [p. 11]  
 and truest Virtue; and that abstinence from the Mony and Possessions  
 of the Subjects is the Understanding of the highest Law, and a sign of 40  
 Perfection in a King. This was the Cause of the Destruction of the  
 Kingdom of the *Calculi*, that the superfluity of the Expences exceeded  
 the Revenue of the Citys; and so the Revenues failing, the Kings seized

the Goods and Revenues of others; and the Subjects, because of the Injury, cried unto the High and Glorious God, who sending a destructive Wind, afflicted them vehemently; and the People rose against them, and utterly ras'd their Name from the Earth: and unless the Glorious  
5 God had helped them, and had sent what he did, the Kingdom had been utterly destroyed.

Know therefore, that Riches are the cause of the Duration of the animal Soul, and are part of it; and it cannot continue such, if such a Life be destroyed. Therefore it is necessary to beware of the superabundance,  
10 and superfluity of Expences: And that Temperance and Liberality [p. 12] may be acquir'd, foo-lish and superfluous giving is to be avoided: It is likewise of the substance of Liberality and Vertue to omit, and not enquire of hidden Secrets, nor to call to mind the thing given: And it is  
15 Deserving, and to forgive an Injury, to esteem the Honourable, to help the Simple, and supply the Defects of the Innocent; to answer those that salute you, to hold your Tongue, to dissemble an Injury for a time, not to know how to feign foolishness. I have taught you what I always  
20 used to teach you, and implant in your Mind. I would therefore be confident that that teaching shall be in your Deeds, a Light always shining, and a sufficient Knowledg to govern your self by all the days of your Life; which ought to suffice in all your Works in this World, and in that to come. |

[p. 13]

### Of the final Intention of Kings.

25 KNOW therefore that Understanding is the head of Government, the Health of the Soul, the Conservation of Vertues, an intuitive Mirror; for in it is beheld the things to be avoided, by it we chuse the things to [be] chosen; it is the origin of Vertues, the root of all good, laudable, and honourable things. And the first instrument of Understanding is  
30 the desire of a good Report; because he that desires a good Report will be famous and glorious, and he that does not so will be confounded by Infamy. Fame therefore is that which is principally, and by it self desir'd in Government: for Government is not desir'd for its own sake, but for a good Report. The beginning therefore of Wisdom and Under-  
35 standing is the desire of a good Report, which is got and acquired by Rule and Dominion. If Dominion or Rule is acquired or desir'd for some other Reason, there will be no getting of Fame, but of Envy, and  
[p. 14] so Envy be-|getteth a Lie, which is the Root of things to be disapproved, and the matter of Vices. A Lie begetteth Detraction, Detraction be-  
40 getteth Hatred, Hatred Injury, Injury begets Obstinacy, Obstinacy Anger, Anger Resistance, Resistance Enmity, Enmity begets War, and  
18] stulticiam stulti fugere [v.r. fingere] et ignorare: B 45/7f. and n. 2: see n.

War dissolves Laws, and destroys Cities; and this is contrary to Nature, and that which is contrary to Nature destroys all. Study therefore, and love the desire of a good Report; for Reason, by the desire of a good Report, brings forth Truth, and Truth is the Root of whatsoever is laudable, and the matter of all good things: for it is contrary to Fals- 5 hood, and begets the desire of Justice, and Justice begets Confidence, and Confidence Liberality, and Liberality Familiarity, and Familiarity Friendship, and Friendship begets Counsel and Help. And by this it was that the Earth was settled, and Laws made for Men; and on this account it agrees also to Nature. It appears therefore, that the desire of 10 Rule for a good Report is durable, good, and laudable. |

#### Of the Evils which follow carnal Desire.

[p. 15]

O *Alexander*, avoid the desire of brutish Pleasures, for they are corruptible; for carnal Desires incline the mind to the corruptible Pleasures of the bestial Soul, without any Discretion; and there is a 15 rejoicing in the corruptible Body, and the incorruptible Understanding is grieved. Know therefore, that the desire of bestial Pleasure begets carnal Love, carnal Love Covetousness, Covetousness the desire of Riches, the desire of Riches Immodesty, Immodesty Presumption, Presumption Infidelity, Infidelity Robbery, Robbery Reproach; from 20 whence comes Captivity, which leads to the detriment of the Law, and the destruction of Familiarity, and the Wretchedness of the whole Body; and this is contrary to Nature. |

#### Of the Wisdom and Religion of a King.

[p. 16]

It is first, and principally convenient for a King, in as much as 25 pertains to himself, that his Name should be famous for laudable Wisdom, and that he reason wisely; because thence he shall be praised and honoured, and he shall be feared by Men when they see him eloquent in his Wisdom, and acting prudently in his Affairs. Moreover, it may be easily known whether Wisdom or Folly rules in a King; for what King 30 soever subjects his Kingdom to the divine Law, is worthy to reign, and to rule honourably: But he that makes the divine Law serve, subjecting it to his own Rule and Command, is a Transgressor of the Truth, and a Contemner of its Law. But he that contemns its Law shall be contemned of Men; for he is condemn'd in Law. But I will say what the 35 wise Philosophers, speaking divinely, have said of the Reli-|gion of a King; That in the first place it becomes Kingly Majesty to obey legal Ordinances; not in feigned Appearance, but in evidence of Fact; that all may know that he fears the high God, and is subject to the Divine Power. Then Men are wont to reverence and fear the King, when they 40 see that he reverences and fears God. If therefore he shews himself to

be Religious only in appearance, and in his Deeds is an Evil-doer (and it is hard to conceal his wicked Works, so as they shall not be known to the People) he shall be reprov'd of God, and contemn'd of Men, and his Deeds shall be infamous, and his Empire shall be diminished, and the  
 5 Diadem of his Glory shall be dishonourable. What shall I say more? there is no Price, no Treasure that can redeem a good Report. Moreover, it becometh a King to honour the Law-Makers, to reverence the Religious, to raise the Wise, and confer with them, to move doubtful  
 9 Questions, honestly to ask, and discreetly to answer; and to give more  
 [p. 18] honour to the more Wise and No-|ble, according to what becomes the State of every one.

### Of the Prudence of a King.

It also behoveth a King to think of things to come, and prudently to provide for future Chances, that he may more easily bear adverse things.  
 15 It also becometh him to be Pious, to restrain Anger, and the commotion of his Mind, lest an unwary Commotion proceeds into act without deliberation; and to acknowledg his Error reasonably, and wisely to recal it; for it is the greatest Wisdom in a King to rule himself. And when a King sees any good or profitable thing to be done, let him do it with  
 20 Discretion, not too slowly, nor too hastily, lest he seem negligent or rash. |

### [p. 19] Of the Silence of a King.

O *Alexander*, how fair and honourable is it in a King to abstain from much Speech, unless Necessity require it; for it is better that the  
 25 Ears of the people be always desirous, than weary of his words: for their Ears being weary, their Minds will also be weary, nor will they much care to see him. Also it becomes a King not much to frequent the Company of his Subjects, especially of mean Persons, because too much Familiarity breeds contempt of his Honour; and for this the *Indians*  
 30 have a good Custom, in the disposition of their Kingdom, and Ordination of their King, who have ordain'd, That their King shall appear publickly but once a Year in his Royal Robes, and with the armed Host, sitting on his Chariot in very fine Armour, the People standing at a distance, but the Nobles and Barons about him; and then he uses to  
 35 dispatch great Affairs, to avoid various and pressing Events, to shew  
 [p. 20] the Care and Pains he | hath faithfully taken about the Commonwealth. He uses also on that day to give Gifts, and a Goal-Delivery of smaller Criminals; to relieve great Oppressions, and to do many pious Works. The Speech being ended, the King sits down, and then there arises one  
 40 of the Princes by him, who is reputed the most Wise and Eloquent, and makes a Speech to his Honour and Commendation, giving thanks to

the glorious God, who hath so well ordered the Kingdom of the *Indians*, and hath honour'd his Country with so wise a King, and hath confirm'd the honest, unanimous, and obedient People of *India*. And after he hath praised and commended the King, he turns himself to the Praises of the People, in commemorating their good Manners, in receiving Benevolence, inducing them by Examples and Reasons to Humility and Obedience, and to reverence and love the King; which being done, the whole People study to extol the King's Praises, to commend his good Works, to pray God for his Life, to declare his Deeds and Wisdom thro' | their Cities and Families; and for this cause they teach their Children from their infancy, and induce them to love, honour, obey, and fear their King; and by this means the Fame of the King is publish'd, and increases in private and publick. They use also at such a time to punish the Malefactors, and wicked Persons, and to put some to death, that the more presumptuous may be hinder'd from hurting, and the rest amended. They use also at that time to lighten the Taxes, to dispense with Merchants, to remit part of the Customs to them, to defend and preserve them with their Merchandizes; and this is the cause that *India* is very populous: For thither Merchants come freely from all Places, and are well received, and the rich and poor Citizens and Courtiers get gain; and thence it is that the Royal Tributes and Revenues are increas'd. Therefore you ought to beware that you injure not, nor offend Merchants; for they are the spreaders of Praises, and publishers of mens Fame over all the World: to every one therefore is to be given that which is his due; | for so the Cities will be strengthened, and Revenues multiplied, and the Kings Honour and Glory will increase; so will his Enemies tremble, and be restrain'd, and the King will live peaceably and safe, and so he will attain his Desires.

#### What a Man ought to desire.

O *Alexander*, covet not that which is corruptible and transitory, and that which you must soon leave; seek incorruptible Riches, an unchangeable Life, an eternal Kingdom, and a glorious Continuance: Direct therefore your Thoughts to good, always render yourself venerable and glorious; shun the ways of Lions and brute Beasts in their Uncleanness; be not cruel and inflexible, but spare those whom you have conquer'd: think of future things, and cases that may befall, because you know not what the Day to come may bring forth. |

#### Of Chastity.

[P. 23]

Do not follow your desires in untimely Banqueting, Drinking, Whoring, and much Sleep. O gentle Emperour, do not incline to lust after

11 honour, obey] *no punct. (at end of line)*

Women; for Lust is a property of Swine. What Glory will it be to you, if you exercise the Vices of irrational Beasts, and the Acts of Brutes? Believe me without doubt, that Whoring is the destruction of the Body, a shortning of Life, the Corruption of Vertues, a transgression of the  
 5 Law, makes a Man effeminate; and lastly, it brings the Evil which we have foretold.

### Of avoiding too much Laughter.

IT also becomes a King, amongst other things, to be discreet, and to abstain from too much Laughter, because frequent Laughter makes  
 10 a Man disesteem'd. Moreover you ought to know, that a King is more  
 [p. 24] oblig'd to | honour Men in his Court and Country than elsewhere; for then he is amongst his own. If any one does an Injury, he is to be punished according to the Quality of his Person, that others may fear and learn to abstain from Injuries: a noble and high Person is to be punished,  
 15 after one manner, a mean Person after another. It is good to be grave and sober, that there may be a distinction between the King and his Subjects. It is written in the Book of the *Esculapii*, That the King is to be praised and loved, who is like unto the Eagle that rules among the Birds; not he that is like unto one of the inferior Birds. If therefore  
 20 any in the Court, or Presence of the King's Majesty, presumes to do any Injury, or commit an Offence, it is to be consider'd in what manner he did it, whether in Sport, or in Contempt and Dishonour of your Dignity; if the first, he is to be corrected lightly, if the second, according  
 24 to his Offence. |

### [p. 25] In what the Obedience of a Ruler consists.

O *Alexander*, the Obedience to a Ruler comes from four things; his being Religious, Beloved, Courteous, and Reverend. O *Alexander*, get the love of your Subjects, take away all Injuries and Injustice from them, give no occasion for Men to speak evil of you; for what the  
 30 People can say of you, they can easily do. Keep your self so that nothing can be said against you, and by this you shall avoid what they can do: Know moreover, that Discretion is the Glory of Dignity, and the Reverence of a Master, and the Exaltation of a King; and it is your greatest Prudence rather to be honourable in the Minds of the People,  
 35 than only beloved. |

### [p. 26] Of the Mercy of a King.

O *Alexander*, enquire of the Want and Necessity of the miserable and weak Persons; help the Needy in their Distress, and out of your Clemency choose a Man understanding their Language, Eloquent, and  
 40 a lover of Justice, that may be in your stead, and rule them mercifully,

and love them; for in this is the keeping of the Law, the Joy of Honour, and the good Pleasure of the Creator.

### Of Prudence, and its Profit.

O *Alexander*, treasure up to your self Pulse, and other Grain for Food, that may suffice your Land in time of Scarcity and Want, that 5  
when Famine and Scarcity comes, as it sometimes happens, your Prudence may relieve your People. And in time of Necessity you must relieve your Cities, opening your | Granaries, and proclaiming through- [p. 27]  
out your Kingdom and Cities, your Corn and Grain that you have provided. This is a matter of great Caution and Prudence; a defence of 10  
the King, Health of the People, preservation of the City; then your Precepts shall be obeyed, then your work shall prosper by your Providence; Health shall come to all, and then all shall know that your Eyes see afar, and for this they will applaud your Clemency, and fear to offend your Majesty. 15

### Of the Evils that follow putting Men to death unjustly.

O *Alexander*, I have often admonish'd you, and still admonish, that you keep my Doctrine, which if you keep, you shall get your Purpose, and your Kingdom shall be lasting. See that you shed not Man's Blood, because it belongs only to God, who knows the Secrets of Mens Hearts. 20  
Take not there-|fore that which belongs to God; for it is not given to you to know the Divine Secret. Beware therefore what you can of shedding Man's Blood; for the famous Doctor *Hermogenes* saith, That when a Creature slays a Creature like himself, all the Powers of Heaven cry to the divine Majesty, saying, Lord, thy Servant would be like thee; 25  
and if he hath unjustly kill'd him, the high Creator will answer, Suffer him, for the Slayer shall be slain; leave Vengeance to me, and I will repay: And the Powers of Heaven present the Death of him that is slain, until Vengeance is taken of the Slayer, who shall be one of those that continue in eternal Punishment. O *Alexander*, you have knowledg 30  
in all Punishments, you have learnt many kinds of Evils by Experience; call to mind the Acts of your Fathers, search their Annals, thence you may draw many good Examples; for past Facts give sure Documents of the Future. Contemn not those that are less than your self; for he 34  
that is little and low, as it often happens, may soon ascend to Ho-|nours [p. 29]  
and Riches, and then he will be stronger, and more able to hurt.

### Of keeping Faith.

Beware lest you break your Faith and Leagues, when confirm'd. To break Faith agrees with Infidels and Whores: Keep your faithful Promise faithfully, for all Infidels come to an ill End; and if in breaking 40

Faith there happen any Good, yet it is a kind of Evil, and a wicked Example. Know therefore, that by keeping Faith comes the congregating of Men, peopling of Cities, uniting of Men, and government of Kings; by Faith Camps are holden, and Cities preserved. If you take  
 5 away Faith, all Men will become as Brutes, and be like wild Beasts. Beware therefore, faithful King, lest you break your Faith given; keep firmly your Oaths and Covenants, tho they are grievous. Know you not, that, as *Hermogenes* witnesseth, there are two Spirits that keep you,  
 [p. 30] of | which one stands on the right, the other on the left Hand; keeping,  
 10 and knowing your Deeds, and reporting to your Creator whatsoever you do. And in truth you, and every one ought to abstain from every dishonest Deed. Who forces you to swear so often? It is not to be done, but for some great Cause and Necessity. A King, tho much intreated, and often required, ought not to swear; know you not that it does not  
 15 agree to your Dignity, and that you derogate from your Honour when you swear? It is more fit for Servants and Subjects to swear. If you ask the cause of the Destruction of the Kingdom of the *Heubaii* and *Syrians*; I answer you, their Kings used to swear for Deceit, to deceive Men and their neighbouring Cities, breaking the Leagues which were  
 20 made for the good and profit of Mankind. Those wicked Infidels abus'd their Oaths to the subversion of their Neighbours; therefore the Equity of Justice could not bear them any longer. |

[p. 31]      **Of the ordering of the Empire, and of your own Family.**

Learned Son *Alexander*, I would have you know, that in the ordering of your Empire and Government, there are certain special Instructions, and very Moral, belonging to you, as to the Government of your own Family, and all your People; but they have no place here; but I will give them you in some part of this Book, and they will be wholesom Instructions abbreviated, and very profitable to you, in the Observation  
 25 of which you shall prosper, by God's Permission. Repent not for the thing that is past, for this is proper to weak Women; shew your self Honest, be Courteous, exercise Goodness; this is the perfection of a Kingdom, and the destruction of the Enemy. |

[p. 32]      **How a King ought to order Studys.**

35 Prepare Schools in the Cities of your Dominions, permit and command your Subjects to teach their Sons the knowledg of Letters, and cause them to study in noble and liberal Sciences; and it ought to be your care to assist them in things necessary. Let those that study well, and profit, have some Prerogative, that by this you may give an Example  
 40 to other Scholars, and an occasion of Diligence. Hear their Petitions, receive their Epistles, and attend to them: praise those that deserve to

be praised, and reward those that deserve to be rewarded; and by this you shall excite the Learned to set forth your Praise, and to perpetuate your Acts in their Writings. This is commendable and prudent, and in this the whole Kingdom shall be honoured, the Court inlightned, and the Annals and Acts of Kings the better remembred. What rais'd the Kingdom of the *Greeks*? What makes their Acts perpetually famous throughout the World? Certainly the diligence of their Students, and the honesty of their wise Men, that they greatly love Sciences, and for this have deserved so much. And even their Girls in their Fathers Houses, knew by Study the course of the Year, the Feasts, and solemnity of the Months, the course of the Planets, the Cause of the shortning of the Day and Night; the Revolution of the *Pleiades* and *Bootes*, the Circle of the Days, the Signs of the Stars, the Judgment of things to come, and other things pertaining to Astronomy.

#### Of keeping your self from Women.

O *Alexander*, never confide in the Works and Services of Women, commit not your self to them; but if need require, commit your self to her that will be faithful and loving to you; for when you are in a Womans hands, you are as a thing deposited and committed to her, and your Life is in her Hands. Beware of deadly poison, for it is no new thing for Men to be poison'd. It is known what a multitude of Kings and Rulers have died before their time, by poisonous Potions.

#### Of Justice, and its Commendation.

JUSTICE is a laudable Condition, one of the Properties of the most high, glorious, simple Being; whence the Kingdom ought to be his whom God chuseth, and sets over his Servants, to whom the Business and Government of the Subjects are to be committed; who ought to watch over them, and defend the Possessions, Riches, and Lives of the Subjects, and all their Works, as their God, and in this he is likened to God; and therefore the King ought to be like, and imitate the most High in all his Works. God is wise and knowing, and his glorious Praises, and his Names are in himself, and the greatness of his Dominion is greater than, and above all Commendation. Wisdom therefore is contrary to Injustice, and the opposite of Injustice is Justice: In Justice the Heavens were made, and set over the Earth. In Justice were the holy Prophets sent. Justice moreover is the form of the Understanding, which the glorious God created, and brought his Creature to it; and by Justice the Earth was made, and Kings are constituted, and the terrible Subjects obey, are tamed, and come to that which is right, and their

.33-4 Wisdom . . . is Justice] contrarium ejus injuria et ejus oppositum est injusticia B 123/21, intended reading of Injustice<sup>1</sup> perh. Injury: see n.

Souls are saved, they are freed from all Vice, and from all Corruption towards their Kings. For this Reason the *Indians* said, That Justice in a Ruler is more profitable to the Subjects than a fruitful Season: And again, that a just Ruler is better than the Evening Rain. And it was  
 5 found written on a Stone in the *Chaldean* Tongue, That a King, and Understanding, are Brothers that stand in need of one another, and that one cannot do without the other. And every thing in the World is  
 [p. 36] created of Justice, and it is the cause of Understanding which | brings Essence and Operation into being, and is its Act, and it is a just Judg.  
 10 The Essence therefore of Justice, and its Root is Understanding, and it is working and deducing it, and is its Power, and Operation, and Intention; and it is the speculation of Science, a working Judg receiving that which comes from the Act in that which receives. It appears therefore that Justice is twofold, Manifest and Occult. The manifest is that which  
 15 appears from the Act working on personal Actions; it is right Justice, weighed, and measur'd by the Understanding, and Judgment, and thence it has its name. The Occult is the Faith or Belief of the Judg working his Works, and the Certitude and Confirmation of his Words. It therefore appears, as is said, That a King by Justice is likened to the  
 20 Simple, Glorious, most High Being. And hence it is convenient that he be firm in all his Works, proper and common. When he declines from his proper or common Justice, the Justice of God, and the Will of the  
 [p. 37] most High is not in these | his doings. And let him wholly believe this; for by this Faith he shall keep the Law, which is the Perfection of  
 25 Government; and as it shall appear in his Deeds, so has he the Heart of his Subjects; that is as his Works appear, his Subjects will judg of him. And Property and Community are in divers Degrees, and the Transgressors of Justice differ in them. And Justice is a Relative Term to something said, and a Correction of Injury, a just Ballance; and the  
 30 form of Measure is a collective Name, respecting Courtesy, the Mount of Liberality, and the Operations of Liberality and Goodness. Now Justice is divided into two parts; there is first Justice, which pertains to the Judgment of Judges; and there is, secondly, Justice pertaining to a Man in his own reasoning in the things between him and his Creator.  
 35 The World is an Orchard or Garden, its Matter or Species is Judgment; Judgment is a Ruler fortified by Law. The Law is the Government by which the King reigns. |

[p. 38]

### Of Counsellors.

WHEN you call together your Counsellors to consult in your Presence,  
 40 mix not other Council with them, but hear them in what they agree. If they speedily answer with one accord, then resist them, and shew them

29 Injury, a] *no punct. (at end of line)*      29-31 the form . . . Liberality] *see n.*

the contrary, that their thoughts may be prolong'd and retarded to the last in Council. And when you perceive the Truth and right Counsel in their Words, or in the words of any one of them, let them cease, and shew them not in what you acquiesce, until you put it in Practice and Trial: and consider subtilely and diligently who leads most to right Counsel; and according to the love he has to you, and desire of the Prosperity of your Government, take Counsel; and beware not to prefer one before another in Gifts and Degrees. What is a greater cause of the Destruction of a Kingdom, than to honour some Ministers above others? And it is not always inconvenient to follow the Counsel of a young | Man, if it be wholesom: for Judgment imitates the Body; when the Body is weakned, the Judgment is weakned, unless there be Experience. Do not contemn a low State in Men; those that you see to love Science, and to abound in the way of Wisdom, and good Morals, and to decline and shun the path of Vices, such love and have about you, and especially when you shall see one exercising his Mind in these Vertues, such a one uses to be of good Speech, pliant, courteous, and skill'd in Histories of preceding Nations: propose, or postpone nothing to be done without such a ones Counsel; love his Society, because such a one loves the Truth, and consults what becomes Kingly Majesty, and removes the contrary; is firm in his Mind, constant in his Heart, faithful and just in his Actions, and good to the Subjects. Do nothing preposterously, those things which should be done first last, or those that should be done last first, nor act altogether without the Counsel of Physicians; for the Philosophers have said, that Counsel is the Eye of future things. | And one of the old Philosophers said, That the Wisdom of a wise King shall be increased by the Counsel of his Ministers, as the Sea by the reception of the Rivers. And one of the *Medes* commanded his Son, Son it is necessary for thee to have Counsel, because thou art but one among Men.

### Of a King's own Counsel.

ABOUND not in your own Sense, nor let the highness of your Condition hinder you, but that to your own Counsel you add that of others; for if it seems profitable it is to be embraced, and let your own always remain with you. But if another's Counsel differ from your Judgment, then it is your part to consider; if it may be a help, and profitable to that which you have considered, embrace it; and if it be unprofitable, abstain from it. I earnestly admonish you, and give you good Counsel, never set a Minister to rule in your stead; for his | Counsel may destroy your Kingdom, Subjects and Nobles; he may intend his own Profit, and consult your Fall.

## The trial of Ministers of State.

ONE thing by which you may try a Minister, is, to shew him that you want Mony; and if he induces you to spend what you have in your Treasury, and shews it to be expedient, you may know he has no value  
 5 for you; and if he induces you to take the Mony of your Subjects, there will be a Corruption of your Government, and they will hate you beyond measure; but if he offers you what he has, he is to be commended, and praiseworthy. You may also try your Ministers with  
 10 Gifts and Rewards, and whomsoever you shall find to endeavour after, and desire Gifts too much, hope for no good in him. That Minister that is greedy to get Mony, and heap up Treasure, trust not in him;  
 [p. 42] for he serves for Gold, | he is a depth without a bottom, and there is no bound nor end in him; for as much as his Mony increaseth, so much will his desire of getting increase. And this is a Cause of Corruption  
 15 in many Cases; perhaps the love of Mony will induce him to be your death. But he is the most profitable Minister of State, who loves Vertue most, and he will most induce your Subjects to love you; and he that has these Vertues and Manners, which I will reckon up. 1. Perfection of Parts. 2. Goodness of Apprehension, and readiness of Understanding.  
 20 3. That he has a good Memory, not forgetful. 4. Is considerate, when there comes any Difficulty. 5. That he be courteous, affable, well spoken; but so that his Tongue and his Heart agree: That he be also ready of Speech. 6. That he be of a penetrating Understanding in all Science, and especially in Arithmetick, which is the most certain and  
 25 demonstrative Art. 7. That he be a lover of Truth, a hater of a Lie, of good Manners, sweet, mild, tractable. 8. That he be no Glut-|ton or  
 [p. 43] Drunkard, or Whoremaster, but avoiding Plays and Sports. 9. That he be magnanimous in his Purpose, and loving what is honourable. 10. That he contemn Gold and Silver, and other accidental things of this  
 30 World, and that he covets no more than what is convenient for his Dignity and Rule, that he love his Neighbour, and the Stranger. 11. That he love and embrace the Just, and Justice, hating Injury and Offence, giving every one his due, relieving the Oppressed, and those that suffer Injury, removing wholly all Injustice, making no difference  
 35 at all in Persons and Degrees of Men, whom God hath created equal. 12. That he be firm and resolute in his Purpose, in those things which he sees fit to be done, bold without Fear and Pusillanimity. 13. That he know the going out of all Expences, that he be ignorant of nothing that may be profitable to the Kingdom, that the Subjects complain  
 40 not of him. 14. That he be not verbose, or given much to laughter; [p. 44] for Temperance is very pleasing to Men. 15. That he be none of | them that are given to Wine, that his Court be open to comers; that he be intent in trying and getting Intelligence of all, relieving the Subjects,

correcting their Deeds, comforting them in Adversities, bearing with every one, and suffering their Simplicities.

O *Alexander*, compare your Subjects to an Orchard, in which are divers kind of Fruit-Trees; let them not be as Fields that bear Wormwood and Thorns, and produce nothing fruitful, but as Trees having many Branches and Boughs, bringing forth Seed and Fruit profitable to multiply their kind. It behoves you that they be well governed, and that you look to their Necessities, that you remove Injuries from them, and that you be never weary to look to their Conditions, and to enquire what they want, and let them have one only purpose appointed by you, which is not to the destruction of the Trees, but their Preservation. If it is not so, the Hearts of the Subjects will be rebellious, and their Thoughts will be corrupted, which before were pure. |

#### That you ought not to trust in one Physician.

[p. 45]

O *Alexander*, trust not in one Physician, because one Physician is able to hurt, he will easily attempt Wickedness and effect it. Therefore if you can, have not less than ten, but let them all agree; and if you are to take a Medicine, take it not, but by the Advice of the most. And then the King ought to have among them one faithful Person knowing the Kinds and Qualities of Drugs, who ought to collect all things that are necessary in the Composition, and to make all up with due Weight and Measure, according to the Direction of the Physicians.

#### Of preserving of Health.

Now I will give you the Doctrine of Medicine, and some other Secrets, which will be enough for you in | preserving your Health, so that you may not want a Physician. For the preservation of Health is better and more precious than any Medicine, and very necessary to you for the Government of this World. Know therefore, that there is no way to get any Science but by Power, and there is no Power but by Health, and there is no Health but by an Equality of Complexions, and there is no Equality of Complexions but by a Temperature of Humours: And the glorious God hath ordained a Method and Means to attemper the Humours, and to preserve Health, which he hath revealed to Philosophers, and holy Prophets, and others whom he hath chosen, and enlightned with the Spirit of Divine Wisdom, and hath given them Gifts of Knowledg; and from them those that followed had the Principles and Grounds of Philosophy. Now the wise Men, and natural Philosophers agree, that Man is compounded of opposite Principles, and four contrary Humours, which always need to be supplied with Meats and Drinks, which if a Man want his Substance | is corrupted: if he takes too much, or too little, he falls into Weakness and Infirmity,

and many other Inconveniences: But if he uses them temperately, he will find the Help of Life, Strength of Body, and the Health of his whole Substance. They have unanimously agreed, that he that transgresseth the due Measure, in Fulness and Emptiness, in Sleeping and Waking, 5 in Motion and Rest, in Loosness or Binding of the Belly, or in taking away Blood, he cannot avoid the Fury of Sickness, and the Troubles of Infirmities, of all which I am about to give you in short, certain Instructions. All agree, that he who avoids Superfluity and Want, keeping an Equality and Temperance, he shall have Health and length of Days. I 10 have not found any of the Philosophers differing from this Opinion, That all delectable things of this World's Delights, Riches, Honours, Pleasures, are all what they are from their durableness. He therefore that desires to live and abide, let him study to get that which is convenient for durability, and to preserve | Life; and let him renounce the desire of [p. 48] 15 his Pleasure, and not add eating upon eating. I have heard it said of *Hippocrates*, that he used a very slender Diet; to whom his Scholar said, Excellent Master, if you will but eat well, you shall not have such a weakness of Body; but *Hippocrates* said unto him, Son, I eat that I may live, I do not live that I may eat. And indeed I have known many 20 who have kept a spare Diet, living temperately, who by this means had a sound Body, long Life, good Appetite, quick Motion, and were better for Business; and this is manifest in the *Arabs*, and those that often travel the Desarts, and go long Journeys. This is therefore a great Argument, that to abstain from too much eating, and to purge Superfluity, is most conducive to Health. O *Alexander*, there are in Medicine 25 most certain and true Documents; for the Conservation of Health consists principally in two things: the first is, that a Man use Food agreeable to his Age, to the time in which he is, and to the Custom of his Nature, *viz.* that he use Meats | and Drinks, with which he hath been [p. 49] 30 used to be nourished, and in so doing he will strengthen his Substance. The second is, That he purge himself of all Superfluity, and from corrupt Humors. Know therefore, that the Bodies of Men, which are the receptacles of Meat and Drink, are diminish'd and dissolved, as well the Bodies themselves receiving, as the Food it self received. They are 35 dissolved therefore in the first place by Natural Heat, which dries up the moisture of the Body, and is nourished and fed by the Moisture. Secondly they are dissolved by the heat of the Sun, and by Winds which dry up the Humidity of all Bodies, and are fed by the moisture of Bodies, as well as of Rivers. When therefore the Body is hot, and enclining to 40 Sweat, gross meats are good; because that which is dissolved, and emitted from such a Body, will be much and gross, by reason of the great Heat, and perspiration of the Body. But when the Body is low and dry, light and moist Food is good; whenas that which is dissolved of

such a Body is of small | Quantity, by reason of its strait Passages. It is [p. 50]  
 therefore a certain Rule to preserve Health, that a Man use Food con-  
 venient to his Complexion in Health, *viz.* If one is of a hot Nature,  
 Meats temperately warm are convenient: If of a cold Complexion,  
 temperately cool; and the like of a moist and dry Body: but if the Heat 5  
 is increased and inflamed too much by hot and strong Meats, or by  
 predominant external Heat, then the opposite and contrary help, *viz.*  
 cold Meats, &c. When the Stomach is hot, strong and good, strong and  
 gross Meats are better for such a Stomach, because such a Stomach is  
 as a strong Fire, able to burn much hard Wood: but when the Stomach 10  
 is cold and weak, for such a Stomach subtile and light Food is better;  
 such a Stomach is compared to a Fire burning Reeds, and small Wood. |

### Of the signs of a good, and bad Stomach.

[p. 51]

THE signs of a good Stomach are lightness of the Body, clearness of  
 the Understanding, readiness to Motion. But the signs of a bad Stomach, 15  
 and of a weak Digestion, are heaviness of the Body, softness, dulness,  
 bloated Face, often yawning, heaviness of the Eyes, filthy and unsavory  
 Belchings, *viz.* when one belches acid, insipid, or bitter, aqueous or  
 stinking; and by this wind is generated, and inflammation of the Belly,  
 and loss of Appetite. And when things grow worse, then there are 20  
 spittings, with reaching, extensions of the extreme Parts, reflections of  
 the Members, trembling of the Heart, Yawnings, and other evils which  
 are always contrary to Health, destroying the Body, and corrupting  
 Nature. You ought therefore, most merciful King, diligently to keep  
 your self from the abovesaid Inconveniences. | 25

### Of the government of Health.

[p. 52]

WHENAS the Body is corruptible, and is corrupted from the opposition  
 of Complexions and Humours which are in it; it seems good to me to  
 write unto you in this present Work, some profitable things of the  
 Secrets of the Art of Medicine, which are very necessary, and with 30  
 which you shall be contented, because it is not honourable that all the  
 Infirmities of a King should be discovered to the Physician. And if you  
 will follow this example, and keep your self according to this excellent  
 Order, you shall not want a Physician, except in Cases that may fall out  
 in War, and others, which cannot be avoided. 35

### What is to be done after Sleep.

WHEN you arise from Sleep, O *Alexander*, you ought to walk a little,  
 and equally to extend your | Limbs, and also to comb your Head; for the [p. 53]  
 extension of the Limbs strengthens the Body, and combing the Head  
 brings forth the Vapours arising from the Stomach in time of Sleep. 40

In Summer wash with cold Water, because it straitens the Pores, and retains the Heat of the Head, and will be a cause of an Appetite to eat. Then dress your self with fine Clothes, and adorn your self with fair Ornaments, because your Mind will be naturally delighted in be-  
 5 holding such things. Then rub your Teeth and Gums with the Rind of some hot and dry Tree of a bitter Taste. This much helps the Teeth, for it cleans them, taketh away the stink of the Mouth, and clears the Voice, and moreover excites an Appetite to Meat. Then perfume your-  
 self with convenient Perfumes; for this is very profitable, for it openeth  
 10 the clasures of the Brain, makes the Neck thick, and the Arms fat, clears the Countenance, and keeps off grey Hairs and strengthens the Senses. After this you should use pretious and sweet Ointments, agree-  
 [p. 54] able to the time; for the Spirits are | refresh'd with Odours, which are their sweetest Food; and when the Spirits are refreshed, fortified, and  
 15 delighted, the Body will be strengthened, the Heart will rejoice, and the Blood will run briskly in the Veins from the Joy of the Heart. After-  
 wards take Wood of Aloes, and then of Rubarb a fourpenny Weight; this is very profitable, and draws Flegm from the Mouth of the Stomach,  
 stirs up the heat of the Body, expels Wind, and gives a good Taste.  
 20 Then sit with your Nobles, and discourse with your wise Men, and do what becomes you to do according to Custom. And when you have a  
 Stomach to eat, near your usual Hour, use some moderate Exercise of  
 Body, as riding, walking, or the like; for this much helps the Body,  
 expels Wind, makes the Body apt and strong, and nimble, stirs up the  
 25 heat of the Stomach, strengthens the Joints, dissolves superfluous  
 Humours and Phlegm, and makes the too hot and dry Food descend  
 from the Stomach. If you have many Dishes of Meat before you, eat of  
 [p. 55] them that you like best, | with Bread well leavened; and eat those things  
 first which ought to be eat first, *viz.* if a Man eat thin Pottage, loosening  
 30 the Belly, and something binding follow, if the thin Food go before,  
 the Digestion is lighter; but if one eat hard and binding Food first, and  
 afterwards thin and loosening, both digest ill. Likewise if a Man take  
 much thin Pottage, which is of easy digestion, there ought to be some-  
 thing first harder in the bottom of the Stomach, because the bottom  
 35 of the Stomach is hotter and stronger to digest, the parts thereabout  
 being more fleshy; and it is near to the Liver, by whose heat the Food  
 is concocted. And in eating you ought to hold your hand, that is, leave  
 off whilst you have yet an Appetite: For the Stomach is distressed by  
 superfluity of Meat, the Body oppress'd, the Mind hurt, and the Food  
 40 remains in the bottom of the Stomach, heavy and hurtful. Likewise  
 abstain from drinking Water with your Meat, until you are used to it;  
 because by drinking cold Water upon the Meat, the Stomach is chil'd,  
 [p. 56] and it extinguishes the | heat of Digestion, and confounds the Food,

and breeds an impediment, if much is drank, than which nothing is worse for the Heart. But if there is a Necessity of drinking Water, from the heat of the Weather, the heat of the Stomach, or the heat of your Food, take but a small Quantity, and let it be very cool; and when you are refreshed lie down on a soft Bed, and sleep temperately, and rest 5 one Hour on the right Side, and then turn on the Left, and so sleep out your Sleep; for the left Side is cold, and so wanteth heating: And if you find a Heaviness in your Stomach, and gripings in your Belly, then the Remedy is to put upon your Belly a hot thick Cloth: But if you find sour Belchings, it is a sign of the coldness of the Stomach: The Remedy 10 for this is, *to drink warm Water with Syrup of Sorrel, and to vomit; for the retaining of the corrupt Food in the Stomach is the destruction of the heat of the Body.* And Motion before Dinner stirs up the heat of the Stomach, but after Dinner it is naught, because then the Food 14 descends uncocted | to the bottom of the Stomach, and causes [p. 57] Obstructions, and other Evils.

### Of the Efficacy of divers manners of Sleeping.

Sleeping before Dinner makes the Body lean, and dries up its moisture, but after eating strengthens and nourisheth; for while a Man sleeps, the Body resteth, and then the natural Heat which was diffus'd 20 over all the Body, is drawn to the inward parts of the Stomach, and then the Stomach is strengthened for the concoction of the Food; then the natural Power seeks its Rest: and for this Reason some Philosophers said, That it is more profitable to eat in the Evening than at Noon, because Noon has the heat of the Day, and then the Senses are at work, 25 and the Mind is troubled by those things which a Man hears and thinks, and many Inconveniencies which attend the Body from Heat and Motion; whence at Noon the natural | Heat is diffus'd through the outward Parts, and so the Stomach is much weakned, and is not so able to concoct the Food; but at Evening it is quite contrary, for then the Body 30 has rest from Labour, then the Senses and Mind are at quiet, and the coldness of the Night brings the natural Heat to the inward parts of the Stomach. Also you ought not to be ignorant, that he that is used to eat twice a day, and shall eat but once, will find himself certainly hurt, as it happens to him who is used to eat but once, and begins to eat 35 twice; for the Stomach cannot digest the Food, but it remains an indigested Nutriment: and he that uses to eat at a certain Hour, and changes his Eating to another Hour, will soon perceive that he does his Nature no good, but much hurt; for Custom is a second Nature. If therefore any Necessity, which has no Law, compels to that which 40 Custom is against, it ought to be done discreetly and wisely, *viz.* that the change of Custom be by little and little, and so by the help of God

[p. 59] all will be well. And beware | that you eat not till you find your Stomach empty, and discharg'd of the former Meat, and this you shall know by your Appetite; that is, when your Stomach begins to crave Food, and by the subtileness of your Spittle coming into your Mouth. For if any  
 5 one eats when the Body has no need, that is, when he hath no Appetite to Meat, he will find the natural Heat very weak: but if he eats when he hath an Appetite, then he will find the Heat as a Fire blown up: and when you begin to have an Appetite, you ought presently to eat, because if you do not eat presently, the Stomach will be fill'd with ill Humours,  
 10 which it draws to it self, of the superfluities of the Body, which will trouble the Brain with an ill Vapour; and when you eat afterwards, the Food will be lukewarm, and will not profit the Body. |

[p. 60] **Of the four Seasons of the Year.**

It is now our Intention to treat briefly of the four Seasons of the  
 15 Year; of the Quality, Property, and Variation of each of them. The Spring begins when the Sun enters the sign *Aries*, and continues ninety two Days, an Hour and a half; from the tenth day of *March*, to the tenth day of *June*. In this Season the Day and Nights are equal, the Weather grows pleasant, the Air mild, the Winds blow, the Snow melts,  
 20 Torrents run, and Fountains flow between the Hills; the Sap rises to the tops of the Trees, and the ends of the Branches; Seeds spring up, and Corn grows; the Meadows are green, the Flowers bud forth and blow; Trees are adorn'd with new Blossoms, the Earth with Grass; Animals generate, Pasture grows, all things resume their Strength;  
 25 Birds sing, the Nightingal warbles, the Earth receives all its Ornaments and Beauty, and becomes as a fair Bride, adorn'd with divers Colours,  
 [p. 61] that she may appear on | her wedding Day. The Spring is warm and moist, and temperate, like the Air; the Blood is moved, and diffus'd through all parts of the Body, and makes in it an equal Complexion;  
 30 that is, a temperate: and in this Season are eaten Chickens, and Eggs not too many, *viz.* unto 5; and Lettice, [and] Goats-Milk, for no time is better for Diminution: and now the Use and Motion of the Body is profitable, purging the Belly, Bathings, and Sweatings, and Pouders, and Digestive Potions. If purging Medicins are to be taken, whatsoever Diminution  
 35 happens by purging, this time restores by its moisture.

**Of the Summer.**

THE Summer begins when the Sun enters the first Point of the Sign *Cancer*, and contains 92 Days, an Hour and a half; that is, from the  
 39 10th Day of *June*, to the tenth of *September*; in this Season the Days  
 [p. 62] are lengthened, | and the Nights are shortned, Heats increase, the Winds are hot, the Sea calm, the Air serene, the Corn grows hard,

Serpents are bred, Poisons are poured forth, the Virtues of Bodies are strengthned, and the World becomes like fair Bodies perfect in Age, enflamed with Heat. The Summer Season is hot and dry, in which red Cholera is stir'd up; and there is need to beware of it, because it will be of a very hot and dry Nature and Complexion. We must also abstain  
5  
in Summer time from too much eating and drinking, lest the natural Heat be extinguish'd. You may eat in this Season whatsoever is of a cold and moist Nature, as Veal with Vinegar, Gourds, fed Chickens, Barley-broth, Fruits of sharp taste, as Pomgranates and sour Apples: abstain from Women, and all Evacuations, unless on Necessity; use  
10  
Motion of the Body, and Baths sparingly. |

### Of Autumn.

[p. 63]

Autumn begins when the Sun enters into the first Degree of *Libra*, and contains 91 Days, and an Hour and a half; that is, from the tenth of *September*, unto the tenth of *December*. In this Season the Days  
15  
and Nights become equal, and then Nights lengthen, and the Days grow short, the Air grows cold, the North-Winds blow, the Weather changes, the Rivers decrease, and the Fountains are diminished, the Gardens wither, the Fruits fall, the face of the Earth loseth its Beauty, Birds go to hot Countries, Animals desire their Caves, creeping things  
20  
their Holes, where they gather their Food for Winter; and the World is compar'd to a Woman of full Age, wanting her Garments, her Youth departing, and old Age coming on. Autumn is a Season cold and dry, in which Melancholy ariseth: Hot and moist things are to be used in this Season, as Pullets, Lambs, old Wine, sweet Grapes; abstain from  
25  
things that breed Melancholy. The motion of the Body, and the use of Women hurts more than in Summer; purging, if there be a Necessity, may be in this Season. If a Man wants a Vomit, let it be taken at Noon, and in the hottest time of the Day, because in such Hours Superfluities are bred in Man. Purgation ought to be at this Season by things  
30  
which purge Melancholy, and repress Humours.

[p. 64]

### Of Winter.

Winter begins when the Sun enters *Capricorn*, and contains ninety Days, an Hour and a half, from the tenth of *December* to the tenth of  
35  
*March*. In this Season the Days are shortned, and the Nights lengthened, Cold increases, Winds are rough, Leaves fall from Trees, and green Herbs for the most part die, and are hardned like a Stone; Animals hide in the Bowels of the Earth, and Caverns of the Mountains; and by too much coldness and moistness the Air is obscure and dark; Cattel quake,  
39  
the | Virtues of Bodies are weakned; and the World is like an old Woman, languid, decrepid by Age, naked, and ready to die. The Winter  
[p. 65]

is cold and wet, in which there ought to be a change, to hot Medicines and Meats, as Pullets, Hens, and Mutton, and roasted Meats, all hot Confections, Figs, and Nuts, the best new red Wine; and take hot Electuaries. Abstain also from purging, and blood-letting; use not  
 5 abundance of Food, lest the Digestion be weakned; anoint your Body with hot Ointments, and use Baths; much Drink and Women hurt not so much this Season, nor much eating, because by reason of the great cold the natural Heat is collected into the inward parts of the Body; therefore the Digestion is better in Winter: but in the Spring and  
 10 Summer the Stomach is cold, because in those Seasons the Pores are open'd by heat, and the natural Heat is diffus'd through all parts of the Body, and by reason of the little heat of the Stomach Digestion is hinder'd, and Humours are moved. Therefore know these things, and  
 [p. 66] the Lord be with you. | Farewel, *Alexander*; keep this precious Rule  
 15 of Diet I have given you, in preserving your natural Heat; for as long as the natural Heat remains temperate in a Man, Health will be kept. For a Man grows old, and decays two ways: One is natural, which comes by the Debt of Nature, *viz.* old Age, which overcomes and destroys the Body. The other is accidental, *viz.* from Infirmities, and other ill  
 20 Causes.

#### Of those things which make the Body fat.

THESE things fatten and moisten the Body, Rest and eating well, pleasant and divers kinds of Meats, drinking of Milk, and sweet Wines, sleep after eating on a soft Bed perfum'd with things convenient for  
 25 the times, bathing in fresh Water a little while, for bathing long weakens the Body; Odours, and good smells in their Seasons: drink Wine seldom, but what's temper'd with Wa-|ter; in Winter *Alchitimum*,  
 [p. 67] which is a kind of Flower of a hot Nature, Roses and Violets, and whatsoever is cold in Summer; if moreover, with the use of these things,  
 30 you are so happy as to have Joy and Gladness, Respect and Honour, &c. *And use your self to vomit once a Month, especially in the Summer; for vomiting washeth the Body, and cleanseth the Stomach from evil and putrid Humours; and if there are but few Humours in the Stomach, the Heat will be strengthened for Digestion, the Body will be filled with*  
 35 *humidity and fatness, and many other Advantages will come from hence.* For a Confirmation of the profitable use of Vomiting, the Translator thinks fit to add the following Observations.

The late Dr. *Short* in a Manuscript relates, that the Lord *Cambden*, every Morning gargl'd a quart of warm small Beer, and with his Finger  
 40 forced by vomiting much Flegm, and other ill Humours out of his Stomach, whereby he preserved himself from Diseases; and that his

eldest Son has done the same these thirty Years, and seldom or never was sick. |

Also the late famous Dr. Rugely seldom fail'd once in two or three Months, to take a Vomit of Small-beer Posset-drink, and recommended it as one of the best Remedies, for preventing all, and curing most Diseases from Indigestion; and by this use he lived to be near 85 years of Age, and enjoy'd a very healthful Life; which Practice was taught him by his Father, an eminent Physician, who had us'd it all his Life time, and lived to a great Age. [p. 68]

The Emperor *Aurelian* died in the sixty sixth Year of his Age, in all which time he never purg'd, blooded, or physick'd any otherwise, than by bathing once a Year, vomiting once a Month, fasting one day in a Week, and walking one Hour in a Day. Much more might be said from his long Experience, and many Instances given of the happy Effects of this rinsing or washing the Stomach, which for brevity sake is omitted; as also what *Hippocrates*, and many other great Men have said of it. 10 15

And to conclude, we find Vomiting recommended, *Ecclesiasticus*, Chap. 31. | Ver. 21. *If thou hast been forced to eat, arise, go forth, vomit, and thou shalt have rest.* [p. 69]

#### Of things which make the Body lean. 20

ON the contrary, these things make Lean, and weaken the Body, and dry it; to eat and drink but little, to labour much, to go often in the Sun, to walk above measure, to sleep before Dinner on a hard Bed, to be in Care and Sorrow, to go into sulphureous Baths, to eat salt Meats, to drink much old Wine, and to [ve]nt much, and to take away Blood, and that beyond measure, to have evil and sad Thoughts. And it is a Rule of *Hippocrates*, If one bathes with a full Stomach, he shall have pain in his Bowels: and if one lie with a Woman with a full Belly, he shall have the Palsy. Neither let any one run or ride too much. Those that often eat Milk and Fish, get the Leprosy; Wine and Milk do the like. | 25 30

#### Of the Division of the Body. [p. 70]

THE Body is divided into four parts: The first is the Head. When therefore superfluities are gathered in it, you may know it by these Signs, dimness of the Eyes, heaviness of the Eye-brows, drawing in of the Temples, trembling of the Ears, drawing in of the Nostrils. If one perceives this, let him take Wormwood and boil it in sweet Wine, and with the Roots of Organy, till half be boiled away, and hold it in his Mouth every Morning until he finds it do him good; and let him use with his Meat Mustard seed, of which you shall boil a Dram, and 35 40

25 vent] want *Walwyn* egere 1520, f. 23<sup>v</sup>, i.e. sig. c7<sup>v</sup>; purgacio ventris B 95/28: see n.

take going to Bed. If you omit this, you may fear dangerous Infirmities, *viz.* weakness of Sight, Headach, and many other sicknesses; from which the Lord keep you always. As for the Eyes, he that labours to keep his Eyes sound, ought to keep them from Dust and Smoke, from the  
 5 Intemperance of the Air in heat and cold, and from ill Winds; let him  
 [p. 71] not use to look sted-[fastly on one thing, nor look much on things  
 in Motion; let him avoid weeping, and too much of Venery, and too  
 much Meat and Drink, and especially Drinks and Meats that send up  
 a gross Vapour to the Head, as Leeks, Pot-herbs, Ale, Beans, and the  
 10 like; neither let him sleep, when full. But the things which are good for  
 the Eyes are, Vipers Buglos, Water or Juice of Fennel, of Vervain,  
 Roses, Selandine, and Rue; submersion of the Eyes in clear Water, and  
 opening them in it, and looking on it.

#### Of the Breast.

15 THE Breast is the second part of the Body; if therefore there are  
 Superfluities gathered in it, these signs follow, the Tongue is heavy,  
 the Mouth Salt, and there is perceived sour Food in the Orifice of the  
 Stomach, and a painful Cough; you must in this case eat but little,  
 [p. 72] and *Vomit, and after vo-|miting take Ginger, with Roses, and Wood of*  
 20 *Aloes*; and after eating take the quantity of a Nut, of the Electuary  
*Dianisum*. He that shall not do this, may soon get the pain of the Side,  
 or Reins, or many other Sicknesses. The drinking the Decoction of  
 Hysop is wonderful, taken fasting.

#### Of the lower Ventricle.

25 THE third part of the Body is the Belly, and if it abound with ill  
 Humours it is known by these signs, it will swell with pain, and there  
 will be stiffness in the Knees; for preventing whereof use a spare Diet,  
 with Meats of easy Digestion, and vomit, as before mention'd. If you  
 do not thus, you'l be troubled with Disorders in the Spleen, Pains in  
 30 the Hips, Back, and other Joints, and heat of the Liver, with Indiges-  
 tion. |

[p. 73]

#### Of the Testicles.

THE Testicles are the fourth part of the Body: When therefore there  
 is a Superfluity and ill Humours in them, these signs follow; The  
 35 Appetite will abate, redness will appear upon them, and upon the  
 Prepuce. He that perceives this, let him take the Seed of Smallage, and  
 Fennel, and the Root of Mugwort, or of another Herb which is call'd  
*Achem* or *Arianes*, and of their Roots; let him steep these in good  
 White-wine, and take of it every Morning tempered a little with Water

and Honey, and abstain from much eating. If he omits this Remedy, he may fear the Pain of the Testicles and Lungs, and danger of the Stone.

It is written in the Histories of the Antients, that a potent King call'd together the best Physicians of the *Indians*, *Greeks*, and *Medes*, 5  
and commanded that each of them should study to make such a Medicine, which if a Man used it would do him good, and he should | want [p. 74]  
no other Remedy. *Sanages* a Greek said, That to take two Mouthfulls of Water, will keep a Man in Health, and he shall need no other Medicine. A *Mede* affirm'd, that it's very profitable to take of the Seeds of 10  
Millet. But, I say, he that eats every Morning seven Drams of sweet Raisins, need not fear the Diseases of Phlegm, his Memory shall be strengthened, and his Understanding cleared; and he that uses it in a Season agreeable to his Complexion shall be secure, and need not fear 15  
Quarten Agues; and he that eats Figs with Nuts, and a few Leaves of Rue, no Poison shall hurt him that day.

#### Of the Preservation of natural Heat.

O Mighty King, study how to preserve and keep your natural Heat; for Health consists in two things, the temperature of the Heat, and of the natural *Moisture* of a Man. Also you must | know here, that the [p. 75]  
Destruction and Corruption of the Body comes from two Causes; one 21  
Natural, and the other against Nature. The natural comes from the Repugnance and Contrariety of contrary Qualities, as when, for Instance, Dryness bears rule in the Body: but the Corruption against Nature comes from some accidental Cause, as a Weapon, a hurt by 25  
Stones, or other Casualties, from Infirmary, or evil Advice.

#### Of the Qualities of Meats.

MEATS are some subtile, some gross: the Subtile generate subtile Blood, clear and good; such are Wheat, Chickens well fed, and Eggs: Gross Meats are good for those that abound with hot Humours, those 30  
that labour, and in fasting, and those that sleep after Dinner. But Meats of a middle nature do not breed Inflammation, or Superfluity, as the Flesh of Lambs, and things gelded, and all sorts of Flesh of a | hot and [p. 76]  
moist Nature; but it fails in those things that are roasted, because they are made hard, hot, and dry, by roasting. If such sorts of Flesh are 35  
roasted, let them be eaten presently, and then they are good, when they are eaten with sweet Spices. Some Meats breed Melancholy, as Buffles, and Cows-Flesh, and all that are gross, dry, and rough. But others that have subtile Flesh, which are fed and nourished in watry and moist places, are better and more wholesom. 40

## Of Fishes.

THE like is to be said of Fishes: Know therefore, that Fish of small Substance, and thin Skin, easy to be chewed, bred in running Waters that are Salt, are better and lighter than those that are bred in the Sea, or fresh Water. But Fish bred in the Sea is wholesomer than that which  
 5 is bred in fresh Water. You ought to beware therefore of Fish of large substance, and hard Skins, for such use to be venomous. |

[p. 77]

## Of Waters.

You must know, that subtile Waters are profitable to every living  
 10 thing, as well Animals as Vegetables: and remember what I have taught you, and shewed you, that all Waters, as well sweet as bitter, take their rise from the Sea, and of this I have given you a Demonstration. Now take it, that the lighter and more wholesom Waters are those that are running near Cities, where the Earth is pure from Rocks, not abound-  
 15 ing with Fumes; but Water that comes out of stony Earth abounding with Fumes is heavy, and unwholesom; and Waters wherein are Frogs, Snakes, and other venomous Animals, as Lakes, are naught. The signs of good Waters are lightness, clearness, good colour, when they are easily heated, and soon cold; in such Nature delights. But Salt-Waters, and  
 20 of the Sea, are said to be fumous, and loosen the Belly; Sea-Water is hot and heavy, because it stands, and does not run, and because the  
 [p. 78] Sun | is long upon it; therefore it breedeth Cholera, and makes a great Spleen and Lungs. The drinking cold Water on an empty Stomach, hurts the Body, for it quenches the Heat of the Stomach; but the drink-  
 25 ing it after Dinner breeds Phlegm; and if much be drank, it corrupts the Meat in the Stomach. You ought to drink cold Water in the Summer, and warm in the Winter; and not the contrary, for drinking warm Water in the Summer mollifies and weakens the Stomach, and destroys the  
 30 Appetite: so the drinking of cold Water in the Winter extinguishes the Heat, and hurts the instruments of the Breast, and the Lungs, and breeds many Mischiefs.

## Of Wine.

As to the knowledg of Wine, you must know that Wine that cometh  
 34 from Mountains, expos'd to the Sun, is of a more drying Nature than  
 [p. 79] that which comes from the Plains, and moist and | shady Places. Wine is good for old Men, and those that abound with Moisture and Phlegm, but hurts young Men, and those of a hot Constitution. First, it heats and frees from cold and gross Superfluities. How much the redder and thicker Wine is, so much the more Blood it breedeth. But when it is  
 40 strong, and of a great bitterness, then it is call'd the first Blood, and first Nourishment, and has the nature of Drink and Medicine, and being

long took hurts much; and when this sort of Wine is sweet, it hurts the Stomach, and breeds Wind. But the best Wine, and most agreeable to all Complexions, is that which comes from Ground extended between the Mountains and Valleys, in a subtile Air, whose Grapes are sweet, fully ripe, which are not gathered until they have the strength of their Substance, from a Vine of a moist Bark, thick Branches, the colour of the Seeds of the Grapes being golden, or between yellow and red, the Wine of an acute and pleasant taste; the Lees settled, the Wine subtile and clear. And when you can get such Wine, drink | moderately of it, [p. 80] according to your Age, and the quality of the time; for it comforts the Stomach, strengthens the natural Heat, and helps Digestion, preserves from Corruption, concocts the Food, and carries it purified to all the Members, and concocts it in the Members till it is changed into substantial Blood, and goes to the Neck with temperate Heat, and makes the Head secure from unfortunate Chances, chearing the Heart, makes the Tongue fluent, frees from Cares, and makes a Man bold, stirs up an Appetite, and has many other good Effects. 10 15

#### Of the Evils which follow too much Drinking.

BUT Wine, when it is took in too great a quantity, causeth the following Evils; it darkens the Understanding, dulls the Sense, troubles the Brain, weakens the natural and animal Powers, causes forgetfulness, hurts all | the five Senses, by which the whole operation of the Body is rul'd and carried forth, spoils the Appetite, weakens the Ligaments and Joints, begets tremblings of the Members, blear Eyes, enkindles Choler, destroys the Liver, by making its Blood more gross, blackens the Blood of the Heart; and thence come Horror, Fear, Trembling, talking in Sleep, fantastical Visions, destruction of Heat, weakness of the Genitals, destruction of the Seed, Loathings, a distemper'd Complexion; it makes the Body gross, and what is worse, brings the Leprosy, and then it is of the nature of Poison. Therefore beware that you go not beyond the measure, because Wine changes Nature, and the Complexion. Rubarb, which is said to be the Life of the Liver, and hath many Virtues, yet sometimes it is equivalent to a deadly Poison to those who take it beyond measure. Wine is compar'd to the nature of Serpents, out of whom an Antidote is made, and great Mischiefs are driven forth by their Medicine, yet it is known to all, that they have a d[e]adly Poison, and death in them. | 20 25 30 35

O *Alexander*, never think much to take a sharp Syrup in the Morning fasting, and not fasting when Humidities abound, and Phlegm predominates; for it is very sanative. *Aristos*, a certain wise Man, hath commended good Wine, saying, it is a wonder how a Man can be weak, or die, who eateth Bread of the best Wheat, good Meat, and drinketh [p. 82] 40

good Wine, and useth them temperately, abstaining from too much Eating, Drinking, Venery, and Labour. He that does otherwise shall have some Sickness; and it behoveth him who is drunk with too much Wine, to wash himself with warm Water, and that he sit over Rivers of  
 5 running Water, and have Willows and Myrtle, and anoint his Body with a Confection of Sanders, and to fumigate with cold and odoriferous things burnt; this is a good Remedy for Drunkenness. But if any one  
 9 has a mind to leave off wholly the drinking of Wine, he ought not wholly to forbear it at once, but to go by degrees from drinking Wine to a drink  
 [p. 83] of Raisins, and thence to mix Water by little and | little day after day, until he comes to pure Water; for by such an Order the Body shall be kept from great Sicknesses.

Moreover you must know, that some of these things strengthen and fatten, some make lean and moisten, and some dry; some things give  
 15 Vigour and Beauty, some make dull and cool. Those things which strengthen the Body are pleasant and light Meats, agreeing with the Constitution, taken in due time, and when one wants them, as I have said. Those things that fatten and moisten the Body are, rest of the  
 20 Body, Joy of the Mind, pleasant Company, hot and moist Meats, drinking sweet Wine, the taking of good Hony; and nothing does so much as sleeping after Dinner on a sweet Bed in a cool place, and to bath in hot Baths, and stay but a little while therein, lest the moisture of the Body be too much spent; and to use Odours refreshing the  
 25 Spirits, and agreeable to the time: *To vomit two or three times in a Month, especially in the Summer, because Vomits wash the Stomach, and purge it from ill Humours and moistures of the Body.* And | corrupt  
 [p. 84] matters are *expell'd from the Stomach, the natural Heat increased and strengthened to digest the Food.*

Govern your Body well therefore, if you would have it thrive, and  
 30 observe my Counsel. And moreover, if herewith you have Comfort and Riches, and are fear'd by your Enemies, live in Pleasure, hear Musick, behold, and be delighted with beautiful things, read pleasant Books, hear joyous Songs with beloved Friends, wear fine Cloths, confer with wise  
 35 Men of things past and to come, strengthen the rational Powers with Ointments agreeing with the Season; with these things Men are made fat. And the things which on the contrary make lean, are eating and drinking too little, much Exercise and Labour in the Heat, long Watch-  
 40 ing, sleeping before Dinner on a hard Bed, because the Heat is hinder'd by too much moisture in the Body; to bathe in sulphureous and salt Waters, cold, or very hot; Hunger and drinking old Wine, often purging the Belly, and Bleeding, too much Venery, Poverty, Cares, and Fears,  
 [p. 85] evil Thoughts, | anxiety, Pains often happening, and ill Chances.

## Of a Bath.

A Bath is one of the Wonders of the World, for it is built according to the four Seasons of the Year. Cold is ascrib'd to the Winter, moist to the Spring, hot to the Summer, dry to Autumn. In short, it is good to make in Baths four Mansions, so order'd, that the first is cold, the 5 second warm, the third dry, the fourth hot: and when any one will go in, he ought to stay a little in the first, and then go into the next and stay a little there, and then in third and there make a little stay; and lastly, in the fourth, and there you must wash you; and when you will go out you ought to keep the same Order, staying a little in each 10 Chamber, and not go out from too much Heat to too much Cold. And let a Bath be built in a high and airy place, and have large flaming Furnaces, and sweet Water; and in it | must be us'd Odours convenient [p. 86] to the time, as in Spring and Summer must be us'd Ointment a triple and quadruple Quantity, in Autumn and Winter double: then sit on a Seat 15 moistened with Rose-water, then you must be rub'd with a clean flaxen Cloth; when this is done, and you are well wash'd, go out to other Mansions, and use the following Rules and Ointments. If you are overcome with Heat, be comb'd, and use, in the Spring, Ointment of Sanders, and *Emleg*. In Autumn and Winter Ointment of *Myrrh*, and of the 20 juice of the Herb *Blites*; cast upon your Head artificial Waters, and temperate; then let your Body be wash'd and rub'd well till it is clean, then anoint you with convenient Ointments, and go out gradually; then wipe your self well; and if you thirst drink Syrup of Roses, and take an Electuary with Musk, then stretch your Arms a little; then after 25 about an Hour take Meat with quiet, and drink good Wine temperately, with a little Water, as you are used; then fume your self with Incense convenient to the | time, and rest in a soft Bed, and take a good Nap [p. 87] which helps much; then continue the rest of the day in Joy and Quiet. He that is old, or has too much moisture and coldness, must not stay 30 long in the Bath, but just till his Body receives the moisture of the Bath; and let him cast warm Water on him as soon as he will. The Phlegmatick ought not to go in but with an empty Stomach, and must be anointed with hot Ointments. He that is of a hot Nature, let him keep the former Doctrine. 35

O *Alexander*, when you shall know, and keep the Documents I have given you, you shall not want a Physician all your Life, by the Help of God.

FINIS













