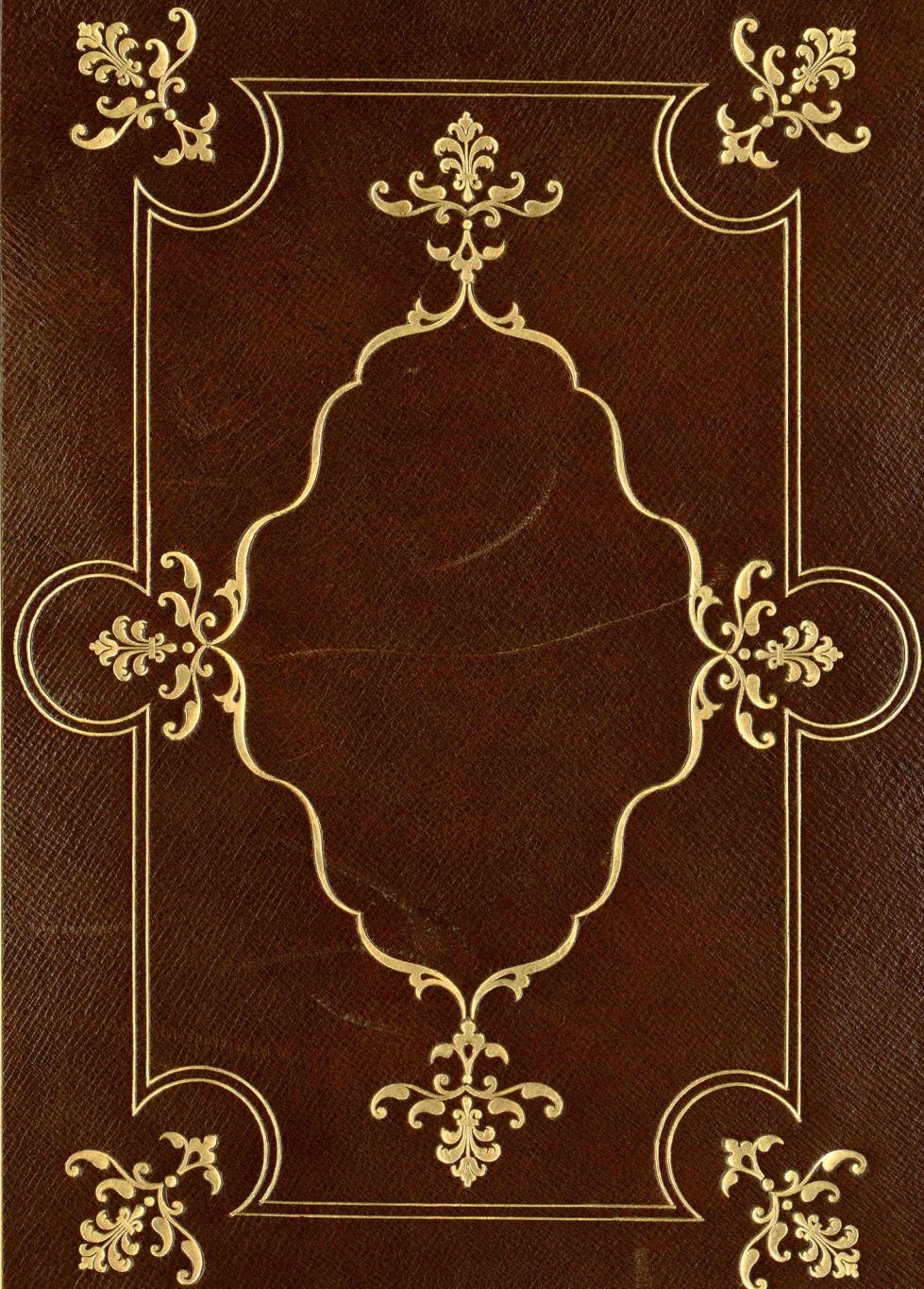


FAYT OF
ARMES
AND OF
CHYUALRYE

CAXTON

MCCCCLXXXIX



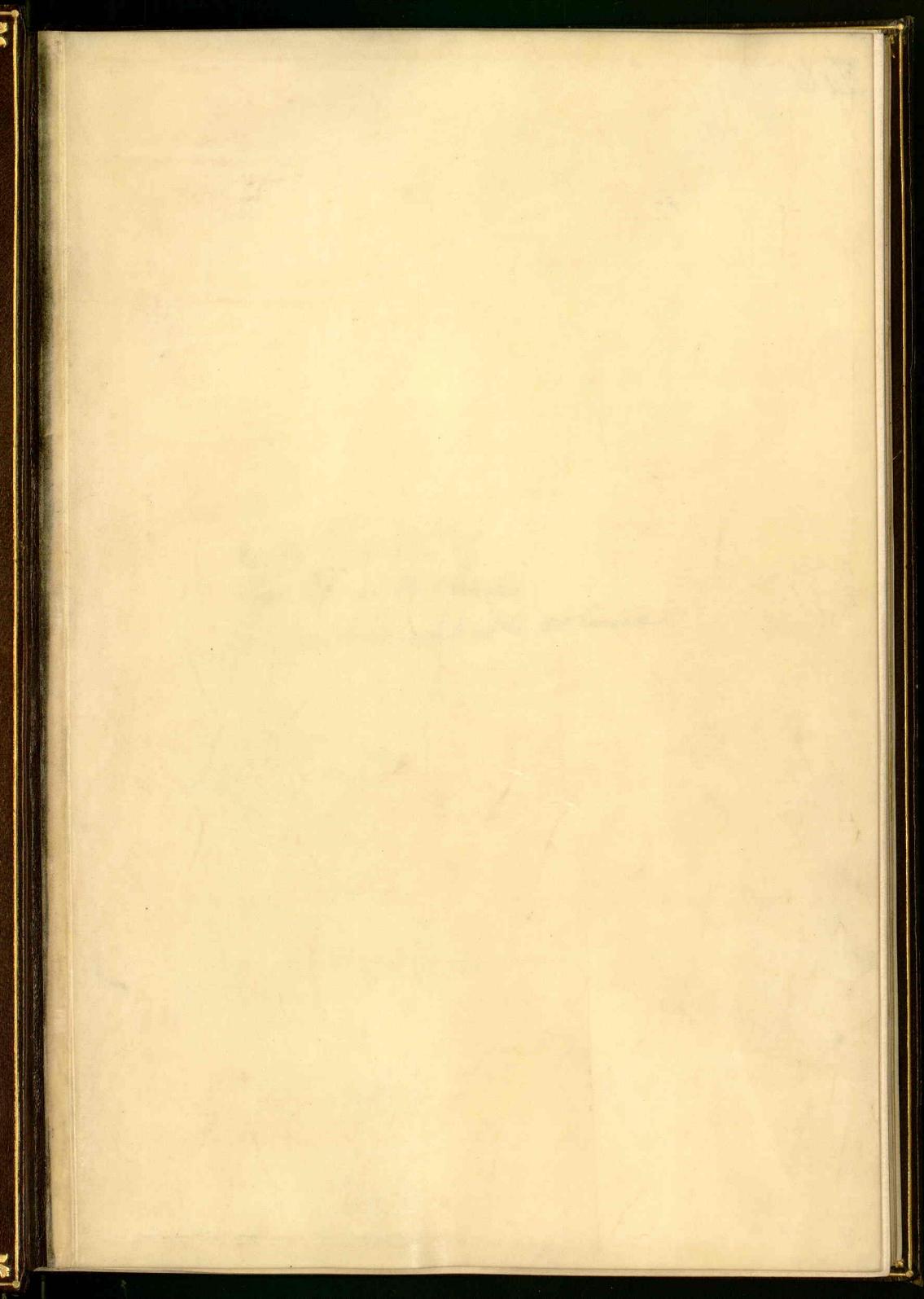
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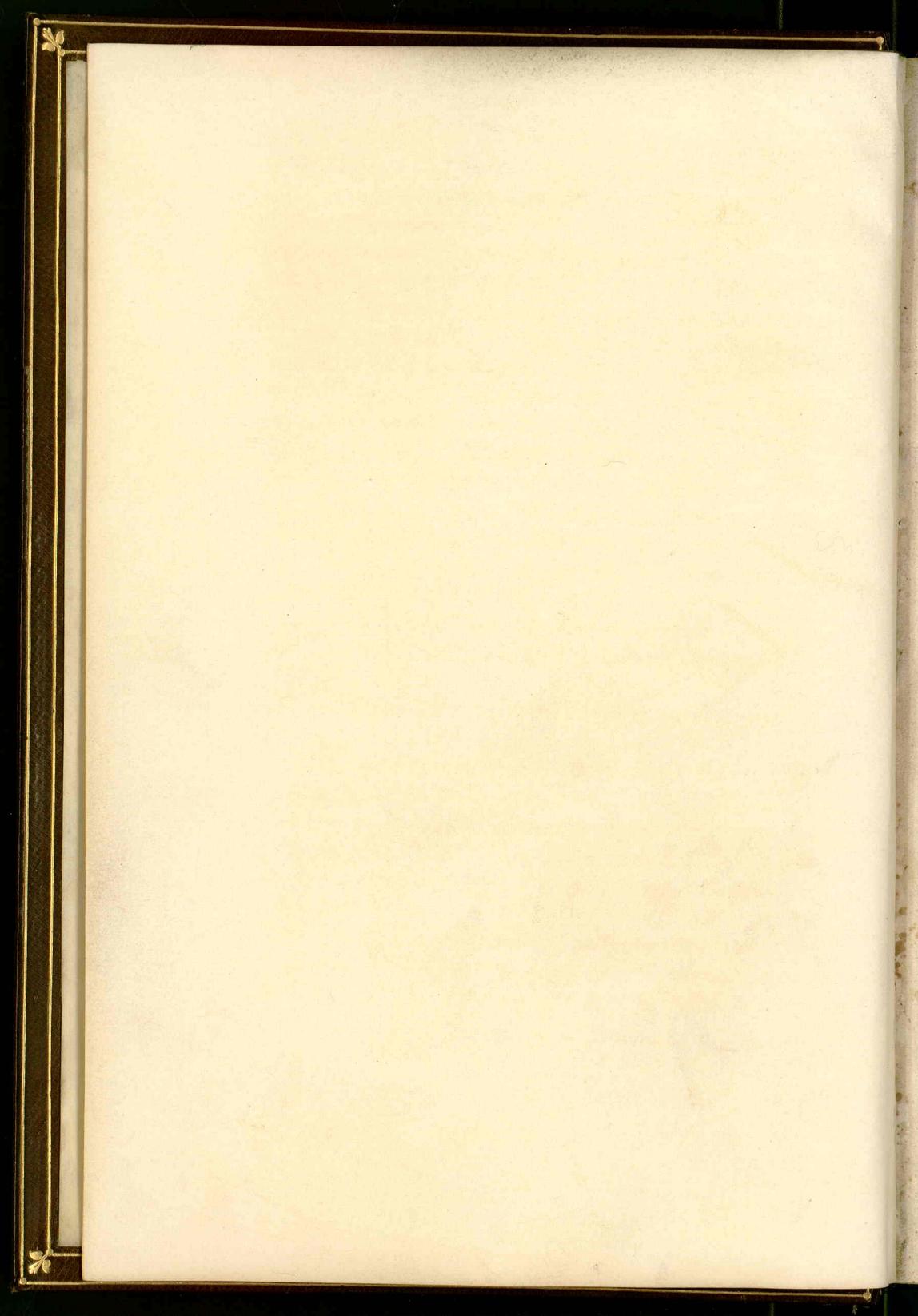
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Sir George Holroyd
a most remarkable volume



HEre begynneth the table of the rubryshys of the
Boke of the fayt of armes and of Chyualye Whiche
sayd boke is departyd in to fourre partys/

Che fyrt partpe deuyseth the manere that kynges and
prynces oughten to holde in the fayttes of thei rwerres and
bataylles after thordre of bokes/dictes/and examples of the
most preu & noble conquerours of the world/ And haw &
what maner fayttes ought best to be chosen & the maners
that they ought to kepe and holde in theire offices of armes
Item the second partpe speketh after Frontyn of calote-
les & subtyltes of armes whiche he calleth strategenes of
thordre & manere to fyghte & defende castellis & cyttis after
Begece and other auctours/ And to makke warre & gyue ba-
taylle in ryuers and in the See/

Item the thyrde partpe speketh of the dwoytis & ryghtes
of armes after the lawbes & dwoyt Wreton

Item the iiii/partpe speketh of the dwoytis of armes in
the fayttes of saufconduytes/of tryelbs/of markis/& after of
champ of bataylle/that is of fyghtyng within lystes

HEre begynneth the Chapytres of the fyrt boke/

Che fyrt chapitre is the prologue/ in whiche Crystyne
excuseth her/ to haue dat enterpryse to speke of so hye matere
as is contyned in thyss sayd boke/ Capitulo/ pri^o

Item haw warres and bataylles emprysed by iuste and
trewe quarell and ladde by thei ryght & dwoit/ is a thyng of
iustice and suffred of god/ Capitulo/ ii

Item haw it is not leefful/but only to kynges/ and to
souerayn prynces to empryse of thei singuler auctorite wer-
res and bataylles/ Capitulo/ iii

Item what ben the moeynges wherof comuniely sour-
den warres and bataylles Capitul^o / iiiij

Item the consideracions & regardes that the kyng or so-
uerayn prynce ought to haue in entrepryfynge warre/ And
the maners that they ought to holde byfore that they delibere
and conclude/ Capitulo / v

Item it is not expedyet that the kyng or souerayn pryn-
ce ought to goo in hys propre persone to the bataylle for the
perillis of the aduerse fortune Capitulo / vi

Item what Constable ought to be chosen for to be may-
stee of the chualtrie of the kyng or souerayn prynce/ and of
the condycyons that he ought to haue Capitul^o / viij

Item some auctours alledge to purpos of the cercyte of
armes/ Whiche therof haue spokyn/ and the maners whiche
the valgaunt conquerours helden Capitul^o / viij

In the maners that thauycnt knyghtes helden to teche &
enseigne theyr childreen in the doctryne of armes/ Capitul^o / ix

Item yet he syketh of the same/ and the thynges of ar-
mes in whiche he enseyngeth & techeþ the chyluren of the
comyn peple/ Capitul^o / x

Item of the propretaries that men of armes ought to ha-
ue & in whiche they ought to be esformed/ Capitul^o / xiij

Item of the maners that belongen to a good Constable
or captayne to holde in his offyce/ Capitul^o / xij

Item of the manere that belongeth to a Capytayne to
holde in the fayte to lode his host after the bokes of ar-
mes/ Capitul^o / xvij

Item of the same/ Capitulo / xij

Item here deuyseth yf it be nede that the capytayne ought
to haue to take hys bpon his host/ Capitul^o / xvij

Item the manere that the captayne ought to holde in

- dyslodgyng fro one place to another & by the wavyes whiche
he ledeth hys hoste Capitolum xvij
- I**tem he spaketh for to make an hoste to passe ouer floodes
and ryuers Capitolum xviii
- I**tem deuyseth the maners that behouen to the captyayn
of an hoste to holde in the tyme whan he supposeth to haue
hastely bataylle Capitolum xvij
- I**tem the maners that a captayn ought to holde yf it hap
pen that he wyl departe fro the felde wþt hys enemys ought
ne bataylle Capitolum xix
- I**tem it deuyseth hys of the captayne of thoost falleth
in to treaþy of peas or of trewes wþt hys enemys ought
to keþ hym fro the peryllis Capitolum xx
- I**tem the maners that the captayn of thoost ought to
keþe the day that he hopeth to haue the batayll Capitolum xxij
- I**tem deuyseth after Begece the maners to take thauaui
tace of the felde Capitolum xxij
- I**tem deuyseth in short the maners after the usage of the time
present to arrenge the hoste in the felde for to fight Capitolum xxij
- I**tem he sayth yet after Begece and thauncyents thordre
for to arrenge bataylles Capitolum xxvij
- I**tem deuyseth after Begece seuen maners of arrengyng
an hoste and to fyghte Capitolum xxv
- I**tem of the same Capitolum xxvij
- I**tem the ordre & manere that the captayne ought to holde
whan gode fortune is for him in the bataill Capitolum xxvij
- I**tem the ordre & manere that the captain ought to holde
whan the fortune of the batayll is ayenst hym Capitolum xxvij
- I**tem a recapitulacyon shortly of some thyngis of the
ordres aboue sayd Capitolum xxvij

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Here begynneth the booke of fayntes of armes & of Chyualrye
And the first chapytre is the prologue / in whiche xpre-
styne of p[ro]fe[ss]e excuseth his selfe to haue dar enterpryse to speke
of so h[oly]e matere as is conteyned in this sayd booke

Capitulum primum

By cause that hardynes is so moche necessarye to
entrepryse h[oly]e thynges / whiche without that
bold newe be enpryses That same is conuenable
to me at this present werke to put it forth wi-
thout other thyng / Seen the lytylhed of my persone / whiche I knowe not digne ne worthy to treate of so
h[oly]e matere / ne durst not only thynke what bla me hardynes
causeth whan he is folyssh / I thene nothyng moeued by ar-
rogance in folyssh presumpcion / but admonested of veray af-
fection & good desyre of noble men in thoffyce of armes / am
exorted after myne other escriptures passed / lyke as he that
hath to forn beten down many stroge edifices / is more hardy
to charge hym self defye or to bete down a castell or forteresse
whan he feleth hym self garnysshed of conuenable stiffe thereto
necessarie / Therine to entrepryse to speke in this preset booke
of the right honorable offyce of armes & of Chyualrye / as
wel in thynges whiche thereto ben conuenient / as in droghtes
whiche thereto be appertenauant / lyke as the lalbes & dyuerse
auctours declaren it / to the purpos / I haue assibled the ma-
ters & gadred in dyuerse bookes for to produce myne entencio
in this present volume / But as it apperteyneth this matere
to be more executed by faynt of dyligence & witte / than by sub-
tyltes of wordes polisshed / and also considered that they that
ben exercysng & experte in tharte of chyualrye be not comune-
ly clerkes ne instructe in science of langage / I entende not
to treate / but to the most playn and entendible langage that

I shal molwe/to that ende that the doctrine gyuen by ma/
ny auctors/whiche by the helpe of god I purpose to declare
in this present booke/may be to alle men clere & entendible/
And by cause that this is thyng not accustomed & out of
Usage to Wymen / Whiche comynly do not entremete but to
spynne on the distaf & occupie them in thynges of houshold/
I suplye humbly to the said right hie office and noble sta/
te of chyualrye/that in contemplacion of theyr lady mynerue
born of the contre of greece/whome the auncyents for hir grete
connyng reputeden a goddesse the whiche fode lyke as olde Wry/
tyngis saye/ and as I haue other tymes sayd/ And also the
poete boece recypte in his booke of clere & noble Wymen/and
semblably recyten many oþer/the arte & manere to makyn
noys of yron & steel/whiche wyl not haue netake it for none
eynly/ þf I a woman charge my self to treate of so lyke a ma/
tere/but wyl enswere the feignement & techyng of senesie whi/
ch saith/ retche the not what they saye/soo that the wordes
be good/ And therfore & to purpos in manere poetyke/it
plaiseth me to adresse such a prayer to the foresaid lady/ O
mynerue goddesse of armes & of chyualrye/whiche by vertue
of hys entedement/aboue alle other Wyme fodes & institutes
emogeþ other noble artes & sciéces whiche of the tolke their be
gynnyng thusage to forge of yron & steel/armours & harnois
appice & couenable to couire & targe the body of man agaynst
the strokis of darter/noyous shotte & spores in bataylle fayt/
tes of armes/helmes/sheldes/targes/& other harnoys defesa/
ble fro the first comen/institutes & gauest manere & ordre to/
arége batailles/& tassaille & fight in manere/Roured lady
& hie goddesse be thou not displeased that I symple & lytyl w/
omā lyke as nothyng vnto the greenes of thy renomee in
cunyng/dare presently compyre to speke of so magnyfiske

an offyce as is thoffice of armes/ Of whiche fyrt i the said
renomed contree of greece thou gauest thusage/ And in so
muche it may plaise the to be to me favorable/ that I may se
somwhat consonant in the nacyon wher thou was born whi-
che as thene was named the grecce grecce/ the contree beyonde þ
alpes or montayngnes/ whiche now is sayd puylle & calabre in
ytalye wher þ were born/ & I am as þ were/ a womā ptalien
Chere sheweth how warres & batailles empised by Juste
quarelle moened in their right & droit/ is thyng of Justice
& suffred of god

Capitulo ii.

Ahaton the Bayllaut cobataut or fyghtar/ by whos for-
ace and strengthe of armes/ the romayns had many fayr
bysterpes/ & whiche never in bataill was dyscofyted sayth
that it ought more to haue proffyted to the comyn welle/ the
wrytyng of rules/ techyngs and dyscyplyne of armes whi-
che he had composed & made in a booke/ than in ony thyng that
he euer had dooþ his body/ for he saith alle that euer that
a man may doo/ endureth not but one age/ But that whiche
is breton endureth to the comyn proufft eumore/ by whiche
Innumerable men may the more auayle/ so is it thenne by
this reason proued/ that it is not a thyng of lytyl proufft
for to wryte & makie bookeies/ But to thende that this preset
whiske by som enuyous myght be reproched sayeng that it
is but yolenes & losse of tyme as to treate of thynges not
lawfull/ first it is to wryte of warres & bataylles/ chualtrye
& faytes of armes of whiche thyng we hope to speke/ it is or
not/ o thyngiuste/ for as in exercysing of armes ben don
many grete euyllis/ extorcyons/ & grieues/ lyke as occisio[n]
tauayne by forces/ to brene by fyre & infenye[n]te harmes may
seme to some that warres & bataylles shold be acursed thyng
& not due/ And therfore to ansuere to this questiō/ it is to

A ii

Wete/that it appereth manfesto that Warres empysed by
iuste cause be permysed & suffred of god lyke as we haue so
uden in þ holy scripture in many places/ hold our lord him
self ordyned to captaynes of hostes that whiche they shold
doo apenst theiȝ enemyes/lyke as it is Wreton of one that
was called Ihesus/to whom he saide that he shold ordyne him
to bataylles apenst his enemyes/ & made an embussh for the
better to baynquisse theym/ And of other ymowe semblably
is recypted/ And also the holy scripture saith of god that he
is fiers & gouernour of hostis & bataylles/ And warre &
bataill whiche is made by iuste quarell is none other thing
but right execucion of iustice/for to gyue the right/ there as
it apperteyneth/ and to this accordeth the lawe deuyne/ & se-
blably the lawes ordyned of men for to reppresse the arroga-
unts & malefactours/ & as touchyng the harmes & euylis
that ben don aboue the right & droyt of warre/lyke as other
auctours sayen/that cometh not thyng of the right of warre
but by euylnes of the peple þ usen it euyl lyke as I hope by
the aide of god to touche here after whiche as it shal falle whi-
re as I shal shewe of thynges lymyted after the lawes and
droit canon in the exer syte of armes

Here it deuyseth hold it is not leeful but to kynges & se-
uerayn prynces to emprysse warre or bataylles of their signi-
fer auctorite/ agaynst ony what someuer they be/ **C**a: in

Now haue we in this first chappytre touched shortly hold
warres & batailles by good right empysed is a thyng
iuste/ thene is it to be take hee syth they be of right/it apper-
teyneth to every man to doo iuste & rightful werke /if it be
leeful to ony persone to emprysse warre for to kepe his right
thene it shold seme by this reson that without to mespise
every man may so doo it/ But for to declare the trouthe to/

Theym that in this poynct myght erre/ it is to Wyte that wryth
oute to make ony doubt / after the determinacion of right &
of the lalbes/it apperteyneth to none to epryse warre or ba-
taylle for ony maner cause/but yf it be to prynces souerayn
lyke as emperors kynges/dukes/ & other lordes terrayns w
hiche ben merely pnyppall heedes of Iuridictions temporall
ne to a baron what somuer he be ne to ony other be he never
so grete withoute lycece/cōgie & Bolencie of hys souerayn lord
and that this lalbe is of right / manyfeste reason sheweth
it ynowþ/for yf it shold be other Wyse/werof thene shold serue
prynces souerayne/whiche for none other thyng were esta-
blyshed but for to doo right to euerych of their subgettis that
shold be oppresid for ony extorsio & for to defende & kepe them
lyke as the good sheppard expositeth his lyf for his sheep / &
therfor obweth the subgette to resorte to the lorde as to his re-
fuge/whan ony grief is doon to hym / & the good lord shal
take his armes for hym yf it be neede/that is to saye he shal
helpe wryth his power to kepe his good right/be it by wape
of Justyce or by execucion of Armes

There is deuyded whan the mouemens wherof fyrst
sourden warres and bataylles **C**apitulo iiiij^o

Thene apperteyneth it onely vnto souerayn prynces te-
reprise warres & bataylles/nold is it for be taken he-
de for whan causes after the lalbe ought to be eprised or ma-
yntened warres & in this wel aduyded/me semeth that co-
mynlly fyue pryncipal moeuyngis ther be vpon whiche they
be founded of wosome the thre ben of the lalbe & dropt / & the
other of Wyll/The first of the lalbe wherfor ought to be en-
pryseid or mayntened warre is for to susteyne right & justice
The seconde for to withstande the evyl that wold defolde gri-
eue / & oppresse the londe the contrie & the people/and the thirde

A iiiij

for to recoure/londes/seignories/or other thynges/by other
taken & vsurped by iuste cause/ Whiche to the prince or to
the iurisdiction of the cōtre or of the subgettes ought to ap-
pertayne Item of the two of Wyllc/that one is for cause of ve-
geāce for some grief receyned of other/that other for to con-
querē & gete londes & estrānge seignouries/ But for more
particularlē to declare/first & by especial the first of the three
Whiche is of iustice/it ought to be knowen/that ther ben thre
principall causes by the whiche it is lefful to a kyng or a
prynce to entreprise or susteyne armes/warre/or bataylles
The first is for to bere & susteyne the chirche & his patrimo-
ny apeinst all men that wold defoule it/as all crysten pryn-
ces ben holden/The seconde for his Bassale/ yf he be requyred
in caas that he haue iuste quarrell/& that the sayd prynce ha-
ue to fore dewly endeuyrd hym to makē accorde bytweene þ
parties/ in the whiche thying thadisaraye be founde not trea-
table/& the third is that the prynce may iustly yf it please
hym to axe & helpe every prynce baron or other hys alye or
freende/or ony contre or londe yf he be requyred/in caas that
the quarrell be iuste/& in this poynt be coprised wimen wido-
nes/orphans/& alle them that may haue necessite/ of what
parte that they be wronged of ony others powre/ for this
cause & seblably for the other twayne a fore said moeuyngs
that is to wite that one to wylstonde the euyl And that
other for to recoure his proprie thynges loste/is not onely
lefful to a prynce to moeue warre or to maintene it/but it
is to hym pure dette to makē it by oblygacion of tylle of se-
ignourie & iurisdiction/ yf he wyl use it after rightful dueute/
but as touchyng the other n̄ pointes/that is to wytte that
one for vengeāce of some grief receyued by polver & myght
of another/ & that other for to gete strānge londes wythout

To haue ony btyll / What somenter the conquerours / alexandre
the romayns & other he moche preyed in the tytles of chual
rye / & semblably they that greely he Bengid on their enemys
be it wel or evyl / & What comynly therm is doon I fynde not
in lawe deuyne ne other scripture / that for thyse two causes
Without other moeuyng / is lawful to emprysse vpon cristen
men warre or bataylle / but wel the contrarpe for by the lawe
of god / it apperteyneth not to a man onely to take ne vsurpe
nothyng of others / nor in no wise to couete it / & semblably
ben reserved to god the vengeances / & nothyng apperteyne
to man to doo them / but for more playnly to declare vpon
this part / & ansuere to the questions that may be moeued /
Trouthe it is / that it is leeful to a prynce to kepe to hym self
the same right / that he shold doo to another / & for as moche
as a iuste prynce shal doo / selyng hym self wrongyd by an
others myght & pouer / ought he thene for to obeye to goddes
lawe to deporte & forbere without dyping more thereto / for soth
nay / for that defendeth iustice / but the faytte requyret of
trespaas pugnycon / for that werke iustely he shal holde this
waye / he shall assable grete counseyl of wysemen in his parli
amet / or in the counseyl of his souerayn yf he be subgette / & he
shal not onely assable them of his contree / to thende that ou
te be put all suspeccon of fauour / but also of strange contrees
that may be knowen not adherent to neyther partie / as wel
auncynt/nobles / as turistes & other / present hem self shal pur
pose or doo be purposed all the trouthe & without ony fauour
for god may not be deceyued all suche right & suche wronge
that he may haue / & in concludyng shal saye yf all he wyll
reporte hym & holde to the determinacion of ryght / shortly for
to saie by this manere / this thynges put in right wel seen &
discuted so & by such waye that it appere by true iugement

that he hath iuste cause/ Then he shal doo somone his ad
large for to haue of hym restytucion & amedes of thyngures &
wronges by hym receyued/ Then if it happene/ that y said
aduersarie deluyer defences & Wyll gaigne saye it/ that he be en
tierly herd without fauour to hym self in ony wise ne propre
Wyll ne haynoȝ courage/ These thynges & that whiche apper
teyneth duely made/ in caas that the said aduersarie be foun
de refusyng to come to right & lalwe/ the prynce may Justly
& surely entrepryse warre/ the whiche ought not be called vñ
geaunce/ but pure execucion of righful Justyce/

Chere ben deuysed the consideracions & regardes that the
kyng or prynce ought to haue in the fayte to entrepryse w
arre and the maners that he ought to holde/ to fore he conclu
de the said warre/

Capitulo quinto

Syth it is soo that it is keefful to a prynce tentrepryse w
arre & bataylles/ and theym mayntene for the causes &
houe said/ And holde be it that these thynges be grete & poysa
unt/ as they that touche prynceppally the lyf/ the blood/ thon
nour/ and chyuaunce of infente persones/ Wythout whiche re
gard all byfore the werke/ ought not to be empysed/ ne for
light moeuynges ne yong villes but that it ought to be re
doubted tempryse nalle warres/ but for to modere hym self
We haue ensamples ynowle/ O remembre/ that the puissaunce
of austryke/ ne thorguilloȝ cpte of cartage whiche was chi
ef & head/ and the spaynards/ ne the right puissaunce kyng an
thyochus lord of a grete parte of the orient/ whiche brought
so mocky people to bataylle that it was infente Wyth theyr
dreadful olyphautes/ ne also the right myghty prynce kyng
metridates whiche lorded vpon xxiiij. contrees/ and also all
the world/ but y the right lytil puissaunce of romayns myghte
wel subdue them/ & therfore ought no prynce lightly to put

hym self in peryll whiche is for to be determyned by the destri
bucion of fortune/ of whiche noman may knowve to what sy
de it shal tourne/ Thenne it is necessarie that the prynce be w
yse/or at the leste wylle use the conseyl of wyse men/ for plato
saith that the royme or contre is blyssed & wel happy where
the wyse men gouernme/ and the thopposite or contrayre it
is acurysd & unhappy lyke as witnesseth the holy scripture
And without faylle ther is nothyng so moche necessarie to
be conveyed by wisdom/as is warre & bataille/lyke as it shal
be said her after/ for ther is no faulte made in ony caas lasse
repayable/ than that whiche is executed by armes/ & by euyl
gouernyng of bataille what shal thenne doo the wylle prynce
to whom shalbe of necessite for some of the caas aforesayd
temprise warre or bataylle/ first to fore all thyng he must be
holde & take heide what puissance or pouer he hath or may haue
as moche people/as of synaunce & money/Without the whiche
the two pryncipal thynges to be wel garnysshid & surely/it
is folye tentrepryse ony warre/for aboue alle thynges they
ben necessarie/ & in especial moneye/for who that hath money
ynowldh/ & wylle emploie it/he shal alldway fynde ayde & helpe
of men ynoldh/ & more than he woldhe/ Wytnesse of the warres
of ytalie/ & in especyal of florence/ of venyse/ & other places/ þ
whiche comynly fygght more with theyr money than they of
the contre/ And therfore wythoute payne/ and vnieth
may they be bayniquysshed/ And it shold more auaylable and
be moche better to a prynce/ yf he sele hym not wel garnyssh
id of tresour or of ryche subgettes full of good wyl to ay
de hym/ to make somme traytyme with his enemyes/ yf he se
le hym self assayled/ Or for to deporte and forlere tempr
se warre/ Rather than to begynne yf to mayntene it he
hath not wherof/ For he all certayn/ that yf he entrepry

seth in hope to take more of his subgettis than they may
ferre & axeust theire Wyll/it shal encrease the nombrie of his
enemys/ so sholde it be to hym lytil prouffyt for to destroye
the strange & ferre enemys/for to gete prouice & mygh ene-
mys/for it is to wite that þ prince capitayn ought not des-
pyse noo puissance of enemys though it seeme to hym but ly-
til for he may not knowe what fortuneþ other shal haue for
hym self/as it is Wreton hold þ ther was a sheperd named
Briacus/to whom fortune was so propice/that he helde him
in puissance with greate foyson of theues & pillyardes whiche
he had assembled for to make warre to rome/whiche was so
myghty by the space of xxiiij/ yere/that he dyde moche grief
to theym/And ofte tymes baynquyssed in bataille/ & the ro-
manys myght never destroye hym/but hymself his lyf by
one of his olwen men whiche felwe hym/and therfor to then-
de that he be not deceyued he shal assable to counsil the fourre
estates of his contree whiche ought to be called or be empi-
re so chargeable a thyng/ þ is to wite thauycen nobles exper-
te in armes whiche knolle what the fayt of warre moun-
beth/Item the clerkes legistes/by cause that i the lawes ben
declared alle the caasis of whom ought to soudre iuste warre
as many ensamples we haue to this purpos/ Item the
bourgeyses by cause it is of necessite and by cause they parte
in the myse and tresour whiche thereto by houeth as said is/
and that they take hede to the fortificacion of townes cyties
and enduyce the mene people to ayde theyr lord/ Item some
of the men of Craste for more to honoure the sayd peple/
And that they be the more inclined and the better willed to
aid their lord with their goodes/of whiche thing they ought
alle to be swetely prayd/O hold is that a profitabile thyng
in seignourye/ Royame/or Cyte to haue true subgettis/

e of grete loue/ For they faylē not in bodyes ne in goodes /
lyke as it appiered many tymes in rome/ Whan þ tresours of
þ cyte despeded in grete warres in so moche that they had no
thyngē/ Thēne the ladies them self of their propre mocōn
brought theyr Jelbellis & ryche adournemens/ and with the
yr good Wyllē brought & deluyerd them for to socoure to the
necessite of the toun & cyte/ the whiche afterward were gre-
tely restored agayn as good reason was/ And for to holde
this waye/ Wel gaaf ensample the good Wyse kyng charles
the fyfthe of that name fader of this that presently regueth
the whiche anon after he had be crownd/ What dyde he as in
the age of yob/ pere/ as he behelde that the englyssh men helde
euyl the couenautes made of the treatye of the peas/ Whiche
he hadde by necessite & dyuse fortune accorded to theym/ hold
Wel it was to hym right dōmageable/ and that not with-
standing that it was agreed to theym to holde grete parte
of the duchye of guyenne & many other londes & seignouri-
es in other places in the roialme of fraunce/ but that suffi-
sed them not/ but marchyd desfolled & greued by theyr pryde
& overdeyning the other contrees neyghbours whiche apper-
teyned no thyng to theym/ sente the said kyng by aduyse his
ambassiadours auctorised to the duc of lancastre sone of
kyng edward of englond & to his people whiche had doon
the said oulfrage/ that therof he wold cesse/ & make amēdes
of the grieues & dōmaiges made syth the said peas/ of whi-
chē thyngē suche was the effecte/ hold Wel the ansuere was
curtoys ynowsh/ the said ambassiadours were slayn in that
journey or waye/ wherfore þ good Wyse kyng seen that by
constraint had accorded the dishonourable peas the whiche
shold be ouer longe a thyngē to reounte/ assibled at parys

at his parliamēt the forſaid fourē estates/and with them
alle the wyſe iurystes ſtrangers/as wel of boſoyne the craſſe/
as/as of other places ſuche as he myght haue/and to theym
purpoſed his reaſons ayeinſt the ngleſh men deuaundynge
theyr aduys/þf he had cauſe to bygynne warre/for without
iuste cauſe/the regarde & deliberacon emonge theym/and the
consente & wylle of his good ſubgettes in no wyſe he wold
doo it/at whiche coniſcyl by long deliberacon was concluded
that he had good & iuste cauſe to begynne agayn the warre
& thus the good kyng entrepryſed it/in whiche thynge
god hath be ſo moche fauourable to his good right loued be
he/with the grete prudeneſſe of hym/that alle the londes loſte
he gaſt ſith recouerdo with þſ werde/like as yet it appiereth
¶ There is deuyſed hōlde it is not expeſdent that a kyng or
ſouerain pryncipe goo in bataylle for the perillis of aduersay
re fortune

¶ Capitulo 5.

¶ Hene by the way aforſaid þwyſe kyng or pryncipe ſhal
detayne to werke in the fayte to entrepryſe warres &
bataylles/And for as moch as it is a thynge notare/that
in ſuche a fayt to bygynne/mayntene & contynue fourē pryn-
cypall thynges/That is to wite an heid or chief/hardynes-
ſe/Strength/and conſtaunce/without the wylle alle ſhould
goo to conuincion/ye þf that onely one of them faylled/nolb
it is to ſee þf it be good that the kyng or ſouuerain pryncipe
in his propre perſone goo to his warre/And be in the batay-
lle/For as the fayte ought to touche hym more than/
ony other/By whiche his preſence myght repreſente the for-
ſaid fourē thyngeſ/And with this that it is no doubt
þ his knyghtes & men of armes & all thoſt ſhould haue the
better herce to fyghte ſeyng their lord in þ place/reoy to lyue

not Withstanding all that ony may saye of the wole &
good that myght enswere/and that many examples shold
be fouden of kynges & prynces/to whomme it is wel taken to
be presente in their bataylles/lyk as the kyng alexander in
his conquesres/ & also many kynges of france/as the kyng
clodowenus/charlemayne & roulwe of other/ & also charles whi
the presently regneth kyng a childe in the age of: viiiij: vere
newly crownd was in the batayl of roselech/ayenst the fle:
myngis/wher he had noble victorye/it is not to be delibered
ne lightly to be concluded/that the kyng ne souerayn prince
goode in his propre persone/and better is it teschewe it/than to
goode thyder/alleway reserved som eas that is to wite ayenst
his owne propre naturel subgettis/in caas that they be re
uell to hym/the cause is for as moche as naturally the sub
get ferreth to offende the mageste of his souerayn lorde/in espe
cial in his presence/whom they may not denye/what som
uer paruerse wylle they haue/that they shold lose hertes and
membris like as they were baynquisshed/they seyng agaist
hym/whom they ought to ayde/and also to be with hym a
yenst alle men/and in especial the confusion is greate ayenst
them/And the right is greate for the prynce/whan he is to
theym good & not cruell ne tyraunt/But not for what so
meuer necessite that he see/he ought wel to take heede/that he
be sette so surely in the bataylle/that the perill of evyl fortu
ne may not falle vpon his persone/But the reason general
wherfore it is not good communly that he goo to bataill is
by cause that none may knolle to what partie god shal gy
ue the eure of the victorye/wherfore yf the fortune cam ay
enst the prynce seyng there in persone/by whiche he take
deth he take or flee/that shold not be perdycyon and desho
nor only to his sayd persone;but to them of his blodd.

¶ generally to alle his subgettis londe & contraes perdicō &
in senytre inconuenient lyke as ymollsh may be knowlen by
the xperiance of caas semblable in this ropane / & ellis wchre
late happened / And therfore it is not to be chosen that for the
regard of some particular vtilite is put in aduenture & peril
that / of whiche may come in senytre harmes & inconuenyētes
and therfore a prynce ought not be bylued that therin shold
be ouer wyll & courage / but he ought to be put fro it / and
the causes & reasons to hym assygned with examples whiche
ought to refrayne hym / Considerynge the right greate pe-
ryl / not only of his persone as said is but of alle hys sub-
gettis & ropanme / And to this purpos beryly may wel
serue for example / the Wyttē & good gouernāunce of the for-
said wise kyng Charles the whiche he not mouryng fro his
trone ryal in palays / conquerēd agayn alle the londes lost by
his predecessours right chualero / lyke as the trouthe is ma-
nyfested / and that it be true to this purpos / that Wyttē & di-
ligence be more exydeynt in faytte of warre than in the pre-
sence of the prynce / semblably it appiereth by the first duc of
mylane fader of this that now is / the whiche not partyng
fro his palays / conquerēd by his Wysecom as many londes
& seignouries in lombardie & in the marches / that to the sey-
gnourye of a Cyte he attrybuēd & gate so many other that he
made it a right greate & notable duchie

CHere is deuised what constable ought to be chosen for to
be maistre of the chualrye of the kyng or prynce / and the
condycions that he ought to haue Cap^o viij^o

Now we haue hold the kyng or souerayn prynce for
the wele and surete of the comyn wele ought not light-
ly delyvere ne conclude in hym self to goo in to bataylle / The

ne is it to be aduyced to what personnes/for to one onely
suffyseth not to be comysed the fayttes of so greate offyces/
as maystres & conduytours of his chualryc/that for hym
g in his name exercyseth the fayt of his warres/of whiche
thyng without fayle by right to take here is none other of
more greate regarde/than to makis the selection of theym/for of
so muckle as the exercyce of their offyce passeth in poyntz & perill
alle other/ of so muckle it apperteyneth & behoueth the more co
uenable persones/ & by especiall ought by greate aduyse to haue
regard & delyberacio to chese hym to whome is compysed þ prin
cipal charge aboue alle other/The whiche offyce the auncyng
called duc of bataylles or souerayn maistre of the chual
rye/whome we calle now in fraunce Conestable/ And after
in folowyng thusage of fraunce the two marchallis/ Under þ
whiche pryncypall offyces/ ben after sette diuse and many
captaynes of certayn nombre & quantyte of men of armes/
In the selection in speciall of the souerayn maystre of the chy
ualrye of the prynce/ought to be aduyced/ that he be a persone
right notable/ especilly in all that whiche behoueth in thyng
es that requyren armes/ That is to wite/ that by longe expe
rience he be so vised/ that it be to hym as a naturel craft or mes
tier/ and that the contynuel exercisice hath rendred hym a mai
ster of all that whiche behoueth/ as he whiche by many tymes
hath be founden in diuerses aduentures happened in fayttes
of warre by diuse contrees & nacons/ For degree saith that
length of aage/ ne greate nombre of yeres yene not onely at
te & manere of fyghtyng/ but thusage/ So that he be not to
lerne the ordres & maners/ whiche ought to be holden/ in trea
tyng of men of Warre and of Armes/be it in tyme of
reste/ or in traueil of Warre/ And that he can ma
yncre/ lede/ conduyte/ And put in arraye so and in manere

as it apperteyneth for the beste/ And it is to Wyte that in
the said electio ought to be more regarde to the perfection of
the sayd thynges/With the other maners & condicōns/Whi-
ch apperteyne to hym/ Than to the gretenes of his lignage
& hys blood of his persone/ and alle that he may assēble to be
shalbe moche expedyent/b/ cause that of somoche as he shal
be more noble of blood/ so moche the more shal he be the mo-
re dradde & holde in reverencē/in his sayd offyce/ the whiche
thyng is necessary to every captayn/ for to this purpoos re-
counteth Valere/ that the auncyents/ whiche made the grete
conquestes/ for to be the more doubted in theyr oostes/fayg-
ned theym to be so grete & so hys in lignage/ that they saide
them self parents & kynde to the goddes/ But neuertheles
it suffyseth not this onely couenablete/Without the other p/
rofessors therfore the regarde of the eliseurs or chsars ought
more to pourueye to the wele of thoffyce/ then to the persone
For it shold be a thyng moche to be reprened to chese one of
hys blood sayng pgnorāunt/ & to sette hym in thoffyce/ in whi-
ch subtylte/ wisedom/ and long usage hath ofte more grete
need/ than the quantite of peple or oþer other strengthe/ For
Cathon saith that of alle other thynges the faultes may be
amended / sauf such that be doon in bataylles/ of the whi-
ch the Payne ensielbeth anone the faulte/ For euyl perisse
they that canne not wel defende/ and to fugitiues b̄meth
or with grete Payne cometh agayn the herre to fighthe/ Ther-
fore also with the other for said thynges it is necessarie that
he be wypse/ of good naturel Witte/ as he to whom hath be co-
myned the knowlege of many thynges/ and that is as chy-
ef of Justyce & lieutenaunt of the prynce for to doo right to
enerich of causes that may happen in caas of armes &feat-
tes of chualrye/ of alle them that be under hym and also of

Straungers whiche ofte happen in dyuerce maners / And it
is to wete that after the ryght of gentilnes and hys nobles-
se of courage apperteyneth to a good captayne whiche useth
the exercysyte of armes / in alle caases that may to hym happe-
ne of all that gentylnes requyret yf he wyl gete honur
that is to wyte that also to his enemyses he be ryghtful & be
rytable in feit & in Jugement wher he shall falle / And w-
ith this that he honoure the good & the valyaunt / in lyke wy-
se as he wold be of them honoured / And this manere helde
the valyaunt kyng pyrrus of Macedone wherof he gate grete
loos / whiche by cause he had founde so many valyautes in
the romayns wold wel they were his grete enemyses he ho-
noured them right gretely / whan an ambassade cam to hym
And also theym whom he seldme in bataylle he dyde doo buri
them honorably / And of the noblesse of this kyng & of his
grete frauchysse it is yet wretton / that he had in so grete pris
the prysyoners whiche he had taken in his bataylles / that he
wold not kepe ne receyue them as prysyoners / but rendred &
deliuerd them all quyte / The maners and condicōns whiche
belongen to a good constable ben these / that he be not testys
hastys / boot / fell / ne angry / But amesured and attemporat
rightful in iustice / benignye in conuersacion / of hys mayntene-
& of lytyl wordes / Sadde in countenaunce / no grete dyseur of
truffes / Verytable in worde and promesse / hardy : sure : & dy-
ligent / not coueyto9 / fiers to his enemyses pyetous to them
that he vainquished / and to them that he vnder hym he be not
lightly angry / ne he not moeued for lytyl occasion / ne bylue
ouer hastely for lityl apprence / Ne yeue sayth to wordes wh-
iche haue ne colour of trouth / ne that he be not curvous of
mygynotes / Jolpetes / ne of ielbellis / but be he habylled & arra-
yed / ryghely in harmoys & moutures / & contiene hym fierfly /

Ne he be not slouthful/sluggyssh/ne sleepy/ne curyous in me-
tes & festes in lyf delycate/ & in serchyng allelday thestate &
couyne of his aduaiores/ & be he subtyl/pourneyed & wylly
to deffende hym fro theym/ & wylly to assaille them/ Wel ad-
uysed upon their espies & watches/ & that he knolle to gou-
uerne his owen peple & hode in ordre & deede/ & to doo right
wchre he ought to doo it/ And that he be not ouer curyous to
playe in noo games/to honoure the good and them that be
Worthy/ & nyghe to hym/ & Wel to rewarde theym that deser-
ue it/ And that he be large & lyteral in caas that it be requy-
syte/ & that his comyn speche be of armes: of fayttes: of chy-
ualrye and of the valyaunes of good men. And that he ke-
pe hym Wel from avauntyng/ & be he louyng hys prynce &
trewe to hym/fauorabile to wedowbes/to orphans/ & to the
poure/ne make grete compt of a lityl trespace doon to his per-
sonne/ And smale debate to pardone lightly to hym that repen-
teth/ and aboue all other thyng to loue god & the chyrsche &
to sustene & helpe right/ Chyse sayd condycions byloncen to
a good constable/ And by consequent to the marchallis/ &
to alle theym of semblable offyces/

Chere alledge to purpos of exercyce of armes some an-
tours whiche herof haue spokyn/ & the maners whiche helden
the valiant auncyens conquerours in armes/ **Capi.** viij.^o

After that we haue deuysed what offycers ought to be
chosen or at leste theym that haue condycions next and
moste lyke to theym aforaid/ whiche shal be compyed capy-
tayns & conduptours of the chyualrye of the prynce or kyn-
ge/ it bishoueth vs to saye in what werkies & thynges theyr
exercyse shal extende/ And by cause that dyuerce auctours
serne me to speke whiche haue wretton/ I shal produc in to
woyties theyr sayengis/ And pryncipally vegerre wchiche

in the tyme of Valentyne hemperour notably/made a propre
wokе of the dysciplyne & arte whiche the right conquerours
helden/whiche brought to ende by wysdom and vertue of ar-
mes/thynge/whiche now in this present tyme shold seeme
as impossible And this thynge wel affermeth by hys wor-
de/the sayd kyng pyrrus/whan he had assayed & proued the
valyaunce of the romayns/Of whome a lytyl quatyte Wyth
stood ayenst his oost/whiche was so grete that they couer-
de thenne montaynes & valyes/Thenne the said kyng pir-
rus saide/yf I had suche knyghtes/I shold conquere alle the
world/And by this it is to suppose/that grete Wythe/tra-
uayll/& propre industrie achieuen so hye emprys as to
conquere the Worlde/lyke as dyde the romayns and other co-
querours/of whome the maners/and ordres that they helden
many wyse men registred them/the whiche thynge for ex-
ample to be conformed to theym yf they seeme good ben for to
be herde propyre & expedient/For the said Begece saith/who
that Wyll haue peas/lete hym leare to fyghte/& who loueth
Victorye/ought to knowe thefeat of armes/& the knyghte
that desirereth good aduenture/lete hym fyghte by arte or craf-
te/that is to Wyte by wysdom/and not at all aduenture/&
none dare grieue ne angrie him yf supposeth shal surmounte or
overcome yf he be assayled/Soo is it by the grete conques-
tes/that the auncyens dyde somme tyme/that the people be
not now so valyaunt/as they were wooned to be/ And of
this whome it is a longe/or causeth the fornained Begece
rendith the reason that sayth/that the longe peas rendryth
the men/whiche hereto fore by longe and contynuel trauayl-
lis were wooned to exercisice thefeat of armes sette nothyng
by that occupacyon/But now ben put in delyte/reste/and to
couetyse of money/whiche the noble auncyens preyfed no-

kyng but honour of armes/ ne sette nougnt ther by / And
thus is chualrye sette in negligence/ as it were forgoten
& not caught of/ And he sayd/ the romayns in lyke wyse
whiche had gotten many londes & conquerde / lefte on a tyme
the exercyce of armes / whiche by theire discontynuacion
they were by hanybal pryncipe of auffrykis desconfytid
in the seconde bataille/ wherre as they loste all theire seignou
rye tofore canes in puyll/ whiche was soo horrible / that al
most alle they of rome were ded/ And theyr chieuetains ta
ken & destroyed & also the noble chualrye in so greete quanti
te that after the de nifture/hanybal whiche dyde doo ferche
the felde had thre 30000 busshelis/all full of rynges of
gold fro theyr fynch. He as thistorye saith/ the whiche he
dyde doo bere in to his arme in signe and Joye of that byc
torye/ But astre wardenne the said exercysice of werre was of
the noble auncyents taken up axen they allwyses had bic
torye/ Therfore concludeth the said auctour to the louing &
praying of the contynuall exercysice of armes that more pro
fyttable is to a kyng or pryncipe to see his men used & wel
taught in the said art and fait of armes hold felbe or lytyl
quātite of peple that he hath/ than to take and retayne un
der hym grete foyson of strange souleours that he knowl
eth not/ & nothyng so ferme ne stable saith he ne that more
is to be commended than is a contre wardenne foyson of gode
men of armes he wel learned & taught in all that longeth
to the fayt of werre/ for nethir gold ne siluer nor precyous
stones baynqysshe nor ouercome not the enemyses nor
make not thenhabytans to lyue in peas as doeth & may doo
the myght of worthy chualrye wel taught / And of suche
folke ought not to be Judget after the folyshe sentence of the
kyng Bynytus of gallya or fraunce/ whiche after he had

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enray ther the romayns with / C iij/ score thousand men ar
med / and salve hem come ayenst hym with so lytyl a quanty-
te / despysed them and sayd that they were not men ynough
for to satiffye thappetit of the dogges of his oost / But not
Withstandyng was ther men ynough for to dystresse bothe
hym and his grete oost / as is happyd soone after lyke as
thystory recounteth / And this for to conferme after the sa-
yng of the said Auctour / We shall first speke of the doctry-
ne and lore that thauycyent nobles haue vnto theyr chyl-
dren in tyme of theyr youthe / And then shal we retourne
to the matiere of the said chieftain or chieftains of the chy-
ualrye / The said Begec to purpos saith in the first chapy-
tre of his first booke / We by noon oþre meanes nor mane-
re can perceyue ne see / the cyte of rome to haue subdued vnto
her the countrees of the Worlde / but by use of armes and by
techynges of oþres of knyghthode / For al ynough may be
presumed / that so small a quantyte of folke as the romains
were at the first shuld do lytyl harme to the grete multitude
of frenshē / The wytte of the grekis as Titus linius saith
dyde resiste ayenst them alwey & strength of them of affrique
And by this we conclude as it is afore said that bettre is /
a small quantite of folke vsed and wel taught in fayt of
armes by contynuel exercisice of al that therof may fall in the
doubtouse happe of bataill / than is a grete multytyde of rude
folke nouȝt knowyng / for as he saith / the manere of con-
nyng to knowle that / that in werres & bataylles bylongeth
grolweth norissheth & gyueth hardynes to fyght / as it is so
that noon doubteth to do that in whiche he feleth hymself le-
ned expert & taught / And al sciences & craftes are knownen
& lerned by contynuās of usage / Thus yf it be trouthe saith
Begec that this be in small thingis / bettre it behoneth to

Kepe the same in thynges that ben right greeke/O what is
it of men vsed & made to the werre and that be subtyl in ther
exercice of armes/With payne can they be ouercome by noo
maner of straunge aduenture that never was seen before/
As it appiered that tyme the romayns founde the crafte &
the manere for to sle the multitude of Elephante that ben so
greeke and ferfull bestis wat bothe men and horses of theyre
lyght were affrayed/that the cartagiens and they of parthe
had brought ayenst them/And the wyse romayns made
engyns by the whiche they lanchid & cast vnto them sharp
barres of brennyng yron/and thus destroyed them/And
therfore saith thauctour that of al artes or crafte in a lande
more to be comended/is the arte of fighting in exercice of
werre For by that is the freedom of the lande place or contrey
surely kept/and the dignite of the prouince is ther by incre
ased/and the auncyent worthy men/as it is said soueraynly
kept the same/first the greekes and they of lacemodone right
valyaunt and strong werryours/And thenne this arte to
lerne & vndrestande aboue al other thing were the romains
curious & fayne/and the same & honour that ensued theym
for the same/appiereth and is wel knowen

There deuyseth & helbeth the manere that the noble au
tient worthy men kept to thyntroduction & lernyng of they
re childe in the doctrine of fakte of armes **Capi^o ix.**

The auncient noble men therme that by faultnes of co
rage desyred al wayes that the exercice of armes shuld
be contynued/to thende the comyn use of theyre lordshipes
and cyties shulde be the bettre amerced and defensed made
not theyre children to be norisshed in the kyngis & prynces
court for to lerne pryde lechery nor to werte waton cloathing
But did so by cause in tyme to come of theyre flowing

aage myght serue the prynce and the countrey in that offyce
that apparteneth to noble men / & had of a custume whan
theyre children were com to viij. yere of aage they made hem
to be taught in al sucht thyng that longeth to knyghtheod
and in fautes of werre / And is to wote that there were in
certayn places propre scoles whereto they were induced / And
taught to were harneys & handlyng of staues & defensyng
and the fayt & the wayes of the same / And therfore wyl be
gee say there as he speketh to this purpos in his fourth
chapitre of his first booke that the noble men ought to peyne
hem self to dralbe theyre children in theyre first youthe to the
loue of fayters of armes / for yong child is able to concey
ne & kepe in mynde that / that men shalbe to hym / and natu
rally chyldren are glad and wyllynge to tyse hem self to sucht
thyngis as men see / that they wrastle lepen & playe one with
other moeuing theyre bodyes / So ought thenc to be shewed
Unto them the tournez of swiftnes to caste & fyghte with
the theyre armes / and the manere how they shall glaunce or
with drathe themself from y strokis that in trauers or syd
lyng may come / to lepen oner trenchis or dyches / to lanche or
cast sperys & darteres and the waye to couere & saue hem self
with theyre sheldes / and to doo al other semblable thyngis /
And unto them they shalbe also hold in castyng of sperys
or darteres they shuld sett theyre fiste a fore / by cause in
launching shakieng or casting that whiche they hold & wold
cast out of hand the body shulde be more stedfast on the gro
unde & the myght in casting gretter / but as to come hand to
hand for to repulse or shone forth with sperys they taught
hem to sette the right fiste afore / by cause that the strengthe of
shouing is at the fiste syde of men / And for to teche hem bettre
in all thynges to fighen & to salut / they were oftymes put

in arraye of batailles by theyre maistres / by cause they shuld
knowe by veray use the conduyte and the ordre that ought
to be kept in a bataille / And all renged in fayre ordenaunce
made hem to marche forwardis a quantite of paaces for
to teche hem to kepe hem self clos togidre in gode ordenaunce
Without goyng out or from the wylde of theyre bataille /
And with light stauis at the first by cause they shuld not
hurt ech oþre / made one partie to salote that oþre / And
to thende that noo rancour ne anger myght not be norrysse
among hem / they that had the victoire were at another ty-
me putte for to fyght with them that they so had ouer-
com / ayenst oþre / After this they were putte in certain pla-
ces to kepe them that one place ayenst that other / And as
theyre bodily strengthe gred more and more / they made
hem for to take axes and swerdis and almaner of other we-
pons of warre and assayed & forced them self to smyte ay-
enst certayn stakes that for the nones were dressed and the
re made grete arrayses of armes / as hit had be ayenst the
þre enemy mortall / and al this was / by cause they shuld bere
trauailles and be vsed in abyng of them self / And so assau-
ted the stake al a bout glanching and tournyng here and
there / and in this manere of a salote tolke in hem self streng-
the and breth and the manere of fyghtynge and salotyng
they lerned / And as theyre strengthe & age gredwe / so was
gyuen to them greter charge and more poyntant / and na-
mely bygger armures and more heuy stauys than thoþ that
are vsed in a feld or bataille / by cause that comyn stauis
shuld sem to them easie and lyght at a nede / They lerned
them also to stryke with a foyne whiche manere of foy-
nyng was first brought in use by the romains / for they for-
ned them that smote edgelyng / and sayd with peyne myght

one flic another astre that guyse/bi cause the bones that he
harde with holdeþ and keþeth the stroke/But of a foyne is
the wounde dedely of the hed or the body entre the depnes of
two yches/And for this reason also is the strok of a foyne
bettre and surer bi cause he that smyþeth edgelyng/ in he:
uyng vp of boþe his armes sheweth hym self naked and
bare and discouered a long his right syxe/and this doeth not
he that smyþeth with a foyne/but keþeth hym self clos as he
striketh/and may hurt his enemy/or that other heue vp his
armes for to smyþe edgelyng/And with all this they exci:
ted and taught hem for to bere som heuy fardelis all armed
as they were for to be the redyer to suffre trauallis and pax:
ne/and to thende yf nedē were/they myght bere wyþ them
theyre owne vitaillis/ And for this lesson to conserme/to
this purpos saþt degece/that noþyng is greuous whiche
of afore is lerned by long use/nor so heuy a fardell/but that
by custome of beryng shal seme easþy and lyght/And Virgil
þe in lyke wyse consermeth the same use/ther as he saith
that the valyaunt romayns bare of tyme's with them they:
re necessaries with the fardel of theyre armures/ And beside
al thys weþ ther horses made of tymbre upon whiche they
lerned to lepe vp of boþe the sydis all armed from hed to
tooe þe shere in theyre hand/to clemme vp wyþ cordes
to the wallis lyghþly/to make ladders hem self and woxes
knotted for to clemme vp ward ther with all

¶ Yet of the same ¶ Capi^o v^o

Tyn all the forſaid usages and in oþre moþ the nobles
fauncyet introducted þe taught theyr children so that by

long contynnace Wyth the gode doctrine of such honorable
wordis as they dyde putte in to their corages/that whan
the veray fait of a bataylle cam,they were not to fele in
noo manere of point/but as al lerned and right wyse made
greet appertyses & faitis of armes/Suche doctrine was ne-
cessary in the tyme of the grete conquestis / and yet exyderet
& gode hit were in fraunce & in all other landes wher as som
tyme of nede harnoys & armures ben taken Saluste to this
purpos saþþ/ The knyght or men of armes is to be chosen
that from the tyme of his youthe hath lerned the trauayllis
of armes and the maners of bataylle/ And that by usage
can the wyes of knyghthede/ And bettre it is saith he / to a
yong noble man to escuse hym self of that he hath not yet let
ned/ than to make sorwes & mourne in his old age of that
he conde never nothyng / wherfore thauncyent praysed so ly-
tel the noble men that coude nothyng/ that they putte no dyf-
ference betwene them & the landishmen/ But moche they set-
te by the noble men that were wortly & valyaunt/as it is
knolwen by Begece that thus saith to the labodryng and pray-
syng of them/O men of grete and laudable merueilles/that
this noble art and doctrine of knyghthede / haue so longue
exercysed/that of veray knynde hit abydeth styl Wyth you/
Ye ought to be hyghly enhaunced as they thithout whiche
other men nor the lande can not be defded ne lyue in peac
It is therne grete auantage to a yonge man that is wil-
lyng to do wel / Whan bothe tyme and place he hath and
powre to lerne the arte and scyence of armes whiche is not
to be thought of litel importans nor with litel peyne gotten
& to him saith he that in such dysipline is wel taught/fre-
ne dred of fghting is to him nothing ayenst who souer
his enemy that it be/but rathre is to hym as a ioye & a delyt

And with this addeth the auctoris shewing in what lesson
they of the peple were taught/ that is to wite in shotyng &
casting thith slynges whiche doth grete ayde to theym
that wel can styl ther with/ & was muche vsed by thaucent
tyme viceroy de gece in prayng of such cōyng saith that
how be it a slinge be of noo weyght/ it is profitable & name
ly in salvynge or fensyng of a forteresse a slynge is good &
covenable wherof they say that such manere of shot was
somtyme so greely sett by/ that in som Iles of greece/ the mo
dres gaf no fode to theyre children vnto tyme they had hitte
theyre mete with y stroke of the slynge/ & also lerned hem to
shot with a log bole & with a crossbole bothe/ & therre mai
stres lerned them to hold their bole with the lyste hand & to
drawe the corde with the right and with grete strengthe
vnto there eerys/ & that the herte & the eyen they shud see
that thing that they wold shote at & that ententlyfly shulde
take therre marke with gode hede/ & in this arte namely en
glishmen are lerned from therre yong age/ wherfor cōyning
ly they passe al oþre archers/ de gece saith that this manere
of arte wyl be continued and ofte exercised namely to the
goode maistres/ & that the han tyng & continuaunce therof
be nedfull/ cathon saith in his boke of armes/ that gode ar
chers ben moche profitable in a bataille/ & this testifieth clau
dius that saith that by the archers & they that were taught
in the manere of castyng of darteres/ ouercome Aleyandres
enemys in dyuers batailles with a lityl quātite of his pe
ple/ & this witnesseth also the noble warryer scipion of af
rica/ also he taucht hem to cast stones to bere sheldis & þ man
ere to come with the same to caste spars & þ wares to do al
suche oþre thiȝ & as thauctours sayen dyus & propre may
stres were/ that by the phizonomye of þ yongmen & by the

Body they shalbe whiche were moost able and more propre
to the discipline and teching of armes/as were they of w:
hom the eyen & spoutes were open & moeuable / that had a
streyght heade a large brest/grete sholders & wel shapen armes
long & bygge & wel made/long hādes & of grete bones small
belly & the reynes wel formed/bygge thyves / leggis streyght
wel shapen full of synewis & drye / brode fete & streyght /
but as for the height of the body made noo force/and aboue
al other thyng tolde heade to the vigour and courage and to
the swiftnes of the body/and to such yongmen putte theyr
mastryers theyre besy cure & diligence to teche them the said
arte & connyng of armes/and as they sallo hem with theyre
ablenes of body/of gode & wyse undrestāding/they had hem
mychere/and taught & shewed unto them al thinges that
 behouen to the chief captayns of armee/with al this/ they
lerned hem for to swime in ryuers or in see/ And saith vege
ce that this arte of swymyng is right couenable to almane
men of armes/as somtyme it is nedfull to them whan
strengthe chasseth them to passe ouer watres & ryuers for to
eschewe parell or for to shorte theyre wayes/or for som oþre
nede/as may be/for to com at a certeyn olure there as they
wold be/or for to take or com by thees wayes vpon theyre
enemys unware/and so dide dryue thauycynt theyre ba
gaxe harneys & fardels after theym by subtyl craft/as vpon
pecis of timbre & vpon drye thornes cast in the water whiche
they ladd al swymyng after them/ And by this arte of swi
myng may a man of armes eschew the part of deth dyuis
wayes/as it is written of iulius cesar þ for to warauit his
owne lyf sauf dide swime in þ see/ in/ c passes also þ right
worthy & preu baitailler cena þ roman escaped al alone sore
wounded from the grete multitude of his enemys by his

swimyng ouer a gret rver/ and thurgh thes wavye of swi; ;
mig were y peple of a castell y was b sgiid holpe y batailles
by theyre frendes that swimed ouer/ with all by nyght un
to them not knowyng theyre enemys of the same / and in
especial by this art thauncien ledde theyr bestis & horses/ and
for to assople the rayson of them that myght say/ that such
thingis as aboue ben said/ are light to the sayeng/ but harde
to the lernyng oure auctour saith that holo be it al thinges
seme dyffycyle to the dysciple or scoler er he can hem / yf the
maistre be tending & diligent of teching ther is noon so har
de a comyng/ but that hit wylle light by long contynuacio
of hauntyng of the same/ And yet in contynuyng the ma
nieres that the romayns kept such an vse a monge oþre
they had/ that the noble men bare agarmet vnyklye to them
that were vnnoble/ and with this was theire rokes of io
ye & rokes of sorowe which they wered after the fall of thei
re good eure or euyll fortune/ that is to wite / yf they had
lost eny grete bataille/ or that som lande were rebel vnto
them or som grete iniure doon axeust hem that requyred ve
gence then they toke & wered the rokes of sorowe without o
þre garnet vpon hem vnto tyme they cam to theyre aboue
& were auéged/ & thene they toke agayn theyre rokes of ioye
Chere deuysed the propriedetes that men of armes ought
to haue & in whiche they ought to be taught **Capi. vii.**

We haue deuysed al ymough the maners and introduc
tions of fayttis of armes that thauncet gaff to the
yre children/ the whiche for an ensample are gode to be kept in
mynde/ and so behoueth vs to retourne to that/ that is said
afore/ that is to wite in what thynges the gode & wyse cap
tain or his lieutenaut shal aplie hym self first he shal as it is
said aforde draue vnto him al y best & moost chosen men of ar

mes and shal cherysse hem / And syth it cometh to speke of
goode men of armes / Degeere recounteth of the propretaries þ
þebounen vnto them / and saith that with hardynesse without
þwyche he may not be ought / must be taught & be maystre in
helping of hem self in his harneys & to be in at his ease to
theride he may lightly assaylle his enemys / and to be able to
lexe lightly ouer a dyche and to clymme yf nede be vpon that
that may sette him to entree the lodgis of the aduersaryes
ouer hedgis & ouer tentis yf he seeth his tyme / to solue abyde
for to boyde þ strokis by delyuernes of body / and to enuahiss
he leping vpon his enemys yf the manere of the bataylle re
quyreteth / And saith that such maner of appertyses abasshen
the courages of the aduersaryes & putte hem in a feare and so
hath thaduantage ouer hem / And thus it hath be full of
ten that one hath had the lettre vpon a stronger man than
hym self / and sooner wounded hym that nougth was appa
reilled for to defende hym self / And of such touches sayth
he / vised the grete pompe whan he caught / And yf ye dema
nded of me wher shal the best men of armes be taken / I
say for an ansuere / what so eu it is said that the men that be
in the hote countrees myght the sonne hold wyse that they be
subtil & malicioȝ / are not moche hardy / by cause they haue
not foyson of blode / for cause of the grete hete that there haþ
undeth / & also to the contrary / they saye that they of þ cold cou
trees are hardy & not wyse / & thus cosequently none of
þoþe ought not be taken / but they of that lande whiche is be
twix þoþe teperate ought to be taken / but as to me I hold þ
in this none oþre redole ought to be kept / but for to chese tho
þomen that moost haue seen / and that take moost delyte & ha
ue plesur in the yersice of armes / in whiche labour is they
þe glorie & theyre Joye sette / and that none oþre felicite nor

Worship they require/but onely that/that may com to them
By meane of theyre chualtrouse dedes/ and suche of what na
cyo that they be of/are to be taken & receyued/and trouth it is
that with thauctours all good Witte ought to accorde that of
the captayn hath nece offolle of the comynaltee he ought sin
gulerly to chese them that can som crastes / as bochers that
are wooned to shede blode & to smyte with axes / carpenters
smythes and all other that exercysce theyre bodys in tra
uaill and in werkes that be doon by myght of manrys hand
Also men of the countrey to whome harde lyeng peyne and
labour is not straunge & are norysshed of rude fode suche be
good to suffre peyne & trauayll / without whiche thyng is
not made Werre that long is demened & kept/

Here begynneth to speke of the maners that behouen to
a Constable or cheff captayn in executyng of his office/

Capitulo Duodecimo

Tis so thene/that the Werre delystered & hygonne and
by the prynce & souerayne receyued & sent deffyance as
the guyse is/ The Wyse captayne that commyted is to the
same / shall ordyne & see first of all that the frontyers &
borders be wel garnysshed as wel of gode men of Werre / as
of artylerye of al maner shot & of all oþre deffensable neces
saries & almaner of garnysen of suche quātite as hym shal
seme gode after the qualyte of the aduersaries/ And the to
vnes & fortresses so garnysshed lackie of nothing / he
shal aduyse whot nombre of men he nedeth for to doo that he
hath and shal haue to doo vpon his entrepryse / So shal he
chose out amoneg all other the best men of armes/and sem
blably of them that occupye shoting gonniers and oþre vñ
to the nombre that necessary is for hym/ And by cause that
nolyn commynly it is so taken that that the Wyctorye of

the bataille by reason ought to falle to that partie that mo-
re folke are / Ayenst this oppymyon saithe Begece / that it
suffyseth for a comyn bataylle to lede a legion of gode men
of armes with thyt aydes / A legion of men of armes is
in nombre / vi / myll / lydi / that we may so take as we saye
for sherys / And al oþre auctours that herof haue writton
accordynghat Begece saying that as in an ouergrete quan-
tite is confusion / it suffiseth at the moost ayenst al multitu-
de of enemys two legions without moor of good men of ar-
mes so that they be conducted & ladd by souerayne ordynau-
ce whiche be in nombre lytil more than : viii : myll sherys /
And it is founde that many ostes haue be dysconfyted by
theyre owne multitude more thenne by the force of theyre e-
nemys / and whi/certes a gode reason is therto / for the gre-
te multitude is more stonge to be kepte & holden in orde / &
oste falseth to a grete myscleff for hir gret & psaut weyght
and is more nedy of bytailles / more debates be there / And
more long to passe forthe awaye / and it happeth often easly
that the enemys / holw wel y they be of litel quantite away-
ten to ouercom them as they go thrughe narow passages &
ryueres / And there is the parell for tauaunce nor haste hem
self they can not but they shal lette ech oþre / and namely in
arre ged batailles they ouerpresse & oustep one ouer that o-
þre by such amanere that they smoldore ech oþre / And
therfore as it is said afore / the auncient that the thing that
be conuenable to a bataille had taught / and the perillis shewed
by experiance / comended more to haue a litel ost wel taught
than a grete multitude / The hie chyf captayne shal ordeyn
ouer such folke as he shal haue dyuers captaynes & consta-
bles vndre whom he shal commytte certayn nombre of men
of armes / to som more / And lesse to som oþre after theyre

suffysaunce/and lyke Wyse shall departe with them his gon
ners laborers & shotters/And therme hym self & such as he
hath commynged shall see them mustre dyuers tymes in the
feldis that one after that other/There shal be take gode heide
that noon be retayned but he be passable so that noo fawte be
neythre in his persone nor in harnoyes of what astate that
they be/And there shal be Wyse comysaryes that gode heide
shal take/that for couetyse of the payement of the souldours
noo decepcion be made by retayne of such that be vnable/
& from olde tyme were the heide captaynes first of all ryght
straythly sworne/that they feythfully & truly shuld serue the
prynce or the countre without that for feare of deth nor for
to eschewe what somer parell that it were they shuld not fle
nor for sake the bataille/And they m lyke Wyse toke the
otheres of every man of armes whan they retayned hem in
wages/These thynges wel & dely made/after that he shal
see that he haue gode surete & assignacyon for the payement
of his men of armes for the tyme that he thynketh that this
armee shal laste/For to this ought singulerly al chaff cap-
taynes to take gode heide/as to that thyng pryncypall that
may ethre make or deffeatethe pre entrepryse/For non en-
tende for to haue gode men of armes without they be wel
payed/For none sooner declyneth the pre payement/but that
theyre coragis fayllen.

CHere deuyseth the manere that to a chif capitayne son-
geth to kepe in lodgyng of his ost/after that the boches of
armes sayen

Capi. viii.

And if it be so that the said chif capitayne goo purpo-
syngly to assemble in bataille with his enemys of
whiche he alwayseth theyre comyng/Wherfor hym nedeth to

C 1

kepe the feldis for a spacie of tyme and to lode there his oost
he shal advise with a good heire after the supposyng that he
hath of commynge of his aduersaries / to lode his oost in
the best wyse he can / and to take fyrest ys he may the aduaun-
tage of the grounde & the best waye for hym self to the herte
and hyderaunce of his enemys / And tytus liuius sayth
that som tyme whan they of gallya were goon with they-
re oostes vpon the romayns / whiche knowyng theyre com-
ming went ayenst them & as they first toke thaduaun-
tage of the feld and of the place dide lode hem self in such ma-
nere that they were betwix theyre enemys & the ryuer / For
the whiche cause they baynquisshed and ouercome theyre en-
emys more by thurst than by armes / And it suffyseth
not to take a gode place in a feld / but such that theyre ene-
mys if they approche may not chese for them self ony leste
So shall he establisshis his lodgis to the highest part of the
feld nyghe the ryuer and that noo hille shadewe them ys he
may and that the place of theyre lodgis be of gode ayer and
of gode compas ys he may / And after degece / in a place wher-
e pastures water and wode be / and that the feldys be not
disposyd to kepe rayne water long vpon the erthe / nor wher-
e as to the enemys myght fall greate russhyng & habondanc-
ce of watres by brekyng of som pondes and stangs or
som scluses / And it is to wite that after the quantite of fol-
ke and the plente of charpotis & cartis baggage and fardel-
lages must be taken the spacies of the lodgys in such ma-
nere that a greate multytlde be not to narwly sett / nor also mo-
re a brode than it nedeth for to be / For of lesse strengthe they
shold be therby / and ought the cartis no carpage to be set-
te rounde a bout joyning to gyder / and more fayre is the
lodgys holden whyn the place is taken more in lengthe by

the thidre parte than it is in the brede / And in the myddis
ought the place to be fortyffped moost of all / As a strong
hold made Wyth tymbre yf men may and that nede be / Of
Wych the yate shal be cwyn ayenst the fronte of the
enemys / And other yatis must there be / by Wiche the By-
taylles shall com in / And Begece sayth that many baners
ought to be sette ther vp on high / and yf the chyef captayne
thyndeth to kepe his oost long there / he shal doo fortifye the
place Wyth dyches & palis wounde a bout and Wyth closurus
made of tymbre as it were a castell wherin shal be hyde
the garrissons / to the Bytaylyng of Wiche ought to be pur-
veyed / for byfore al other Werke ryght Wysely and Wel / For
as Begece saith more gryuous is honger than wepen / and
many thyngis may be borne and suffred in an oost / but ne-
cessite and lacke of mete in a feld hath noo suffraunce nor
remedye without vitayle com thyther / wolo be it he saith y a
boue al thing is couenable to an oost y a man contente hym
self Wyth a lityl mete / And therfore the wise captayn ought
so to purveye / that vitailles faille not or euer the siege / Wiche
the oystmes lasteth lenger than men wene of / he wrysed or go
fro / For whan thaduersary feleth the oost nedey of vitail-
lis so moche more sharp & fers he is ayenst hem / & as famy-
shed thinkie lightly to take hem / & for this cause it happeneth y
folke of an oost forcen hem self so moche to take vitaille one
fro that other / & in especyall folke that kepe a siege before a
fortresse doo so / wherfore gode heide wold be taken / that the
dyspensatours & vitaillers of the oost be not thewys hemself
& robbe not the oost as they by crafty wiles may doo / for by
suche alway hath many an oost suffred emonge grete honger
& moche mysease & grete parell / wherfore it is gode & Wysely
doun to loke thereto /

Capi. viii.

¶ Yet of the same
With all the thinges a knave said/ the gode captayne that
Wyl maynteyn & kepe his werre iustly ayenst god and
truly towardis the world/ ought to endeouire himselfe to see
his sondyours be payed so wel that they ned not to lyue of
noo pillage vpon the contrees of theym that ben theyre fe
dis/ and by this manere of waye the oost shal haue noo def
aulte/ For whyn all manere goodis & vitailles from every
parte shal come thider/ so that marchaunts may surely come/
& that he make an ordynaunce vpon pyne of dett that noo
thing be taken but it be payed for/ nor noughe myfwo to the
marchaunt/ Whiche nobl wolle god that it were woon so euer
where/ grete gode it were and I biliue that al thingis shold
therfore come to the better ende/ grete prill is in fayt of Wer
re & in an oost whan courtyse of pillage ledeth to hit men of
armes more rather/ than doeth the good entent that they
shulde haue to kepe the right of theyre partie/ or the honour
of knyghthode/ or for to gete preyng & gode fame/ And su
che folke ought lettred to be called theuns & robbers/ than men
of armes or chivalrous/ and this shewed wel the scenshmen
that tyme they overcome the romayns & therre grete oost in
bataylle vpon the ryuer of the wsne and grete prores gate
vpon hem/ but in token that they setted noughe by the same/
and that theyre entent was not sett ther vpon/ they tolde all
the prores/ as pylfroys and rich harnops/ gold siluer and
plate & cast all to gyder in the said ryuer/ the whiche thing
so don putte the romains whiche such another dede had never
knollen in grete ferre & dree/ The wise captayne thene wel
purveyed of tho thingis that ben said a knave shal not trust
only vpon that/ that his fourrager shall bringe by cause
oftymes they fynde noughe to take/ but he shal be purued

before his partyng/ not onely of al his garnyson / But also
of al bataillis that vpon cartis he shal doo carpe wyth hym
as is corne / and/ mele/ wynes/ flessh/ venes/ salt / and vi;
naygrye refrescheth to drynkis it with moche watre in the so;
mer whan wyne faileth and al other thingis couenable that
wyfely he shal doo to be dispensed/ Yet saith the booke of ar;
mes that yf the oost shuld tary long in a place and that a
greate puissance of enemyes wayteth to come thither / the
place ought to be fortyffyd wounde a bout with gode dyches
of/ viij/ fote depe and/ xv/ fote brede and as streight as they
can be made at that syde of the enemyes/ wyth stakes and
other thyngis to lette them that wold descende for tentre/
but and so be sayth he that the oost shuld not abyde long or
that he alwayteth but for a felwe folke/ it is noo nede of so
greet fortyffyng/ but suffiseth yf men wyl dygge that the
dyches be made of/ viij/ or/ x/ fote of depnes and of brede/ viij
fote/ And ought the gode captpayne to commyse good men
of armes wyth grommers and men of shot for to kepe and
wayte vpon the laborers and werkmen whiche such forty;
fycacions are in doyng/ And for to brynge a bout all su;
ch thingis the wylde captpayne shal be right wel purveyed
of al Instrumentis couenables as shouillis wyth yron at
for ende/ratellis/pycosis/sabris/axes/nayles/wymbrekynys
and of al other ferrementis for to make lodgys or for to
pydche and dresse by tennes & paullonis/ and of such werk;
men that can gode stile of the same/ Not wythstanding
vegece sayth that folke of oostis ought al to be maystrees
hemself of hattynge of woodis and of sellynge down of gre
te trees of makyng of wares thrugh hedgis and busshys/
of byldyng of lodgis/of makyng of cloysours of tymber in
salbyng of lordis and of makyng of brydgis yf nede be/ of

ylling of dyches Wyth fagotis and sondellis of rede for to
fynde passage / of makyng of ladders & of al sucht thyngis
And after the said Auctor the auncyent conquerours
caryed Wyth hem in theyre oostis forges redy made wher
were forged and made salatis / and helmetys / curacys & al
other manere of harmoys / and al sucht instrumentys of
yron as must be had to make bowes and arbowes sprys/
darts & Javelots / and sucht werkmen that conde skyle in
al thes craftys / And theyre sourayne care was to see
that in theyre oostis al thinges couenable for the same shuld
be founde as it were Wyth in a cyte / For to theyre houses
they retourned not soone / Also mynours they lad Wyth
them that conde ful craftly digge vndre the erthe for to ouer
take the ennemys vnselware / Wyth this sheweth degece
thoo thyngis that are to be considered for to kepe the oost in
gode helthe yf hit must tary long in one place / Wherof syue
thinges he assaygneth therunto / y is to vnde place / watre / tyme
medecyne & exercysce / a place must be chosen fer from evy pa-
lusche or marshgrounde / and a watre that is vnsosome folle
and styl Wythyn a dyche full of vermyne ought not to be
had / but must see to / that in somer tyme they be not duryng
the grete herte without shadowyng of trees and pauyllons
and noo defaualte of gode and swete watre for them self &
for theyre bestis / Medecyne they must haue / that is to be gar-
nysshed Wyth notable leches and gode maystres of Syry-
gye that shal gyue helpe and socour to the syke as wel as they
were in a cyte / And exercysce they must also haue / that is
to enure hem self so to peyne and trauiyll and to be harde /
that syknes take not hem in tyme of nede for falote they be
not wooned thereto / Thus ben they couenable to batayles
that ben accustomed to endure and suffice bothe herte and color

Hard rest & sharp fare for noo thyng can com unto theym
But they haue assayed and knowben it a fore/ And in thyss
manere after Begece the Wyse captayne shal do sett vp hys
lodgis wher by a gode ordre shal stablish hys captaynes
Wyth theyr folke vndre dyuers baners and standardis as
they shulde goo to a bataille by the manere and fourme as
he shalle ordyne to them/ And he wyth his men shal be in
the myddis wyth his standard dressed vp a hyghe/

Chere deuisth of the thought & care that the hed captayn
ought to haue to take gode heed vpon his oost **Capi. xv**

Amonge the other vertues that souerainly ben couena
ble to a duc & chief captayne of an oost / is necessary
that he be a gode man and feytfull / as by ensample it is Vor-
ton of fabricius leder of the romain oost / that for his grete
Worthynes and bounte / the kyng Pirus his aduersarie
wold haue gyuen him the fourth part of his wyalme and
of his tresors / so that he wold take his partie and to be hys
felawe in armes / To whom he answered that ryches by
treason and malye gotten was to be dyspyseid ouermoch / &
that possible it was him to be overcome by armes / but not
by vntrouthe nor treason / With this Begece saith that the
captayne to whom is comytedt in hand so grete a thyng
as is the bayll & charge of the noblesse of kinghthode / the
dede of the prynce / the comyn wels of the lande / the surtee of
the cytes and the fortune of the batailles / ought to take he
de not in generall vpon al the oost without moo / but also
particulerly ouer every persone / For yf euy myshappe fall /
the comyn damage is attribued to his culpe and desfalte /
And therfore the valyaunt duc and chyef captayne of an

C iii

ofte so comynkyng & depyuted by the prince as it is said shal
endeuoir him self to take gode kepe of al his folke and that
they kepe gode rule in theyre lodgis and doo as they shulde
doo For the boke sayth that thysse young esquyers whan they
be in rest ought to dysporte hem self by waxes of strengthes
of armes / gyuyng by this manere to vndestande that they
be bettre plesed wyth the exercysce of the same / than wyth
ydlenes of whiche groveth comynlyng among young folke that
be to gyder noysse and ryote yf they be not kept in feare of they
re captayne And for thys cause ought the sage due to be
ryght curiosus in takiung of gode kepe vpon hys peple in
this byhalue / for as the Wyse maistre sayth they that be two
tous and full of rancour & anger are perillous in an oost
Wherfore yf a captayne hath ony so dysposed in his oost
he ought by waxes of fayres to make hym self quyte of
hem / and not to be rygorous and hoot vpon them as he dys
chargeth hem whiche shuld cause them to tourne to the other
partye ayenst hym / or to procure and machyne soner euyll
ayenst his oost But wyth fayrenes ought to sende hem
awray somewher in Feynyng a cause why Wherfore he doeth
so to them Morouere saith the maister that of nedc constrai
neth that such men be pugnysshed accordyng to theyre two
tous dedis with yron they ought not to be sparyd / for ryght
wyses wyl that it be so to thende that other may take
ensample ther by and for correction of themself / than that
men shold suffre hem to do offence and to hurt oultragi
ously dyuers other men But yet he saith that the captaynes
of whom the men of armes are mesurably & sadly demened
by gode rule & by gode doctrine / are more to be praysed / than
thoo whos men of armes are kept & trayed from malice &
euill / onely for feare to be purgnysshed for the same And to this

purpos saith thauclour that folke whiche is gadered out of
dyners placis & of strange nations brynge vpon som tyme
Wylfully noyse tumulte & debatis in an ost / And this com-
meth oftymes by som of them that haue noo. Wille for to
fight which shalbe to be angry by cause they wyl not goo to
the bataylle / And this cometh to them for one of two cau-
ses / or ellis for bothe / that is to wite by cause that either they
are bettre willing to that other pte of theyre enemys / or
ellis by cause they be wout to be yole & to lyue wautonly / &
therfore the grieuousnes of the traueil in whiche they be not
enivid with afore / is sore noyouse vnto them / & the folks
saien that right greece woshippe it is to a captayn wchen his
peple ruleth themself couenably in an ost / & to this purpos
it is said / that whan cymars the messenger of kyng vitrus
was sent in to the ost of the romains for to treate of peas
with them / he fonde the knighthis there of soo highe a mane-
re & noble mayntyren / þ he reported by them & said / that he had
seen an ost all of kingis thus the wise captayn that of all
thigis shal be purueied shal take gode heire to see that through
his falste nothing be lefte þ is to be thought vpon or to
be woun / not lōg slape shal he take / but a litel & mesurable rest
for out of a courageous herte in what thing that it is sette
vnto / cometh the greece labour of / he shal be therfore curiose
& diligēt to sende for the herte & theris his espies subtylli for to
enquere & vndrestāde þ purpos of his enemys & what they
re way be / & by theire reporte made vnto him what folk in
nombre his enemys be to the regarde of the quātite of his
owne ost / what manere of folke they be / & what his owne
hōw strōg & hōw they are armed / whiche of bothe pties is bet-
tre horsed / what appareill & ordynauice they haue / what comy-
naltee they haue / & of what naciō what socours & of whens
it may com / as well to his enemies as to himself & what place

and what aduaantage hath the one partie more than that other / And herupon he shal take thadvis and oppynion of dyuers chyualrous wyse and gode captaynes that shalbe of his counseil / olde and gode true men of gode & sadde counseyl and expert in faytis of armes / Nor he shal not do nothig onely by his owne heed but shal make his entrepryse after thadys of many men / by whos regarde and direction he wytth them shall conclude by gode delyberacyon that whiche is best for to be don / to gyue bataille to his aduersaries / or not soone / or late / or whethir he shall abyde and tary tyl his enemys com to salbte his and hym kepyng alwyes gode watche and every man at his warde for to deceyue by some caltell hys aduersaries / But and yf he can knowe hys enemys to be waytyng after eyn socours / he shall make has te to fyght wytth them / And yf he hym self abydeth for so cors he shall tary yf he be not able hauyng alwyes gode kepe and gode watche / and to see that althyng he redyly prest at hande / to thede that at theyre mete or by night tyme they be not overcome unaware / For as the mayster sayth / in moost surete / is ofte woned to fall greate peryll / And therfore ought the hed captayne yf he see hys tyme to assayle hys enemys wylle they be at mete or a slepe / or ellis whan they be traucyld and wery of the waye / or ellis whan they re horses taken theyre pasture & theyre fode / whan they thynke to be moost sure / For to them saith he that he so ouertaken / neyther vertu nor strengthe maketh noo force to them nor multytude of peple may not proffyte hem / But hym that hys ouercome in a bataylle / Hold he it that hys wytte in the arte and use of armes / myght not that tyme profyte hym / Macheles in hys wrathe he may complayn upon fortune / But he that daynquysshed is

or hurt by the subtylnes of his ennemye/can blame noon/
But only the deffauulte of his owne self/ For he myght ha
ue escheldid hys hurt yf he had be as kepesfull and dyligent
to kepe hym self/as his ennemye was for to make a surpy
se vpon hym/ O hold wel helwed/that of Wyse assaylyng
or salvynge/ Was a mayster/ þ Valpaunt scipion of affry
ke whan that he so moche dyde/that he fonde a waye and a
meane by myght/that al the lodgys of hys enemyes were
sette al on a fyre/and soone after ranne vpon hem so shar
ply that they wist not wher at they shuld a wayte nor take
kepe/and thus they were dysconfyted more by abaysshment
than by armes And this purpos of espyeng of enemyes
Begece sayth that much proffytale a thyng it is in an ost
to haue wise espyes that can wel fynde the wayes to serne
and vndestande the couynre of the aduersaryes/ For su
ch can entremette hem self by yefis or grete promises and
by subtil wayes to draue to them somme or many namely
yf they may that be of the counsell of that other partye/ so
that they knowe what is theyre entent and purpos for to
do/ And by thys may the chyef captayne/see what it is
best for hym to do/ And wyth this saith yet Begece/ that
much it profiteth to fynde wayes who may/to make discē
cyon among the enemyes/and that they dysdayne to obeye
to theyre captayne/of whiche the condicions men ought
for to knowe / & to take hym who may thrugh hys owne
maners of dealynge/ & herof ought the wyse captayne to be
wel aduysed/for noo manere of nacyon hold litel that it be can
not in all thyngis be putte a down by enemyes / Wythout it
be that dyscencyon and debate hap to fall emoge hem self / &
seblably the duc or captayn that so shal sende out his espyes
shal take gode kepe þ he himself be not nor his couine discouerd

and knolwen by noo manere of espys therby he myght be
deceyued and namely thordeynance of his oost/and the no
bre of hys peple knolwen of thaduersaryes / by cause that
therupon they myght purueye for a remedie profytable for
them/ Neuertheles another conuenience and maytene there
is in an oost that hath ben and is profytale/ That is whan
ony oost feleth hym so myghty and so stronge of hymself
and so wel garnysshed of gode men of armes/ that ryght wel
it pleaseith them that theyre enemys knolle and vndre
stand theyre polvere and puissaunce and the fyersnes of
theyre oost/to thende that they be putt therby in a doute for
fere of hem/ As it happeth that tyme that king pyrrus of ma
ecowne sent his espies for to knolle the maytene and the
quatyte of his enemys/ Whiche espyses were taken and lad
bisore the prynce of the rommayns oost that wold not suffre
that noon euyll nor hurt shuld be doon to them/but comma
ded that they shuld be brought al about to see his oost by cau
se they shuld reporte hys grete polver to theyre kyng/ For
the whiche thing so doon/ Pyrrus preyed muche the rom
mayns and moost fered g driad hem therfore/ And sembla
bly dyde the greece alexandrie as men say in the tyme of hys
conqueste/ But ys the gode captayne may knolle so muche
of the dooyngys of his aduersarye that he can vnderstante
ys hys peple be moost of the rommayns/or of other wolv
man on fote and what on horsbaike/ And what of archers/
g what other shot he hathe/ he shal thenne ordeyne hys men
and hym self to the surst g moost profytale way for them
self and to the moost hurt and dommage of theyre ene
myes that they can/ And the auctours that of hys ma
tere haue spoken sayen/ that in olde tyme the chyef capay
nes of the oostis had propre tokyns vpon theyre helmetys

for to be ther by knowlen of theyr men/ & gonfanous With
certeyn deyses wher theyre folke With drede hem self onto
A hondred knyghtis were vndre a captayne that is to vi-
te/ C/men of armes/ and such captaynes were called Cen-
turioun/ And other there were that had gretter nombre/ &
other that had less/ And the baners & standardis of pryn-
cis/ & lordis were se taken to the moost valyant knyghtis
for to vere/ that were moost putte in trust & moost sure / the
whiche ordynaunce is onto this day with gode right holden
& kept/ by cause that by the regarde & by holding of the bane-
re the ost in a bataille ruleth theym self/ And it is wryton
holo by a traytour that held and bare the standard was som-
tyme in the lande of grece a grete ooste of men dyscomfited
of a felwe folke in bataille /

CHere sheweth the manere that a chief captayne ought to
kepe & holde as he dyslogeth from a place and as he goeth
by the wayes with his ost Capi. xvij.

And if it happe that the ost must departe to chaun-
ge place/ the wise captayne shall wel take gode heed
holo/ And as degree saith duc or captayne that wyl be wy-
se ought to knowle so wel the dysposicion of hys enemyes
that he can chese and see/ Whether it is bettre to departe by
nyght or by the day/ but wel he must first be taught what
the wayes be by the whiche he shall go / to thende he may be
lerned of hym self holo he shal demene him there/ that his
ost be not ouer taken unaware/ as in som narow passage
wher as he and his peple myght be watched of thaduer-
saries / Or ellis in mareys And watry grotwodys
wher theyr enemyes can the wayes bettre than they doo/

and ther fore right al thus as they that goo by the see that
knold not the paryllous passagis that be there in dyuerses
placis & costes of the same wyl haue all such parellis payn-
ted in parchemyn or paper for to eschew them as they shal
sayle / So in lyfelypse the captaynes and leders of oostis
ought to knowbe the waxes & the passagis the moutaines/
the forestis & the woodis the waters the riuers and the na-
rrowe passagis / Where as they must passe / And hys wel the
gode captayne be wel enformed of all this / yet for feare of fal-
lyng in this caas he shal take with hym yf it nedeth suche
of the countre to lede his oost that can the waxes wel / The
which so taken wyth hym shal make them to be so wel kept
that they may not scape to thende that they haue noo space
yf they wold to betraye the oost / Soo shal he gyue hem mo-
ney and shal promyse hem a grete reward yf wel and truly
they lede hym and his oost / And by thretyng he shal also
fraye hem yf they doo the contrary / And straught shal com-
maunde the hed captayne to them all that be of his counseyl
Upon theyre othe that they shal vttir nor say what waxe he
purpolet to goo / nor where he thyndeth to lede his oost
nor what his purpos is to doo / For vnitethe wythout
ony traytours is ony oost / And hard were that there
as grete quantyte of folke is gadred to gidre namely where
grete sonyon of strangers be that they alle shold be of a gode
corage / But he oughte to wite that noo thyng of lesse sus-
traunce is in the world to pryncis lordis / and hed captay-
nes of an oost / Than they that be knowden suche euill re-
ward they ought to haue for what soever trayson that
they doo / Wel shewed this the romayns to them thnt tray-
torsly shew . Centorius theyre lord / by cause that he wold be
it he was a rommayn he had made greate werre ayenst

them of wome for despyt and envy that he bare to other
princes of the romains/ But when the traytors cam for
to haue & receyue theyre rewarde/deth was to them yowen
for theyre payement/ and was told hem that such rewarde
ought to haue al such traytors / It is semblably wryton
that king alexandrie dide so to them that thought to haue a
pleasure of hym that flesyd king darmis theyre lord With this
he shal comyte also such of his that he gode & true and wel
horsed to serche a fore & there for to take knyfes that the oost be
not aspyed & watched/ And Begece saith that espres must
be sent a fore as though they were pylgrymes or laborers
that bothe day & nyght seke about/ to wite and see yf eup bus
lement be layed droughwhere/ and yf thees spies come ne
nay/ then ought the captayne to take another wape yf he
may/ For it is a token that they be taken/ and such men by
torture and peyne doon to them / of tymes shalbe al that
they knolle of/ He shal not be noo prentiz also in putting
his oost When he departeth in fayre ordynaunce and array/
that is to wite the best of his men byth son of Scott on
that syde as he thinkes that more greet perill may haply
fall/ and shal comande that the feblest part shal obeye to the
most part of his oost/ and shal ordeyne and comyte to al
other pety captaynes/ that he in the forewardre for to goo &
marche forth in fayre ordynaunce/ that one Joyned and clos
to that other and alwyes redy for to recountrie theyre ene
myes yf it nede be/ And after shal folowe the body of the ba
taille and shal marche paas by paas Joyned and cloos as
theyre as alwalle byth theyre baners penoncellis and stan
dardis fleyng out a brode byth the bwynce/ And after this
shal com the arryere garde by semblable ordynaunce/ & Bege
ce saith that the cartis and bagage ought to goo after the

forewarde for the more surte of the same/or ellis by fore the
arriere garde And by cause it happeneth som tyme to be saluted
on the syres by som embussh that falleth vpon vnselbarre/
the captayne shal ther fore ordynye for socours to be redy at
euy tyme on every syde/And the booke of armes saith that
the captayne ought synghulerly to take gode heire to the ma-
nere of goyng of his peple/that they make theyre paases gall
& lyke/and that they kepe styl gode ordenaunce/ For an ost
vnddynably renged vsherwo that one felawship hasteth to
marche/and that other withdrawith/ it his in grete peryll/
nor noo thyng is mox preuidicayble in a bataille/than dys-
ordenaunce or to go out of array/and he saith that the Jour-
ney of an ost ought to be of 8/ m/ paaces in the somer/or el-
lis/3/odores that may amounte to 8/myle of waye/and yf
nede ledeth hem/they may go yet as he saith: n: M paases
and noo more/and ought to be wel wyse that by long way
nor trauayll his ost falle not to som syknes for falte of
reste/vsershoo he must see to departe at a couenable olure/ so
that they may com to lodgyng er the nyght com vpon hem/
And that in the short day s of the Wynter they departe not
so late that thrugh raine snoewe or froste they must go a gre-
te part of the nyght/and he shal see also that his ost be alwe-
yes purveyed as he goeth with wode for to makre fyre with
all/ For noothyng so nedfull is in an ost as is the fyre/ &
that they vse of noon euyl watres that myght engendre in
them som pestilence/that in suche an assemble sykne folke ne-
de not/and it is a grete myscheffe whan necessite of bataylle
chasseth them that by syknes are as dysconfyt to do more
than they can

Here speketh of the passage of ostis ouer flodes and Ry-
uers

Capi: xvij?

TE falleth somtyme so that an oost must passe ouer gre-
te watres & ryues whiche thyng is grete acombracie
and full of parel/ and the remedyes for to passe them ouer/
dyscrineth Begeete/sayng/that first men must wysly knolle
wher the watre is lefft and most low/ and there in trauers
ought to be sett a route of folke wel horsed and another in
like wyse vndrenethe/and thus shal passe betwix them so
the the grete flote of the oost/ And saith that they that be
bylward shal hold the swiftnes of the watres /and they v
be donulwardis they may siepe vp them that v watre myght
throlle aoun/ And yf the watre be so grete that this re-
medy can not serue/and that nedes it muste be passed/ the cap-
tayne shal haue his bridgis redy made tofore whiche shal
doo to be borne alwayes with hym in charyotis or cartis/ of
whiche bridgis som may be made vpon pipes bounden togid-
der and wel tyed with wypes by trauers of the ryuer/ & bor-
dis wel fastued therupon with pyynes made of wood/whiche
brydge may be soone dressed vpon the watrer as men doo
vpon leups by wytte of subtyl maystres / and som may be
made with stakis fast pight within the watrer with ropes
that shal retche in trauers from that one stakke to that other
vpon whiche ropes the cordis shal be sett for folke to go ouer
Another manere of bridgis may be founde/ that is with
shippes couered with bordis and wel made fast that one bes-
sel to wat other/ and this manere of wayes is the surest for
a brydge vno that can recover so many bessellis/ & yet men
may make a brydge with long pecis of tymber and sett hem
in trauers of the ryuer with hyrdellis therupon and coue-
red with hors donge and they must be ancreed within the
watrer that they may be stedfast/ And by such manere of
wayes they may passe hem self ouer lyghly but dyuse other

remedes fonde in this byhalue the kyng Cirus of perse
Whan he went for to take the cyte of Babilonne/ For as he
cam to the riuere of Eusfrates / he fonde it soo large & so
depe that hit semyd as impossible that emp ost of men shuld
haue past hit ouer/ Wherfore by force of men he dyde do ma
ke dyckes & dalue the erth so that the said flood was parted
in iiii/C/lxvi/riuers And by this meane he and his grete
ostis dyde passe ouer/ And thus theri is nothyng but that
the wittie of man can reche whan wisdom & wilke be to gider
sett thereto/ With this it is recounted by thauncynt history
es that the conquerours in olde tyme were so taught & so go
de maistres of swymyng that they sette but litell for to haue
goon ouer a grete watre/ and had grete pecis of tymbre ma
de holowe as chestis in whiche they drelle theyre harnops &
vitailles after hem/ and other made faggottis or boundellis
of drye rede and wounde hem vp and soo passed ouer/ And yf
the bridge must of nede abyde styl for to passe contynuellly &
repasse ouer/ it must be fortyffied with dickes & with strong
palis that shal be kept of gode men of armes & archers at
the syde of the enemys/ And wher this manere of dooyng
shuld semelight by heryng say/ and harde of dooyng to them
that haue not lerned the way therow/ that myght say that of
suche thingis it is but a dreame/ It is no Jaxe that whan h
grete oostis of the romayns duryng the space of /xxx/ vere
te of cartage and yet ferther in other countrees wher they
must passe grete flodes & grete riuers and like wise thrugh
all the landis that they gate & subdued/ they had noo brid
gis made of stone nor noo bessellis they fonde for to passe
hem ouer/ Wherfore they fonde as for new al suche wavyes
of making of brydgis/ And yf it happed that they passed

ouer on the myght by the moue lyght or ellis so secretly that
the enemys can not knowþ noþyng therowþ they must as
soone as they be past arme hem self and putte hem self aþen
in gode ordynaunce that they be not ouertaken vñbelwarre
And keþ forth on theþre way with a fayre lytel paas by
suche an ordre that þf eþy enemys com vpon hem they may
be able and redy to bere more peyne and suffre more perell
than they can gyue hem/ But yf they may eschew hem by
mountaynes and leue theþre enemys vndrenethe it is a
grete auantayge and surete for them/ And þf it be soo
that they fynde the wþpes narwe by combraunce of busi
nes and hedges it is bettre as Begece sayþ that they cutte
hem and open hem a brode wayþ theþre handys for makyng
of the way/ than that they shuld abyde or suffre grete perill
in the hþgh and brode wþyes

Chere speketh of the maneres that the chþef captayne of
an oþt ought to hold & keþ whan he thinketh to haue short
ly a bataylle

Capitulo xviii?

Aster that whiche a boone is sayd must be here spokien of
certayn poynþis/ aduyces and wþpes that to a cap
tayne/are gode to be kept that tyme he supposeth to receyue
soone a bataylle / after the booke of armes and other auc
tours that haue spokien of thyss matere/ And it is to wþ
þe that whan men felte theþre enemys commyng wþpling to
ouer renne the lande/ they ought not þf they can to suffre
hem to entre the countrey/ but shal go agenst them wþ a
grete oþt/ For muche bettre it is to hurt anotheris lande
than to suffre his owne to be commaged/ Whan a captay
ne thene is com to that place as he thinketh to haue shortly

a bataille felint hys enemyes mygh hym / he shal kere hym
Upon hys warden / but he shal make no haste for to salwe
them in a playne feld but yf it be at hys auauntage / ther
fore he shal be greedy and curyous as it is sayd for to knowe
of theyre kyng / what a captayne they haue / whether he is
folyshe or wyse worthy or not / what conseyl he hath / what
hys pety captaynes be / whether they enured and taught to
the werres or not / of what feyth and trouthe hys men of
armes be / what theyre here sayth of the quarell / and what
wyll they haue for to fyght / If they haue plente of byz
taylles or not / For honter figheth within forth and
may ouer come wythout yron / So shal he haue aduis and
conseyl wyth the hys / to wryte whether it be bettre to gyue
the bataylle soone or not / or to tary hit / or yf he shall abyde
that he be assalloted / For yf he may knowe that they be in
daunger of honter / or ellis that payement faylith to them
wyxby they go fro the feld lytyl and lytyl / And not contens
leue theyre captayne / or that they be such as haue be noriss
hed in court wyth delicateys and in wanutonesses at theyre
ease / what foyson of peple that they be of / And may no mo
re suffre the sharpnes of the feld nor the harde lytyng of
the oost / But desyre and wold haue rest / he shal thenne ma
ke noo haste for to gyue hem bataylle / but he shal kere hym
sty / as thought he gaffe noo kere therfore / And moost
secretly that he can he shal sende hys men in to busshementys
for to ouer take hem unekeware there as they shal passe by /
If he can doo so by euy manere of wey / And to say that
grete proffyt cometh to a captayne of an oost / that wylsely
can sett busshementys for to ouer take hys enemyes / It ap
pyered wel that tyme that hasdrabal leode to the seours of
hanghal the prynce of cattage hys brothre a merueyllous

oost of men ayenst the rommayns the whiche wel aduyse
of the same sett theyre busshement a long the fote of the hyl-
lys and there they ranne vpon hym and hys cartagens by
suche a courage that they slewe of them more than / L / m /
men and toke theyre grete rychesse not wyth standyng the
grete nombre of elephauntes that they had with them /

C And thys waye for to holde affermeth Begece / sayeng
that men ought to espye hys adversary so long tyl that hys
oost be deuyded in gooyng ouer floodes or riuers / Or tyl
that they be verry of the way / or ellis combred wyth palys
and mareys or of some narow passagis / so that they occu-
pyed and combred with suche lettyngis may be sooner slayn
than sette in ordynaunce / But and the chyef captayne
knolweth that hys enemys be stroug and of grete corage
ayenst hym and desyre to fyght / He ought semblably to pep-
ne hym self for to be redy to receyue them vigourously /
And yf yt fall them to come vnto the lodgys for to salte
the oost at suchy tyme as they were that they wyl not come
out he shal thenne make defensse wythout moo / making
as he nor noon of hys wold yssue out / But whan suche
shall tourne theyre backis / Yf he perceyue them to be som-
what out of gode array / or ellis besy about som proie / he shal
thenne yssue out of hys lodgys wyth hys men of armes
wyl renged and in fayre ordynaunce / And corageously
at a pynch shal renne vpon hem and shall hurt and dom-
mage to hys powre / **C** But wel he must see that he
make not hys folke to come out that tyme that they be ve-
ry of gooyng of a long waye or a grete Journey / For
a man that is verry is half ouer come / **C** And by thys
manere of waye the ryght wyse rommayns dyde enuahyss:
he the ryght myghty Kyng Assuerus of Assye and

Anthiocus of Europe / that is to wyte by myght whan
theyre oostys were trauellled and lacked rested / And
noo kepe they toke of them self / the whyche commayns
beynge but a felde in quanityte ffeld more than ly thousand
of the forsayd two kyngys men as thistore reounteth /
CAnd degeere sayth that whare a bataylle is doon in two
or in thre oþres after whyche al manere trust and hope is
goon from that partie that is ouer come / And by cause
that the fortune of the býctore can not be knowen of afo
re / The Wyse captayne ought not to putte nor bauince
forth hym and hys men hyghly to a bataylle in a plain
feld but ys he see that it be to hys grete avauntage / And
that a day of bataylle sette is to be dradd and redoubted as
a thing that is putt in a grete Jeopardye / Wel it was
assayed and prouyd of the commayns that tyme they had
sent theyre grete oost in to hyspayne that tourned rebell
apenst hem / Whare as of the bataylle whych they founide
there redy apenst hem remayned not of hem alle one per
sonne that myght reporte the tydynrys to wome / but knell
hyt a gode while after by strangers / **C**Therefore ought
the Duc to hurte hys enemipes lytel and ofte by fayre
scarmysshys / by watches / and by busshementys / **C**And
by suche waye to mynussh them day by day as muche as
he can / **C**Item he saith also that whan it happeneth that
prisonners be taken duryng the werre in scarmyshyng
or otherwyse / men ought to entreate and fare so folloll
with them that thei be putte therby in despaire of theyr lyffe
If hyt be so that they that so haue taken hem / Alwayte
after the bataylle / by cause that theyre enemipes hauyng
noo trust to fynde nother pyte nor mercy in them ys they
were baynquysshed of them / shuld defende them self and

fight more corageously for theyre lyffe / For many a tyme
it hath be seen that a lytel quantitee of men thus desperate
of mercy and perte / dysconfyted and ouer cam a grete
and a mugheti oost/ by cause that they wold rather dyr figh
tyng / than to fall in the cruell handys of theyre ennemy-
es / ¶ And so it is a grete peryll to be figh特 such men/
¶ For theyre strengthe groweth and doubbeth woxth in hem
¶ Therfore ought the Duc or captayne sayth he to vndre-
stante and knolle as a rygtheloyds Iuge doeth the trouthe
of a matere or he gyue hys sentence / Alswel the streng-
the as thaduauntage that hys enempe hath ouer hym and
holde and wherof he may hurt hym / Wherupon he shal take
wyse counsayll to woxte what he hath to doo / ¶ For by
this manere of waye hath of tymes a small quantyte of
folke that ledd were by wyse captaynes / ouer come a gre-
te multytyde as it is sayd before / ¶ But ys it happe saith
Begece/ that thyenempe presse the muche for to gyue hym
a day of bataylle and that he hasteth to be figh特 the / take
hede wherether it is at hys aduauntage and to thy hurt and
dommage/but doo nothyng nor medle not but ys thou see
thy tyme

¶ Here sheweth the manere of behauynge that a chyef
captayne ought to holde ys hyt happe that he wyl departe
from the felde wout abyding or gyuing of eyn bataylle/

¶ Capitulo xix /

Betwene putte a cas/that the prynce hap to sende woorde
to the captayne that he tourne agayn woxtout gyuing
of eyn bataylle nor that he makie nomore addo / or that the
chyef captayne wold take hym self vpon hym for certayn
cause to leue the felde/it is to consydere & to see what manere

contenaunce and be hauyng of hym self he shall holde that
his folke be not frayed therby nor that hys aduersaries
perceyue hys partyng / For Begece saith noon so gre-
te shame ther nys than to departe the felde in presence of
hys enemyes or euere they medle togider / Wythout that it
be by accord made betwyx bothe parties / For in thys ap-
pered two thyngis that he not honourable / that one is/
that semyth hym to be aferde and that cowardnes moweth
hym thereto / and by that other he gyueth to knowe that lytel
trust he hath to hys folke / and wyth thys he gyueth hardy-
nes vnto hys enemynes / ¶ And by cause that the caas
happeth somtyme to fall and that both the oostes see eche
other / And assemble not / it is gode to see the best waye
thereto syn they muste departe / as Begece sayeng in thys
wyse teches / ¶ Sith that thou wylt departe beware and
kepe wel that thy peple knowe not that thou departest for
cause of echwyng of the medle / but do to wyte secretly
mong hem that it is som new wyles that thou hast foun-
de for to hurte and dommayge thyn ennemys in another
place / and by certeyn watchyngys to come sodeynly vpon
hem vnbeware / ¶ For as saith Begece / ys thy peple sine
we that wythout more doyng thou woldst departe / they
shuld soone by lytel and at tytell arrayse and go fro the fel-
de / by cause thy shuld wene that thou were a ferde for to
gyue a bataille whiche thyng might come to thy grete
hurt and preuidice of all thy oost / ¶ Also he saþt /
that thou must beware þ theyre enemis perceyue hyt not
¶ For by cause that they shuld soone renue vpon the
and thy men / ¶ And therfore in suche a cas som haue ma-
de a volvete of folke on horsbaie that ouer ranne a bout the
felde here and there for to shadolle theyre fote men that in

the meane whyle went alwyse / ¶ Some other haue de-
parted by nyght whiche is the moost shamefull manere /
by cause it is called a rennyng alwyse / And other depar-
te the felde playnly in gode ordynaunce of bataille and in
renged array / ¶ But thees maneres of departyng saith
he are not moche to be preyced / but yf greete nece causeth hym
for saluacion of the oost / ¶ But the best manere of par-
tyng is / sayth Begec that one part of archers and of
other men that can styl of al manere of shotyng with the
fote men and with suche that ten lyghtly armed shal depar-
te and goo styl full softly for to take a place at theyre auan-
tage / and there shal wythdraue al the hole oost / ¶ And
yf the enemipes putte them to the chasse / they that be fyrist
shall resyste ayenst hem and schal kepe the bront tyl that
the hole oost be there assembled / and thenne with thad
uantage of the place & with therre strengthe they shal mo-
ve hem self best to wythstande & putte a baki theyre
enemipes in sellyng theyre rennyng alwyse sore dere / For as
he saide / noothing ther mys so dangerous for them that so
lisly gyue a thaas than to sette on vpon watche / or in a pla-
ce yf fyrist hath he pourprised of the enemipes / & when they doo
departe a parte of the oost in fayre array & in gode ordynan-
ce / shal goo by the highe way yf cas be that thaduersaries
alwyse for to folowbe them / and another felship shall se-
cretly be sent in to bussemeyntys by oller wayes / ¶ And
so commonly it falleth that they that purswe the chasse by y
hyghe waye because they may see a bout them maken delay,
es here & there / and thenne departen and tourne agayn /
¶ But when they wene to be delyuered and quytte of they-
re enemipes and that they haue lefte the chasse / and care noo
more to kepe hem self in ordynaunce / as they that wene to

Be sure / Thenne shall come ouer vpon hem they that be in
busshementys sette for theym and by grete vertu and streng:
the shal hurte and domage hem / ¶ And hold so euer it is
He that departeth from hys enemys ought by al manere
of wyses to purvey / that yf he be chassed and folowyd / that
they that chasseth and purvieth hym haue som myshap
at his retourne ageyn / eythere by settig of a Watche for them
or elys by som other manere / ¶ And yf it nedeth them
that shal makie chasse after the to passe ouer som flode or
ryvere / leye thy Watche so for theym that they that shall pas
se first may be ouer wonre by thy men / and that another
parte of thy peple be putte in a busshement at the bac syde
of them enemys yf thou canfor to saldote them that yet a:
wayten for to passe ouer the ryvere / And yf thou nedeth thy
self for to passe thrugh woodis or by som narowe wyses
see that thou sende a fore som personnes of the oost that be
feithfull and true that can reporte vnto thc/ the pathes and
wheretheir busshement be theray layed or not / For a lisse
shame it were to receyue a dommagge in fightryng openly
wyrth hys enemys / than to haue eur combraunce & lettryng
by som alwaytryng sette / wherof men had take noo kepe vnto
it thorugh negligence /

¶ Here sheweth hold the hed captaine of an oost that falleth
in a treacie of peas or taketh trebles with his enemys
ought to kepe hymself and his peple from such peryls as he
may be brought or fall in to by wyllys & deceipton / C / xx.
¶ And to thend that no thynge that couenable is & expedy
ment to be putte in this our borke be not forgoten / as tow
chys y caasis y oftentimes happen or y may happe by fale
of armes / it is gode to spele of athig y ouer moche may hurte

¶ ouer sore an oost & þ may overcome & hurte more than doeth
yron or eyn other thing / þat soueraynlly is to be eschewyd
and to take good heede vnto / the whiche thing is harde to
be putte fro whan it is ones sette in an oost / as it shal be
declared hereafter / ¶ We haue deuyded al yngouȝt hōlō
that an oost may departe more surely fro the felde / þf cas
þe that hys best counseyl wyl not that he fyghte / ¶ Now
wol we putte another cas / that is to wytte / that bothe
þostys be In a feld wþt a grete strengþe on boþe sydes
and redy for to take a day of bataylle togyder / But by cer-
teyn meanes they fall in a treatee of peas / ¶ It is themme
necessary in such a caas / That the captayne as we haue
sayd by fore / be sage and wylle / so that he may werke
al thingys to the best / ¶ And for to folow þe waye
that wþysome techeþ / He shal first take heede to two pryn-
cypall thyngys / ¶ One is that he shal consydere / What
þe personnes be that treatten and what moeueth them
þerto / That other is / he shal be holde and see what and
þpon whiche condycyonis is founded and resteth the same
trayttee / ¶ What the demaunde whiche is doon to hym
is / and what hys offre is / ¶ As to the first of two
it is to be aduyded þf they that so treatten ben hys frenydys
or þf he so reputeth and holdeth them / or wþetherþe they be
men of egall meane not parcial nor synuler for noþer
of boþe partyes / or wþetherþe they be symþly sent and ad-
mytted of that other partye / or not / If it be so that hit com-
meth by the symþle motyon of that other part / it is a gode
token / that noo deceipte be not wþt all / For eyther god hath
so inspyred them / or it appereth that they double ferre þ ba-
tayll / but never themore for this / he shal be wel aduised of
þ manere of theyre askyng with þ manere of theyre proffre

CAnd by cause that thys thynge sereth grete weyght
of consequense/ He shall take thaduys of them of hys co-
unseyll vpon every poynct that they putte forthe / and shal
so weye and fele every thynge / that whan he wyl gyue an
auisuer he shalve hym not Ignoraunt and not forgetfull/
keþyng alþeyns in thys by half thonneour and the proffyt
of hys pryncipe/ The wþychc accorde of peas ought not to be
comsommued nor ful mace wþyþout the pryncips licence / to
whom he shal sende by wþyþyngh boþe the proffre and the
assynge / For wel he must keþe hym self that he fall in
noo poyntement wþyth hys ennemys by noo manere
waynes of couenauntyng wþyþout the leue and wylle of
of hym and of hys counseyl / After the ensample of a
captayne of an oost of the commayns / That was sent by
fore the cyte of Mayence wher he was dyscomfuted wþyth
yl / thousand of hys men / And by cause that after
thys he aggred and made peas / Wþyth the mayencys
wþyþout the leue of them of Romme / He was taken
and bounden by the Rommayns and sent vnto mayence
and so brake the appoyntement of peas that he had
made wþyþout theyre lycence / **C**And here ought to
be se to / For ys thou caust parçeyue that men holde
and keþe the in talking as by a long trayne syndyng
alþaynes som contiouerries that nede not / But onely
for to passe tyme / **C**Knolleþ thou for veray certayn
that al is but for a deceipte and for a delaye of the bataylle
wþyþyngh for som socours and helpe / or ellis by cause
that in the meane wþyle thy prouisions and stores
be wasted alþaye / And that thy folke be noyouse and
wery of the long soiourne / **C**Wþerby they myght be
caused to departe by lytel and a lytel alþey / or for som

other cause/ ¶ Item yf the sayd traytaynes commeth by
som other meane/ As the pope had sent a legat for to sette
bothe the partyes in peas or som other prynce or lorde
mocyd of a gode Wykle/ Though he shuld haue comyn first
to Wardys the prynce/ Or supposed that thy self be the
prince/ thou oughtest to declare Wel vnto hym that so is
sent to be meane the actyon/ the cause/ the gode ryght and
the Juste and true quarelle that thou hast to make Werre
aynst the other partye/ to thende that the forsayd medya-
tour that Wyk make an ende of thys Werre Wythout the
dying of manrys blode/ may see and be Wyk aduyced that
vnto the be made such amende and satisfaction as it ap-
petyneth/ shelyng to thynges theire grecx wrong/

¶ And also yf the enemynes say that the more ryght is
theyrs/ see that thou be not so blynded that thy self Wykle
lettest the to submytte thy self to reason/ And yf thou
felest that thou hast ryght to som thyngis and not in so
me/ thou oughtest the sooner to gaſtende thy self to a tray-
tayne and to graunte a part of the Wykle of the other Wythout
thy Worshyp be hurt therby/ and to lete go som What of thy
ryght yf noo lettere thou caust do/ And yet we putt caas
That the oost of the enemynes Were of leſſe quantytate/
And that thyng Were groven bothe of folke and of other
strengthe/ And theyres mynished by som fortune/

¶ Wherefore feryng the batayllye they wold fall in to a tra-
ytee of peas/ And made to the gode proffers for to putte
hem self lettere in to theyre ryght/ And to eschew effusion of
blode/ What oughtest thou thenne for to do/ or namely
that they Were inspyred to be Wylling to the peas/

¶ Though theyre puissance and pouer Were al-
aynough equall to the myght of thyng oost/ ¶ Shal

Thou se more prouide therfore wenyng to haue hem at aua-
untage yf the bataples happed to be / wherby thou woldest
not fall to acorde / But rathre to be founde the harder
for eyn proffres that were doon vnto the / nay certeynly /
For with peyne it myght be founde that euer it happed that
they that refusid iuste proffres what someruer ryght that
they had nor what grete nombre of peple that they had
ayenst a felde folke / But that at the last they repented
full sore / And it semþt that god in thy caas hateth
them that such rasonnable proffres contempnen and ref-
fusen / And purifiseth hem ther for / But hereto thou
oughtest to take heede for in thy lyceth the pareyl / that is to
wyte / that thou se not deceyued by trapson thrugh false
meanes vndre the shadewe of the treatyng of the peas /
And how shalt thou knowd thy / For sothe I say that by
coniectures thou shalt mowde haue a colour of the double the
wo / Wherfore se thou alwayes vpon thy watch / Wher-
for yf it be so / that the first moeuing of the trappte of peas
be comen of somme of hym / thou shalt mowde knowde by the
condicpons of hym / What the cause may be that hath mo-
euyd hym to speke therof / For yf he be wyse and a gode
true man and that thou knowdest hym for suche / thou ough-
test not for to merueyll yf suche a man wold gladly see
that a gode meane were founde that myght eschewe ef-
fusion and shroyng of manrys blode by som gode and
worshypfull trapptye and that peas myght be had /
CBut yf he be a man that is not wont to fynde hym self
in suche a caas / And that is of lytyl courage / thought he
be malycouse and a wel spokien man / thou mayst thyn-
ke that this commeth to hym by colwardnes & feblenes of her-
te / But not therfore thou oughtest not to putte his reasos

all a backe/ But shalt see ys they ben gode and to thy profyt
and honouer/ Another thyng is to be consideryd/ that is
that in seryng hym speke / that the waye of the treatyng
peax sheweth and counseileth vnto the/ thou shalt sele and
see whethre the peax may bettre be & come to his proffyt/ than
the werre/ And ys in his talkingyng he reyneth hym self to
putte the in wylle of makyng of a peax/ the wchiche for gre-
te desyre that he hath to hyt shuld not be vnto the wel hon-
nourable/or ys it is ony covetouse persone to whom this may
be made to be said by pestes & promesses/ To thees ys thou
may hit knolle/ thou ought not to adde nor gyue noo cre-
dence nor seyth/but shalt put them abyde ys thou be of thepre
condicions suffisauntly informed/ For an vntrue counseil
ser wyl never gyue gode counseil but ys it be to his singuler
proffyt/ but a true couiser seeth more to the comyn weale/
than to his owne parcyall proffit/ And nolde it is to the ne-
cessary duryng the traitye of peax/ that lyke wise as the am-
baxadours comen to the from that other partie / soo shalt
thou sende ayen somme of thyng/ Therfore thou must in
this wel see that thou be not deceipted/ For a grete parcl
may be thryme but ys they be true men / For by such
wayes and by such ambaxadours many cyters / landis
and royalmes as son tyme was troye the grete and other
dyners haue be deceipted by such traytors ambaxadours
feynyngh them self gode & true/nor noo parcl there nys lyke
vnto the same/by cause that it is so hidde / that wryth pyne
may noon lieve hym self hoolde wryse that he be/ from a traytor
ys he hath entreprised to hurt him by treason / And the rfore
noo bettre remedy to this there nys but to see such ambaxa-
dours that be moost myghty thy noble persone ys such thou
hast wryth the that greely setten by thy deth and destruction

in whome thou most trustest / For by such / many haue be
deceyned / but of such as thou hast enhaunced in highe degree
and that shuld lose muche yf thou were not / and of other of
whome bothe of conscience & of lyuyng thou felest & know-
est good/honest and true / And that trouthe ought to be
kept & occupied in al cases of werres and bataylles / and
treason reprented and lefte after the sentence of the gode men
Wel heleweth hit the right worthy Fabricius of whome we
haue spoken a loue / For that tyme that he werved with his
ost ayenst kyng pyrrus / that hurt sore by hys bataellis the
rommayns / came vnto hym the physicien of the said kyng
that offred hym sor to poyson hys maister / so that he wold
rebarde hym wel for it / The valyaunt man answered hym
that it was not the guyse of the rommayns sor to ouercome
omy by treason / and made hym to be sent ayen vnto his mai-
ster the whiche whan he knewe the cas he said thus with a
high boyre O rather shuld the sonne tourne out frome hys
cours / than that Fabricius wold departe frome trouthe & fi-
delite / Soo went the kyng pyrrus hys waye / and for
this counte that he salde / wold not gyue noo bataille at
that tyme

CHere deuyseth the maneres that a captyaine of an oost
ought to kepe / that day that he hopeþ to haue bataylle / C/xxi

After thees thynges aboue said for to come to the
point that fayttes of werre concluden / that his to wite
assembly & gadryng of men to a bataille / where as this is
that thyng moost pryncypall / say we thenne thus / And yf
it happe at al endes that nede of fyghtynge constraineth the
oost to assemble and meddle vpon a certayn day with the

enemys/thenne ought not the good and woyse captayne to
be synfurued of al that he muste do/and to see & aduyse to
the best waye/And som thynges there ben that are not to be
forgoten/What shall he do thene he shall not haue a litell to
thinke on/For noo gretter poys or weyght can not be for
ne emonge men/than is that same in whiche lyeth the hole
weyghte of al a contrey/the astate of the prynce and the
lyffe of an Insynyt nombre of folke / the worship or the
dysworship of the lorde of the kynghthode and of all the no
bles/He shall thene assemble and call all the captaynes of
the oost byfore hym and in audience of all tho that wil be
present he shall speke with them/saymge thees or semblable
wordes Ryght dere Bretherne/felawes frendes/we are here
assembled as ye knolle by the comauement of oure good
prynce for to kepe hys place in this byhalue as his lieute
nauntis for to maynten & kepe by the swerde the iuste qua
rell of his good ryght/that his noble predecessours haue su
steyned of long tyme in whiche is a gode cause of an ente
prise ayenst such a kyng or prince of whome sy hath re
ceyved many a grete wronge whiche is a thing of trouthe
as we may be insoumed and knolle the certeynte therof/
Soo are we holden as true subgettis and his sworne men
takyng wages of hym/to kepe & susteyne his gode ryght
in exposyng & puttyng oure bodies and oure lyues in Ieo
parde as lawfully we haue promysed to do by oure othes
Without forsayng of the place for eyn fere of dethe / Now
thenne late we do so muche as I requyre and do beseeche as
fere as ye ought to loue my ryght therre bretherne frendes
and felawes that by vs/and by the strengthes of oure bo
dies and vertu of hardy corage/that to oure said good pri
ce we may reporte and bere the vyctorye of thys bataylle/

so that he may haue bothe Worshipp and goode fame therby
and we evermore to be preyed and Worshyped with hym
for the same / and that hys good grace we may please therby
Soo haue we a good cause fayre lordys to salote by fiers
courage and to enuaysshe wyllyngly oure enemyses / I dare
wel saye / For they be in the wronge / and so is god wryth
vs wher fore we shal overcome them wrythout fapple with
out the defaulte be in vs / and therof I make you sure / Now
be ye wyllyng the me my dere frendes every man as muche
as he may / to do so wel that I may haue a cause to re
porte by you that whyche ye shal be the bettre for / ¶ And
as to me I were you by may saythe / That whosomene
shal bere hym selfe wel nowe of what souere degré that he
be of / I shall so gretly welwardre hym that he shal be wylle
that he lyueth the bettre bothe in honnour and proffye /
¶ Now late vs goo wrythout fere and hardyly my dere
chylđren frendes and bretheren ayenst thees folke commen
dynge oure self vnto god that he wyl graunte vs the byc
tory ouer theym as we all desyre the same / ¶ Such man
eres of wordes shal say the hed capptayne vnto his men
and that this ought to be doo / all the auctoures accorden
in one that of thys caas haue spoken / and sayen that the
es maneres kepte Julius Cesar / Pompee / Scipyon
and the other conquerours / And wryth thys afferme
and holden that the wryte capptayne oughte to be large and
not couetouse / ¶ For it is to be knowlen that the boches
of kynghtode serue noo couetyse to be had in noo manere
of capptayne but onely to see for the prycy and Worshyppe
that longen to the fayters of armes / And certeynly thys
shelved wel the good duc Fabrycyus the whyche for exam
ple of hys bountefulnes we soo often remembre hym in

thyſ ſolke Whan that the kyngis Pyrius hys enemys that
ſore muſch deſyred to dralbe hym with hys partye by cau-
ſe he was ſoo worthy ſent hym a grete quanſtye of plate
bothe of golde and of ſyluer For by cauſe that he vndres-
toode that he was ſo poure that he was ſerued at his owne
korde with biffellys of wode and platters made of tree and
ſent hym woorde that to ſo kyngis a man as he was appet-
tyned wel ryche ſeruice But he reffuſed them and an-
ſuered that he londed lettir to etc hys mete in treen dyſhes
with worſhip than in dyſhes of gold with reproche and
ſhame ¶ Thenne thus it behoneth that the ſayd ſed capy-
tayne be kyngyne and gracyouſe emonge hys folke For
otherwylle he were not worthy to be amytted to that offyce
For they ſay that by the meanes of hys largesse and kyng-
gnyte he may the lettir dralbe vnto hym the heretes of hys
folke to expoſe and Jeoparde with hym bothe body and
lyffe than by ony other other thynge ¶ Hys kynggnyte
ought to gyue hardynes namely to the leſte that ben of
ſyngle aſtate that they dare ſtellbe and hygnyfye vnto hym
ſome thynge yf hyt ſemeth hem good that concerneth the
fayete of armes As it may hap somtyme that ſom of lo-
we degrē may be of good aduys and of good counſeyll
For whyn god Imparteth hys crafte of grace wherē he wyl
¶ And it is vñiton that the valyunt conquerours that be
past and goon departed largely theyre conqueſtes and pro-
yes to theyre men of armes And for them ſelf it ſuffysyd
to haue onely the honoure of the bataylles and therfore
they dide with theyre folke what they wold And that
dralbyng wordes are good Begece ſayth that the good ty-
nyng and the admoniſtynge of the worthy duc euerereath
in an oost hardynes corage and vertue And therfore

Eij

they oughte to shew lytel and ofte vnto theyre folke theyre
ryght / and how they be wronged by theyre ennemyes / and
how they be holden to the prynce and to the countre / And
to admoniste them for to do well and to be valyaunt / pro-
mytting offyces and grete yefteres after theyre olde beryn-
ge / ¶ And in dede for to gyue ensample to other / he oughte
to worshyp them that haue borne hem self wel / and shal doo
theym good to thende they haue a bettre herte therfore /
And by such wordes he may doo grolwe the anger and euyl
wyllc of hys men ayenst theyre enemyes / and loue and
gode wyllc ayenst the prince /

CEx matere of takiyng of auauantayge at a feld

Capitulo xxij^o

DECE saith that the fed capytayne oughte to see that
day that he wol gyue bataylle / What wyllc hys men
haue thereto / For he may knolle yf they haue euy drede or
fere in theym by theyre faces / by theyre wordes / and by
the moeuyng of theyre bodyes / But he sayth thys is not
to be undrestande of thoos that haue not lerned hyt / For
merueylle it were but yf such shold drede hit / But yf he
knolleth that they that be enured with theuersyce of armes
makyn double of hyt / he oughte to delaye the bataylle vnto
another day yf he may / And yf he hathe folke of some stra-
ge landes wyth hym youngmen and not exersyced and that
he doubteth of theyre trouthe / he oughte to commytte theym
vndre som good and true capytaines that wel can teche
hem for to doo wher as they shall not come flee / For by
thaffraye of such folke may be the bataylle brought to a
grete paryll / And to teche hem so that they obeye theyre
capytaines commandementis / For noo thyng proffideth

so muche in an oost as the oleyssance to be kepte vndre
the duc or capytayne/ And therfore sayth he / that by one
voyce alone they that ben ferre from theyre capytaynes can
not knowe the sondayne necessites that may fall in a
bataylle/ ¶ The auncyent fonde alwaye for to use of cer-
teyn tokenys by whiche they gaſſe haſtly knollege thurgh:
he al the oost what they ſhuld doo/ ¶ Other by the ſolue
of trumpetps / or by diſſeruent ſolue / as of hornes that
men callid bryſynes / as of other manere of thyngys/
¶ But to thende that by often herynge of ſuche manere of
ſolue/ the enemyses ſhulde not be wyſe nor knowe what
hyt ment / made ſom tyme a diſſerence in hyt / But fyſt
was thys wel notyfied emonge them / ¶ And from
theyre chylchede that men taughte hem the uſe of armes/
thees maneres where ſhewed vnto them / by cauſe they ſhul-
de lettere remembre hem ſelf at a newe / ¶ And for
thys cauſe the trumpetps were founde that dyuersyſye they
re ſolues after the fallys happen / ¶ Now cometh to
the poynþ hold that a bataylle after the teching of Be-
geſe ſhalbe renged in arraye / ¶ Soo shall thenne ſee the
wyſe captyayne as it is ſayd that he take fyſt the aduaun-
tage of the felde/ Where as thre pryncypalle thynges are
to be conſidered and ſeen vnto / ¶ That one to take the
hygher part of the place / the ſeconde / that the enemyses
haue the ſonne ſhynginge ſtreight upon theyre faces / alon-
ge as the batayll ſhall laſte / And that other / that the
wynde be alſo ayenſt hem / ¶ And yf thees thre thynges
he may haue wþth hym / hyt ſhall tourne hym to a grete
proffyt / in asmuche that it is noo doubtē / But that he that
is in the hygher grounde hath the aduauntayge of stren-
gthe ayenſt hym that is lowe/ ¶ Item / the ſonne ſhyng-

in onys face wobbleth hys syght full sore / And lykewyse
doeth the woynde that fylleth them wyth sonde / And also
the shot of an arowe borne wyth the help of the woynde a
lighteth more sore and bereth a gretter strengthe / And
also mynusseth and taketh awaie the force of the shot of
the contrary part / ¶ And it is here to knowe that by
two maneres of woyles ouer cam the sommynis in ba-
taylle theym of Sycambre / that was by enuahysshynge
of such an arte that theyre enemyes had the sonne to sore
theym / And that other was / by soudayn commynge
vpon them so that noo layseth they had to putte hem self in
ordynaunce /

¶ Here deuisth shortly the manere after the use of the time
present to venge an oost in a felde for to kelyght his enemyes

¶ Capitulo / xxij/

¶ Here deuice putteth many maneres of wayes for
to venge an oost in bataylle / as it shal be sayd heraf-
ter the whiche in some maneres may be differentes to the
regard of the ordynaunces of the tyme present / The cause
prauenture is by cause that the folke comply in tho dayes
saughen more on horsbacke than a fot / ¶ And also
wher noo thyng ther nys in the ordres of humayn de-
des / But that it is by long proces of tyme chaunged
and tourned / me semyth good to touche shortly somwhat
in moost entendyble termes of the comon ordynaunces of
the tyme present / as poung it is knownen of them that
saytes of armes exercisen / ¶ That is to wryte to make
hys auauntgarde of a longe trayne of men of armes al-

clos togyder and renged full smothly that the one passe
not that other the best and the moost chosyn in the fyrist fro
nte and the mareshalles Wyth hem by theyre baneres
and standartes / and at the formeſt sydes are made Wyn
ges in whiche ben all maneres of shoters renged and in
good arraye / asswel gonneſ / as baleſters / and archers

¶ After the fyrist bataylle that men calle the Forward
commeth the greate bataylle Where as all the greate flote
and tolwe of men of armes is putte al arrengeſ in a fayre
orde by theyre capytayneſ that haue among hem theyre
banneres and sygneſ al vp whiche are by dyuerſe tolweſ
one after another full smothly renged and not ſteppyng
out of place / For the Conneſtable doth a cry to be made
that noon vpon peyne of deth ſhall dysvolome hym ſelf /

¶ And ſom ſaye that yf euy quanſte of comons be there
men oughte to fortyþe wyth ſuche manere of men the win
cys of bothe sydeſ by fayre tolweſ wel ordred at the baſe
ſye of the ſhot / the whiche comons ſhalke taken and com
mytted vnto good captyayneſ / and in lyke wyſe they
ſhal be renged by fore the greate bataylle / ſo that yf they
wolde flee they myght be kepte in styl by the men of armes
that be behynde hem / In the mydores of thys greate batayl
le is putte the prynce of the oost and the pryncypall ban
nere borne before hym to the whiche is the byholdynge of
the bataylle / wherfore it is taken to holde hylt vp to one of
the best and pryncypall of the ſayd oost / and a boutte hyl
ten of the best and mooste approued men of armes / al
well for the ſuretee of the prynce as of the ſame / ¶ After
folowyng thys greate bataylle commeth the threde that
men calle the ryegarde the whiche is ordyned for coforte
And helpe hem that be a fore / that ſemblably are putte in

arraye by a fayre ordre / And sehynde thys bataylle ben
fayrely putte the yomen on horsbacke that helpen theyre
masters ys nede be and holden and maken an obstatell
that on the baxsyde of the bataylle they be not enuahysshed /
¶ Of the wþychx thynges ys there be ynough of men of
armes and that they be in a doubte les that the ennemys
wyl com at that syde / thoo that surely wyl fyght and
that ben wyse in fayttes of armes / maken another ba-
taylle that tourneth the bax tolbardys the other bata-
ylls a foresaid / all redy appareyld for to receyue them
that wold come / ¶ And with thees sayd thynges
comonly are ordeyned a quantyte of men of armes ex-
perte of the crafft / and wel mounted vpon good cour-
fers wþychx ben full redy on the syde for to com and breske
wythe courses of horses thordynance of the enemys
as they shal be venged and assembled togyder / ¶ And
therfore the bataylle is often tyme wonne by them that
best can shyfte and deale wythall / ¶ And wher thys
manere of vengyng of an oost is moost couenable / yet
som that ben experte in armes do counsayle / that whan
men haue noo grete quantyte of comons but haue for
the moo parte all men of armes / that all the holl as-
semble be putte togyder onely in one bataylle wythout no
on other forwarde nor armegarde but onely the wynges
of the fronde of the bataylle as it is sayd a fore / and say-
en that more surely they fyght so / ¶ And thys mane-
re was kept at the bataylle of rosselie wher as the kyng
of Fraunce Charles the sixt of that name had the bþcto-
rye ayenst xl thousand Flemynghys / and semblably it was
won but alþyle a goon at the bataylle of Lyge wher as
Johan duc of Bourgoyne that son was to phylippe the

Son of the kyng of Fraunce with a smalle quantyte of
his men was vixtorious ayenst /xxxvij/ thousand byg
ops/

C Deuyseth yet the manere of vengynge of bataylles/
C Capitulo / xxviii/

Holwe se it that it is sayd here by fore and after of the
maners of fighthyng and of vengynge of an oost/
sayen thauncyent that of thyse matyere haue spoken that
the best maniere to gye a bataylle is in wondries and
that men putte many bataylles in the fore fronte / and at
that syde that they knolle theyre enemys shall come they
shal kepe hem self by gode ordynaunce wel myght clos togid
der/ and wyth payne shal they molwe se ouercome nor deson
fyted though that theyre enemys be moo than they/ And
yf it fall so that the aduersaries be of lese folke / the bata
ylle ought to be then ordred and made in manere of a hors
shoo / and thus saythe he thou shalt stoppe hem aboute yf
thou goo to hyst wyllyng/ And yf the other be foyson of folke
ordyne ye the bataylle as wyth a sharp ende before for to
rise forth/ But late the capytayne be wel aduysed sayth
Begece/ that at that same olwe that the bataylle shall assen
ble he chaunge not thyse manere of ordre nor lede not here
nor there noo nombre of peple out of theyre ordynance/
For that were for to destroye all/ and shold putte trouble in
hys bataylles / Nor nothynge profyeth more in a bataylle
saith he than to kepe the ordre that ought there to be kepte
wyth the interualle or distanse that ought for to be betwix
every tolwe/ For men ought to see by grete cure that they
ouerpresse not ech other/and that they also large not no-

ther þ one from that other but shal kepe themself in couena-
ble orde togider / For they þ were to ryght ech other shuld
kepe theyre strokys and theyre fyghtyng for lacke of more
wolome and space & that one shuld so lette that other / Al
so they that were ouer large ordred shuld gyue to theyre
ennemyses an entree thrughe theym self / And so were
they in parell to be broken and sparxylled a brode / Wherof
the fere that they shuld haue to see theyre ennemyses so co-
men wythyn them / shuld yelde hem as dysperate and lo-
ste / ¶ Yet sayth Begece / that by fayre orde ought to
make an yssue in to the feld wher as the capytayne by
dyuerse tymes shal haue putte hem in ordynaunce for to
shed unto theyme / hold that they ought to maynten and
ke haue hem self whan the bataylle shal come in hande / the
fyrst bataylle so ordred as it ought for to be / and the secon-
de bataylle after and the other so that the ordynaunce be in
every poynt kepte as it is sayd by fore / And sem capytay-
ne sayth he hath had a maniere to tourne theyre batayl-
le in a square and syn in a manere of a tryangle that men
called at that versuell / ¶ And thys manere of ordyna-
unce hath proffyted muche in bataylle / And whan eny
grete strengthe of ennemyses dyde comme vpon hem / they
putte hem self in a wounde and the best to the formeſt wode
and so kepte theyrs that they tourned not for to flee and
that they were not ouer charged wyth to greate a dommay-
ge / ¶ And a maniere had the auncyent that they putte
never al theyre folke in one assemblee / but made many
bataylles / to thende they that were freshe shuld comme
for to socoure & helpe theym that were very / And bythys
waye with peyne they myght be dysconfyted all for that whi
ch one bataille loste / that other bataille recoured hyt ayen

¶ Neuertheles al dedes of bataylle ben doon at al aduenture
Wherfore noon ought to trust thereto in hore to haue the
bette of hyt by cause that often tymes it falleth al contra-
ry to that / Whiche men thought a fore / ¶ Example he-
rof / For who shuld ever haue trowed that that of the
ryght grete oostes and grete assemblees of men of the Car-
tagyens / and of the rommayns that werrred ech other /
shulde the slawghter and occysyon be soo equall in a bata-
ylle / that ones be felle bytwene hem / ¶ For there abode
not one man a lyde of neythere of bothe partyes / ¶ Item
he sayth / that that day that the bataylle must be It is
couenable for men for to ete lytel to thende they haue a lon-
ger breth and that they may be the more lyght and
more moeuable / But som goode wyne ought men to
drynke who that may / by cause that the wyne moest
the spyrtes and the strengthes of man so that it be mesu-
rably taken / ¶ And it happeth of tymes sayth he that
almost all the corages of men are troubled in hem self
whan they shal goo to the bataylle / but to them that be
fyrst chaffed and angry is the force and hardynes encou-
red wythyn hem / and doo forgete al parell / ¶ And ther
fore the wyse capptayne for to gyue a cause vnto hys
men to be more fyres and hardy / ought for to haue had
them fyrist at a scarmysse ayenst the aduersaryes to then-
de that for the strokys and sorys that they haue recyued
of them they may be in anger and chaffed vpon them /
¶ And yet he sayth that the lasse wyse and the lasse
wolde are wont for to gyue vp the escrye by fore that the
bataylle be bygonne Whiche thyng ought not for to
be doo / ¶ But the callyng and the scray ought to be
wyth the fyrist strokys / ¶ The auncient had a

respecte in thassemblyng of theyre bataylles that the men
of armes were not made a ferde in bataylk by the scrye
and alarme that the landys^s peple or comons maken som
tyme / ¶ And therfore they instructed and aduysed them
therof by certeyn solvyn of a trumpette / ¶ Also thoo that
be not exercysed in armes nor lerned Redoubten sore
the bataylle / And therfore the boke sayth / that such men
ought to be occupyd in other thynges than in faytys
of Werre / ¶ For thos that never salde noo man kynde
nor noo shedyng of bloode they are a ferde to see hyst / And
for thys cause whan they sen atte hyst / theyre thoughte
is more to flee / than to fyght / and thus they may lette
more / than doo eny auayll atte lest yf they be not put
vndre the Rule of som good captaynes / ¶ Som
saye that they ought to be putte by fore all the other
to gyder / And som sayen nay / but ought to be medled
emonge the goode / ¶ Yet agayne / for to speke short
ly by recappylacion of that that is couenable to be ke
pt in the ordynaunce of bataylles after the teghyng of
the noble auncyent / ther ben seuen thynges wherupon
the gode capptayne ought to take kepe vnto / ¶ The
fyrest is that he haue take fyrest the aduauntayge of the
place yf he may as it is sayde a fore whiche as he shall
haue sette hys peple in fayre ordynaunce / ¶ The se
conde / that they be at the one syde of them shelded or
paueyzed with hylles that nought may lette them / or
ellis with the see or Wyth a ryuer or som other thyng
that shall lette that noon enemynes shall come come
vpon them of that syde / ¶ The thyrde / that they haue
nother sonne nor wynde that can combre theyre fyght wyth
pouldre or glysterynge / The fourth y muche couenable is to

them that they shal knolle yf they can the astate of theyre
ennemys/ What nombre of peple they haue whiche waye
they come and in whiche array / ¶ And what orde
they kepe / For after the knollege of the same they may
ordeyne and sette hem self to the best for to abyde and to re-
ceyue them / ¶ The syfthe that they be not mated nor tra-
uellled nor made the more feble for honger/ ¶ The syfthe
that they muse be al of one corage and purpos for to kepe
the place/ and to be wylling rather to dy than for to flee al-
axe / ¶ And thus such men shal not be brought lyghtly
Unto noo manere of dysconfiture / ¶ And the seventh is
that theyre ennemys knolle not what theyre entencyon
and purpos is/nor what they thinkie for to doo /nor what
cours they wyl take / ¶ Neuerthelesse after that/ that it
is sayd a boun the falles and the aduentures of the batayl-
les ben wondrefull and merueilous / For hyt happeneth
at such a tyme as god wylle helpe that one partye and
nought that other / ¶ As it dyde fall that tyme whan
the rommayns fought som tyme wyth the two myghty
kynges of Orpent Jugurta and Bocrypus / ¶ For at
that tyme as the heate of the sonne was so brennyng hoot
and so feruent that almost hyt smoldred the rommayns /
sodainly rose vp albynde so myghty and so grete that the
archers shot of whiche theis two kynges had soyson/ had
as almost noo vertue / and syn came a rayne that refres-
hed al the rommayns whiche thyng was contrary to y other
by cause hyt slaked the cordes of theyre bowes/ & theyre ele-
phantes wherof a grete plente was there whiche is a teste
that can not wel suffre wet nor watre a boute hem/ myght
vnderthe moeve hem self & y girdell that helde vp the castell
Upon theyre backes were also slaked and the castelles char

ged Wyth water that sore combred them/ ¶ And by thys
manere of waye the Rommayns that al redy had recoured
theyre strengthe by the refreshyng of the rayne / dyce en-
baysshe so vygourously theyre ennemys / that hold he it
that they were muche lasse in quantite of peple yet they ob-
tyned and had the victorse/

¶ Deuyseth after Begece of vij maneres of arrengyng of
an oost and of fyghtyng ¶ Capitulo xviii?

Pet after Begece in hys thirde booke in the exght and twen-
ti chappitre there ben vij maneres of wayes how an
oost shal figh in a felde and vij maneres of ordynauncies
of bataylles/ the whiche wayes and manere how be it he gy-
ueth hem derkly ynough for to be vndrestanden / but onely
of suche that ben exercyced in thoffyce & maystrye of armes
they ben declared here as foloweth / The first maner of
renyngage of folke in a felde is that whiche is to be made
wyth a longe sore fronte as men do nowe/ but this mane-
re of way as it is said is not ryght gode/ by cause that the
space of the grollonde muste be longe and that the oost be al-
stratched in lengthe/ and hit happeneth not alwayes that the
place of the felde is founde propyre nor mete so fer to doo /
¶ And when there ben dyches or dales or som euyll pathes
the bataylle is lyghly broken by the same / And wyth
this thaduersaries yf they be eny grete nombre of folke
they shall goo to the ryght syde or to the left syde and so they
shal enuyrone and close the bataylle a boute wherby many
a grete parrell may be fall/ as hauctour Sheweth that saythe
that if cas be that thou haue more foison of peple than thin
enemye hath/ take of the best of thy folke & enuyrone thyn

aduersaries yf thou may wythin the bosom of thy ooste /
¶ The secunde manere is beste for yf thou ordeyne by the same
a felde of thy folke mooste balyaunte and wel assayed in
som place covenable thou shalt molde haue lyghtly the bice-
torpe / thought thy enemys hath more peple / of the whiche
manere the waye of fyghtyng is such / that whan the ba-
taylles comen for to assemble togider / thou shalt chaunge
therne thy lyfte woynde from hym place in to another to then-
de that thou mayste see ferre vnto the ryght cornere of thy
enemys / and thy ryght woynde thou shalt Joyne wyth the
lefte woynde of thy aduersaries / and there by the best men
of thy ost thou shalt begynne the bataylle shaply and
strenghe / And by grete strengthe botch an horbake and on
fote / the sayd lyfte woynde of thy enemys shal be assaile-
led of thy men that shal goo a bout shouyng and remyng
vpon hym that they come at the bache of thy enemys /
¶ And yf thou mayst ones departe a sounder thy ene-
mies that ben so comyng vpon thy folke wythout doubt
thou shalt obteyne the bice- / ¶ And that one parte
of thy ost that thou shalt haue withdrawalen from the other
shal be sure / ¶ Thys manere of bataylle is ordeyned
after the lykenes of thys lettre / ¶ And yf thy enemys
ordeyne theyre bataylle after thys manere of waye and ma-
tie issye fyrt oute / then shalt thou putte thy men in a lon-
ge rolle that shal marche forth all of a fronde wyth thy
woyndes all in a gode ordynaunce atte the lyfte corner
of thyne oost and by thys manere of waye thou shalt wyth-
stande thy enemys / ¶ The thryde manere is lyke vnto
the seconde and noo dyffERENCE is there betwene / But
that thou muste sette fyrt wyth the lefte corner of
thy bataylle vpon the Ryght corner of thy ennemys

CAnd if thy leste wyringe is bettre than thy ryght
wyringe / than shalt thou putte with hit som ryght
strong and best fyghting men bothe on horsbaie and on fote
and see that thou first of all whan it commeth to assemble
to gider hand to hande / that thy lyfte wyringe be joyned and
sette vpon the ryght wyringe of thin enemyes / and as muche
as thou caust / putte from the a backe yngryght hande of thy
aduersaries / and make haste sor to enuyrone theym / And
that other parte of thy oost wyllych thou knowest not so
stronge / dysseuere theym as muche as thou caust from that
other contrary wyringe / so that sperys nor darteres may not
lyght vpon theym / And thou muste take iexe that thyne ene
myes make not a plowmpe of theyre folke to entre and bre
ke thy bataylle in trauers / In thy s manere thenne men
fyghten profitably / and in spreyall yf the fall happeth that
the leste corner of thyne enemye be of lesse strengthe than is
the thyne / The fourth manere of fyghtyng in a feld is su
che whan thou shalt haue orreynd thy bataylles with fou
re or fyve hondred fyghtyng men / or euer thou make em
approche vpon thin enemies thou shalt so sodaynly do mo
eue thin oost secretly with bothe thy wynges in a gode ordy
naunce / that from bothe the corners of thyne enemyes as
nought purveyed shal be constrainyd sor to tourne theyre
backis and flee alwaie / and yf wyllych thou caust do so thou
shalt haue victorie / But this manere / al be it so that thou
haue men ryght stronge and wel exercysed in armes / I hol
de hit peryllouse / For yf the half of thy bataylle is constrainyd
to desseuere and departe thy oost in two partyes / and that thyne
enemyes be not overcome at the first compynge on
they shal haue occasion to assayle thy men of armes that
thus ben druyed / **C**The fyfthe manere of fyghtyng is

lyke vnto the fourth but so moche more it is / that þ archers
and they that ben lyghtly armed shalbe ordeyned by fore the
fyrst bataylle / to thende that they be not broken out of ordyn-
naunce / And shal also assayle & enuaysse wyth the ryght
corner of hys bataylle / the lefte corner of hys enemye / and
wyth the lyfte the ryght / And yf thou mayst do so / thou shal
soone ouercome theym / But the mydell bataylle is not in
peryll by cause it is deffended by them that ben lyghtly armed
and by the archers / The sixt manere of fygghtyng is right
gode and almost lyke vnto the seconde / And with the same
are wont the good fyghters to helpe hemself in hope of victo-
rye hold wel that they be but a felde folke for to ordeyne wel
theyre bataylles / The bataylle of the enemyes themseluen ren-
ged in a rolle / thou shalt joyne thy ryght corner to theyre
lyfte / & there thou shalt begynne the bataylle wyth the best
men that thou hast on horsbacke and a fore / And that other
parte of the ost shal folowen of ferre the bataylle of thyne ene-
mye / the whiche parte shal be spred all streight / and yf thou
canst come to the lyfte wyngye of thyne enemyes they muste
nedes tourne theyre backs / and thaduersary may not be so
coured of hys ryght wyngye nor wyth hys mydell batayll
he can not helpe the other / For the taylle of the ooste is exce-
ded vnto the lyknes of the moost long lettir / & fro ferre
hyt departeth from hys enemye /

C Of the same **C** Capitulo/ xxvij/ In vij

T he seuenth manere of fygghtyng is whan the rollome &
the place is proppe for hym that fyrst taketh the feld
that is to wyte yf thou hast a place wher as at the one sy-
de of hyt thyne enemyes can not come / as it is sayd for cause
of the see / or of fodes or of montaygnes / mares grounde or
other lettigis hold be it that thou haue good men and well

tenged in bataille by gode ordynaunce / And at that syde of
the place whiche as noon such lettyngis is / thou shalt putte
thy men on horsbacke / and thenne fyght surely yf thou se
assayled / For by the sayd lettyngis thou arte kept sau of
that one parte and lyke wyse of that other parte by the stre
gthe of them that be on horsbacke / And it is to se take syde
Unto what syde that thou wylt fyght / that thou putte fyrt
the moost valyaunt men / And for eny lytel quante of pe
ple that thou haue se not dysmayed therfore / For Wyctorpe
hath wel accustomed to se had of felwe fyghters / so that the
wyse due ordyne them there as proffyte and rayson requi
reth and it is to wite that namely the same tyme they holpe
hem self in theyre bataylles by dyuerse maneres of engyns
and wyles for to breke the bataylles / at it is sayd here beso
re / as of oxen that had the fyre sette vndre theyre taylles
that were chassed towardis the partie aduerte / And name
ly also they used at that tyme wyth semblable engyns as
ken tho that nold be called Rybaldestyns / For eyn thus
were they sette vpon alwhale and a man withyn as withyn
a lytyl castell that was made al of yron / and shot with a
gonne or with arbalaſter / And had at every syde of hym
an archer / and sharp yrons were dressed to the foreſyre of
thesame engyn / as hyt had ben sprys / And wyth the stren
gthe of men or of hores made many of such engyns to en
tre al attones wythyn the bataille of the enemyes /

Che ordre and the manere that the capytayne ought to
kepe whan good Fortune is for hym **C**apitulo xxvij

Some that knowe not wel the tournes of armes
wene for to holpe hem self in a bataylle wyth closyn
ge of theyre enemyes withyn a certeyn compace of a

place/or by enuywomyng of hem wounde a boute with mul-
titude of folke so that they can not yssue out by noo waye/
but this doeth moche to be doubted For hardynes grobeth
Worþyn the hertes of thoos that ben so enclesed a boute / by
cause that the more that they thynke hem self but as for ded
or overcomen haþyng noo hope to come nor escape out they
Wol sell full dere her olde fleshe/or they be take And ther
fore was the sentence of Scypyon preßed that sayde / that
men ought to makie alwaye to the enemys whiche through
they may flee/and to putte abusſement whiche as they shal
passe fore by/For whan they ben so sore ouerpressed and see
alwaye whiche they may go out of they wyl/they wyl soone
take hyt and putte hem self to flyght twowyng to be sauſe
therby and thenne they may be bettre thus slayne / than in
defensing of them self/And many caste fro them theyre ar-
mures & harnoys for to flee more lyghly / and thus they
ben slayne as bestes by them that chasse them/ And the mo-
re grete multytude that they be/ the gretter is theyre confusy-
on/ For noo nobre ought to be sette by there as the corages
ben for ferre dyscomfyted al redy/ The wise men of armes
sayen that whan a good fortune cometh to that one of the
two partyes so that shx overcometh that other partie in bat-
tayle/men ought for to purswelbe styl hys good fortune al
Unto the ende whiche that shx endureth and that the enemies
ben assayled/and not to be ouer ioyfull nor so proude for so
what of victoriþe that is had at the begynnyng/that men
leue all wenyng to recouere hit of lyght agayne / as many
haue founde them self deceyued therby that never hym conde-
happe to haue hyt/for a wittenes wherof may be taken han-
bal the whiche þf he had goon after the batayle of Cannes
strenght to ryme he had taken hit withoute gaynsaying

of ony man/ For the to mayns were so affrayed and so full
of sorowe for theyre grete losse that to gaynsaye at that oþ
re they durst not/but he that wende to retourne there at hys
pleasure when it shold please hym/ and that waxyd but one
ly to dyspoyle the countre a boute from al manere of ryches
colde never syth com therto hold wel that he forced hym self
wyth al hys powere so to doo/

CHere sheweth another manere of waye that the chyf
capptayne ought to kepe when that the fortune of the bata
lle is ayenst hym/ **C**apitulo / xxvij/

Now is there another poynte/that is to wyte/ yf one
parte of the oost overcometh/ and that other parte
fleeth/that parte that fle�t & abydet stedfastly/ may tru
ste to haue the vycory/ For dyuers tymys it hathe be kno
wen that they that men helde vndre haue gotten the felde at
þ laste/ Therfore ought such peple to reysse hemself by callyn
ge of mouthes & by solvynge of trumpettes wherby they may
moue & bryng the enemys in to affere in comfortyng of
hemself/as thought they were vycoryouse in euery parte of
theyre oeste/ And yf it hapþeth that the myscleffre be thruske
al thyn oeste/neverthelesse thou ought to seke a remedy theru
to/ for fortune somtyme hath recovered to theyre aboue ma
ny one that fled awaþe/ And the wise men of armes sayen
that in fayntes of a playne bataylle the capptayne ought to
be purveyed and aduyced how he shal gadre agayne to gyder
his folke/as the goode pastour doeth his shepe/ for how be it
that they al beginne to flee & renne awaþe he ought to be al
aytyng with al his powere to saue theym that be so ouer
come & to withdrawe hem about hym in to som cornere of a
waye/or upon a hilke yf emp be myȝe hym/or in to som other
sure place/ & yf he may thus gadre togider aþen som quayte

of valyant men in good ordynaunce of array they shal
mowe greue full sore theyr enemys / for comonly it falleth
that they that purspene the chasse folysshly & that be out of
ordynaunce here & there / sen soone putte to flyght of theyre
aduersaries werke wisly / And thus are slayn they that
chassed fyrt / and noo gretter confusyon may come a mon-
ge hem / thenne whan theyre pryde & fyresnes is so chaunged
& tourned in to a drece / And therfore what somenere adue-
ture that falleth men ought to recomforte and redresse by co-
uenable exortacions theym that ouercome / & to bryng hem
togider agen / and to garnyssh the voldmes agen with new
men & harnops yf men can / And a souldayne helpe behoueth
thene to be thoughte vpon the soudayne aduenture that
come / That is to see hold a watche shalbe so sette that the en-
emys that haue folldowed them may be recontrid in som
place / And thus by the good capytayne shal the fere of
them that reue alwaie be tourned in to boldnes for to wyth
stande & puriswe yf neare be / Wherefore the good capytayne
ought neuere to dyspeyre hym self of what soeuere a fortu-
ne that cometh to hym yf he be wyse / For of tymes it falleth
that thurgh a good hope of propye fortune they that twelue
to haue wonnen all arreyse hem self in to arrogaunce Wher-
by not so wisly as they shold doo they sette vpon theyre ene-
mys the whyche that be wel aduyced receyue them wyth
grete courage and feteth hem / And by this ought the goode
capytayne to see vpon all such falles that mowe happen /
by cause it hath happed ful often as it is sayd / that they that
were ouer come and chassed had soone after the victorie
vpon theyr enemys / And to knowbe that it is soo / the
fall of the commapns sheweth hyt al ynowgh / wherene they
were dyscomfyted at the bataylle of Cannes / Whereby they

at/as dysperate that they shulde never more be of powre to
reconueren eyg good hap or propyre fortune / Wylde for sake
theyre owne cyte/and chese in to some other partyes theyre
place of habytacion / But one of theyre prynces that ryght
Wise Was & Valyant keþe hem here fro sayeng that he shuld
fyght ayenst hem ys cas were that they went / And thus he
putte hem in hope of a bettre fortune / and assembled them
ayen al togider / And of gadred folke he made many knygh-
tes/ and with such a powre as he myght haue he went and
assayled hanibal that neuere had thoughte that he shulde
haue won so / and thus toke hym vnpurued / & Was at
that oþre so entyrly dyscomfyted that he neuere syþt cold-
de haue býctore vpon the wmmayns /

There foloweth a short recappylacyon of som thinges
that ben sayd a fore/ Capitulo/xxix

To recappule shortly almost all the substance of that
which Begece Wyl saye in hys booke whiche as by eyþo
gacyon in manere of proverbys at the ende of hys he sayth
thus / Thou that wyl haue Worshyp in armes / doo that
the lere of youngthe lerneth the to be a maystre of the tour-
nes & fayctes of knyghthode in thy parþt age / For a more
fayre thing it is to say I can thys & that / that to say ha a
why haue I not lerned / doo euere after thy powere all that
may lette thy enemys / and that may be profitable for the
For from that tyme that thou ceasse to greue hym / thou hur-
test & lettest thy self / doo so that thou knowe the knygh-
tes or euere thou led hem to the felde / For moch lette it is
to doubt hys enemys keþyng hym self vpon hys warden
rely / than to trust vpon folke that men knowe not in a fel-
de / and a grete surete it is for to calle hys enemys that be
ronne away who that may for they may hurte more sore the

aduersaries/ than they that be slayne/ And the capptayne
With peyne is overcome/ that with the hys and with his ad-
uersary may help hym self/ And fette it is to kere a syde al-
ynough and ayde feside the bataylle y venged/ than to ma-
ke an ouer bygge bataylle hauyng noo socourc be syde it/ for
they that be lverly may be holpen by them that comen freshly
Upon to socoure theym/ and more helpeþ vertue/ than multy-
tude/ And often is a rowme bettre than hys strength in a
felde/ A man proffyseth by laboure/ and by yolenes he was-
teþ/ Late noo knyght he had nor led to a bataylle but that
hystrust he to haue the vycorye for yf he mystrusteth in his
courage/ he is as half overcome/ And the thynges that so
daynly he doon fere full sore the enemynes/ Who that folo-
weth the chasse Upon hys enemye vnywysely he putteth hys
enemye in a hope to haue that vycorye that he hymself had
had fyrt Who that appareylleth not the bataylle in an oost
he is overcome without strokē/ To kere ordre in a felde as
ryght wold/ gryueth vycorye bothe to the swonge and to the
feble/ Whan thou knolwest that the sydes of thy enemynes
are hydying hem self a bout thy ost/makke thy folke to with-
drawe within theyre lodgis/yf thou hast eyn supcyon that
thy counseyl be shewyd vnto the enemynes/ chaunge thyne
ordynaunce/ Moo counseylles ben so good/ as they wherof
the enemies haue noo knollage of vnto the time that thei
be brought alberie/ Aduenture gryueth often vycory mo-
re than doeth force/ Imposysble it is to Jugge to the certeyn
the ende of the bataylle of whiche fortune dysposeth/ All that
is contrary to thy entencyon thou ought treatte and shewe
amonge many one/ But thy propos thou ought to say or
shewe vnto felb folke/ Withdrawe tolwardys the/ the hertes
of straugers by yester and by promises/ and chastise thy

owne folke throught hretnyngys / By cause that good ca
pytaynes redoubting the fortune of bataylle are lothe to
fyght wryth an oost assembled togyder / Grete wisedom it is
to constraine hys enemys more by longe than by wron /

Chere synnysseth the fyrest partye of thys present boke /

Here begynneth the table of the Rubrycys of the secon
de partie of thys boke whiche speketh of the calvoleys
or wyles of armes after frontyn that calleth theym Stra
tagemes / And of the orde and manere of fyghtyng / and
daffensyng of townes and castelles after beseige and other
auctours / And to gyue bataylle as well vpon ryuers as /
vpon the see

Che fyrest chappytre speketh of Scypyon

Che seconde of maryus and of Certorpus /

Che thryde of theym of the cyte of Bogaun of Hanibal
and of Denys the tyrant

Che fourth speketh of theym of hyspayne / of Alpyaun
drye / of Pyrrus / of Laptenes / of Hanibal / and of other /

Che syfeth of menoles kyng of the Rodes of Scipy
on of Certorpus of hanibal of Acoryolo and of Fuluy
us nobylus /

Che sixth of Acoryolo duc of daie / of Fuluxus nobili
us of pamondas duc of theles / of Fabyus maxymus / of

Scypyon Affryckian the seconde / and of Certorpus

Che viij / of the Lacedemoneus / of Julpus cesar / of Pa
pyrus cursor / and of Pompee

Che viij / of the grete Alpyaundre of Cesar augustus
and of Crathes duke of athenes

Che ix / chapitre conteyneth of Symacuus kyng of Ma

cedompe/ of Fabyus maximus/ of Denys the tyraunt / of
Aleyaunder/ and of Nphytrates

¶ Th/ xv/ of Amilcar dukt of Cartage of haymo Empe-
wur of Affryche of Hambal and of Valtryus/

¶ Th/ vi/ speketh of Celar of Domycyus of Cyxlius
of Scyppon of Gayus

¶ Th/ viii/ of Hambal of a kyngc of Grece and of ano-
ther kyngc of semblable casz of the romains that had nede
of souldours

¶ Th/ viiiij/ chapytre speketh of the wyle of the romayne/
of Quintius metellus and of Hambal

¶ Th/ viiiij/ bygynmeth to speke of the manere of besyegig
of townes & castelles and fyrt how they shuld be odyfed/

¶ Th/ xv/ deuyseth of the garnysons that belongen to cas-
telles and townes in tyme of Werre

¶ Th/ xvij/ holt a fortresse ought to be garnyssed and pur-
veyed of fresshe watre

¶ Th/ xvij/ holt it is needfull that to the garnison of a for-
tresse be putte true men within the same and shylbeth hit by
ensample

¶ Th/ xvij/ chapytre speketh of leyng of a syege and of
assalotes enformed after Begece

¶ Th/ vi/ of an ordunaunce in leyng of a siege & of that
whiche longeth for to salwe a ryght stronge place affer the
tyme present

¶ Th/ xx/ deuyseth what powdres longen to gonnes and
other engyns

¶ Th/ xxi/ speketh of certeyn engyns þ be called mauncelles

¶ Th/ xxij/ of the instrumentys that muste be had for to
carpe all such thinges as bylongen to þ fayres of assalotes

¶ Th/ xxij/ of the habylmentys that nede therunto/

Chapter viiiij speketh folowing of habyllementys that se
nedfull for the shot
Chapter xvij of certyn other habyllementes
Chapter xviiiij of gommes and stones
Chapter xxvij of other habyllementys or Instrumentes for
to vndermyne/
Chapter xxvij of the tymber that ought to be had for to mas-
sie that vliche foloweth
Chapter xxvj of the werkmen & labourers that se nedfull
for making of the forsayd habyllementes/
Chapter xxv deuyseth of the batayles and habyllementes
wher they shal be conducted and the passages kepte
Chapter xxvij chapytre speketh of certyn establisshyngis
Chapter xxvij deuyseth the manere to stoppe the port of the
enemys
Chapter xxvij of such engyns that ben couenable as vege-
ce saith in fayttes of assalote
Chapter xxvij begynneth to speke of salutynge of townes
and castelles after vegece/
Chapter xxvij sheweth the remedyes apenst the forsayd en-
gyns of assalote
Chapter xxvij of a remedye apenst the vndermynyng of a
Castel/
Chapter xxvij begynneth to speke of batayles that se won
pon the see
Chapter xxvij chapytre deuyseth of the garnisons
than ben couenable and nedfull for folke that goo to an ar-
mee vpon the see
Chapter xxvij sheweth the seconde partie of this presē boke whi-
ch speketh first of the castelles & wyles of armes wherof
the fyre chapytre speketh of Scipyon

In thys seconde partye that we haue deuyded after Be-
gece pryncipally the manieres that somtyme helde the
noble & balyaunt conquerours of the Worlde in fayters of
armes during the tyme of theyre greate conquestes By cau-
se that they colde well helpe hemself with moor than of one
manere of werryng it semeth me good to thende that oure
matyere may be yet more encreased and multyplied alway-
es to the proffyte of theym that purshelben chualtry / that
we adde vnto thys matyere the wayes and the manieres
of the calvilles / subtilites / and wyles that the said au-
xent conquerours vntred & helde in theyre dedys of Werre/
Whiche subtilites and wylis are called by the auctours that
haue therof spoken Stratagemes of armes / of the Whiche
Stratagemes made a boke a balyaunt man that men cle-
ped Froncyus in whiche boke he deuyseth and sheweth the
propre dedes of the sayd ryght noble and worthy conque-
tors/ the whiche to here may be of gode exsample to theym
that fynde them self in such a cas after the dyuersitez of
the auentures of armes / out of whiche boke we haue ex-
stracted to oure proffyte som tytles/ Thus thene saith first
the sayd Ructour Froncyus that the worthy conquerour
prynce and hed captpayne of the greate oost of the romayns
Scypyon the Affrycan that all hys payne / Affrike / and
Cartayge dyde conquerre by the swerde / ones emonge other
as he was wyth a greate oost vpon the feldes ayenst the
lynge Syphax that semblably was commyng ayenst hym
wyth a greate oost of folke / dyde sende tolward the sayd kin-
ge as by manere of ambayade one of hys knyghtes named
lelius with the whiche he committed to goo som of his moost
wysse captaines in armes in manere of yome or as they had

be litel seruantes to thende that by all wavyes they shuld see
g aduspse Wel bothe the ordre & the manyere & the quantite
of the sayd kinge syphays oost / whiche capytaynes as they
were come there endeuyred them self so wel y nought they
forgate but they tolke good heire vnto and for to oversee bet-
tre all the oost they feynly lete for the nones goo loos one
of theyre horses as he had escaped & brokien loos from theym
Wherby they folowyng after all a boute salve playnly all
that was in the same oost and as wylle & ryght comyng in
suche a cas markied al thynges full well / Wherfore after
theyre retourne and theyre reporte made vnto theyre duke
Scipyon that by theyre sayeng knelwe that grete plente of
stuble & of reede was in the sayd syngys oost / fonde al-
eye that fyre was putte by myght therunto in many places
And this doon as the enemys were besy & awayted for to
socoure theyre lodgys from the fyre / he ranne vpon theym
in a gode ordynaunce / And by thys waye full subtylly dys-
comfyted theym vitterly the sayd duke Scipyon /

C Of the duke Marqus & of Xerxes of dynlyus & of
perycles /

C Capitulo / ii /

M arqus ryght cheualrouse duke of the oost of the rom
mayns whan he was sette for to fyght ayenst a folke
full fyers & proude that men named Cymbres or otherwisse
called Theltoniquys had in hys oost many souldryours
out of Gallya / And to this propos for to ensygle the ce-
chig of the wisse that sayth proue the man or ye truste hym
much / he wolle proue the trouthe and obeyface of the said
souldyours of fraunce / his lettres he sent to them where as
emoge other thynges defded & charged theym straitly that
they shuld not open aswel leterres whyche were chosed within
the grete lees that he sent to theym vnto a certeyn day that

Was named therynne/but or euere the day was come he set
agayne for theym & for tho that were open/ And wher the
sayd scouldours had trespassed his comandement/ he knewe
that they were nat trwe to hym/ Wherefore he trusted theym
never after in noo grete thinge/ ¶ It is a worthy knyght na
med pertrons conductour of a grete oost cam in to hys paine
Wher he had a ryuer to passe ouere/ & wher his enemys so
solled hym fast mygh for to renne vpon hym at an narowe
passage Wher he & his oost shuld passe ouere/ he aduysed him
self of a calote/ he dide tary styl vpon the bankie of the
watrye and made his lodgis to be made there in manere of
half a cercle as in a compasse somwhat ferre fro the ryuer &
was al made of bowes & of boode & syn made hit to be sette
all on fyre / and whyle hit brenned thus he passed and his
oost ouer the watrye surely malgry all his enemys that
myght not come to hym but they muste come thryngt the fy
re/ ¶ Item dynlyus a duxie of the romayns oost/ wher as
he ones to boldy had auanced him self in to the hauen of
cytē of Cyracuse wher hys enemys were that for to clo
se him therynne dyde heue vp the chayne/ but whan he salbe
this wel & fayre he chaysed therwith/ for the poulvere whi
ch is the forenest partye of the shipp he made to be tourned
tolward the chayne syde/ & the pouppre whiche is the hinder
most partye of the shipp was tolward the syde of the lande
& thenne soone he made hys men to dralve them self all to
the pouppre/ and thus was the forenest partye of the shipp
light so that hit heued vp a bone & with strengthe of orys
made a grete part of the shipp to leue vpon the chayne / &
thenne he made hys men to goo ayen to the forenest partye
of the shyppe / And thenne was the hyndernest partye
of the shyppe heued vp / ¶ And thus wyth force of

orps the shyppe passed ouer the chapne/ And by this wa
ye he scarped fro that parell/ ¶ Item perycles somtyme du
ke of Athenes was ones by theym of the cyte of Pelope
nes that chassed hym dryuen in to a place that was closed
with hyghe & horrable montaynes & were but two yssues /
and whan he salb this he dyde doo make soone at the one of
the yssues a grete & a depe ditch as though he dyde soo to
thende hys enemys shulde not entre vpon hym atte that
syde and at that other parte he ledde hys men as though he
wolde alwayte to yssue oute there/ And whan the enemys
salbe thys by cause that they trowen not that he wolde nor
myght haue goo ouer the dyche alawaye/ they sette hemself for
to haue defended that other yssue lyke as they wolde haue
besieged hym therynne but perycles that malcroustly dyde
soo made soone good brygges that he had do make to be set
te ouer the dyche/ And by this manere he went hys waye
wythout knolwlege of hys enemys

¶ Of them of the cyte of Bocaur of hanibal and of De
mys the Tyrant/ ¶ Capitulo / iii/

Tell the tym of the conquestes of rome it happed ones
that the oost of the romayns sholde passe by the forest
that is called Latyne for to goo vpon the cyte of Bocaur
And whan the dwellers were alwaire of hit they went soone
in to the said forest & dyde salbe al tho trees by the wa
ye there as they shulde passe by/ so that a lytel thinge wolde
haue brought hem downe/ and after they had thus don they
hided hem self within the thylke busshes of the forest/ And
whan the said oost was entred therynne / they that were
hydde lepte fourth/ ¶ And dyde shoue the trees that thus
were salbed vpon the oost of the Rommayns so that
a ryght grete parte of theym were ther by feld adoun

and slayne / And by al thus they were delyured quye
g free fro the said oost / And semblably thys was ano-
ther tyme doon / Item Hanybal prynce and emperour of
Cartage and of Affryke Was alwayes wont to lede ma-
ny elephauntes wyth hym in bataille / It happed hym onys
that he muste passe ouere a grete watre and there was no
way to passe hys elephauntes / but he aduysed hym self of a
subtylyte / He had in hys company a man emonge other
that coude swyme ryght wel and was full of corage bolde
and hardy / to hym he comaunded that he shuld make angry
one of the moost cruell elephauntes that he had there / and
whan the man had doon hys comaunderment and had hur-
ted sere the elephante / he ryght soone plonged hym self in to
the watre / And thenne the grete beste full of yre and cru-
ell folowed the man withyn the watre for to be auenged / g
in lyke wyse all the other elephauntes entred in to the riuere
after hym / and in thys manere the said Hanybal made hem
all to passe ouer the watre / Item Denys the tyraunte
prynce of Cyrruse in Cecylle knelle that they of Car-
tage wold com in to Cecylle wyth a ryght grete oost ayest
hym / So dyde he ryght wel garnyssh the townes and
castelles wher they shold passe by / And gaffe comaunde-
ment by hys ordynaunce that whan the enemyses were com-
me nyghe / that hys garnysons shulde yssue out of the cas-
telles and townes as thoughte they were a ferde and that
they shulde come to hym atte Cyrruse / And theune the
Cartagynens that wolden to haue gotten all the contrey to sie
g seased all the sayd fortresses and townes and garnished them
with theirre owne peple / and of so muche was theyre oost
made less / And the oost of Denys encreased / whiche dely-
uered them bataylle soone after wher they were overcome

and the other cartagiens that siepte the said townes and
castel les were famysshed /

C Of them of hys payne / of Aleynarie / of Pirre / of Lap
enes / of hanibal / and of other Capitulo iii/

D Pon a tyme the spaynarde shuld haue fought ayenst
Amulcar h leder was of the oost of Cartage whiche
muche folke were in a goode ordynaunce / They se thoughte
hem self of a wylle for to breke h bataylle of theyre enemyes
they toke many oynen that drewe the plonghe / and enoynced
with oyle and brymestone a staffe that was putte vndre
theyre tapylle / and was all couered with tolle of flaxe that
wel emblyshed were with oyle / and this oynen they dyde putte
at the forefront of theyre bataylle when they shulde assemble
wyth theyre enemyes / And whan the fyre was sette in to
the sayd tolle they chassed and droff hem fourth ayenst the
Cartaginens / the whiche oynen as full of a rage entred and
brake al theyre bataylles / and so was the said Amulcar
dysecomfyted / **I**tem Alexaundre prynce of Pirre / had
were ayenst a folke that men callid Illyriens that bare ha
bytes and golernes dyfferent from al other garmetes / The
sayd aleyaundre toke wyth hym a greate quante of hys
men and clothed & rayde them after h maniere of the Illyri
ens / And thus arrayed comauanded them that when the Il
lyrenes were so myght that they conde see hem / they shulde ta
ke wyth hem self for to brenne theyre owne comes that gre
we wyth the feldes and that they shulde mak hem self as le
sh as they wold dystroye & waste all / **O**f the whiche
thyng / the sayd comandement accomplisched / the enemyes
that salwe the same / trowed that they had be of theyre folke /
& followed them that so went fourth destroying al thinges
afore hem / Unto h tyme that they came in to a narowe waie

Wher as Alexaunder had putte a busshement /z there the il
lirgens for the moost partye were taken & slayne / Item
in lytie wise dide Laptenes prince of Syracuse to them of
the cyte of Cartage that vpon hym were come to bataylle /
For he made hys owne men to sette on a fyre certayn of
his owne townes & castelles / wherby the Cartagyns that
wende that it had be of theyre folke that thus wasted all /
wolde renne thider anoon / but Laptenes had sette alwayte
for them by the waye wher they muste passe / and thus they
were al slayne / Item Harybal the goode verypur duke of
cartage of whom I haue spokis afore / shuld ones goo vpon
them of Affryckie that were rebell / and he knewe wel that
folke was sore sette vpon this wone / So made he therme to
take therof a grete quantite & negled hit with certeyn herbe
that is called mandelorphe whiche maketh folke to be soone
dronke and sleepy / And after al for the nonys made a lityl
bataylle of hys peple to be redy to whom he comauanded that
they shuld renne alwaye as thoughte they were afred whan
the enemys shuld come nyght hem / And whan the other
that twelvde to haue wounen all were come nyght / Harybal
with hys folke makyng as he durst not abyde hem lefft his
lodgis al alone that was full of goodes and of this med-
led wyne and deparred about nydryght / and on the morne
whan the enemys salwe there noo body they came to the
lodgis with grete Joye and dyspoilled hit about / and as fol-
ke that ded was for longe eke glotonisly of the sweete metes
and dranke of the wynnes evyl appareylled for them / For
they all were made hevy a slepe and so dronke therby that
they lay styl as ded men / Thenne came axen harybal whan
hym lyste and al them he dyde putte to the swerde / Item
thoos that fought axens a folke that men called Herkyros

toke the swerde of theyre enemys and made hem to confesse
g tellle there couuyne g theyre propos / & after toke theyre ray
mètes fro them & reuested theyre olde folke with the same
& made hem to ceme vp vpon a highe hill that they might
be seen of the ost / And because the enemys had comauied
to the sayde espyes that after that whiche they shulde fynde
they shulde make hem a sygne / and they that were vpon the
montayne made a signe that they shulde come more nycge /
& they dice soo by cause they wende that hit had be theire espi
es / in so muche that they entred in to the busshement of they
re enemys / where as they were al slayne /

C Of Menoles kyng of the wodes / of Scyppion / of Xerxes /
tyrus / of Hanibal / of Lentulus / of Acoriolo / and of Ful
vius nobilis

C Capitulo / V /

M Enoles kyng of the wodes was atte an oost ayenst
his enemys and had more & of bettre men on horsbac
ke than his aduersaries / whiche kept the montaynes to the
de that menoles myght not lyghtly lefyght them / Soo ad
uised Menoles a calvole for to make them to come doun /
he toke a knyght of hys wyse & hardy / and hym charged
that he shuld behauie hym self as one that was fled frome
his oost & that was euyl content with hym & of his wages
& that he shulde goo to that other partye / And he dyde as he
was charged / And with other euylles & harmes that he sh
wed to hem of menoles he made them to byleue y through
his euyl ordynaunce was a grete dyscrecyon in his oost / &
that for the same cause many one departed from hym / and to
thende that they shulde byleue bettre thees thinges Menoles
dyde departe / dyuerse of his folke so that they that were
vpon the hilles might see hem goo awaie / but he made them
to be leyed in to dyuers busshementes here and there / And

By this manereof deceyfe thoo that were vpon the montaynes
cam doun whan they see the ost of Menoles so lessed
that they thoughte to be able for them / but ryght soone they
were enuyroned all about with the horsmen that killed and
slew them everychone / Item whan scipion shulde ones
go axest the spaynarde with a greate arme / the kyng sy
phay sent hym certeyn messangers that shulde hym grete
þretynges & wordes of greate feare / as wel of the hardnes
of the lande / as of the folke of the same & of theyre quantytie
& strengthe / of the whiche thinge not sore affrayed was the
valyaunt man scipion but to thende that thise ambassadours
shulde not sprede such wordes a brode emonge his folke / so
þerby they mighte be affrayed for he sent them full soone aga
yne & made wordes to be noysed about that the said kyng
had sent hym wordes to his frende that he shulde soone go
to hym / Item vertorius songhe ones in a bataylle / where
one cam & tolde hym that his constable was slayne / but to
thende that his folke semblably shulde not knowe of hit / so
þerby they shulde be a ferde / he slewe with a spere that he helde
the messanger / Item in the tyme that hanybal descended in
to ptalye for to goo vpon rome / thre thousand carpenters
that he ledde with hym fled from his ost vpon a nyght / and
whan he knewe it / because his folke shulde not be putte in
noo feare nor abased therfore / he made wordes to be cast
þroughþ out hys oost that they were soo goon by hys coma
undement / and for to gyue credence and seyth to thes wor
des he sent þer dyuers other alwape that he knewe shulde doo
lytel good and that were symþly armed / Item a tyme that
Centulus had assembled a greate oost for to le hyght hys
enemys and had taken in his companye a cohorte of mace
wyrrens for to helpe hym / a cohorte is / viij / Clybi / men /

Whan he tolled to haue ben holpen of them/ they dide aduyse
hem self soone and out of hys oost departed and went to
that other partye/ And when Lentulus that dyuers & ma-
ny tournes of armes knelwe salwe this he was not abyss-
hed/but coude wel take hem by theyre owne barat/ and also
to thid that his oost shuld haue noo feare therfore he made
to be noysed a bout/that for the nonys he had sent hem biso-
re for to medle and assemble hymself with the enemys / And
for to gyffe a bettre byleue to this thyng he departed soone
and sollded them/ wherby it happed al in effete that wher-
fore he dide soo/ For the aduersaries that salwe the macedo-
nyens compyng wende that hit had be trewe/ and that they
had come ayenst them for to haue the first bataylle / tour-
ned towrad them and bygan strongly to lancle vpon them
and so of force they muste make defenssion whether they wol-
de or not/ And Lentulus was atte that other parte that in
the meane while enuysshed hys enemys/ and by thys ma-
nere of waye he had the said Macedonyens to his helpe wher-
ther they wolle or not in so muche that he had the vptore

C Of Acoriolo duke of Dace of Fulvus nobilis/of
Pamynodas/of Fabius maximus/of Scypion Afry-
can the second/of Xerxes/and yet of Pomodas duke
of Athenes **C**apitulo/ viij/

That tyme that the complayns were in dyscrecyon the
one ayenst the other and duryng the cyngle were/ &
wher dyuerse natyons had syn the tyme of theyre prosperi-
te conceyued a grete enuye and dysdayne ayenst them/ se-
med by especyal to them of dace that the tyme was come
that they might wel reine vpon hem/ And wher they had

dyuers tyme admonested byfor thys theyre duse Acoria
so for to doo soo whiche Wolde not be agreeable therunto / he
atte he last by cause that they pressed hym so sore / and for to
gyue hem a knollage by an example dide make dyuers dog-
ges to be brought byfor hym in a place byfor the palays
and were sette that one vpon that other in so muche that
they bigan strongly to be fyght eche other / But in the moost
strengthe of theyre bataille whyn it semed that they were
moost angry and fyres that nothinge coude departe hem / he
made a Wolffe of whiche he was puruyed a fore to kepe
emonges hem & assoone as the dogges salbe hym they lef-
te the bataille that they had togider emonge hem / and they al
of one accord runne a noone vpon the Wolffe / and by this
example shewed the said duse to his men / that what souer-
re alberre that eyn natyon haue emonge eche other / they
shall not suffre therfore / that a straunger shall hurte hem /
but rather they wold make accord togider for to reue vpon
hym / ¶ Item Fulius nobilis hed capptayne of the ost
of Romayns fonde hym self ones so nyghe taken by them
of Samoyds that nede and force was to hym for to abyde
the bataylle / of the whiche thinge by cause that he knew
wel that his folke were sore a feare by cause that theyre ene-
myes were of more quantyte than they were / he dyde adui-
se hym self for to take awaye theyre feare by thys calvete
He sayd vnto hys folke and made hit to be cryed and pu-
blid through al his oost / that he had tourned vnto hym for
money the herettes of a hole legyon of the Samytes / And
that they shuld joyne with hym whan the bataylle shulde
begynne for to helpe hym / ¶ And by cause they shuld byle-
ue better thys thyng he borrowed of them al the golde and
the sylvere that they might make / as though hit had be for

to prepare the said folke / A legion of men is in nombre vij
thousand vij / C lvi / So it happeth that for hope of this / the
romayns tolke so grete a boldnes in their corages / that they
enuysshed hardely & prondly ranne vpon theyre enemys
Whiche they sond al yngough dysputued by cause that
they preyed hem so lytel / setted nougth by them for cause
that they were so felwe folke to the syght of theym / and so
the romayns Baynissled the Sampes and gate the felde
vpon hem / ¶ Item Pamynodas the Worthy duxie of The
les shulde ones syght ayenst theym of Lacedemonye / So
dide he see in hym self for a subtylyte wherby the strengthe &
hardynes of corage might growe in hys men / He made hem
al to come byfore hym and sayd thus al ahighe in audience
that he wold advise hem of that that to his knowldege was
come for a trouthe / It was that the Lacedemonens had or-
dyned affirmably / that yf they had the viceroye they shul-
de kynde and see al the men and the women of Theles / and
that they shulde dystroye the cyte and shulde take the chyl-
dren in to thraldome perpetuell / For this denoncyacyon
they of Theles moeued with grete yre & anger dide fight
sore as men that sette nougth by theyre lyues and ouercame
the Lacedemonens that more folke were without com-
panyon / ¶ Item Gabius maximus shuld syght ones
ayenst hys enemys and was hys oost enforced ryght
wel with pales and of stonge lodgys wherfore he doubted
that hys folke shuld not syght strongly yngough for cause
of the places wher they had theyre wyrthdraught and refut
were so sure / And therfore he made to be sette all a fyre or
euere he began to syght / ¶ Item whan Scyption the secon
de Affrycan conduyt hys seconde oost in Affryke hit hap-
ped hym to falle to the grounde whan he yssued out of hys

Shippe/he soone behilde the contenaunce of his folke & perceyued that they tolke this fall for an euyll token/ & that they were al redy as dysconforted therfore / Thenne aduyseid the ryght wise werryour in hym self of a wise woorde for to saie wherby he myght gyue surtey to his peple of theyre doubte/he byganne to laugh & sayd boldy/O god be thou preysed here may ye see a good token For I am sesed al redy of the lande of Affrike hpt wyl be myne without faylle / And thus by this woorde he tourned the euyl hope of his folke in to a goode/ the whiche thinge happed after as he had sayd/ Item as pertynus shulde ones haue fought it appiered in his ost a merueylouse signe/ For the sheldes of his men of armes and the brestis of theyre horses becam al couered with blode the whiche thinge was to them occasion of a grete fere/but the valyaunt dukt assurred theym full wel/ sayinge to them with a glade chere that it was a ryght gode token and that by the same they ought to vnderstande that they shulde haue the victorye For thees partyes ben tho that are & ought to be comynly bloody with the blode of the enemyses/ Item pamynodas the wortly dukt of Thyles shulde ones besyght the Lacedemoniens/ and wher the cas happed that the bataylle was somwhat dylated/hys chaere was brought vnto him for to sette a lytel vpon abydyng the olbre of the bataylle/but percase of aduenture hys chaere tourned vndre hym and fille donne besyde/ of the whiche thinge hys folke were muche ab assyed and tolke hit for an euyll betokynge The said dukt thenne whiche rose vp quickeley sayenge vnto theym with a hardy face in thyw wise/ Nowt vp vp lyghtly my gode kyng htes the goddes wen forkele vs the soiourne and tarpence/ For they haue admonested vs by thys to ben for to goo soone to the bataylle / and oure shal be the

Bystorpe/

CHere speketh of the Lacedomynens/ of Julius Cesar/ of
Papyrius cursor & of Pompei/ **C**apitulo viii/

THAT tyme whan the Lacedomynens had werre to they
re espyes for certeyne that the Messynens were so sore set-
te in yre upon them that they shulde brynge to the bataylle
bothe theyre wyues and theyre chyldyn for to haue therby
a gretter corage for to obteyne or elis dye togider / For the
whiche thinge the Lacedemynens with drafte them self
and differde the bataylle/ Item Cesar had ones so brough-
te hys enemys by takiyng of water alwaye fro them/ that
they dyeing for thruste were in dyspeyre of theyreliffe/ and
as they that be forced with a grete rage issud for to fyght
with hym/ but he wold not at that olbre/ but wylde
fayre hys men alwaye/ For hym semed not good that they
shulde fyght atte that tyme whan dyspracyon and wrath
wolded the corage of the aduersaryes/ **I**tem as Pa-
pyrius Cursor shulde ones fyght ayenst the Samytes and
that he knelwe by hys espyes that the more nombre of folke
were hys enemys/ wherfore his men redoubted to deale
wyth theym/ he tolde soone a certeyn of his folke that he mos-
t trusted wyth hym/ and secretly comauanded them to take
a grete quantye of bowes and of rede/ and that they shul-
de dralwe hit after theym from a hye hille wher the
ostes might see hem/ for to styre and moeue therwithall in
to the ayer the pouldre & duske of the feldes/ and that they
shulde make the grettest noyse that they might with all &
as soone that this was woon so and that Papyrius salwe
them he bygan to make a scrie with a hiche voynce so that
hys folke & alle hys enemys heide hit/ and semblably made

to be cryed dyuerse tymes/ that hit was his felowe of armes that he had left in to abussemement whiche had dyscomfyted a parte of hys enemues/ and that they shuld doo so muche that hys felowe hadde not al alone the glorie of the victorie/ And therof it happed as he thoughte for thirby hys men were made hardy and bolde and lost all feare/ And the Sampes that for the greate dust that they salwe flee aboue the erthe wende that it had be a thinge of trouthe / Wherfore they torned theyre baskis and fledd alwaye ¶ Item pompee was in a doubte that a certeyne cyte shulde be more fauorable to his enemyes/ than to hym self/ and that he gaffe them ayde and socoure by fore the stroke / And therfore he reuyred the inhabytantes that they wold receyue withyn hem dyuers syne men that might not folow his oost unto hys retourne ayen for to ease and helpe hem self / And that bothe the golde and sylvere and goodes ynglyght they shulde bere with them for to reward wel theym that shuld receyue hem/ And whan this thinge was graunted Pompee made to be putte in dyuers and many litteres of his best and moost hardy knyghtes bounde and bended as though they had be sore wounded and syke/ and in malles/ and other fardel lages he dyde theyre harneys to be carayed wyth theym as hyt had be theyre gowlens and theyre haunpre/ For the whiche thynge whan thes knyghtes salwe theyre tympe fayrest they ranne vpon the comons and so muche they dyde that they had the maystry of the cyte and so kepte hit

¶ Of Aleynander the greate / of Cesar Augustus / of Crates of Athenes/

¶ Capitulo viiiij/

Whan the grete alexandrie had subdued and ouercome
the thirde parte of Assie by cause he doubted les that
they shuld tourne rebel after his departyng he brought alwa
ye wyth hym all the kynges & prynces of the lande as thou
ghe he wold worshippe theym & principallly such that hym
semed were moost wroth & knyght that they were subdued &
daynquisshed & to the peple that he left there he constytued
and stablysshed certeyne captaynes that he chose out of hem
self And by al thus he gate the loue of the prynces by mea
ne of the Worshipp that he shuld vnto them and eke also
the loue of the comons by cause that he made them to be go
uerned by such of the comynauertee as they were hem self
And thus yf they wold rebell they myght not wel syn
that they had noo captayn For a peple that hath lerned to be
rebelled vndre a hed is noughe worth by hym self And for
to haue them more subgett he dide doo bylde dyuerse castelles
myghe by theyre townes but for to pease them of this dwyng
he garnysshed thes fortresses with theyre owne peple Item
Whan Cesar augustus had subdued al Germanye & that
the Alemanys had yolden hem self to hym he themme for to
bere a more lordshippe ouer theym he bylded many fortres
ses myghe by theyre townes but for to contente hem of this
thinge he boughte the groudene of them whare he sette the sa
yd fortresses For the whiche dede they helde hem self so wel
content that they had hys lordship ryght aggreadable Item
Crates duke of Athenes was lodged in the feldes and he
had but a felde folke but he wylted after a grete seours thus
he doubted les y his enemies y in agreete nobre were assibled
shuld come vpon hym by cause they knew hym feble but
bi cause he wold purveye to thys inconuenient he made to
issye by nyght a grete parte of his folke & comauanded them

that on the morowe they shulde come agayne a longe the ha
gyng of a montayne malynge a grete noyse so that they
myght se therde and seen of theyre enemys that shulde tolwe
that it were som newe socours / And byt happed euern thus
for the whiche symulacyon he alwe sure vnto the tyme that
hys help was come /

Here it is shewed of Lysimachus kyng of macedonye / of
Fabius maximus / of Denys the tyraunt / of Alexander
and of Pphytrates /

Capitulo / iij/

Lysimachus the kyng of macedonye had beseged the ci
tie of Ephese whiche had to her ayde an Archypirate /
that is to say a grete thef of the see that much harme did to
the said kyng & nauye of his shippes he tolde ofte fro hym
a grete quantytie of prsoners / but to this he sondre a remedie
For he dide so moche that he corromped the said towne by mea
ne of money so that he dide fille hys shippes with the said
Lysimachus folke wel garnished with theyre harneys & led
de theym in to the cite as they had se hys prsoners / whiche
soone after by nyght vpon they see theyre fayrest and that
they of the cite tolde non kepe they ronne vpon the spies &
sleve them / so was the towne taken & deluyured vnto Lysy
macus / Item fabius maximus that tyme he beseged capne
he did waste al the corne that que about hit wherbi it seemed
that his entent was not for to besiege the towne / & therne de
parted ferre from the same / & taried his coming thider ayn
vnto the tyme that they had solwed therre landes ageynre
wherto they had employed theyre corne and had but lytyl
kepte / And therne retourned ayn Fabius / And for fal
te of bread gate y stronge cite of capne whiche was famisshed
Item Denys the tyraunt after that he had taken many
fortresses in cecyle / he came before roges whiche he knewe

Wel garnished of vitaille/for the whiche thig they kept hem
stronge/ So seyned Denys to make a peas with them &
that he wold goo to another parte/but in the couenant ma-
de betwene hym and them was comprysed that they shold
delyueren hym bytayllles for hys money vnto a certeyne day
And whan he salve that all theyre vitailles were almost
gon & consumed alwaye wherof they wought not because they
trowed to haue had peas & that theyre landes were almost
ripe for to be reped vp/he cam on a fresshe vpon them that so-
one were famysshed & thus tokie hem/ Item whan alexander
wold take the cite of lencadie whiche he knelwe was stol-
led with vitaille he tokie first diuerte towernes & castelles / &
for the nones suffred the xple that was yme to entre the
said cite of lencadie wherunto they fled full faste/ to thende
þ theyre vitailles shuld the sooner be consumed & goon/ & he
tokie good syde that noo vitaille might com to them / & by al
thus he tokie hem/ Item Mphritates whan he kepte tharente
he founde a watch man a slepe/ & so strake & slenne hym/ and
whan men blamed hym for the same/he answarde that he had
lefte hym as he had founde hym that is to say/ that he reputid
a man aslepe / as for dede /

C Of amulcar duke of cartage/ of haymo Empewore of
affryke/ of hanibal and of balesius Capitulo/ x°/
A mulcar duke of cartage knelwe wel that the romains
were wout to receyue benigneli theyre enemies whan
thi tourned them to theirre parte & that in grete worship they
kepte hem/ & þ specialli the souldiours of gallia/ & therfore bi-
cause that he wold haue them by suche alawaye/ ordyned agree-
te quantyte of them of his oost that he knelv mooste true
to hym/ And made them to goo to the ost of the rommagnys
as they had he rehell vnto hym and wold take parte wyth

the romayns/ So was this subtylste double Worthe vnto
the said duke/ That is to wite in as muche as his enemyses
Were of theym slayne/ and that they durste receyue never
syn noone of the his that wold departe from him/ Item
Haymo emperoure of Cartage had a muche grett oste in ce
cyll ayenst the romayns/ and knelde that in his oste emon
ge other of his folke he had wel fourtousad frenshmen
that were accorded emonge them self for to goo tolward the
romayns for to take theyre parte / by cause that they were
not wel payed of theyre wages/ Haymo durste not punyss
he hem for feare of rebellion/ but he dide purweye thrugh mea
nes of a wyle to this inconuenient/ He called vnto him the
captaines of the said folke & spake faire to them & a promes
se he made hem that within a certeyn daye he sholde make sa
tisfaction vnto them/ but the last day of the terme excepce
one that he shulde kepe his promesse whiche he wold nor con
de not accomlysshe/ Wherefore he wiste wel that they shulde de
parte/ he sent tolward the duke of the oste of the romayns
one of his knighthes that true was to hym as though he
had ronne alwaye as rebelle vnto hym/ that tolde the said
duke that he shuld kepe him self wel/ & that vpon the nyght
next compyng fourte thousand of hys enemyses were poyn
ted for to entre vpon hys oost/ Whereof the romayn duke for
feare lest this shuld happe ordeneid y & the moost partie of his
ost for to watch y nyght the whiche full soone camme vpon
the said frenshmen whan they salde hem come/ & by al thus
cam this wel to passe for haymo for y romain loste there ma
ny of thire folke & was adveged ryght wel of them of galia
y so had goon alwaye from hym for they were al disconfited
& slayne Item by such another manere was adveged han
bal vpon diuers souldiours y he knelde were goon alwaye bi

night fro his oste for to goo to þ romains for he made toke pu
blisched throughe his oste þ noone shuld take nor holde them
that so were departed from hys oste for false nor rebell & þ
they as worthy knyghtis & gode they were so goon alwaye
by his comandement & secret ordynaunce because they shul
de knowe the couue & couseyll of his enemys / & for to do
a certeyne thinge that he had comytted them vnto And this
dide so hanibal because that he wiste wel that the romayns
had som espies in his oste that soone shuld goo tell them
this / and so they dide / wherfore the romayns toke incownty-
nently al thoo that cam from hanballis oste & made they
re haedes to be smytten of & syn they send hem ayen vnto him
Item the hō captaiñs of the romaine folke kept the fortres-
se of tharente and he sent hys messangers to hadrusbal that
had hym beseged / that he shuld yelde to hym the said fortresse
so that he wold late hym goo sauf & hole / But whyle hys
parlyament was kepte by whiche hadrusbal held hym self
as al asseured and euyl watche he sette / valeryus that hys
aduantage salwe lepte out of the castel and with his pollo
er & strengthe ranne wryslly vpon hys enemys whiche he
dycomfyted and slewe the sayd hadrusball / What shold I
saye more of the stratagemes of frontyn many full fayre
ben conteyned in his boke whiche shalde be longe to saye / but
thus much shal now suffice except som fayre notables whi-
che I wil shew that he compyred in hys boke to this propos
Cfrontyn in his fourth boke saith of Cesare domycius of
Emilius / of Scipion Affrycan / & of Gains scipio

Capitulo xi^o

Oesar sayde that men ought to vse ayenst hys enemys
of the counseyl that the leches gyuen ayenst the sygne
ff / That is to wite of dyete & of honger or euere yron be at

tempted / Item domitus carulos said that men ought first
to hurte his enemys by al maneres of Wyllis & subtyltees
of Witte/or enere that the body be exposed thereto / Item the
emperoure emulus paulus said that it behoued to a gode ca-
pytaine of an oste for to be olde of condycions **C** Item sei-
ppon affrycan answered to one that asked hym that litel he
dyde of his handes in a batayle / My moder said he chidde
me as an emperoure/ & not as a syghter/ that was for to sa-
ye/that almanere a capayne or prynce of an ost ought to su-
ffre for to sette & ordene well his folke without to putte
hys body in Jeopardy of strokis **C** Item gayus maximus
answering to an Almanye that called hym to fighthe wylth
hym body ayenst body /

C If my liffe were noy-
ouse vnto me I shuld haue foudne the meanes long syn-
for to haue be slayne / Item scyppon said that men ought not
only to make a waye to hys enemys for to flee/ but also to
helpe hit to hym cleverly / And me semyth that to the propos
of thes thynges may well serue that that the Wyse charles
the fyfeth kynge of Fraunce sayde whan men said vnto him
that agree shame it was that with money he recovered his
fortresses that som of his enemys held and kept from
hym wrongfully/ seyng that he was of myght greate ymou-
ghe for to haue recovered theym by strengthe / **C** It semith
me sayd he that that whiche may be bought ought not to be
bought with manrys blode

C In the booke of Valeryus it is said of hanibal/ of a kyng
of grece/ of another in a semblable cas/ and of the romains
that had nede of soldiours **C** Capitulo/xxij/

D alerius speketh to this propos in hys seuenth booke &
saith that hanibal of whom it is spokyn before/ hated
much the ryght worthy duke fabius maximus because he

constresterd or gaignstode hym in bataylle & bare hym grete
hurtes & domages / And bycause that Hambal coude not let
te nor greue hym with strengthe / he thought to help hymself
ageynst Fabius with subtylete: s & Wylys / he wasted al
the feldes about rome and all the maneres of other prynces
there / except them that apperteyned to the Worthy knyght fa
bius whiche he spared and mysdide them nougth / to thende
that he myght wo undrestand the rommayns by the same
that Fabius had som alyanse or treacie with hym / & Wyth
this he dide yet more / For he secretly wrot certeyn letters and
sent them to rome for to be diretted vnto the said Fabius
whiche leves contyned & spakie as thoughte emong they had
be certeyne conuenant that Fabius shuld comyncte trayson
ayenst the rommayns / and dyde oreynie this thinge so that
the Senate of rome had knowlege therof / But they that
knewe the trouthe of Fabius and the malyce of Ham
bal made no force therof / ¶ Item a kyng of Grece was
somtyme that had enuye of the rommayns and for this cause
& for noon other occasion he hated them sore muche / and yf
theyre grete myght and pouer had not he / he wold gladly
hauie hurted them / And so he knewe of noo waye so to doo
but by barat & symulacyon / wherfore he feyned that te loued
them well / & dyuerse letters he sent hem of humble recomen
dacyon concerningyn the grete & tendre loue that he hadde to
them / And he sent hem woorde atte laste that he desyred sore
for to see the cyte of rome & the noble ordynaunce that was
there / & whan he was come to rome he was greely receyued
as he that was for a frend reputed & taken / But the more
that he there salwe the felycyte & the worship gretter y more
encreased the sorowe the secrete enuye that was hidde wy
thin his stomake / wherof dyde grove suche an effet that he

dyde so muche by hys malice or evere he departed that the ba
rons there he sette to a dysordaunce and debate so that a
grete sedycyon arose anoone emongys hem / ¶ And
thus as he thought in hym self he myght not hurtte the cyte
by noo bettre manere of waye / ¶ Item another that in ly
ke caas haled ryme whan he had made stryffe and debate to
ke thralwen emonge the wommauns that had nece of socours
and toke strange souldyours for to helpe hem / But whan ty
me came that the bataylles shulde mete togider for to syght
the sayd souldyours departed out of theoste of the womma
yns and went vpon the hangynge of a montayne for to by
holde whiche of bothe partyes shulde haue the bettre that they
micht holde with them whan they shuld perceyue that one
partye to be overcome / But to this dyde purveye full wyse
ly the captayne of the wommayns that salwe hys folke afer
de therfore / For he went all along every wylde wchere they we
re renged / Layeng that suchy departyng from hys oost was
doon by hys comauendement of to renne vpon the enemyses
whan they shulde assemble togider / And thus he assured his
folke and hadd the vyctorye /

¶ Of the capitoles of the wommayns that were beseged in
an oste of Quintus metellus kyng of Sezyle and of Ha
nibal /

¶ Capitulo/vij^o /

At that tyme whan ryme was taken of the frenshe
men and that they had beseged the capitole whiche is
a fortresse that can not be taken but ys hit be famysshed wher
fore they kept the wayes that noo manere of bataylles shul
de be brought thither and so wylde make them wythin to yel
de them self or ellis to dep there for honger / But the wom
ayns that somtyme were full substyl in al dedes of werte for
to haue alawaye from theyre enemyses the hope that they had

H i

of the famysshynge of hem/ they tolke of such felde bataylles
as they hadd and lefte therw a grete releff about the bones
whiche with dyuerse reuerspons & small gobettis of brede
they myngled with the fylthes and swepynces of the bonynes
and casted al togider out of a wynnolle wherby whan they
of gallia salve this they merueyld greely wenynge that
they had be wel garnysshed of bataylles/wherfore they fell
in a treacie of peas/ Item whan hanibal and hadrussall
princes of Cartage were with a grete oste in ptalye / the
rommayns sent ayenst them two dukes that ledde grete
ostes whiche dukes kept & maynteyned them so wisly that
the two ostes of the Cartagiens coude not come togider/
For ys they had doon so they shulde by theyre grete nom-
bre of folke haue wasted all the contrey/but the Romayns
dide so muche vpon a nyght that bothe theyre owne ostes
were assembled togider by fore the day that they shulde gue
a bataylle to one of the laid ostes of Cartage whiche was
soone overcome and dyscomfyted/ ¶ Item Quintus metel-
lus beyng in hyspayne with an oste myght not entre by
strengthe in to a towne whiche he had beseged/ And ther-
fore he departed fro the syge and tolke hym to putueye hys
oste here and there and a long espase of tyme he dyde goo
from one place tyl another in so muche that hys owne folke
merueyld therof/ and also hys enemyes dide mocke hym
therfore and tolke hys doyng but a folys/ But so muche he
went doyng al wyses thus / that atte laste he salve hys
poynte whan that his enemyes were very and sore vexed
with contynuel watch/ And so he tolke theym smelware/
¶ Item a synge of Secile was he fought of the Carta-
giens/but whan he salve that they had occupied all hys la-
de and that noo remedye he conde putte thereto he departed

With as many of hys folke as he myght haue and went in
to Affrycie and in lytie wylle there he dide brene and dys-
troye the contrey al about / And for this cause the Affryc-
ayns of Cartage that so had wasted and occupied his con-
try were fayne to make peas with hym and to make hym
amende and restitucion of the dommages that they had do-
on to hym / Item whan haniball shold ones haue fought
ayenst the romayns at the bataylle of Cannes that sore do-
mageable was for theym / he used with thre maneres of cau-
telle / the fyrt was that he toke a place for to fyght where as
he shuld haue the sonne & the wynnde att the backe of hym /
With this he ordyned that after the bataille were bygonne
one parte of his folke shulde make as they flesde alwaþe by
fore a couert wher abusement was for the nones comyt-
ted and sette for to renne vpon the romayns that shuld fo-
lowe the chasse after them that so flesde / And thirdly he or-
dyned that fourt men of armes shuld in lytie wylle flee to-
wardes the romayns / as they shulde feare the bataylle and
shulde yelde them self to them / Chys ordynaunce thus bro-
ught to effecte / and that the bataylle was bygonne / the ro-
mayns were sore troubled and lette by the sonne and by the
duste that toke the syght and also by the sayd buslement
that ouer renned them wher many of theym were slayne /
and thirdly by theyme that had yelde hem self to theym the
whiche after the manere that was therme were dysarmed
and putte out behynd the bataylle / But they hadd couert-
ly vnder theyre lytel doublettes rassers wher wyth all they
dyde cutte the synelwes of the legges of the Romayns
whyle they fought / And thus as Valeryus saith by the
malice of Affricke more than by bataylle was overcome
the strengþe of the romayns /

CHere begynneth to speke of the manere of be fyghtyng
and salwyng of castelles and townes/ And fyrst of the
manere of blydynge of theym/

CCapitulo/ xxiiij.

Syn that we haue deuysed after the bookes of armes
Sand of other more new custome /the wayes that be
good to be kepte in fayttes of batayl that be ren-
ged and sette in array/ We folowyngly shal saye after be
gee and as other Auctours techen / of the maneres and
wayes that be proffytabel and good to be kepte aswell in
fayttes of besyghtyngis and salbynges of Cyters / tol-
nes and castelles as of the defensyng in lytie Wyse of
the same/ And also ensuyng thys matere we shall spe-
ke of the batayllies that be made vpon the see or vpon flo-
des and other fresshe wates/ **C**So deuysed and sheweth
fyrst the sayd Auctour the manere how for the moest su-
rete the auncyent dyde byld theyre fortresses so that they
were closed vounde about wyth stronge walles and wyth
dyches / And by the forme folowyng he techeth hys thus
sayeng / Who that wyl byld a good and a durable place
ought fyrist to take heede to syue thynges / Fyrst he shall
see that the place be of a hyghe grounde yf it may be /that is
to vnde vpon som ryght wel sette and in a good contrey /
But yf the dysposicion of such a place as he hath be not
syttynge / he shall aduyse for to close his eyffice aboue or
atte leste one syde of it with the see or wyth somme ryuer
that may bere shypes / **C**And yf it so happe that the pla-
ce be so conuenable that the see may entre of bothe partes /
the ryuer that shal renne thrugh the townes is muche
proffytabel and of greete socours yf hit can bere shypes/

The seconde that the ayer se there good and holosome and
ferre from plashes of wates and of mares grounde / The
thirde that the contrey be fruytefull and gyuynge abundant
ly al manere thynges that be nedfull to the lyffe of man/
The fourth that noo hylle be so myght that eyn shot can greue
hit / And the fyfth is that the cytuacion of the place be
free and not in boundage / And the same auctour pit sayth
that the wise auncyent made not the cyrcuite of the walles
of therre cytee or fortresse all ryght by eyn Wyth a lyue as
men doo now / For they sayd that the walles so made were
more redy and bettre dysposed to receyue the strokis of al
manere engyns and to dresse by ladders therunto / and ther
fore they made hem crooked Wyse with certein yssues and step
pes welle massonneed and the stones strongly bounden with
lyme and zande / and compassed them squarre to thende that
they myght make defensye in many places whiche as many
strong toures and defensable were thickly sette al rounde
about / And Wyth thys texth the said auctour tolde wal-
les may be doulby shertyfed ayenst all engyns / that is to
wite that two walles of strong stiffe muste be made
wyth an interualle or space withyn forthe of twenty fote
brode fro that one walle to that other / And the erthe that
shal be dygged and taken out for to sette the fondementes
whiche oughte to be made as depe in to the erthe diches aboue
Shal be hadd bettowyng bothe the forsayd walles tyl that the
sайд space of twenty fote be fylded ther wyth all and shal be
trodden and stamped vpon as harde as can be / And the walle
must be fyrist made by aboue / and so thikke and so bro-
de that aleynes may be therre made wyth holes and splytes
that Archers be sette for to shutte and cast therre throughe
al manere of gonne stones and al other shotte / And a

proper place muste be ordeyned and made atte every face of
the walles for to sette gonneis and other engynis for to shu
te without/ys nede be to make deffence / And mayntelles
and barbakanes of tymbre shal be made fast to the batel-
mentes of the walles without forth in manere of target-
tes and pauoyses ayenst the shotte / And the auncyent also
made grete hyrdelles and brode to be tyde fast with chaynes
and with roris to the walles wythout forth that waued &
brake the strokis of the stones that were cast ayenst the
walles with dyuers maneres of engynis/ so that they coude
not hurt nor appayre the walles/ Or elles they made hou-
dys or obstatacles full thyfike of thornes and redy luted
theym wyth deng and stones ayenst the walles whyche by
thys were kept fro brusyng of the grete stones / And se-
dyng watre/brennyng ashes/and al suche other thynges
they had prest and redy for theyre deffence / ¶ The yates
that were made of stronge tymber they made to be couered in
tyme of warr wyth lamynes of yron or wyth ralbe leder
by cause they shuld not be sette on fyre / and therupon they
had a barbakan / And yet was there a hole made thrughe
the walle wherre was sette a portecolls that hanged wyth
rynges and chaynes of yron / so that ys the enemys cam
there they shulde be surpysed and enclosed vnbewarre by
the said proteccolls that men shuld late goo doun vpon
theym / and other holes were also there wherthrough grete
stones and other thynges myght be lached and caste vpon
them / ¶ Item the dyches ought to be made of a grete bre-
de and so depe/ys cas be that noo ryuerre be rennyng there/
that the fortres may not be vndremynd/but ys namely hit
were sette vpon a roche / But the auncyent kept wel they-
re fortresses frome this inconuenyent / ¶ For wyth good

betunlyme and cyment they bonde theyre byldyng so fast
and namely the sondementes of theyre fortresses that they
myght not be perced / Also ought the dyches to be so depe and
so large that they be not of lyght fylled by the enemys / and
som auncient made hem in olde tyme past to be massouned
as a walles by ryght atte the without forth syde so that one
myght not descende hym self a doun theryn / and yet with
thys they strake full thikke al dounward the walles wyth
sharp holes and pyynes of yron that men calle caltrappes
that letten ryght sore them that go doun / the whiche thin-
ges are comonly knowen as I woe / and semblably dyuer-
se other closes and garnisons of defensice / Wherefore it is
noo grete nede as me semeth that I recyte nomore therof
lyn that the maystres of such werkies ben therof wel lerned
and taughit in the tyme present /

CHere deuysed of the garnisons that schouen to castelles
and townes in tyme of warie /

Capitulo / xviiij /

Tytel is worth the strengthc of the walles of a castel
holw wel that hit be garnysshed of al defensable thyn-
ges / whan lacke and faulfe of vytaille is there / ys hit be se-
feged / as it appyered by the stronge place of pnemon that
closed was wounde about with seuen paies of strong wal-
les al made of markele ston / and was sette vpon a roche
and fortyfyed with grete toures al about / that were wel
garnysshed wyth good men of werre / the whiche fortresse
was famysshed by longe settynge of the syge that was lay-
de afore / And by cause that enemys comonly att a syge
force hem self to take alwaye the warre fro the fortresse

H viij

ought to be take heede at the syrste byldynge of the place/but
yf a Ryuer Were there With so grete a streme that hys
might never be tourned another Waye / that goode walles
of swete watre be there made so depe that they be neuere drie
but haue al wayes grete flode of watre / For without thys
the edyfice Were nougat/ And the place whiche as the wa-
tre goo by condoutes/suche a fortres can not be of noo gre-
te strengthe/by cause that such watre may be taken lyght-
ly fro them/ And by this meanes whiche men can not be
Without watre/they myght be ouercomen full soone / And
also Wyth this ought wel they of Wythynne assoone as
that they sele eyn moeyng of Werre/and att al tymes na-
mely they that kepe the bordours and frontyeres /to purueye
for Whete and for meale/for byscute/for salte/ and for woyne
for oyle/for bryngyngre/ and for berius /and for cheseis / and
cupbutyr/pesen/benes/barley/and olys / and fowlyngs that
may be kept Wyth salt and salt fleshe of beffis and moton/
charcolys loggys and bylet salt fysshys / garlyke / and oy-
nons hand myllis and quernes to grynde corne With all/
poleyes / splices/rosewater/almandes/rays/and otemele/and
thinges that be goode for the syke/pottes/pannys/crusies/of
erthe tree/dysses grete and small/talowe/candelles/lanter-
nes/and fallytis Wyth pitch and talbe to makyngh With
all/beddes/lytis/and couerlettes/cuppes/tubbes/ and bocket-
tys/pannes and caldwons/and grete plente of bordes her-
dellis/ropys grete and smal / thred and al suche thynges/
And here it is to be knowen that whiche as salt shold faylle/
and woyne plente/that al manere of fleshe whiche is soden
in woyne and namely Wythout salt may be kept for euere
goode and Withoute coruypon / And yf eyn bynes ben
Within the circuite of the place they ought to be cultyued

dylygently And with this syngulerly ought to be taken he
ede as it is saied by fore that the prouysons and stores
be expended by iuste mesure and by porcyon / For men can
not knowe how longe the syge shall endure / nor what a
crewe of salwyours may com to theym nor what they shall
haue to doo / And therfore at all endes they ought to be curi
ouse to see al wayes withyn theym a good prouyson of
necessary thynges for it is a souerayne surte for them / and
they ought to be wel willynge that theyre enemyes doo kno
we in this theyre astate though it were not so / For they
shulde the soonere be moeued therfore to departe thens / So
ought not also to be forgoten that all thynges without the
fortresse or towne that in ony manere myght helpe or forther
the enemyes / he had alwaye or brought wythinne or euere
they come thidre to lape the syge a fore / And more proffyt
were to the as Begece sayth to sette them a fyre yf thou
myght not haue hem awaie by noon other wise / than for to
leue them there / For al that is helppinge thy enemye is let
tyng & hurt to thy self / And yf it happed saith he / that grete
scarfete of vitailles & deth were emoge thyself & in a doub
te leste they shuld faile or euere the syge shuld take an ende
the olde & impotent men wimen & children ought to be sent in
to som other cites or townes to thende the forsaide vitailles
may laste the lenger / It for the garnyson & stiffe longinge
to the deffense bishouen many gonne & foyson powdore for y
same & grete plente of gone stones / & a grete quantite of cal
trappis balastres quarelles / bowes & arrowes / paueisises
sheldes / sparis / darteres / byllis / & iuelotes axes & al manere
of harnois / & for the engins wipis / ledir / whit / & tanned / a smi
this forge wel garnished of al maner einstrumēt / Yron &
stele / charcolys and belolvys / And for to contremine yf nede
he / muste he had therre pyccsis of yron / shouelles and hamers

And it is gode to make there vedy axenst the engyns Cy-
ment/leeton/ople/pytche/ & soyson of talbe to brende the said
engyns with all stele and yron to makie and forge al man-
ere of harnoys for the men of armes/and maystres that
can gode stile in makynge of the same/ And soyson of tym-
ber to make sherys/demylaunces and other stauys wyth all
And a grete plente of flyntstones or other harde stones
muste be had vpon the batelementes of the walles and tou-
res for to make deffence wyth all/ And also ought to be pur-
veyed for pypes and other vesselles full of quyk lyme that
shal be thralden and shouen a doun vpon the enemynes
that wol clyme vp to the walles to thende that the mous-
thes and the eyen of them that be mooste hardy may be stop-
ped and fylded wyth all whan the vesselles shall breske in
fallyng on the grounde/ ¶ Item behoueth to sucke a gar-
nyson a grete quantite of bordes and herdes / and soyson
nayles and pyrme bothe of yron and of wode for to make
entablementes axenst te walles wþoutforth/ ¶ And for
to saye in generall they muste be wel purveyed and garnis-
hed of lyme/of hande/ of stone / and of plastrer for to
make cloysons and contrefalles /and of carpenters and
massons for to make hpt yf nece were / ¶ Item a grete
stoore muste there be of cordes and strengys for balestres
and long boldes and senelwys and other stiffe to makie
hem wþth all/ And yf yt happed that senelwys myght not
be recoured/ the horses manes and the tayles and namely
the sherys of women are atte a nede full good to make clo-
sowles cordes and strynges wþth all / For wþth thys as
Begece saith the romayns helpef hemself right well whan
Hambal demeined hem so sore & so longe that al manere of
cordes and senelwys were fayled emonge hem/ And thenne

the worthy ladys of wome that had ryght fayre and longe
herte traylling to the grounde and that had at that tyme in
theyre hevys theyre mooste curyouse and mooste playfante
a ppareyll hadde leuere to be defyled and naked from theyre
ryght fayre and yelowe tressys or lokisies for to socoure the
yre cyte with all than to be arayed full fayre with theyre
longe and yelowe hevys and soone to be brought in to cap-
tayne and thraldome vndre the handes of theyre enemys
and therfore they proffred theyre hevys to the archers and
shoters / wherby wome was warauantized and kepte / Item
also they ought to be wel garnysshed wyth hornes of bestes
for to amende ageyne theyre crossbowes / and in lytie wyse of
rable leder for to couere apen theyre engins and therre other
cōffyes to thende that they may not be sette in a fyre and
to see a goode garnyson of men able and expert in al poyn-
tes of armes and good archers wel lerned and taughte in
al that bilongeth to assaulte / and hauyng the waxes of
makyng deffense ayenst theyre enemys / and to be of a no-
bre couenable as the place requireth / For as a prouerle
saith / The walles maken not the stronge castelles / but the
deffense of good folke maketh hit imprenable / and it ought
not to be forgotten that wher as the place is mooste feble
there muste be applied more grete a deffense / For aite that
lyke are the enemys wont for to salwe moost sore /

¶ Of habyllementes of werre / ¶ Capitulo xvij

After that we haue deuyded in generall of many thin-
ges that be al ynough couenable / as well for bytayl-
les / as for deffense that to a garnyson of a fortresse ap-
parteynen ayenst the enemys / ¶ It semeth to us exedy-
ent to shewe now by Juste estymacion partyculer what by-
tayles shulde be suffycyent to a certeyne felawship of men

after the equyppolent of every greate or small garnyson/ For
two hondred men of armes themne and theyre Archers/
that is to wyte two archers to a man of armes / nedeth for
the space of six monethes / $\frac{1}{2}$ / tonnes of Whete after the me-
sure of parys / the thirde parte wherof shal be made and ba-
ken in to bescutte/and the remenant shal be grounden in
to meeke/ Item fourtounnes of beanes and two tonnes
of pezen/six score pypes of Wyne / two pypes of Wynaygre/
and a pypp of Berius/a pypp of oyle/and a tonne of salt/ Two
pound of spycery/two pound of saffron/two quarters of mos-
tardeede and the querne to grynde hym with all/ Item
salt flessh and fresshe/ that is to wyte /C/ oxen what salted
What a lyue that may haue fedynge mynough / an hondred
or six score fletches of bacon/eyght score shewe and a parke
and pastur for to kepe them that may / and pouleylle as
much as men wyl/ Item salt fyssh yf it be in lent or
in such dayes that men eten noo flessh a thousande es-
sye and twentie barellles of heryng and grete soyson of
ling fyssh and haburden a pypp of butter salted/ Two pound
of almaundes/ Two or Three pound of ryz and as muche of ote
melle/rose watre and other thynges that se thoughte gode
for the syke wyth other couenable medecynes as well for
theyre etynge as for to enoynt them wyth all/ Item
y/doseyne of cruises to drynk out/ Two boketts of ledyr for to
dralve watre wyth all and two thousand boketts made
of wood/and two hondred fadom of rypys/ Item for
the kychyne yf it be in wynter two hondred lode of grete
logges/ Six lode of charcolys thre thousand of small fagot-
tys & six m of byllet/ Two doseyne of erthen pottes for potage
& for to sede flessh in hem/six greate calvdrons/ two doseyne

pannes greate myddle and small fyue or six thousand tree
en sponys / two thousand treen dyslles and as many of treen
chers gobletts and cuppes greate & smal / xx/ or / xxx/ belo;
bis lanternes and other small necessaries that men may
be aduyseid of / and that is said nolde afore / Now cometh
to speke of the prouyson vpon the faytre of the defense of
the said place / First atte alre leste / xij/ gonnes castynge sto-
nes wherof two of them muste be gretter than eyn of tho-
ther for to breke engyns mauntelles and other habyllement
es yf it be ned / Item six brycolles and two axyllars ey-
ther of them garnysshed wyth thre slynge and of cordes &
stones plente / Item two or thre spryngalles garnysshed
wyth suche shot as bylongeth therunto / And but yf men
thynde that the gonnes muste be caste to ofteyn / a thousand
poud of gonnes pouldre shal suffyse / or ellis / v/C/ poud mo-
re / and six thousand poud of lead to make pelettes for gon-
nes / viij/ doasayne of sperys wyth theyre bedes of gode tem-
pered yron fourte & tuenta crossbowes vnel garnysshed and byg-
ge fourte & tuenta baldwrys / fourte and tuenta long bow-
es / and fourte and thirty doasayne of strenges for the same
long bowes wyth a houndred sheffes of arrowes / xvij/ thou-
sand small quarellys for crossbowes and / xij/ thousand
of other greate quarelles for bygger shotte / C/C/ gone stones
red made wyth plente of other stonye for to make yf ned
more gonnes stones with all / iij/C/ tampons and tymbre
ynough to make hem with a carpenter for to make them
& suche thinges that shall mistere to be had of his crafte /
fourte massons for to make stones for gonnes & al other vne-
rie yf muste be had of theiri crafte / **X** two horse milles two
oues a forge garnysshed with all suche instrumentas nedeth
thereto with iij/m/half a/m/of steele iij/C/chaldres of see

woolys/iiij/bassens with feet & a tayll for to kendell the sy-
re with/xxx/bordlode of charcooles and/vij/belolwes/ ¶ It
is for the contremyng/xxvij/ pycops /xij/ leuers of yron/
two dosayne of spades and two dosayne of baskettis/xij/do
sayne treen shouellys/vij/grete tubbes & diuers buskettes
¶ Hold a fortresse ought to be stoorred and purueped of
fresshe Watre

¶ Capitulo/xxij;

Where it is so as Begece saith/that a grete proffite & gre
te ease it is to a cite or a fortres whan quyk springes
of fresshe Watre may be there in conduyttes or Welles / Ne
uerthelis ys it so that in som parties the kynde of the gro
unde be not dysposed to noo fresshe Watre/ a remedy muste
erto be hadde to the best/that is to wote yf the fontaynes &
the sprynges be without the walles of the place al most
nygh the cyte or fortresse/it behoueth to theym of withynne
for to kepe & defende theyre Watre with gode shotte & by stro
ge hande/yf cas wher that the enemys wolde kepe hit from
them/ And yf the sprynges be somewhat ferre fro the place/
thenne muste ther vpon be bylded & made a lytel toure defen
sable by whiche shall the Watre molwe be kepte and deffen
ded with the strengthe of men of armes and by shot/ And
with this in all suche cites and fortres oughte to be made
diuers cisternes in suche places wher men may receiuie Ju
ne the rayne Watres that fallen doun a long the thackes
of thappentyzes and houses/ and to kepe them euere more
full of suche Watre and namely of conduitte or ryuer Wat
re/for the Watre is wel kepte in suche cisternes by meane of
the grauell & zande & is ful helsome to be vsed/seblaly sayth
Aristotle that salt Watre of the see or that cometh out of
bytter conduyttes and sprynges becometh gode & sweete yf it
be passed & straygned thrughe pypes made of Ware/ And

moouere is a grete quanteþe of dynaigre muche proffyta
þle to be hadde and namell in Some tyme / For hit refres-
þeth wel the body to dynke hit with watre / Whiche thinge
is ryght wel knownen in ptalye / And yf the fortresse is set
te vpon the see and that salte happe there for to faille / men
shall take of the watre of the see and shal be putte in bessel-
les that shal be of lytel depnes & brode / Whiche besselles shal
be sette to the sonne or vpon a fyre tyl the watre be consu-
med alwaye / and by this manere of waye shal the salte be
fonde in the botome /

Chuld it is of necessite that to a garnyson of a fortresse
be putte gode men and true / And hereto ghueth an ensample

Capitulo / xviij /

En al thinges or the moost parte to shewe and deuyse
that he needfull and couenable to the defense of cytees
and fortresses / it is to be knownen that the soue ayne garny-
son that longeth thereto is of gode & trusty men and that lo-
ue the place wel / For wherre as al thinges were accomplyss-
hed & wel ordred & that this onely thinge shulde be fawtered
all shulde be nouȝt there / to take this for a trouth / and
that a grete euyll may come therby / wherre hemme folowynge
this propos / wherre as ensamples be comonly more penetra-
tyfe in the eeres of the herers than prouffes that be made
by argumentes or reasons / shal bring forth manye one for a
wittenes of the same / And first in referyng that whiche
the other Auctourcs testyfyen and sayen / that is / that the
grettest gode that can be / is peas loue and myte to be had
in a comynalte without diuysyon / and that an ouer harde
thinge it were / that such peple myght be of what someuere
puyssance or pouer dyscomfyted and dystroyed / thys appro-
ueth the ansuere that the wise magicien tinselby madeninto

Seypyon whan he axed hym hool it might be that they of
the cyte of Mynrence hadde kepte hem self so longe ayenst
the puyssance of the rommayns/he sayd that it was by the
ryght grete concordaunce that was emonge hem /and with
peas & vnyte is also ryght good to be had in a fortresse or
cyte such prynces or soueraynes that oþre grete fauoure &
a loue to the place/as the noble Camillus Wel shelved that
souerayne was of the rommayns oþre whan that Breny-
us of Iowae had dystroyed the cyte of ryme by Werre and
Went alwaye wþþt proyes and grete rychesse But the said
noble men not wþþtstandynge that the rommayns hadde exil-
led hym wrongfull out of theyre cyte /whan he knewe
the grete myshaphe he was full sorȝy/And gadred soone of
folke al that he myght do for he was of a grete auctorite
and went ayenst Brenyus that noo keþe toke of hym/and
kylde a grete parte of hys peple and hym self putte to flight
and a grete hauoyre he dyde conquerre there of the whiche he
kylde ryme ageyne and brought in aþen with hym theym
that were banysshed/And for this cause he was called the
seconde Romulus/And eyn thus as a ryght grete good
Joye and gode happe is or cometh to a cyte whan she is in
peas and vnyte within her self/ryght so/all euyll / desolacy-
on and parell is there in tyme of dyscorde and of discencion
the whiche thinge is her totall and veray destrucion / as
namely saith the holy scripture/ For by dyscorde and alter-
cacyon cometh and arþseth comynly a grete dyfferten and
contencyon amonge the comynaltee of a towne/ that is to
wite throughe cause of pryme and of arrogancie one ayenst a
noþer by enuye and by couetysse wherof may noo good to
me/as it happed in ryme of theyre bataylle cynde that to the
rommayns was so gretly priuycyable that al most they

had vitterly vndoon & dystroyed hem self therby for the grete
pryde that was in theyre prynces that is to vnde Scilla &
Marius to whome were come to ayde of two parties pom:
pe/Pertorius and Marius that oþre hyghe men were of
grete proesse and auctorite In whiche werre were slayne in
dyuers batailles or euere hyst ceassed/as Recounteth the his:
tory/xxvij/ of theyre prynces that were hed captaynes / syg
of theyre souerayns and / xl / high barons / & of the romayn
peple/C/ thousand without other straugers that were to
theyre ayde/ So ought wel to se eschewed such an euyll &
acursed contencyon and debate

C Of the same/

P Et to this propos of putting trusty folke in to castel
les & cytees / and that gode keþ ought to be taken that
they be not ouer muche couetous/as by thys manere of wa:
ye many cytees and townes haue ben betrayed solee & rob:
bed/ It apyreteth by thensample of the cyte of Sinopen that
was grete stonge rich and full of peple/ Whiche Mytryda:
tes the kyng had taken to two knyghtes that he reputed
good and true to hym/ But full euyll they kepte hit/ For
them self wþþ theyre folke dyspoylled it/ and after that they
had sette hit a fyre they fledd and went alawaye/ Wherof a mer
ueylouse aduenture happed For therme as the duke of the
oost of the romayns dide arryue there for to sette his siege bi
fore the towne/he had grete merueylle what that myght be/
And whan the cas was tolde hym he made to calle atte the
yates/ and whan the yate was open he gyuing to them of
the towne gode asselvorance/ made his owne folke to putte
out the fyre/ And thus was werred the sayd Sonopen by
hem that shulde haue kepte hit sauþe/ And sooured and
holpen by them that twold to haue dystroyed hit a noone/

CItem that conetouse folke may se of grete hynderaunce
Unto a cyte or castelles / It appereth by the wordes of Ju-
gurta the slynge of Mumpoye that a grete enuye and co-
uerd hate bare to the commayns hydd vndre coloure of fe-
yned loue / but for to deceyue hem bettre he gafse grete ges-
tes Unto the pryncypalles of them / and in this doynge he
selved sedycyon and dyscorde emonge the cytzeyns / And
thus werred them theyre ennemys that they reputid for a
frende Wythout that they perceyued it nor were alware the-
wif tyl that at hys departyng fro wome wher he was by fychyon
of grete loue he was come / he coude not kepe hys herte that
was swollen wyth enuye / but he muste caste out suche alwor-
de / Thys stronge cyte were lyghly to be taken who that
hadde ynough for to gyue / **C**Wyth thes thynges is to
wyte that many a tyme is happed a grete Inconuenient in
cyttes and landes / and namely in an ooste by cause of gre-
te quantite of strangers / as hyt happed in Rome in the ty-
me of theyre conquestes wher they had an use to take in
seruice wyth them the prisunners that they tolde for to doo
suche occupacyon and besynes as they wold sette hem for to
doo / **C**Wherof it befell that ones so many they had / that
more than twenty thousand arose togyder as rebell ayenst
the commayns and bare them muche grete commayng or
euere they coude come at an ende for to destroye hem / But
after thes thynges thus sayd whiche may serue for ensam-
ple we shall retourne to the fyrt propos

COf seyenge of a syege / and of salwyngys of fortresses
CCapitulo/ix^o

When the tyme is come that an ooste cometh to laye a
syege before som cytte or fortres / whiche tyme ought

commonly to be yf the he capytayne be wyse in the season of
hervest or soone after/bi cause that thenne it is to hym pro-
fytable for two reasons/One is/that he shal fynde more of
bytaylles vpon the feldes/and that other bi cause that he
shall greue doulby hys enemyes/that is to woyte by syege & as
saulte and by takiyng alwaye fro them theyre come/ and
theyre woyne and theyre other bytaylles whan they shold ga-
de theym for to fourmysshe theyre towne/ And he shall see
that hys ost be lodged the moost nere that he may/ and shall
wel aduyse afore the gounde and the sytuacion of the place
yf he be not by some other suffisauntly therof informed/to
thende that the syege be layed best to his advauntage for to
dresse hys engyns vpon a conuenient gounde/and to ad-
vise what parte he shal best gyue assaule/ And yf it semeth
hym best he shal doo make about the ooste good dyches and
shall fortefye the gounde abouthe Wyth pallys as it were a
fortrees/to thende they may Wythstande to them that might
comme for to reyse the syege/or namely to theym of the cas-
tel yf they yssued out ayenst them/ And yf it be soo that
of all sydes the place may be beseged/the lettir it is / but yf
there be eny hylle or som other thyng that letteth/ Neverthe-
les to al the partyes that be playn shal be made trenchez
or pallys fro one syege to that other / so that they of Wyth-
yne may not yssue out Wythout daunger / And from al
sydes he shal ordyne semblably swbre deffense and good
watche atte every owre/ And so shal aduyse by what ma-
nyere the place is mooste prenable/ And yf it be to be sca-
led he shal fyrt late make doulble ladders as many as shall
nede/and shal make to be had alwaye Wyth the shot of en-
cynes al that that letteth of the walles/and therme shall the
ladders be sette vp that shal be armed at the uppere ende Wyth

grete hokes of yron that shall a gryxe the batelmentes or
fensynges of the walle/ and the neder ende shal be harness:
ed wyrth sharp sydes of yron whiche shal be sette depe in to
the erthe to thende they be not ouer thraben doun by them
that defende the towne/ And forthwyth of all sydes shal
begynne the assalote/ ¶ And yf vndremynnyng semyth
hym goode/goode wherlymen that can skylle shal be sette to
werke for to delue vp the erthe/ and they shal begynne so
ferre that they of Wythyn shal not by no waye see the
men that bere out the erthe/ ¶ And so depe shal the my:
ne be made that hit shal passe vndre the dyches whiche
shal be vndre shored wyrth good tymbre tyl that they com:
me to the fondelementes of the walles or lader/ And by
thys maniere of waye they shal fynde the meane to entre
ynne yf gaynsayde be not don to hpt/ ¶ And wyle thys
vndremynnyng is a dwaynge the wylle Capplayne ought
not to be styl lest they of Wythynne sele or vndrestande
by theyre scowlewatche the sayd vndremyners/ But shall
trouble and vex them wyrth dyuers and contynuall as:
salotes/ so that the noyse the dwaynge and the bruyt shal
stop theyre heyringe/ For strokis of crosbowdes thyssker
than flies/ Bombardes/ and gonneis wyrth the horryble
solone of theyre stones caste ayenst the walle/ the noyse
of the assalotes/ the solones of Trompettes and the feare
that they haue of them that cleme vp the laders shal gyne
hem pouge to do/ and so they shall not be lytyl occupied/
¶ Item and yf it hap that the said mynres may perce
the walles wyrthout they be perceyued/ they shal soone set:
te on a fyre al the tymbre and shores that they haue sette
vnder the walles whiche shal therme breke and fall
doun al at ones/ and thus shal entre the towne the men of

armes/ And yf thys thyng can not helpe by cause of the
grete strengthe of the place and of the grete garnyson/ the
wyse capptayne that desyred to haue hyt shal seke by ano-
ther manere of waye for a remedye therunto/

CHere begynmeth an ordynaunce of kyngene of a syge &
slayneth that whyche behoueth thereto for to salvere a ryght
strengthe place after the tyme present/

Capitulo/xxv/

What that degere vpon whos booke of knyghthode we
haue founded the most partie of thys present Werkie
hathe spoken in general termes after the manere and usag-
e of the preu auncyent conquerours past ymough suffi-
fauently to goode vndestanders of the thynges of armes/
As well in this that toucheth or may touche faytes or de-
des of batayle and of that that dependeth therof / as of that
whyche blyongeth to assaylle Castelles and townes by
see and by lance/ As it shal be sayd hereafter/ **N**euerthe-
les for to gyue a more particuler vndestandyng / not to
theym that knolle hyt / but to theym that in tyme comynge
shal molde reue and here it desyryng the knowlge therof/
Where the scripture in bookes is a thyng perpetual as
to the Worlde/ it semeth me goode to adde in thys oure sayde
Werkie more particulerly thoo thinges that be goode and
propyre to assaylle Cytties Castelles and townes after
the manere and waye of the tyme present for to gyue therof
a more Intellygyble exsample/ And ryght so and sembla-
bly that in the thynges sayde and to be sayde we haue holpen
vs of the sayntes of the booke of degere and other Aucto-
riores/ We shal in thys helpe vs of the counsayll of the

Wyse knyghtes that be expert in the sayde thynges of armes/ And what that therof a grete lalde shulde apparetynge to theym wher as they be wel dygrie of honoure and reuerence assywell for thys cause as for other bounitez Wysecomes Worthyngesses of knyghtode and noble / vertues that ben in theym/ It pleaseþ not to theyre humlynto to be aledged nor named/ Wherfore they that shall rede or here thys fayre ordynaunce that foloweth shal not therfore despise hym/but shal be content of the same / thyngyngh þ dommage it were that the feblenes of a lytel paper that wotþ in a lytell tyme shulde haue brought to nouȝt the mynde and remembraunce of so notable ordynaunce whiche is wel worthy to be enregistred to thende that it may be socourable namely in thys roialme yf the cas in tymme to come besell/ Soo shall we suppose hemme a ryght stronge place sette of one parte vpon the see or vpon abygge þuere grete stronge and ryght dyffycyle to be taken as such there be to whiche men wyl laye a syege by grete appareilles hold long that it lasteth/ ¶ And vpon such appareilles and ordynaunce as longeth thereto we shal fyrt speke of the gonne and engyns/ That is to saye two grete engyns and two other mydelbare flyghynge garnysshed and redy of al thynges for to caste/ ¶ Item fourre Coyllardes all welve garnysshed and abled of alle thynges hauyng ech of them two cables & thre slyngis for to chaunge whan nede shal be/ ¶ Item fourre grete gonne that one called Garyte/ that other rose/ that other Senecque/ and that other Maye the fyrt castynge aboue þre hondre pound weyght/ The secound castynge aboue foure hondre/ And the other two aboue two hondre or moore/ ¶ Item another gonne calle Mountfort castynge thre/ C

pound weyght / And after the maystres the same is the
best of all / Item a brasyn gonne called Artyckie castig
hondre pound weyght / Item xx / oþre small gonnes
castynge pillettes of stone / It dýuers other small gonnes
castynge pyllettes of leed and comon stones of hondre or viij
score pound weight / Item two other grete bombardez & six
lesser / Item two other grete gonnes ech of hem castynge a
bout iiiij / pound weyght and fourre small / The other
gonnes wherof one grete and two lesser / Item xxx / other
gonne stones castynge som two som thre and som fourre
C/pound weight and ly/ other small / And they all ought
to be stufed with fete of strong tymber and of al that that
longeth thereto / the whiche forsayd gonnes sen in Some / cc
xliij Whiche distynctly be named by cause they be dýuersly
sette and ought to be so / after the sytuacion of the fortrees
Here deuyseth of the gonne pouldre that longeth to the
sayd gonnes and of other stiffe

Capitulo / xxj^o

Erst: xxx: M: pound of gonne pouldre wherof the half
muste be in stiffe / Item thre thousand sackies of char
colys made of wilow tree / two: M: sackies of charcolys ma
de of oke tree: xxx / bassenettes ech of hem with thre fete &
wyth a longe taylle to kende the fyre for the said gonnes
& xxvj felolbos / It for þ said gones to carpe fro one place to
another to ech of hem a longe cart for to carpe the sayd pou
ldres & other habyllementes / xxvj short cartes ech of hem wyth
thre horses & garnysshed of that that longeth thereto / Item
fourre or fyue hondred taponis of tree for the said gonnes /

C Capitulo / xxvij^o

Erst six grete mantelles for the said six grete gonnes
Feythre of hem of viij fete brode and of viij fete of heighthe
And of two fete thickhe / Item two grete flatte mantelles

either of them of xxvij fote of lengthe and of xxvi fote of
height / & they shal be made al of tymbre of half a fote square
& of white bordre five inches thick & five wohles of elme tree
to enrich of hem with dyches atte every side / Item another
greate mantel with a pointe like to the two other mantelles
& men shall make whan they wil haue one alone of thees
three / & v other small mantelles either of them of viij fote
of lengthe & of ix or xij fote of height whiche shal be of the fa-
ction of the six greate mantelles aboue said / & eche of them shal
haue a litel wicket open for to shote a gonne whan ned
shal be / & shal the bordre largely be thickis fourc inches & euery
one shalbe vpon thislike sledwohles / & two other mantelles
that shalbe al vpon wohles in manere of cariage made lyght
bordre of an inch thickie or ther aboute with shal serue to ke
pe fro the shot whilis the other shalbe a settinge / & two other
mantelles with pointes either of hem sette vpon viij sledwoh-
les / & more euere viij greate mantelles for the said greate en-
gyns & coillardes whiche shalbe made of timbre half a fote
square every mantell containing / xxvi fote of lengthe & xvij
fote of height / Item two greate Instrumentes with armes
for to lifte and dressee vpon the for said engins

C Of the habillementes for to conueie & arriu the thym-
gee that ben nedfull to an assalote **C** Capitulo xxvij
T he haue al redy supposed before that v fortrees to v whi-
chis this ordynaunce shalde be made for to lay siege to it /
shulde be sette of one parte vpon the see or vpon abigge riue
re / & therfore we may yet suppose that v said habillement
shulde be made in som forest moost next / & that in ship-
pes & other vesselles the watre might be conueied & arriu-
ed to the felde wher the ost is or in som other place nyghe by
Soo shal we say of the other engyns conuenable to dralde

out of the shippes the ffer the stones v pipes & other thiges
first an engine for to dialbe the stones out of the shippes &
to charge them vpon cartes for to carie them there as the go
nes be & there as nede shulde be/ Item litel cartes called marty
mettes for to carie the mantelles & the tymbre that serueth
for v engins from the shippes vnto the place whiche as ther
shal be dressed/ Item two grete long cartes with fermentes
for to carie v rodres of the engins fro v shippes to the place

C Deuised of oþre habillementes that behouen C/viiij

In the said forest moost next as it is said shal be ordeyned
to be made v/C/v/l paleborde called penelles ei:
thre of them of viij fete of lengthe & of viij fete of brede & a
moulen theere v/c/v/l penelles to a/m/vij/c/fadom & to eue
ry penell bilongen two trestelles wherof the one ende muste
be mortised within the penell or palebord & at the other en
de ben two fete & they muste be garnisshed with hredellis for
to makie the aleies & weies to go ouere/ Item v/c/v/l penel
les for litel pales of v fete of heigthe & of viij/in brede whiche
v/C/v/l penelles makien vij/C/fadom/ And by thadwys of
them that best can skyle thees forsayd paleborde shal be set
te and dressed to what parte that they wil for to makie bas
tylles and bolwerkes after the counsell of the maistres
of the werkies/ And to the sayd bastylles muste be made
fourre pates/ and vpon every pate dyuerse defences and for
tysfycacyons made after the manere of toures and other
batellementes defensable wounde aboute for to wyth stande
as wel the gonne shot as the shot of crossbowes and other
shot/ Item with this shal yet be made fyue C/trestelles of v
fote of lengthe and eighte of heigthe whiche shal serue
to makie aleies vndre couert for the sayd mantelles and for
the belvfray that men shal makie v nede be/ Item viij/M hir:

tellis for to couere the said tressellis and mantelles and to
make bollwerkes with all yf it be nede or other thynges
that sen necessary Item of pynnes of wode to ioine the sa-
id palys with eight tonne full or ther aboute Item more
uerre with thees thinges shal be made a grete baerne with
in the said forest that shal haue xvij fadoms of lengthe &
eight of brede for to putte in the mylles & other necessaries
for to serue them of the ost & that shal be ordeneid for the sa-
yd bastille

¶ Capitulo xxvii

First CC/crossbowes / xxx/ other crossbowes with a
tourne or polye / & C/ other with a boke/ II/CC/M
quarelles / l/ thousand other quarelles called sonday-
nes or grete shot / viij/ tournes al nelwe for to kende crossbowes
with all / II/c/c/c/hadbowes eithre of them garnished with
thre strenges / l/ oþre tylooles for to kende crossbowes & / l/ ba-
wocers / II/c/c/c/l/ of thred made of senewis for to make
strenges for bowes. II yet beside this for a stolbre / viij/ C
strenges for the said bowes Item : viij/ M : awlves

¶ Other habylmentes of Werre ¶ Capitulo xxviii

Fpanes of vbi fote of height strongly yroned with gree-
te bendes of yron for to be pight in to the erthe. II xvij C
touteauls or pitched ropes for to brene within the sayd fyre
panes. II viij C axes of Werre facioned assywel after fal-
ken wise as other. II for the mine fourre. C picoses a M
shouels of wode viij/c scoldpes for to uoide watre with all
vj grete hokes of yron with two bockels to eithre of them
II m 8 c baspaners al garnished CC laternes II m of
grete yron pynes of a fote & a half of lengthe & viij c of other
lesser pynes of yron II viij barrelles full of nailes wherof v
nailes of one halfe of half a fote legþe þ other of viij inchis

that other of thre Inchis and that other of two Inchis /
Two ropers/two boulchers /two Whyle Wryghtes/two
tourners for to make tampons/two or iii thousand of yron
two long cartes laden with Elme Wode for to make the sa
yd tampons with ly/bondelis of style/ly/chaldernes of see
colys two hundred fathomes of charecolys/two thousand po
und of wop thred for the topys of the engyns / Item for
the boulchers/yl/coldes skynnes talled and dressed for to ma
ke the slyngeis of the engyns/xxviii/skynnes of Whyle ledder
for to make girdels to the said slyngeis/ Item for the whi
le Wryghtes shal be taken Wode as muche as they shall my
tre oute of the forsayd long cartes/ Item for to kepe the
ropis the thred/ the ledder the yron pyntes and other thyn
ges necessary to the engyns shal be made redy/ xiiii/ tonnes
wyth lockis and keyes to eithere of them/

Here folowe the gonne stones **C**apitulo/xxviii/
Eirst/ C/ and I/ stones redy dressed for the gonne called
Mountfort / Item six score stones wounded and redy
dressed for the grete gonne/ Item iii/ C/ other stones for the
small gonnes/ Item vi/ C/ other stones for the said gon
nes that shal not be made wounde/ Item for the engyns/iii/
C/stones al redy dressed for to cast/ and syue or syg/ C/ that
shal be but squared/ And all a mouten to the some of two
thousand ii/ C/stones or ther aboute / Item six thousand
of leede for to make pelletes

The smalle habillementes for to salwe by waye of vn
dremyng **C**apitulo/xxviii/

First a/ C/ fote and fyfty leuers of yron/xxvj/ Joukes for
lrygges to make with all fourre & twentie grete strong
ladders of double steppes for to susteyne fourte men of ar
mes vpon all of a fronte of /xxxvj/or xl/ fote of lengthe

and to every of thees ladders moost be ordeyned thre poule
pes atte the vpper ende **I**tem vi/or/vij/other ladders of
xxviii/or/xxvj/fete of hexghte and other smaller

Che squarre tymbre to make that that foloweth

Capitulo/xxxvii/

For to make a Werly hole that men calle a barked
catte/and a belvfray that shal haue ix/fadome of leng
the and two fadome of brede/and the said catte six fadome of
lengthe and two of brede/shal be ordeyned all squarre Wode
for the same aboue fourte hundred fadom a thousand of bor
de/viij/volles and a grete quantyte of smalle Wode / The
naylles that seruen to the same as lyre aboue is wryton **I**tem
six maltes eueriche of thre score or foure score fete of lengthe
that shal serue to the sayd belvfray and catte after the was
ye that oughte to be ordeyned / **I**tem fourte hundre mylles
whiche shal haue but two volles and every volle shal wo
tourne two mylles/and they shal be sette wrythyn the barne
aboue sayd / **I**tem fourte barrelles of taloweth for to enoyn
te the engyns/cartes/mantelles/mylles/and that that shal
nede / **I**tem thre dosaynes of poleys of Wode/and/vij/other
poleys of copere

Che weramen necessary for the sayd habyllementes/

Capitulo/xxxviii/

Eist for the engyns to every engyne foure persones
one emonge other besyde the mayster/and the massos
that muste be had there/that his to wite two/ **I**tem six
hundred carpenters that shal be ordeyned for to lyfte and ac

veyse vp the bastylle / the mantelles / felbstays and cattes
and other habylmentes / Whiche carpenters shal be ordyned
ten and ten / and constables and bynteners shal there be
Upon hem that by ordre shall departe them to the knyghtes
for to dresse vp the palysses there as they myster to be sette
by the manere declared herafter / Item six / C / other men
that shal gyue axe to the sayd carpenters whiche shal be
semblably sette by ordre of nombre / Item two thousand
labourers for to make trenchz and the dyches about the pa-
lysses and other necessary thynges the whiche shal be sette
e ordred as aboue is said / Item shal be ordyned a son-
dere knyghtes and esquyers such as men wil chuse thereto
Wherof eyther of theym shal be charged and comaunded for
to make fyue penellys of palysses to be sette vp and to ma-
ke dyches rounde aboue / And euerych of hem shal haue
ondre hym a dyzener of carpenters and a dyzenet of
helpers and also thre dyseners of laborers for to make the sa-
me / And syx cartes with the carters for to carpe the said pa-
lysses fro the shippes wher as they shal be briladen out as
it is said vnto the place / And eyther of the forsayd knygh-
tes and Esquyers shall haue by wrytyng the names of
theyre dyseners whiche in lyke wise shal gyue by wrytyng
the names of all theyre felawes / And shal every dysener
haue for his felaweship onely a cressette or fyre parme set-
te vp every ryght garnysshed with / L / tourtellis to brenne
and holde lyght with all / And ther shal be certeyn folke co-
mytted of whom they shal haue the names for to deliuere
hem shouels pycosis and spades / Item for the gonniers
shal be appoynted / L / Carpenters and twentie labours for to
sette theyre mantelles for to moeue and sette theyre gon-
nes / and for to make trenchz & dyches of whiche carpenters

and labores they shal haue the names and reboltes shal be
there commytted for to rebolle them/ And they shal haue the
yre olone cartes by them self for to carye theyre gonne &
theyre habyllementes fro the shippes vnto the place/ Item
they that shal haue the rebolle ouer the copillardes shal haue
with theym/ xx laborers for to pight thees engyns and thei
re mantelles in to the erthe and for to make trenches and dy
ches a boute/ and they shal in lyke wise haue theyre cartes &
folke by theym self/ And by semblably manere shal be ordeyn
ned hym that shall haue the charge and the rebolle of the gre
te engyns/ Whiche shal haue onely for hym self/ vij/ long
cartes/ ¶ Item to them that shal be admytted and ordeyn
ned for to rebolle/ kepe and dystrybue the gonne pouldre/ ar
tyllere and other habyllementes shalbe deliured for to carie
them/ viij/ long cartes/ And the other nombre of cartes shal
folowe for to bryng & arryne the vitailles fro the shippes
vnto the oost/ and other necessary thinges/ ¶ Item to hym
that shal haue the charge of the mantelles shal be deliured
xxv/ cartes for to carye the said mantelles and the tumber
that nedeth thereto from the said shippes vnto the place/ and
¶ Werkmen after the ordynaunce aforesaid
¶ Here deuyseth of the bytayles and habyllementes and
of kepers of passages/

¶ Capitulo/ xxxv

Wyth thees thinges shal there be ordeyned certeine knygh
tes or esquyers notable folke also well for to kepe the
portes and the passages/ as for to conueye the said thinges
to one of whiche shalbe comanded for to kepe the passage of
the ryuer with a hondred archers and / CC/ pynkates/ and
shalbe deliured vnto hym/ C/ paueyses/ v/ gonne and the
pouldre that behoueth thereto/ ¶ Item another knyght or
squier shalbe charged for to lede & conueye six score vesselles

or ther aboute laden wyth bytaylles and of artyllery / gonne
nes paueyses and other habyllementes / and shal haue wyth
hym two hundred men of armes a hondred balesters and / &c
carpenters all archers of yt may be / Item another knyght
or esquier sage and experte shal conueye the grete shypes
wherynne ben the grete gonne / the coyllardes and engynis
bytaylles and all habyllementes / and shal haue wyth hym
a hondred men of armes & a hondre men of shotte / ¶ Item
for to conueye the bytaylles that shal come by lande and
other nedfull habyllementes shall there be ordeyned ano
ther notable knyght or squyer that shal kepe the marchaun
tes bytayllers that they be not wobled nor espoylled and shal
haue wyth hym two hondred men of armes / a C / crossbowes
and a hondred archers / And of another parte vpon lande
shal there be another that shal conueye semblably the forsayd
necessary thynges that he shall haue wyth hym men of ar
mes and of shotte after that it shal semme gode to be doon /

¶ Deuyseth of other habyllementes ¶ Capitulo / xxxiiij /

Other knyghtes and esquyers / vi / or / viij / wise and ex
pert in armes shal be chosen and stablysshed for to chu
se and aduyse the place wher the syege shal be leyde and the
bastille sette vp / and also of engynis / gonne / and other ha
byllementes / Item there shal be ordeyned mareshallers for
to departe and deale the lodgyses to the best that may be doo
and to see that the bytaillers and marchauntes may be lod
ged at large and wel & also folke of crafte to thende the ost
may be the better serued / ¶ Item there shal be a crye made in
al the towernes there about that men bryng bytaylle from
all partyes in to the ost and the gode men shal be wel
payed and kepte from alle dommage / ¶ Item another
crye shal in lyke wyse be made vpon peyne of dethe

that none mysoo nor hurte by noo manere of wyse in noo
thyng the sayd btytayllers / crafty men and marchauntes
and noo thynges be take fro them wþþout money / And al
so that noone be so hardy to sette hys ware at a higher pri
ce than Reason and tyme requyret nor to selle them for to
be borne out of the oþre

CDeuyseth the manere for to lette and kepe the hauen fro
the enemys Capitulo xxxviii/

By cause we haue said here by for to assayle a
fortresse grete and stronge of whiche the one syde is
þpon the see or þpon a grete ryngere / were expedyent the for
said appareylle to be hadde / It byhoueth also to aduyse haw
thayds and socours that by the see myght come to the sayd
fortreses myght be letted / It is to be knowen therin / that
there muste be hadde / y/o / xij / grete olde vesselles of the see
that shal be charged with stones as muche as they can bere
whiche vesselles thus laden shal be broughte in to the hau
ne of the said fortres or tolbone and there they shal be dro
ned so that they shal compryse and sylle all the said hauen
that noone other manere of shippes shalle mowe come theryn
ne for to approche the said fortres noþer by floode nor
by hygh springe of watre / **A**nd for such vesselles to
conveye by cause noo lettynge tolde be putte thereto there shal
be a gode captyne ordyned that shal haue with hym fou
re thousand men of armes and fyue hundred men of shot or
moo / whiche shal be in other shippes and shall dralwe after
hem the sayd shippes so laden with stones / And if eny gyte
wharffe or eny brygge were ther or som other grete ryngere
þerby the dyches were fylled / this felawship myght breke
þt therwhiles and gyue an issue to the watre for to haue
hyr cours to another parte / And þpon the sayd shippes so

dwellured as it is said may be made two bastilles that shul
de be made in manere as bollwerkes / that is to wite an edy-
fyce made with grete tymbre as highe as men wil / Whiche
may soone be doon that hath helpynough and thyss bastylle
muste be aduironned with hirrels aboue and dabbled therin
with erthe and clay therupon / and it may be sett vpon
wheles / And this edyfyce ferreth nother fyre nor stroke of
gonne by cause the pellettes and stones that are shot folow-
dyn depe in to the erthe that softe is / nor fyre may not take
thereto / And the bastille of whiche is spokien before made
with palisses ought to begynne atte this bastille made of
erthe / And thus to goo wounde aboue the fortres or tolone
wher that may com from that one bastylle made with palisses to
that other bastylle made of erthe / And al thus by takynge
alwaye of the ryuerre and to doo after this manere of the pla-
ce be so dysposed the dyches shal be made depe / And wþt
thyss men shall molwe make a gytee aboue the toun in ma-
nere as bollwerkes as it is said / by cause noo gonnes nor
noo manere of shott shall hurte the ost / And by al thus
men shall molwe myne the castel or tolone syn the water is
takien from hym / and when the catte and the felofrais shal
be lefte vp and dressed / and that the gonnes shal haue bro-
ken the walles / then shal men surely assayle

Conuyse the engyns that be couenable to the fayntes of
assalutes / **C**apitulo/xxxviii/

And it is to be knowen that for to saloute all stronge
places there ben fyue pryncipall engyns as Degerre
sayth by the whiche men may take hem / that one is that sa-
me of whiche by force of a pouldre made of charcolys Salt
retre / brymstone and such mixtions that behouen thereto are
caste by grete strengthe so grete stones that they bruse and

Shouen a dwine all walles/honse/toures /and all that they
recontre and of them be some of metueylouse force that one
more than that other / Item men maken another engyne
Whiche after is called as Begeete saith mosselle or motelle / &
is made as a flatte honse and large/ and couered wyth hors-
dunge because that noo stones nor noo fyre may hurt nor
grpeue hit/ and it is made vpon whelkes and may be carped
Where men wil / Within this engyn are folke hidde that dra-
we after them braunches of trees and all thynges that be
good to fylle dyches withall / by the same waye men may
use therof in such a cas that wil wherby alwaye shal be gy-
uen to other engyns to be broughte vnto the walles / Item
the thirde engyne is called Mowton/ and is made of tymbre
in manere of a house couered aboue vpon whiche couerynge
and all wounde aboue are napled wylk hydes and all wete
and fresshe by cause fyre shal not molwe take thereto / In the
forefronte of thys honse is a grete maste that hath the en-
de couered with yron grete and massy Men dralve this ma-
ste with chaynes / and it is made by such manere that men
may shoue it forthe and wythdralve hym ayen so that they
that be within the engyns may smyte grete strokis with
this maste ayenst the walles and so shaken that they be all
astorped wyth all / Whiche engyne gyueth hys strokis
even soo as a rame doeth whan he reculeth a bax for to hur-
te wyth hys hornes / and therfore is thys engyne called a
Mouton/ ¶ Item the fourthe is called Bygynne of Wylyche
men use but selen but yf it be to a grete effort / It is made
of grete tymbre / and it hath viij/ fote of brede and viij/ of
lengthe / and is couerd wyth hyrdell is & horsdunge/ to thende
that stones may not hurte hym / and enuyromed al aboue
wyth hydes wylk for the fyre / Vnder the same engyne ben

the men of armes that percen the walles and vpon pointe
beiz that be made faste thereto whiche are called flyghyng
brygges and may reche vnto the walles / they sette and dres
se vp theyre ladders to dyuers stallages / Item the xv
engyn is yet of more grete strengthe and lasse in vsage by
cause that it byshoueth not but to the salvtes of grete and
notables cyttes or fortres and strounge places for desyred
whare as a spege be kepte by longe leyser / Thys engyn is
called Colbre It is an edysce made of grete tymber and of
tablementes vith many loftes and stallages / And ther
fore saith the degece that so grete an edysce ought to be wel
kepte / It shoueth hym to be couered that may wyth lamp
nes of yron leste fyre shold be caste or sette therin / or at the
leste wyth hydes vudh all fressle / To the whiche engynnes
men gyuen lyght after as they be hyghe or lowe / For som be
of xxx/ fote / som of 2 / And namely som theren ben so highe
that not onely they surmonteren the walles / But also the high
est towres / Thys engyn is sette vpon moevable whelis
that by force of men and of horses are ledde as myght the
walles as men can / And flighyng brygges there be that
as they be let downe men may therupon reche onere the wal
les / And if it hap that thys Colbre may be approuched nexe
the walles / ouere harde a thyng it were / but that the
towre shal be taken soone at an olbre / For therynne ben
grete soyson of men of armes in al the loftes and stallag
ges / of whiche they of alone vith gode shote and hande to
hande fighthen wyth them that ben vpon the walles and of
lyght may overcome hem / They of the lowe loftes or stal
lages percen the walles / And thus is the cytte or fortres
se enuayshed of suche effort that they of whithynne wote not
what parte to resyde nor defende / so ben they abasshed and

lightly taken/ And it is that whiche Begece mente whan he
saith/ the more partes and by more engyns and more stren-
gthe that thou shall assayle the fortres all atones / the mo-
re are abasshed they that make defence and the sooner they
shall yelde hem vp/ And by cause that for to doo thys / see-
ven the ladders and muche proffyten hereto/ and in lyke wise
all engyns that can be made for to clyme highe / It is ned
for to make bettre thys manere of clymers/ that men knoll
fyrst the hight of the walles/ And therfore for to knowbe
thys Begece techeth it by two wavyes/ and saith that an a-
wolve shal be thraden vnto the hight of the walle / to the
whiche awolve shall a long thred be made faste that shal be
holde vndreneth / and by this shal molwe be knowben the
hight of the walles / Item that other wavye is whan
the sonne is so tourned that he casted the shadowe of the
walles and of the towres to the grounde/ thenne men may
measure the space of the walles wyth two staines y pypget
atte eyther ende of the shadowe/ And by thadysse of a gode
e wye conwyter may be esteemed what hight the ladders
and other engyns moste haue

Cbegynneth to speke of defensyng of castelles and by-
tayles/ **C**apitulo xxxviii/

Tis certeyn that lyghely ynough syght al manere
of a stronge place be overcome and taken/ without fol-
ke were there that shuld defende hit and therfore eyn soo
as Begece dide putte in his boke for the doctrine & techynge
of armes/ the manyete for to assayle citees & towres / and
semblably for to defende and kepe hem/ here he saith that ay-
enst the engyns aboue named and other dyuerse paryllis

Wherof myght be used in fayre of assavolte/ yf ther be wyttyn
deffensours that haue in them þ vertue of knyghtode/ many
a remedye may be hadd/ For there is noo syknes / but that
som socours is gyuen therunto/ And in armes is subtylyte
mykel more worth than is strength/ as it happeth ofte/
namely in taskynge of castelles and cytees/ As it kesselethe
som tyme of the wmmayns that by a subtyl polycye & wyt-
te/ toke the cyte of caps a that longed vnto Tygram the kin-
ge of Armenye that werred theym / For as the ambaya-
tors of the sayd cyte went and came for to treatte of pe-
as/ the wmmayns malcously made on a nyght abussh-
ment of them self within the gardyns that nygh were to the
walle/ and whan the said ambaratoures trouled to haue en-
tered apen within the yates of the cyte / the wmmayns lepte
vpon the brygge so hastly that they tolke the yate/ And so
long kepthe hyt vntil the oost entred al yme/ And thus by
erafte and subtyl wittie was the cyte taken that was so
stronge and so wel garnysshed that by noo salotynge hyt
myght not be taken/ And moreuere sayth Begece that they
that kepe and defende a place haue more avauntage than
they that doo assaylle hyt for dyuers reasons and namely in
wyghtyng/ For that whiche men caste from hysche/ se it spe-
rys stones dartes or other shot / the more hight that it com-
meth fro/ the moche more hyt hurteth/ To the whiche thyn-
ges ys geete vertue and myght be putte thereto / noo mane-
re of warantysse can not kepe theym that so assaylle yf they
be hytter with all / but that they shal be beten downe as the
thondre felle vpon hem First of all they of within may be so
coured by theyre lorde yf he be not therre hym self/ that wyrth a
power of men shal molwe come to repse the syege and to gy-
ue hem socours/ or by som other of theyre frédes whome they

Shall ahue sent Worde and prayde for helpe & socoure / as it be
fell Whan the duke Lentulus hed captayne of the ost Roma
yn went ayenst the kyng Mytrydates / that sent Worde to
his folke that were withyn the cyte of Mycene that so stron
ge was that the see smote there at the one syde of her & was
aduironned with double walles / that they shulde not abasse
hem self for the grete puissance of the kyng Mytrydates &
that soone socours they shuld have / And a grete thynce it
was to the messenger for to passe thughe so many folke &
goo there / but it was by myght and swymyng / wher he dice
putte two grete botylles vndre his okselles & swymed / viij
thousand passes in the see / and by thys manere of waye he
cam and entred in to the cyte / And soone after was Mytry
dates contrefieged wher his ost was brought to a grete
mischiese for deffalote of vitailles that from noo part myght
not come there / Whiche thynge is facyble to be wo ayenst
them that holde a sege / ¶ Item they hem self or part of hem
yf they fel hem self strong ynough / may yssue out wyth
ryght fayre ordynaunce that oþre whan the enemys be
not aware of yf they see theyre poynþ / and likeloyse to salve
te them as they be salveto / For by sucht alwaye hath ben an
ost keping a siege of tymes overcome and dyscomfited and
it is necessary to al folke that goo to bataplle for the defens
se of theyre contrey or cyte that they haue grete hope in god
to haue the victoriye for the gode ryght that they haue / or
other wyse they shulde not molde fygght hardely / And that
they shuld haue thys hope / it hath be seen of tymes by the ef
fecte that therof happed to sucht fygghters / thus namely as
it semed that it happed to them of the cyte of ryme whan
ones emonge other tymes / Hanibal with a ryght grete ost
cam by fore the cyte for to haue hyt dystroyed / but wher as

the rommayns pssued ayenst hym by grete boldnes thoug-
he they were lese by the thyrd part than theyre enemys/
oure lorde that wolde not that the towne wherewas in tyme
to come he wolle edysye hys chyrche shulde be dystroyed sent
suche a grete sholare of rayne that oþre that they sholde as-
semble togider that theyre harneys was so sore charged
with watere that they colde not helpe hem self / & forced they
were to withdrawe them self / And after that thre tymes
this had happed thus to them as it were a veray myracle/
Hampshall said that he wolde not enterpryse noo verre ay-
enst the goddes / for well he salwe that they were fauourable
vnto vome / Item hold be it that pactes and conuenances
that ben and may be often tymes don sen som tyme namely
more baylable to honour and proffyt to them of within/
than to them of withoute / Matheles whan they be thus as-
sailled as it is said it behoueth hem to defende them self ther
ynne by vertue and strengthe of theyre bodyes withoute
other remedye / & a gode corage mystereth them moche why/
the may be seen by ensample of them of the cyte of Cartage
whiche or euere they wolde deliuere vp theyre cyte to the ro-
mayns that wolde haue destroyed hys / they loued bettre to
deye / And kept the romayns styll with fayre wordes tyl
that they had forged theyre harneys wherof they had defaul-
te of gold of sylvere / of Coper and other metalles by cause
that boþe yron and stele were faylled them / and with the sa-
me armewares they deffended and kepte theyre cyte vnto
theyre deth / So it behoueth to suche folke to helpe hemself
wyth engyns / fyre / yron / & stones / strongly by grete myght
and vigour / that is to say wyth gode shot of crosbowes /
and grete stones that shal be casten by the myght of the en-
gyns / and they muste haue apparellled red pitch / oxle /

brymstone and tolwe to make with all grete stopselles
that shal be shoten thylke to the engyns of theyre enemyes
so long tyl that they be sette a fyre And men may make sta-
ues of drye wood all holowe withinne and full of fyre/ of
cyment of oyle and of tolwe and shute them to the sayd en-
gyns/ And semblably men may dystroye hem with an en-
gyn castyng a slynge of yron with rynges/ and besyde this
engyn muste be made a forge in whiche shal be a grete barre
of yron fyre glodwyng hot whiche shal be cast to the engyn
Without in what place that hit be / and ayenst this brennyn-
ge yron may haue no defence wold leder nor also lampynes of
yron/

¶ Item of the same

EItem men may sette doun fro the walles certayn
persones in grete maundes by nyght that shall bere fy-
re with hem and in dyuers places they shall sette the sayd
engyns on fyre/ ¶ Item it hath be seen oftymes that they
of Within haue issyued out sodaynly and haue dystroyed bo-
the by fyre and yron the engyns of theyre enemyes/ Wyth
this he saith morowere that they of Within oughte to aduyse
that of that part of the walles whiche the sayd grete engyn
called Colore is sette / yf such be there / the sayd walles be
made hygher so that it may ouer reche albowes in height
the said engyn/ For certeyne it is as he saith/ that yf the
walles be more highe/ than is the sayd engyn of lytel value
but the besegers haue comly one manere of a polycpe that
þyrst they do bynde the said Colore in suchwise that it se-
meth lower than the walles/ but after ward wey makie ano-
ther smalle tourre wþt hordes and tablementes whiche is
al waies couched doun unto tyme that they wyl come this
grete engyn to the walles/ and thenne sodaynly they dresse

hit vp with cordes and wyth grete hokes And by thys wa
ye the men of armes assaylle sodaynly al attones the wal
le/ and wythout grete defensse he made therme of them of
wythynne they shall entre & take the towne by force/ But
ayenst this polycye muste be purveyed certeyne grete mas
tes armed aboue wyth sharp fermentes and with the sa
me they shoue the said engyn abacke fro the walle/ Item he
sayth that som tyme whan the cite of the rodes was beseged
wyth such manere of a tolure moevable of a merueillable
heighte and muche more highere than the walles were/ they
of wythyn seyng the same grete edyfice comyng ayenst hem
aduysed them self the nyght afore of a grete calvole/ they
perced the grounde vndre the foudementes of the walles/ &
therre as they thoughte that the sayd grete engyn called tou
re sholde be broughte/ they dalff the erthe and made a grete pit
te as a caue vndre the grounde there/ through which polyp
cie whan the day was come that y said tourre was brought
therespoun hys wheles and was of merueylouse pops and
shay/hyt soundred and sanke doun in to the grounde that
holowe was vndrenethe so that hit myght not be had vp
ayen/ And by thys waye was the cite warauantysse/ And
it is to be knowen that som tyme every moevable joyntu
re of such engyns had a name appropried as it shal be
exposed hereafter/ And so whan the sayd tolures were
joyned to the walles/ the archers the slynge casters and
al men of shot/ and in lyke wyse the men of armes everyche
of hem in theyre towne forced themself to take y walles v
pon & fro them of wythynne whiche after theyre polver cha
lenged & kepte them from y ennies/ So were the walles
pourprysed/ ¶ And sette rounde a bout wyth ladders
¶ Where as they of wythout putte hem self

In grete Jeopardye of theyre lytes for to clime vp to the walles whiche manere of clemige vp with ladders was first sounce by them of the cyte of Capne / upon whom they of within casted besselles full of stones & them & theyre ladders with them bare doun al a tonnes / ther were also engis that called were sambuce / eyester thlemon / sambuce is an engyn whiche is made in manere of a harpe able to perce alwall & it is made fast with cordes to the said tollore / Eyester was called the brygge that was let sodaly doun for to go vpon it fro the tollore vpon the walles / thlemon was an engyn that was pight in the grounde in manere of a highe maste / & atte the top of hit was made fast crosbyse another more longe that went vp & doun like a balance doeth / & atte the one ende of it that was tolwardis þ walle a litel castel made with hirrellis & bordes wel ioyned & whan this litel castel was fylded with men of armes / þ other ende of this thlemon was lad adoun with chimes & roris tyl that other ende was a litel higher than the walle & thus fought therre the said men of armes that were within the said litel castel ageynste them of the tollore / The deffee aienst the said engyns were gode mangonelles & grete bombardes & grete stones that with engyns were cast / and grete & bigge crosbowes wel fended with synelbes and strong rorps

CThe remedyes aienst the forsayd engyns of asalote /

Capitulo xxxvij

Ayenst the engyn whiche is called mouton degeete techeth
many a remedye that is to wite / that coyltes or matlasses or sacques full of dunge large & wide as coyltes / shal be hanged doun ayenst the walle whare as the maste shall smyte / and by the softnes of thes thinges so hanged a long the walle the stroke of the said engyn shal be corrupted

¶ Bayne/ Item men make another engyn whiche is called
Wolffe that hath an yron bolved with grete and sharp teeth
Whiche engyn is in such manere sette to the walle that hyt
cometh & gropith the maste of the molton/and holdeth it so
fast that hit can not be dralbe nother forward nor bakw-
ard/and som tyme they dralbe him with roxes by wardys
so that hit can not hurt them no more/Item & yf it happeneth
that the walle be by force perceid or taken thenne shall they
of the fortresse make with all haste another walle agenst
the broken walle/and shall close therre enimies yf they can
settwene bothe walles & there they shall selle hem

CRemedye agenst the myne/

Capi^o xxxvij/

Agenst that other manere of salvynge of a fortres/
that is to wite by waye of vndremynginge that ma-
re is vndre the erthe/may be such remedyes had/ fyrist they
of within muste alwayes sette a gode watche upon the hy-
hest partyes of theyre towres/to take gode kepe wherther they
can see from eyn where men bringe erthe or som signe wher
by eny suspencion may be had/and with this they ought of-
ten to herken bothe daye & nyght doun of the walle yf they
can here eny noyse or smytyng of hamers / & yf it happeneth
them to perceyue eny thinge they ought soone to make a co-
tremyne tyl that they come to the vndremynginge of theyre
enimies / & there with god sherys & demp lances shall kepe
that they shal delue noo ferther but fyrist they shall haue redy
at the entree of therre contremine gret tubbes & other vessell-
les full of water & of pisle / & thenne they shall makie as they
dyde flee & att theyre goonge out they shall lightly spylle y
water castynge the tubbes & other vesselles downward / & yf
by the help of the women the watre myght be sedige hote hit
were yet the bettre for/and by such manere of waye diuers

myners haue be caughte & slayne/ Item we putte cas that
they of the oþer shulde haue doo so muche that they had won-
ne the walles/ the towres & the gates of the cyte/ shall they
of wþin let hem self be slayne therfore as festes/ & by buss-
hement & fire to be taken as men take the quayle vndre the
þerthawke/ Nay/ but as valyaunt Basselles defendynge al
wayes to the deth & hauyng styl a gode hope/ they ought
to moue vp to the wþrdowres of the houses & vpon þe that-
kes/ & with grete stones & tyles/ sedyng water/ hote assis/ &
quyk lyme/ they shall kynde & see theyre enemys as thei go
þere & there by grete hexes for to spoyle the towne/ & as they
shall trowe to sette the houses on a fyre thenne shall they of
the towne brayne hem with stones whiche they shall caste
downe/ and so dere they ought to sellē theyre fleshe that hit be
not for their enemys a baylle/ For in such a cas a bolde co-
rage doubteth noo thinge/ and by this manere of waye ma-
ny cyttes & townes that were surprised of theyre enemys
haue be deliuered free fro them to theyre triumphall victorie
& to the shamefull rebukie of the enemys/ for it is an ouere
grete a thige for men of armes to entre in anothers towne
so that hyt be vnel garnysshed & the dwellers of the same fein-
ge of a gode corage for to defende/ & naturally al man is bol-
de in sensinge of that/ that is his owne/ O what grete &
merueillable bronde of corage had they of the cyte of mayen-
ce ayenst their enemys whan they salwe that they myght
nomore holde ayenst þe romans that had siegē so lon-
ge before theyre cite/ for as they vþ volde rather die & distwo-
re the þre cite & theirre godes/ than that theirre enemys shulde
therof be mastres nor enyoye theyre grete tresors/ for sore ri-
che they were/ they dide sett al theirre cite on a fyre/ that grete
horroure was for to see al that there was in a flame wher-

as perissid bothe wemen and chyldren/ And a noone after
ysued oute and full dexe they sole de theyre grete pte & they
re deth vnto the rommayns theyre enemys/ of whiche were
many slayne or euer they coude brynghe them at an ende/ &
nothyng they gat there/ One thynge lerneth Begece / It
is that ys thenhabytantes are come to this late hem wel ke
pe hem self that they slette not the yates of theyre towne/
For he sayth/ that in such a caas men ought to gyue tolle
me to hys enemye for to goo a waye ys it semeth hym gode
by cause that ys he were kepte close/ than myght hys streng
the be doubled within hym self sayd that noo polver he shul
de haue to ssee ys newe were/ ¶ Item it happeth oftentymes
that they of the oost doo fayne by calotelle that they departe
awaye & with thys goo som what ferre as some tyme dyde
they of Grece before the grete Troye after the fayned peas
But soone after whan they thoughte that they of Wythin
were as assured and that they made no grete force of noo
watche nor kept not hem self vpon theyre warde/ thenne the
greekes all styl by myght tyme retourned and dressed theyre
ladders to the walles/ and went vp wher they fonde the wat
chemen sore wery of longe watche doon in tyme past/ that two
wed hemme to be servte/ a slepe and colyled one to other and
so lyghtly they slevve them all/ And by this manere of wyle
many cydes & tollnes haue be taken/ Thus was the grete
cyde of troye distroyed & semblably shulde the cite of rome ha
ue be distroyed that tyme that hanball of cartage was at
sege before had not be the crye of the ghoos that by aduentu
re alwasted the watche/ & because that such thinges are comod
ly att all oweres/ And lytell houses ought to be made vpon
the walles for to kepe the watchmen from colde in wyr
ter/ and fro the Sonne in the somer/ And in olde tyme

Was an usage to norrysshe grete mastayys & sore bytynge
dogges in the said lytel houses and wythin the towres / to
thende that by them shulde be knowen by theyre smellyng
the comynge of theyre enemys / Wyth thees maners and
wayes of defences / tcheth vengece to them that be beseged
and closed to be curouse and dylgent for to wite & kno
we by spyes and other meanes the couyne of theyre enemy
es / Nor nothyng is more helpyng / For by thys they may
the bettre appoynt theyre dooynges / Wherby ys they le of a
gode corage and that they may knolle that theyre aduersa
ries be not upon theyre warde / or that they be at theyre refec
cyon takyng / or sportyng here and there / nor haue noo suspe
cyon that they of within com out to be fyght hem / themne
shal they sodaynly attones renne without the towne upon
hem / And namely ys they can yssue out of som fause dore or
posterne at the bakt syde it is the bettre / and they muste here
wel that theyre couyne and entreprise be not accused nor kno
wen / Wherby som busshement myght be sett for them by they
re aduersaries that shulde ssee hem as they sholde com oute /
But ys they can surpryse them by the foraid manere of wa
ye and that a hardy corage lede hem / they shall molwe make
hem self quit at that tyme of them / & to thys purpos of a har
dy corage of cytzepnis makyng defence for theyre cyte / hit
was seen full meruelouse within the herbes of them of the
cyte of munyencie in hyspayne that tyme that the romains
by dyuers bataylles had brought hem so lowe that they dur
te make nomore noon yssue out of theyre stronge cyte / Ne
uerthelesse they delybered emong hem that they shulde rather
die all than to lyue as bondmen / but first they woldeselle hem
self full dere fightyng with theyre enemys / ¶ And therfore of suche a quentyte of corne as they had dide brewe

a drynkis myxt withsuche manere of gerte þastre they had
taken hyt they were all dronken So issyed they oute thene
and so grete fayntes of armes they made that or euere they
coudre be all dystroyed they had slayne almost al theyre en-
myes And yf that ony party had be equall in quantite to
that oþre party not one Romayn shulde haue be lefte there
alyne But to the fyrist purpos sayth Begece And yf it hap-
to fall so that thys enterpryse be not fortunabla for them /
and that they be Robustly rechassed they muste before haue
ordeyned that the gate be redely open for them And yf the
emmyes be so hardy that they come tyl vpon the brygge or
namely wythin the gate folowing the chasse they muste be
soone shot and closed wythinne / and that vpon the walles
be stones myngh / and gode shot for to conueie them thens &
al manere of engynis so that they all nor noo crete kepe re-
tourne not a lyue / so shal not the getyng be al togyder for
them / But yet it is a grete parell for to fyght vpon a brig-
ge / Exsample by a kyng of Gallia called Brenpus
which wyth hys grete oste that he led ayenst the romma-
yns / he onercharged so sore the brygge that he had doo make
of tymber vpon the ryuer of the rosne that hit brak and
therfore were hys men perissed there / ¶ Item and yf it
happe that by a manere of patysse or by som accorde or trea-
tre shulde be bespoken for to haue or delyuere a fortresse / men
muste soueraynly be aduyced and wyly that the bntowthe
and trychery of som euyl and malcyouse folke may not de-
ceyue the innocencye of the sympyle / For it hath be seen ma-
ny tymes that euyl couenaunces and peas by fycyon ma-
re vndre coloure of gode concordance haue letted moch mo-
re than hath doon strengthe of armes

C Of bataylles that he made vpon the see/ Capi^o xxvij
E Oldbynge the thynges he fore said he toucheth shortly
ynough atte the ende of hys boke / of som couenable
weyes longyng to bataylles that he made vpon the see or
vpon flores and riuers/ And fyrst he speketh of the facion
and makyng of the shypes and galeyses/ sayinge that no
ther in marche nor in aperyll the trees that thenne haue
halondance of humore ought not to be felde a dounre for to
make eny shypes with all / but muste be cutte & thalben
dounre in July and in the moneth of Auguste whan the
humidtee of the trees begynneth for to drye vp / and that
namely the bodes that therof be salwen & made therof ought
not to be occupied tyl that the weet be cleen goon fro them
and that they may shrynkis nomore/ With this he saythe
that for to nayle the bodes of shypes/ the naylles made of
bras are best/ hold wel that naylles of yron be stronger / but
by cause that the bras hath more of moistenes within him
self it kexeth bettre & more long in watre without rotynge
Item he saith that they that by the see vol goo he it in
armee or to som other adoo/ ought syngulerly to purueye of
gode maryners expert and gode maistres that he able to that
offise/ and that can well styl of the wyndes / and whiche
thyng may lette hem and whiche not from the parells of
the see/ and that knowbe the wayes and the straytes/ and al
so the manere of comyng out and of al manere hauenys &
passages/ and that can goode styl of the lyght marynall
that is to say the sygnes and sterres of heuen wherunto the
gode maryners taken theyre regarde and dresseth them to
theyre ryght waye/ And also in al other tokenis whiche
wen fortune of the see to come shortly whiche tokenis appye
ren aswell by the sonne as by the moue/ by the wyndes and

by the byrdes and namely by the fysshe of the see / And that
they be all mastres of redlyng of theyre saylles / of draw-
yng of roppys and fables whan tyme is / and aswell of cas-
tinge as taskyng vp of threice ancrees whan nede requireth
as whan they fynde hem self in bataylle vpon the see / and in
other aduentures ¶ Item the puruaunces duely made as
it apparteyneth / for to arraye a caruell ryght wel for the
Werre or such beselles as men haue / they muste be wel fur-
mysshed with gode men of armes and of shot / and he sayth/
that thoo that goo for to fight vpon the see / apparteyneth to
be bettre & more strongly armed / than thoo that fighth vpon
the lande / by cause they meue not so muche / So ought they
to haue amouge hem som small besselles made at aduaun-
tage that may tolde and saylle before all other every where
for to aspye and knowle the couynre of theyre enemys / and
when they come nyghe to seke them / men ought themne to
greet hem ryght well with gode bombardes and stones cast
with dyuers engyns and with stronge balesters / and when
the shypes ben proched tyl ech other / the valyaunt men of
armes that trusten in theyre strengthe putte doun the bryg-
ges and passen ouere in to the shypes of theyre aduersa-
ries and there with goode swerdes axys and daggers they
fighth togyder hand to hand / And in the grettest besselles
of Werre men make som tyme tolbris and barbacanes to
thede that likie as men do from the hyghe walles they might
cast dounne dartis and wounde and flee / It is a cruell
thyng of such a bataille where as men not onely by armes
but also by fyre and by watre wo perisse and hauyng no
polwre to glanche a syde nor to flee / are lyuered of centymes
there all quykie & hole to the flode and vnto the fysshes bren-
nyng arbowes and darteres ben there thrallen that be lapt in

talbe in brimstone in pitche and in oyle / axenst the bordes of
the shyppe that be made of drye wode and enoynted wryth
pitche whiche lightly be taken with the fyre / And thus som
me perysshen there by yron / some be there brent and the other
be constrained to lepe in to the watre without eny mercy /
and by thes wayes perysshen dyuersly many one that fight
vpon the see

CDeuyseth of the garnysons that behouen to men of wer
re that ben vpon the see!

CCapytul 10/ xxix

SO ought syghters vpon the see to be garnysshed of
vesselles full of pytche and of wryth / of brimstone &
& oyle whiche thynges ought to be medled altogidre
& lapt al in talbe / & thes vesselles kyndled & gloowyng hoot
men oughte to caste in to the shippes & galles of the enemy-
es / & to assaile hem strongly forthwith / to thende that they
haue noo leiser to quenche the fyre / & it is to be knowen that
there is a manere for to makie & compose certeyn fyre whiche
som folke calle grecys fyre / and yt may be so called wel / by
cause that it was first founde by the grecys kyng at the sege
byfore troye / as som sayen / Thys fyre brenneth namely in
watre / and stones & yron and al other thynges hit wasteth
Nor hyt can not be quenched / but by certeyne myxtyons that
men makie for this cause / Also there be made certeyne pou-
sons so strong & so mortall / that of eny yron were touched
with the same / and after warden shot or thrallen to the body
of eny man so that the blode lytyl or grete cam out / the wod-
unde shulde be dedely / But such thynges ought not to be
woo nor taughte for cause of the evylles that myght folowbe
For they that soo woo are defended and accursed It is
not gode to wryte them in booke / nor more plamly to recpte

them/Be cause that it is not lyghte to noo cristen man to bse
of noo sucht inhumanites that namely ben aienst all right
of werre/ If they that fighte ought always to alwayte of
al theirre polwre to dryue and sette therre enemys a groud
z to kepe them self in the depnes of the see/ Item to the mas-
te of the shipp ought to be made fast a bygge tree whiche
shal be armed withyron of that one part/and therre sette by
sucht a crafte that men may haue hym brygge doun for to gy-
ue greate strokis with all ayenst the shyppe of the enemys
z so may be brused to peces/ Whiche engyn may serue as do-
eth the moloton a for said/ If they muste haue greate soyson
of awolues with brode heedes that shal be shot ayenst the saile
tyl that it be so peced z so rented that it can not holde wynde
noo lenger so shal they not come geo noo ferther/ Item a
crooked yron mistereth them made after the facion of a zekill
wel sharp and trenchaunt with a long hafte wher with all
they shal cutte asondre the wopis z cordes that seruen to the
shyp of the aduersaries eyes z with holes of yron that they shal
caste withinne they shall grypp her z so shal brynge her and
therres togidre so that they shal not moove escape/ If it is
gore to haue greate quantyte of pottes filled with softe zan-
de/ Whiche after they be ones caste in to the shyp of the enemi-
es they can vndyth stande vpon theyre fete so sydrye it is so
falle they thenne in to the watere that be mynghe the borders
of the shyp/ And semblably ben good to be cast therinne
pottes full of quyklyme made in to poulore whiche at the
bickynge of hem shal fylle al therre eyen and therre mouthes
so that with peyne they can see afore them/ If with thys
they oughte to be garnysched of certeyn men that be lerned z
taughte to swyme and plonge in to the watere/ and byth a
long breth to kepe them self therynne/ Whiche men shal goo

Endre the schip of aduersaries Whiles that the batayle la
steth and with grete wynnellis and algours shal perce the
ship Endreneth in dyuers places so that the watte shall
entre on all sydes Item grete soyson of stones and sharp
yrons ought to be there lanched aand thralben and al other
thinges wherby they may sooner breke the ship After the
forsyd thinges I may now wel use of vegece hys owne
wordes att the ende of his booke thus saienge I blyue that
from hens forth I may wel holde my peas of the dyscyplyn
of armes For in thees thinges the custome and usage
fynde often more of the art and of welbe thynges than thau
cuent doctrine doeth helpe

CHere fynneth the seconde partye of thys booke / & sequent
ly foloweth the thirde partye that speketh of the ryghtes of
armes after the lawes

CHe first chapitre deuyseth by what meane gryfstyn
added to thys booke that whiche is sayd in the lawe of
the fayttes of armes

CItem demaundeth Cristyne / & the maister answereþ / yf
the empewrour may of ryght moeve werre aienst the pope / c/iij/

CItem whether the pope may moeve werre axenst the
Emperour Chapitre / iiiij/

CItem deuyseth of the purssuance and auctorite of the fed
captayne after the lawe / and for what causes the men of ar
mes may renne to the peyne capitall / C / vij/

CItem whether a Bassall be holden by ryght of the lawe to
serue his lord in werre attē his owne propre expences / C / vi

CItem demaundeth whether the feed men be more holden to
helpe the prynce souerayne in hys werre / than namely to thei
re naturell lorde / & yf a gentyl man holdeth two tenementys

of tho lordes that makie Werre that one ayenst that other!
Whiche of them he ought to helpe

C Item whethir al manere of souldours after the ryght
of the lawe may goo in all manere of Wernes/ & deuyseth of
the parell whiche the man of armes putteth hym self whan he
goeth to the Werre that Inuiste ys and of makyng in the
Werre other wise than Werre requyreteth C viii

C Item speseth of the popys ryght and the payment of the
souldours wages/ C viii

C Item whethir a taptayne of a certeyne nombre of men of
armes may transmutte them atte hys wylle syn that they be
reteyned in wages/ C ix

C If a lorde sende a man of armes in garnison to som
fortres of his owne without that eny wages be promysed
hym/ & that hit happeneth hym to be robbed and dyspolled by
the waye to whiche of bothe may he demaunde hys interresses
and the recouere of his losse or to the lorde that so sent hym
thider/ or to hym that so hath robbed hym/ And if a man of
armes be com to serue a lorde in hys Werre wythout couena
unt of wages/ Whethe the lorde be holden forto paye hym
or not C x

C Item yf a kyng had sent socours to another kyng
wythout he had requyred hym so to doo whethe he were holde
for to paye them or not C xi

C Item yf a kyng hath Werre wyth another kyng & is
willyng to reme upon hym wyth a crete oost/ Is nowe to
wite whethir the lordes thrugh lewhis lordshippes he and his
ost must passe may by ryght chalenge the passage/ hold wel þ
so Werre that noo harme were by hym nor hys doon there/
C xii

C Item and yf a man of armes borolle botch horse and
L iii

harneys and leseth hit nolde is to wite whethere he shulde pa
ye for hit or not/ C xvij

C If yf a man that had be sore wounded of another the
whiche after the stroke were fledde alwaye/ and that the other
so hurt recovered helthe / & cam and hurted that other man/
Whether iustice shulde punysshe hym therfore/ C viiiij

C Item whethere calbelles and subtyltees of werre are
Iuste and of reason to be doo/ C /viii/

C Item yf a man of armes whiche is aaged were distres
sed and robbed by the waye somwher/ whethere he myght of
ryght assie of the lorde that had sent hym forth his losse &
damages C /viii/

C If & yf a lorde doo sende socours of men of werre to som
other lorde without he be so required of hym so to doo whethere
he to whom they ben thus sent is bounde for to paye them or
not/ C xvij

C Item whethere it is lycyte to men of werre for to take
eny vitaylles of the poure or ryche man vpon the lande
whan they be wel payed of theyre wages C /viii/

C Item demandeth what men ought to doo with suche dis
poyles and prayes that ben gotten by waye of werre C /x/

C Item/ begynneth to speke of prisoners of werre / and
aduyseth hold a myghty man taken in werre ought to be
presented to the prynce/ and hold not/ C /xi/

C Item whethere men ought to doo dexe the chief captayne
of an oost/or som other greet man of armes whiche is ta
ken in the werre/or ellis to be deluyered to the prynce/ C /xvj/

C Item whethere it is ryght that men shall take vpon the
enemyes grounde the syngle labourers and plough men
that medle not of the werre C /xxij/

C Item yf a studiavit englyssheman were fonde atte sooke

in parys/or ellis another lyke of another nacyon / Whether
he myght be taken and putte to raenson C/xxvij/

C If yf som grete lorde of England or of som other con-
trye Where Werre is / Whiche as madde and out of Wit Were
fledde in to þ forest / Whether men myght after ryght taken
him & putte him to raeson be so bring out of his Wit/c/xxvij

C Item and yf it happed that vpon the frouters be taken
som olde man burgeys of london/or of som other cytre of en-
gland that neuere dyde medle of the Werre/ Whether such a
man ought for to pape raenson or not by ryght of the lawe
and semblably of a younge chylde/and also of a blynde man

C Item yf it happed so that som ambaxadours cam to War-
dys the kynges of Fraunce/ and that they comynge throughe
Bordeeloy/had hyred there of englyshmen horses or cartes
Whether such thynges myght be in Fraunce arrested or
not/ And whether an englyssh preest/ beyng in in Fraun-
ce myght be putte to raenson or not C/xxvij

C Item whether a prysoner of Werre whiche is al wyses
kept clos/yf he can goo out brekyng vp hys pryson/ shall
renne in eux deffaulte so to doo C/xxvij

C Item whether a gentyl man prysoner of Werre ought
rather to dep than to breke hys othe & his promesse /c/xxvij

C Here after legynmeth the thirde parte of thys boke Whyn
che spelieth of the ryghtys of armes after the lawe Duxton/

C The fyrist chappitre deuyseth by What meane Cristyne
added to thys boke that whiche is sayd in the lawe of the
sayttes of armes

As I dyde alwaye for to entre in to the thirde partye of
this present boke / & that my Doyt / as almost wery of
the resaunt weyght of the labour concerningyngh the two
other partyes precedent / & as surpysed with slexe lyngene
Vpon my bed appiered byfore me the semblaunce of a creatu-
re hauyng the fourme of a stately man of habyte of chevrons
of maynnes / & lyke to alwyse / & ryght auctorised iuge vwhich
said vnto me thus / vvere loue crystine of whiche in dede or el-
lis in thoughte the laboure of y exerceyse of studieng never
more doeth ceasse / atte the contiplacion of the grete loue that
thou haste to tho thynges that the lettres can shewe / specyal
ly in exhortacyon of all noble werkes and vertuouse condic-
cyons am hyther now come for to se as to thy helpe in the
perfourmyng of this present boke of knyghtwode / & of say-
tes of armes wher as thou by grete diligencie moeued with
agood wille west occupy thy self / And therfore confortinge
the good desyre that thou haste to gyue a cause vnto all
knygthes and noble men that shal mowe rede or here hit / for
to emploie and more embellysshe hem self to thoos dedes that
noblenesse requyret / that is to wite to the sayd exerceyse of
armes / as well by laboure of the body as by the ryght that
after the lalve wryton behoveth them / ¶ It is good that
thou take and gadre of the tree of bataylles that is in my
gardyn somme fruytes of whiche thou shalt use / So shall
bygoure and strengthe the bettre grove wrythyn thy self
therfore for to make an ende of thy resaunte werke / and for
to blyde an edysyre pertynant & couenable to the sayenges
of decrete / & of the other auctours of whiche thou hast ta-
ken he p / thou muste cutte yet asonder som of the braunches
of this said tree / & take of the best / and Vpon the same tymber
thou shalt sette founement of one of thy said edysyres / For

the whiche to perfourme/ I as maister /and thy self as dysci-
ple/ shal be there With the as thy helper/ & hees thynges herde
me semed thenne that I said to hym/ O dygne master I
knowe that thou arte that same stude Wchiche I loue and
haue loued so moche that of nothyng more I remembre me
by whos hauntyng & vertue I haue al redy thanked se god
broughte atte an ende many a fayre enterpryse / Certes of
thy compayne I am ryght glad / But wher it ought not
to dysplease the maister ys a dyscypyle despyouse of lernynge
moeueth questyons / I pray the to telle me yf emp rebukie
shal molwe be caste to the regarde of my werke/ for this that
thou hast counseylled me for to vse of the sayde fruyt/ De-
re loue to thy s I ansuere the/ that the more that a werke
is wytnessed and approued of more folke/ the more it is au-
ctorysed and more auctentyske/ and therfore yf euy do mur-
mure after the gyse of euyll spekers saying that thou beg-
gest in other places I ansuere them that it is a comon vse
emonge my dyscypyles to gyue and departe one to other of
the floures that they take dyuersly out of my gardyns /
And al thoo that help hem self With all they were not the
fyrist that haue gadered them/ Dyce not maister John de
Mowbray help hym self With in his booke of the rose of the say-
inges of Lorrys/ and semblably of other/ It is themne noo
rebulke/ but it is lawde & prayng Whan wel & propely
they be applyshed and sett by orde/ and therlyc the may-
strye therof/ and it is a token to haue seen and bisyted ma-
ny bookes/ But therre as were euyll to propos men shulde
wo serue thynges whiche were taken ellis wherre/ therre we-
re the vice/ wo soo therre hardly & doubte the not/ for thy wer-
ke is gode/ and I certifye the/ that of many a wyse man hit
shal be yet ryght well commended and praysed

Crystynē demaundeth yf by ryght the emproure may moeue were against the pope

Capitulo/ij/

Therine me semed that I sayd soo sithen þ it is so/righe
solempne iuge that I shall adde in my boke of armes
ȝ of knyghthode yet of the fruytes gadred out of thy gardi-
ne by thy comauement bþynge of them I shall aske of
the some questyons / whiche appertene to the sayde matiere
of armes / that is to wite of the ryghtes that behouen thereto
after the lalve ȝ ryght Voriton / And fyrst of all entrynge
in the said matiere I demaunde of the Sith that it is trou-
the that as in the begynnyng of thys boke I sayde / and thy
self wel I wot shalt not denye hys / that werres and batayl-
les after ryght behouen not to be mayntened nor Juged but
by the erthely prynces that of noo thyng he holde theyre lan-
des and countrees / but onely of god / as Emperoures / kyn-
ges dukes and other namely that be lordes / Whether the
Emperoure of ryme that as to temporell Jurisdiccion / is the
princypall of the Worlde / may make after ryght Voriton
Were agenst the pope / and yf it so be that he thus entrepy-
seth hit / whethir hys men and sugettes / be bounden for thys
cause to come to hys callynge / For hys semeth that they
shulde doo soo / by cause that Jurysdycyon ȝ lordshyp is due
to hym more than to ony lorde of the Worlde / and another
more stonge a reson there is / that is to wite that it appar-
teyneth his subgettes to be to hym obeyssaint / or ellis for-
fapt ȝ for were hem self of that whiche they haue promysed
him what so euere he be gode or wikkid al were he stismathy-
ke ȝ acursed / dere loue to this question I ansuere the / that to
moeue him Were after ryght / he may not / & see here þ reasons
that the lalve Voriton theruto doeth assygne fyrst for þ cause

that he is procuratoure of the chyrch/ Soo it were a grete
oultrage that the procuratoure sholde be agaynst the mayster
the whiche he ought to defende there as he shulde offend I^r
the emperoure is subiecte to the pope/ this can he not denye/
For hit appyreteth clerly by thys that his electyon apparterey-
neth & so mocke lyeth in the pope that hit bilongeth to hym
to enquire ys he be a man ydone and habke to the see Imperi-
all/ and wether the electyon be dueily made or not/ And for
to crowne hym/ Thus thenne sith that he is subgetto unto
the pope It were grete wronge that subgetto shulde doo ay-
enst the souerayne/ And yet I say to the more / that ys the
Emperoure ruleth not hym self and hys Empyre after the
lawes of a gode Emperoure / the pope / may take from
hym the dynastic Imperiale / And shall stablysse ano-
ther in hys place / Soo ought not thenne nor may not the
subgettes obey after ryght to the callynge of such a Werre/
but ys they wil dysobey god in persecutyng of hys chyrch/
¶ Whether the pope may moeue Werre ayenst the Empe-
oure or not

¶ Capitulo iii.

Sith that it is so swete maister/ that the Emperoure
may not nor ought not to moeue Werre ayenst the
pope / I aske the wether the pope may moeue hit ay-
enst hym/ for it shulde seme naye/ seynge that he is lieutenat
to Ihes cryste in erthe so he olbeth to enselwe his steppes whi-
che were all peashable nor never helped hym wyth Werre/ and
wyth this he sayd to hys apostles/ that they shulde not vse
of lordshypes as to prynces and lordes/ ¶ Item with
this said Iamet pol / that they of the chyrch ought not to
venenge hem/ but ought to overcome by suffraunce/ I answe-
re the puttynghe thes reasons apart/ & all other such/ that the
pope without falle may moeue Werre ayenst the emperoure

in som cas/that is to wite/ys he by aduenture be heretyke or
scysmatyke/ If ys he wolle vsurpe the ryght of the chyrche &
take from her her patrymonie and her enheritaunce & Jurisdy-
cionis/and wel I say to the/that in thyse cases/he onely may
not make hym were/ but shulde be holden all Cristen pryn-
ces and other namely of the empyre/to help the pope as som
tyme it happed to the pope Alexyandre the thirde of thyss
name/the whyche persecuted of the emperoure went for hys
refuse to the kyng of Fraunce that putte hym ayen in to
hys place/ and nothyng it were that som shulde saie/ that
god saide to saynt peter/that he shulde putte his kynges agay-
ne in to the shede/whiche was for to saye that with noo gles-
wys the chyrche shulde not smyte/ For he sayde not that he
shulde cast hit awaie from hym/but that he shulde putte hym
up in to the shethe ayen/whiche was to be signyfied/ that
he shulde kepe hym for the tyme to come/ For atte that oþre
he wolle not vse of hym in dede/

C Of the puyssauice and auctoryte of the captayne of the
prynces kynghe boþ after the lawe/and for whath thynges
men of armes may venne in to capitall peyne/

Cappitulo iii^o

Mister it suffysch me ynough as to this cas/ But
please the to tellle me ys I haue here bisore all ynough
suffysauntly spoken of the office of the fed captayne of the
ost of the prynce hold se it that other tymes I haue se in-
fourmed of many thynges pertynent to hys offyce/ yet I de-
syre to here more therof of the /sayre loue to this I answe-
C Yit mayst thou adde therunto other auctorytees
that the lawes gyue hym wyth the charges that

apparteyne to hym/that is to wite to gyue licence to his men
of armes for to go vhere it is nece/ as well for theyre owne
besynesses in tym euenable/as for the fayt of þ Werte with
out whiche licence they oþre not to vndertake noo thyng/
Soo it apperteyneth to hym to comytle them here and there
to the proffyt of the Werte after hys gode aduyse and the co
unseille that he hath/and to hym apperteyned to gyue good
keþe that fro the countrey noo man of Werte departe for to
go som els vhere without the lordis leue/ And ought to
keþe the keþes of the castelles and of the townes there as he
goynge to the Werte hath lodged him self Item to hym he
longeth to comytle and ordyne them that shall keþe watche
in the oost/and to take dyligently keþe vpon al the his what
mesure of corne and of woyne/ȝ that the weyght ȝ all such
thynges be there Juste/and to punyssh them that falsly vſe
of the same Item to hym apperteyneth to here ȝ vndeston
de the debates ȝ questyons of them of the oſt/ȝ to Iuge ther
wſ doyng ryght to every one/he it gentyl man marchaunt
or other that to hym doeth complayne vpon ony of hys/ Su
ch and many other þen that long were for to saie whiche he
houen to a þed captaine Cut with this for to ferme the letter
I wil saie the cases aftir oure lawes vherby the men of Werte
may venire in to þe capitall/ the lawe saith that he that
synteth the captaine by euyl wile ought to lese þ he / ȝ like
wise he ought to lese hys þed whiche is rebell ȝ gainsainge in
ordynaunce of a bataylle/ It semblably he that fyrt remieth
alwaye fro þ bataille ȝ the other abide stylle there It he þ is
sent as for abaxatour to þ aduersaries or for to aspye them
ȝ he openeth or by eny woyne declarereth þ secrete of his par
tye/ It he that excuseth him self by a mad ȝ vntrewe escu
facyon by cause he voul not be atte þ bataille with hys lord/

Item he that defendeth not to hys polver his caplayne yf
he see other that assaille hym/ **I**t who that departeth fro the
ost without leue for to makie other armees remmeth also af-
ter the lalve in to peyne capitall whiche someuere other gode
or fayre acte that he makie other whiche/ **I**t that lateth that
peas be not made/ **I**t that procureth that in the oste be dys-
cencyon and mortall ryote made/ **I**tem that steketh or rob-
beth the prouysonys of the oste/

CWhether the Basselle is holden after right for to goo in
hys lordys werte atte hys owne costes/ **C**apitulo 8

By cause that it is of costume that euy kyng or prynce
or lorde doo sommone or calle his Bassell for to be hys
aid in faittt of werte I assie if the saide Bassell is holden for
to goo after hys lalves to the tallynge of his lorde/ and yf it be
thus that he is bounde for to do so/ whether it ought to be atte
hys owne expenses and costes or atte the costes of the prince
or lorde / dere loue for to ansuere the lettere to thy demaunde
it behoueth to advise & see what thyng contyneth the othe
of fydelite that he maketh that entreteth in seyth of som lande
or possesyon moeuable in fee from som lordis lordshyp/ so ben
there thenne six prynceps couenantes after the decret & la
we cyuill/ **E**he first is that by hys othe he shal neuere pour
chasse that day that he lyueth the domage of his lorde Nor
in noo place he shal ke to his knollege whiche it is machy-
ned nor purchassed **E**he ij/ is that he shall neuere dyscouere
nor tellle his secret of that thyng that to hym might be pres-
iudiciable/ **E**he iii/ that he shal ke for hym in al manere of cas-
iuste good and reasonable ayenst all men exposyng both
his body and hys polvere atte hys neare in fayttes of werte
Well and truly atte al tymes that he shal be reuyred/ **E**he
fourth that he shall neuere be consentyng to the domage of

hys goodes/possessiouns nor hertages nor ayenst his lorde
Che sytth that yf it haue that his lorde haue to doo of
hym of eny thyng that he goodly can doo he shal not excus-
se hym / sapenge that ouere stronge and to dyficle it is to
hym for to doo / Che viij/ that he shall not seke noo waye for
to excuse hym self for to lette that he shal not goo to hys lor-
de atte hys commaundement and callynge / Sucht ten or
ought to be after the decretall and cyuyll ryght the promes-
ses by seythe and other made of the vassall to hys lorde/
By the whiche promyses hpt appereth ymough that the
vassalles be holden for to be with their lorde and for him in
hys werres/and to serue hym wel and truly with all theirre
puissaunce vndre thoblygacyon of lesynge of all theyre la-
des that they holde of hym as forsayt to the souerayne/ And
as god sayth in the couynt / who that is not with me is ay-
enst me so ought to be reputed to be ayenst theyre lorde thoo
that faille hym in thys behalff / And therfore they ought
to be dyspoyncted of the landes that they so holde/but never
thelesse noo lawe byndeth them not that they atte theyre oþer
ne costes shulde serue / but to the lordes owne propre wa-
ges / without it were that the lande were bounde so to doo
of aunciente / As it is of certeyn tolbynes that at theyre
owne costes and expenses be holden to serue theyre prynce
duryng certeyn space of tyme of som quantyte of folke in
hys werres / And good is there the reson why they ought
not so / For why nor for what occasyon shulde the lorde
take the leues of hys landes vpon the men and many other
charges / but it were for to maynten hys estate and putte in
treasure for to susteyne with all hys werres yf nede be to
hym / but not therfore without faylle / yf it were so that the
lorde had nomore wher with to maynten them / and that his

demayne suffyed not/and had necessrye specyally for to ke
pe and defensye hys lande/hys subgettes of ryght are holden
to sette a subsyde vpon them self / or ellis to gadre them
self togidre tyl a certyn nombre all appareyled in armes
for to helpe hym atte theyre owne expenses / And in cas
that they were not wyllyng so to doo/they may be of ryght
constraygne therfore/specyally ys the enemys were come
vpon his lande to renne vpon hym/ For after the lalve def
ensable werre ys preuyleged moche more than is the wer
re offensable/ But trouthe it is that ys a prynce or lorde had
nede to take such ayde/he ought to kepe wel that it be not to
the vndoyng of hys peple/nor he ought not to emploie hys
to noon other vse/lest hit shulde be to hys grete charge/ and
the cousseller that other wise shulde conseyle hym/hys were
to hys dampnacyon Nor noo gode kyng or prynce ought
not to take heire nor herken after the feyned wordes of suche
a counsayller/but ought to hate hym as enemys bothe to his
sowle and to hys body/ For he shulde conseyle hym hys
dampnacyon/ and sholde putte hym in the waye to lese the
loue and gode wylle of hys subgettes/

CWether the feed men or Bassalles ben more holden to
helpe their soueraine lorde/than namely theyr naturell lorde
And ys a gentyl man holdeth two feodable tenementes of
two lordes whiche make were one ayenst that other/ Why
ch of botch shall the gentyl man helpe/ **C**apitulo/vi

SWete maister soylle me thys question / I say syth
that it is so that a Bassall is holden for to helpe hys
lorde of vosome he holdeth hys lade ayenst every man
It semeth thene that ys a kyng or prynce had were aienst

son of hys barons/that the subgettes of the baron of whom
ther holde shulde be bounde to helpe theyre lorde ayenst þ kyng
or prynce/For to the kyng he haue not promyced noo se
altee but onely to theyre lorde of whome moeuth theyre lyf
lore whithout excepçon Dere loue to this questyon I shall
shortly ansuere without faylle / hold well that by reasons
ynouhe thou mayste argue with sayenge that aswell may
the lytel man helpe hym selfe of hys after the lawe/as doeth
the grete/and thus thenne Whyp shal not the baron helpe hym
self with hys men that fealte haue promised hym/and not
to the kyng & c/ And many other thynges that thou migh
test adledge to thys purpos/neuerthelesse I telle the that all
reasons to the contrary/after oure lawes ben admilled and
of noo value/For in good feyth noo subgett is not holden
to helpe hym of whome he holdeth hys lande ayenst hys souer
ayne lorde/but mydoeth and putteth hym self þt he so doo
Endre peyne capytall / as he that offendeth the ryall ma
giste/ For what thowþ the baron he lorde naturall to the
subgett/Neuertheles the kyng or prynce Endre whom they
be þs souerayne/And þt thou saye to me / thenne doo they
for suere hemself/I ansuere the Nay/ For noon oþre can not
bynde noone to do cuyll / Whiche they shulde doo for to holde
in wylkednes with theyre lorde that wold be ayenst theyre
souerayne lorde/ Dere maister a more harde questyon and
that all ynochȝ dependeth here of I will to þ make I suppose
that two barons of the reame of Fraunce or of som other
country haue werte one ayenst the other for the whiche cau
se they sende and callc theyre men / and soone hyt happeneth
that the kyng for hys verres and deffence of hys lande
hath neede of men and he maketh hys maundement in whyp
the are compyased the subgettes of the sayd two barons /soo

astie I now of the yf they shal bounde for to come to the kyng
atte hys maundement and callynge/or ellis to goo to they-
re lorde/To this question conformyng the precedente/I an
suere the that after ryght and lawe they are holden to come
to the kyng and leue theyre lorde/And thre reasons assygn-
eth therunto/the fyrist is/that the kynges vertue or of the
prynce souerayn beholdeth the comon wele and blythe of all
the realme or lande/the whiche vertue ought to be more pre-
vileged than the singuler blythe of a baronye/The seconde
is/that they are holden to the kyng of a generall iurisdiction
on whiche is of mooste auctorite/and hathe a hgh polvere
ouere the lorde Jurisdycyon of a baronye/The thyrd reason
is/that hyt apperteyneth not/that the lorde offter haue au-
toryte nor purssauence to be obeyed byfor the lorde/and lesseth
hys polvere/assone as the auctorite of the souerayn pryn-
ce cometh forthe/as the lyght of a candlele is lytell and is
lost/assone as that the lumen of the same cometh on/ Yet
another questyon I putte vnto the/I suppose that an Erle
or a baron of the realme of Fraunce/holdeth certeyne landes
of the kyng of Aragon or of som other kyng/ and that
it hapmeth so that all vpon one tyme the sayd two kynges
of Fraunce and Aragon/sende for the sayde Erle or baron
for to helpe them in theyre vertees/to whiche of thees two
kynges shall he thenne obeye/For Imposyble it is to be in
two places attones/and it shulde seme that he myght be ex-
cused fro goynge to nother of bothe / I ansuere the shortly
that he can not excuse hym self nother of the one nor for the
other whithout he wol lese the ryght of fealtee / That is to
wite/that he muste goo to that one of whiche he holdeth moo-
ste/and to that other he shall sende a certeyne of hys men!
A more harde questyon I the demaunde/yf it happe that the

sayd two kynges a bout sayd make Werre one ayenst the
other / I can not sele nor vnderstande to whiche of bothe sy
ought to goo / but that he shall sele one of hys Landes / I
saye to the / that the precedent ansuer may yet serue to this
questyon after som oppynions / that is to wryte to goo to the
one / and sende to the other / but thys thyng colde not be
wel supported in ryght / For yf he shule doo soo / thenne
must hys olde men be ayenst hym / And therfore no bet
tre remedye nor waye I can herto / But to chese the one that
hym shall best please / and to leue and for sake that other of
all poyntes / or ellis to haue grace of eyther of them / that
he shall not arme hym self nor noon of hys for to grym ay
d to nother of bothe / And knowest thou what to lufe
a Bassall apperteyneth / On my seynt to endevoure hym self
of all hys purssuance that peas may be founde betwene
hem bothe

CWxether all sondyours may goo after the lawe to al
manere of Werre and deuyseth the parell Wherryne the man
of Werre putteth hym self for to goo to the Werre other wy
se than the ryght of Werre requyreteth /

Capitulo / viij /

Qnyster as by the I vnderstande me semeth that the
subgettis be founde for to goo to the Werre byth they
re lordes yf they be called and sommed for to doo soo / not at
theyre expens / but takyng wages of theyre lordes &c /
Soo soyle me thenne yf yt please the another questyon /
I aske the / thought hyt be so that the costume is ynowgh
generall emonges men of Werre / that who wyl take wages
of all lordes / tolernes or countrees for to serue in al manere

M ii

of Werres / they all keyng of one contrey borne or of what
straunge landes that they be of / If thys men of Werre that
be not alle of one Contrey nor subgett / may slyctely doo
soo [unclear] For it shulde semme nay / keyng that fayttes of Wer-
re muste be executed by occyson and other dyuers euyl-
les / Whiche thynges be defended emonge crysten folke by
the lawes of god / To thys questyon dere loue I ansuere the
And thy self hast touched of hys al ynough in the bygyn-
nyng of thys booke / that to al Juste Werre may goo every
man that wyl and take wages for to scrue to the same / for
a Juste Werre for to kepe or recouere ryght / Wherof the ryght
Wages therof be not trespassed / that is to wyte that spoyl-
lynge nor robbrye be not made vpon the countrey wher
frenes be / nor other dyuerse greuaunces and dommages of
Whiche men of Werre comynly vben wikkidly in whiche
woyringe they myselfe greely / is not vniuste nor defended
by the lawe / but it is permittid to be / For it is a veray ex-
cucion of Justyce that god suffred and consenteth / to then
de that wronge may be brought apon to ryght / thonghe that
god suffreth Werres to be made som tyme dyuersly aponst
ryght and reason / the whiche is as the scourge of god / and
punyshyng for the synne of the folke / but for to come apon
to the fyrt propos / I say to the that every man that ryghte
wysly wil expose him self to Werre / he ought first to be right
ensourmed of the quarell / and knowe whether the chalenge
be iuste or not / yf thou aske me how he shall molde knowle
the same / For of all parties that folke doo make Werre ene
ryghte sayth that the caule of hys quarell is iuste / Late
hem enquire of suche Werre hath be Judget fyrt of gode Ju-
ristes or lawers / or whether it be for cause of defense ma-
kyng / For in cas of offence al Werre is gode that is to

Wyke/ to defende hys countrey yf hyt be assaylded/ And that
herof ought the man of Werre to be wel enfourmed or euere
he putte hym self thereto/ I wol thou knolle that yf the qua-
relle be Inuiste/he that thus exposeth hym self dampneth his
solwe/ and yf he deyeth in suche astate he goeth in to the Waie
of perdycyon without greate repentance at the laste / but litel
force they make therof / For ymough there be that care not
what the quarelle be/ so that they haue gode wages and that
they may wolle/ **H**elas the dolent and sorowfull deth co-
myng of tymes sodaynly may sende them in to helle anone
With one strok only/

There speketh of the wages of Soulbyours/ Cap*r. viii*
Thende that the noble men that thys present booke
shall molwe rede or here/as well for the tyme present/as
that is to come / may knolle of whiche thynges the lalve
gyueth lycence to be doon in the Werre / and of whiche not/
And by cause dere loue that here byfore thou hast remem-
bered me of wages that soulbyours ought to haue / I shal
telle the one partie of that Soulbynne the man of Werre
syndeth hym self taking wages/ and also in what manere
the lorde is holden to pape the sayd wages / and in what
manere not/ For suche thynges be conteyned in the lalve/
Fyrst it is to wite that every lorde/or certeyne toldone or co-
myng lordship/that taken folke in to wages/is holden to pa-
ye them for al the tyme that they be so taken be they putte to
werke or not/ and namely supposed that they were soiour-
nyng & dyng nothyng/ so that the falde were not in them
and that they were aldaynes redy for to emploie themself/ &
yf falde of payement be there made after the promesse/ I sa-
ye that by ryght and reason/they may aske hyt by faire Ju-
stice/ Nolde maister sith that in this matere we be entred

and that ye say that the lorde is holden to paye the men of
Werres Wages supposid that they were al waxes abyding
in one place nought doynge / I wol to thys propos makyn
Unto the som remaundes / First I suppose that a capytayne
With a compaunye of folke be retayned in to the kynges wa
ges & by his comaidement is sent in to Guyenne or somb
here ellis axenst hys enemies & in going thither hit happeneth
soo that they lode hem self in a certeyne place wher the fol
ke of the tolone haue malcously poysonned bothe the bre
de and the wyne there / wherby som of them ded and the other
tarwe therre lyke by the space that they shulde haue serued
Wherfore it is not in theyre powere to serue the kyng as
they had promyssed / Soo remaunde I of the yf they ought to
haue lost the wages of that tyme to this questyon I ansuer
re that nay without faille / seyng yet that theyre maladie
is caused of the seruyce / For syknesse by the latte excuseth
the man nor for this casse he ought not to lese ony dylstrybui
cyon / syth that the maladie is come to hym after his returme
in to wages / ¶ Another questyon I wyl make Unto the
Yf a souldyore be retayned in to wages for a hole yere and
that in thys meane tyme he haue a doo in hys house / wherfo
re he cometh to the capytayne and tasketh leue of hym for to
go see hys wyffe and hys housholde for the space of a mon
ethe / I aske the yf by ryght he ought to haue his wages for
the tyme that he is soo absent / To the same I ansuerre the
that the nature of the ryght of armes is such / that so grete
a myght hathe the leue and lycence taken of the capytayne
and it is of so grete a preuylage / that syth that the capytay
ne hathe wryth good wylle graunted the sayde leue / the sayd
man of armes ought to be reputid as for resydent and pre
sent / For alwayes he is abydynge seruaunte to the lorde

syth that he were reteyned for a hole pere / But it is wel trou-
the that yf he were bounde by dyngysyn of tyme / that is to
wite that without moe he were reteyned att a certeyne for
every monethe there shulde I speke otherwysse / Another que-
styoun I mak / A knyght for a hole pere is taken in to wa-
ges for to serue the kyngynge in hys werres / & after that he ha-
the serued one quarter of the pere he wol departe and aske
hys wages for the tyme that he hathe serued / and the cap-
tayne hemme gaynsaith hym that for one hole pere he
had taken hym / and yf he had not be he shulde haue taken a
nother / and that whosouere performeth not his scrupel he
leseth his hyre / Wherfore yf cas be that he goo hys wape so
he mortyfeth his hyre / To thys I ansuere the that good
ryght hathe the capayne / For yf the man of armes faylle
fyrst of hys promysse / It is not reson also that couenaunt
of wages be kept unto hym / Yet namely more stonge I
telle the that yf by hys owne deffalote he had loste hys hor-
ses or hys harneys / and that he myght not recouere noon o-
ther / Wherby he were not able to serue he in thys cas ought
to lese all the tyme that he hath serued for scrupel ought not
to haue noo hyre tyl that hit be complisshed / in cas al wapes
that noen other couenaunt were made / For couenaunt and
bargayne made passeth all lawe / And by all thus thou
maist see that the evill thyng that medled is wryth the go-
de / retourneth the goode wryth the eville / Mayster no wansu-
ere me to thys demaunde / A balyuant man of armes is ta-
ken for to serue all a hole pere soone after it happeneth that he
hath much to do atte hys hous wherfore he goo / and
takynge hys leue he sayth to the capayne that he shall putte
another for hym in his roome for to serue as he shulde hym
self / and to thys gaynsaith the capayne sayenge that he

had taken hym for cause of hys Worthynes good manho-
de and wisedome/ and that with peyne he shulde fynde one
that shulde suffisauntly kepe hys wylome/the souldyours re-
plyketh sayenge that certeyn a doo and lesynnes is come
Upon hym wherby he shulde lese hys lande and hys herytage
ys he in hys owne persone were not there / and that by rea-
son he is more holden to helpe hym self wryth hys owne streen-
gthe and wrysewome / than eny other / wherfore he may not
nor can not compelle hym to abyde/ The captyayne answe-
reth that he is bounde vnto hym by oþre Upon the helþ euans
gilles and that a man is not atte hys owne lyfþ to that hym
deth hym self to another / Now master determinyng thou thys
questyon/ For seynge the reasons of the sayde man / that
in hys place he wyl leue for hym a suffisaunt man/hyt shul-
de semme that quþte he myght god / I ansuere the that for to
determinyng hys questyon grete consideracions must be had/
For it is noo doubt but that of a comyn man of armes
shulde suffise man for man/but to saye that ys he were so so
lempne and so gretly able that wryth peyne myght another
kepe hys wylome/and that he shulde leue another for hym mu-
che lesse than hym self and not able/ it were not reason / but
ys it happed that he dide putte one as gode as he/thenne wol
not I gaynsey hys departyng/ For as I haue tolde the byfo-
re/a man of armes is not master of hym self / syth that he
is bounde to another by oþre/ Therfore I telle the that such
a man shulde not be therwoþ quþte wher soevre a doo that he
haddo/but that the pryncipe or his captyayne shold holde hym for
quþte by grace especyall/and a gode reason is there/ For ys
he had bounde hym self to paye ten elles of Scarlete and
that he shulde paye in stede of that ten elles of ours kendall
he ought not to be holde quþte therfore/ thauȝt it be so that

alle be clotheſ/

¶ Whetheſ a capplayne of men of Werre may chaunge and
take other atte hys wolle after that they be ones retyned/

¶ Capitulo / ix/

¶ After another queſtyon I make dependyng eynowþ
of that other aforſayde I ſuppoſe that a capplayne
of whens ſomeuer he be is retyned in to wages for a hole
welle with an honde men that he hath brought with him
whiche haue made all theyr muſtres and are Voriton/ It hap-
peth that a monethe after he wolle chaunge hys folke all or
a parte therow þ putte other in theyre places/ I aſſie of the yf
after ryght he may thus doo & it ſhulde ſeme ye For it oughte
to ſuffyle þ he haue a/C/ men of armes couenable as he ha-
th promyſed/ and wylch thyſ/ yf he myght not doo ſoo and
that he had noon auctorite therow hyt were to hys grete pre-
iudye/ For yf emonge hys nombre he ſalbe ſom euyl men
and of peruerſe condycyonis as theues or kepyng euyll
rule to the grete hurt of the other that be gode / wherby he
might be blamed/ Were it not thenne bettre that they were
chaunged/ than leſte ſtill in theyre tolome/ to this I anſuerē
þe/ that right is ſo Iuſte a thynge & ſo reasonable that hyt
wolle vndreſtand of every one without wronge to be doon
and therfore I tellle the that the pety capplayne whiche is vnd-
re the capplayne pryncypall/ may not godely doo this wylth
out the licence of his greter/ for yf it were ſoo/ hyt ſhulde lye
in hym to make many extorcyonis to the ſmalle felawes yf
hyt ſhulde please hym/ that is to wite/ to take other for ſom
fauoure or for couentyſe to take fro them a part of theyre
wages / or by what ſoever wylle/ and to putte out thoꝝ þ let
the were/ ſoo ought he to be aduysed afore heade to take ſuche

felawes wþþ hym that it be noo nedē to chaunge them.
And þf they muste be chaunged by som aduersyte that is
in them/it is hys dysworshyp whan such he hath chosen/þ
þf it happeneth all endes that there muste be chaunge made
and putte another he without fayle ought not to do so with
out the loue of the souerayne of the oþre/ and that it be yet
by a grete consydacyon/ And þf it happeneth that by hymself
and of hys owne auctorite he deeth it/ It is noo doubtē but
that he that so is putte out of wages may complayne hym
to the hed captyayne specially þf he a man good and able/ and
ought to haue ryght therof/ And to retourne to the propos
of the captyaines that be couetouose that many decepcyons
and barates may doo to the smalle felawes there ben yong
þe the whiche receyue the hole payement that they sieþe in
þeyre owne handes and it suffyseth them to content and
pease þeyre men with a lytel thyng/ And paradynture
such felawes dare not complayne by cause þeyre couena
unt/ and bargayne was so made with them for to be taken
in to wages wherunto by such meanes they be retayned a
noone whiche is a grete synne to al captyaynes that so doo
For they be constrainyd therfore to doo many euyles
more than they shulde doo þf they were wel payed/ Soo
shulde the hed captyayne take goode heed to such thynges/
For atte leſt may not the poure soulþours leyng a fot
or on þe backe men of shot or other but to haue that poure
payement and salarye that they wynde puttinge hem self
in parell of þeyre lyues and to so grete a traueyll of þey
re bodys/ Soo doeth he grete synne that taketh fro them or
minusseth þeyre wages of eny thige/ also the ançetþolde
neuer haue suffred this/ but they were more content that the
getyng shulde tourne rather to the soulþours/ than to þeyre

owne prouffyt/ For the auaylle they woldre that they had/ but the honour dyde suffyse them to be reserved for them self / ¶ Here sheweth yf a lorde sente a man of armes for the garnyson of som fortresse of hys owne without that emp wages he promysed hym/ and it happeth that he is dys- tressed and robbed by the waye/ to whiche of bothe he may as he his interresses and damages/ or of the lorde that sent hym or of hym that so hathe dyspoylled hym

¶ Capitulo x/

Another demaunde I make vnto the I suppose that a lorde hathe werre wyth another lorde/ so sendeth he a knyght to som fortes of his owne for to kepe it w/out that eyn couenant of wages he maketh to hym/ It hap- peth to thys knyght by the waye that hys goodes/ hys hor- ses and his harneyse be by force taken from hym/ to whiche of bothe may by ryght aske the sayde knyght hys losse or of hym that sendeth hym/ or of hym that hathe robbed hym/ I ansuere the that he may aske it of eyther of bothe/ that is to wyte of hym that hath sent hym by actyon of maunde- ment/ and of the other by actyon of wyolence won in dede/ And yf by the first is restytucion made vnto hym/ than is he holden to leue in hys handes thactyon and the ryght of the demaunde that he myght haue made to that other/ by strengthe and vertue of which/ the lorde that so hathe made restytucion to thys knyghte may recouere hyt vpon that other/ ¶ Now tell me morewtere/ a baron hath certeyne werre vnto vhome a knyght of his curteysie cometh to hys ayde & in his felishyp w/out that he be requyred therof/ I demaunde of the/ yf the same knyght after hys seruice won may aske yf it please hym emp wages/ ¶ For it shulde seme/nay ¶ For why/ he was not called thereto/ and it seemed that his entent was to serue hym for a curtoysye/ I ansuere

the to thys/ but yf that he be of hys kynne or lynage / or
that he be greely holden to hym/or that he were thyther com
by waye of charyte and loue/he may curtoysly makis assygn
ge without faylle som what for to susteyne hys astate and
lyuyng yf it so pleaseth hym for to doo/ For the lalve sa
yth that noon ys holden to arme hym self for another atte
hys owne costes So ought to suffysse the lorde that he hath
had the socours of that other/ And in asmoeche that more
frely he ys com the more behoden is the lorde vnto hym/
And ought to satysfyre hym/other by wages or by other
gystes or benefayttes/ ¶ Maister I suppose that the
kyng of Arragon shulde sende to morowbe a grete oost of
hys folke to socoure the kyng of Fraunce in hys verre
for a certeyne space of tyme of hys owne pure curtoysye
Wythout y he had he requyred by noo manere of wyse / but
shulde doo thys onely for to yelde axen a such and semblable
curtoysye as he dyde recevye som tyme / I askie of the lorde
ther this folke after theyre seruyce doon may assie wages/
For it shulde seme nay / syth that they haue ben sent as a
thyng that was due/ For holt myght they assie payement
of that wherfore they be come for to make satisfactyon ther
as they be bounden/ I ansuere the my loue/ that yf the kyng
ge of Fraunce hathe serued som tyme the kyng of Arra
gon or other in his verre of acerteyn nombre of men of
verre payed for space of tyme/as it is pnough of custome
emonge prynces beyng gode frendes / to do so that one
to that other/ Semblably is bounde by ryght of gentilnes
the kyng of Arragon to doo for the kyng of Fraunce at
hys ned/ ¶ Not soo / that by Ryght the kyng of Fra
unce myght assie hys of hym / but yf other condicyon
of covenaunt were there / ¶ For he that frely gyueth

may not constraine to be rewarde/ But in what somerere
manere that the comynge be/ the kyng of Fraunce is hol-
den by ryght to rewarde hem Wyth yefees/ Yet I demaunde
of the/ I suppose /that a lady the whiche is a wydowe hol-
dyng a lordshyppe/ be oppressed by herre wrongfully of a
grete lorde or kynght/ to the whiche wydowes helpe goeth a
gentyl man moeued with pyte and for to kepe the ladys
ryght and to encrease hys renommee in worthynes of
kinghthode/ and to saye all/ he doeth there so grete fayttes of
armes that thrugh hys proffesse/ brigeth the sayd lady atte
a good ende of hit herre/ and doeth a playne restytucyon to
be made vnto her/ myght thenne thys kynght after thys
thynges by hym thus doon aske eny salary or wages for
hys benefayttes/ as he that wel hath deserued hys/ I ansuer-
re to the that May/ For without her mandement or calling
he myght not constraine her to gyue hym wages/ & yf thou
wyl saye to me that greely he hath don the proffyt of the la-
dy/ I ansuere the that more greate honour he hathe made hys
owne/ inasmuch that he is enhaunced therby in renommee
of honoure and worship So is he payed al redy of the sala-
ry and rewarde that he sought/ But wel it is trouth/ that
yf the lady be of pouer and that she haue woxrof/ she ought
to deale so with hym/ that she gyue hym exsample and name-
ly to al other in such a wise that yf she had to doo another
tyme she myght be gladly socoured yet ageyne/

Cyf a kyng hathe herre wyth another and is wylling
to renne hym vpon/ Whether the lordes by whos landes he
and hys ost/ muste passe/ may chalenge hym the passage or
not

Capitulo/ viii/

Of the thynge of armes I wyl make vnto the other
manere of questyons I suppose that the kynges of
Fraunce for cause of som chalenge or quarell wyl make vnto
vnto ayenst the kynges of hongry wherfore he doeth calle hys
te togider for to go vpon hym for the whiche cause the kyng
of Fraunce wryteth to the duke of austryche þ thrugh his
land he may passe alwaye and he assurereth hym that neþher
ewyl/hurt nor noo damage shall not receyue his countrey
noþer by hym nor by hys men/but rather good & profyte
in as moche that for hys money he shall take bþtaylles there/
The duke of austryche that maketh doute of thys prouess
se/ansuereth to the kyng/that therof he wyl be made sure by
gode hostages/that restytucion shall be to hym made yf eny
grefe or damage is doon vnto hym atte this cause/ Soo
deuaide I wyl of the/what of ryght is to be doon in thys
þphalffe/ For the duke sayth that he is pryncie withyn hys
lande/so shall noo man passe there thurgh that ferreth armes
Without hit please hym/ And of that other parte / we putte
cas that he consenteth the same/ yet it shold be harde that such
anoste shulde passe noþ myght passe without greet oult
rages shulde be doon and therfore he wyl haue of restytucion
on a good surete/ Loue I ansuerethe that by the ryght vny
ton / he that for hys good ryght and iuste quarell goeth
to verry may and ought to haue hys waye and passages
and comyn wayes by all realmes and landes soo that noo
grefe nor hurt be there made by hym nor his men/ And
thus therinne syth that ryght gryueth it hym he nedeth not to
gyue noon hostages for that whiche of ryght ought to be do
and this is wrytenesse by the decretall whereto as it recyeth
þystorpe hold that whan the people of Israell went ayenst
þeir enemyes they must nedes passe thurgh the countrey

of the Amores the whiche folke woulde gaynsaye the pas-
sage/but whan they salbe that they conde not chaysshe with
them by loue/they wanue by force the passage as god ordeyned
for them/Soo saye I that semblably it shulde be ryght
and reason thus for to doo in every cas lyke/I demaunde of
the mayster/I putte cas that a baron of Fraunce haue moe
ued wrongfullly & by hys oultrace werre ayenst a knyght
in whiche he hath borne hym gree damages and greues/
But for the tym he can not fynde noo wye to haue ryght
of hym by Justyce/Nevertheles he calleth togider wyth hym
his frendes with a grete roote of men of werre for to renne
Upon the said baron/the whiche of hys parte defendeth him
self so well that he can not entre his lande nor damage hym
And by cause he hurteth and damageth in dede the contayns
that he next neghbours to the lanche of the baron for bycause
þþt he is honourable to thaire of his saide enemys so taketh
he there proyes out of all sydes and vexeth ryche therof in
so much that he can wel stelwe as much or more than he had
afors of damage It happeth thenne that in parys they mete
bothe togider afterward/Where as the sayd knyghtdoeth so
mone the said baron in the court of parlyament/ and there
he assketh hym restytucion of the damages that he hath doon
to hym wrongfullly and without a cause in the sayde warr-
re/ To the whiche thinge that other ansuereth/that it ought
wel to suffise him of that whiche he hathe gotten by meanes
of the same warrre/ For where as byfore he was a polvere
knyght/he was becom ryche by the proyes that he had gotten
and taken/ ¶ The knyght replikeyth and sayth/ that he
hathe noo thyng a doo of that that he hathe wonne
in pursuyng of hys owne and that it is nothyng of
hys/and þþt he had pugnysshed hys neghbours of the synne

that they dyde in forberynge hym wrongfully ayenst hym/
it was not reason that theyre goodes taken and that were
not his shulde tourne to hym to the abolicyon of that that
he owed hym/ Soo aske I of the whate of thys is to be doo/
To thys I ansuer the that ys it were so that the knyght
had won so muche that he had had of the goodes of the baron
so moche that he had be restored therme it shulde suffise by
right without faille/ But ys in makinge this were he had
wonne and taken ought upon his neigbours by the mea-
nes aforesaid the whiche thinge is ryght of were / the said
baron is not therof dyscharged nor excused in no thinge/ but
he is holden as he was byfore to suchx damages and inter-
ses that he hath done vnto hym by wronge hande/ and well
argueth the knyght of that that he saith/ For ys that other
wold saye that it apperteyneth not noo duece to be payed
two times therfore syn that he was ones payed it shulde suf-
fyse/ all this is noo thyng by cause that it is not to the re-
gare of hym/ ys he hath wonne it by waye of were/ that is
for the pugnicyon of them that gaafe ayde and counsayll
to the sayd baron ayenst hym

CHere sheweth ys a man had be wounded and sore hurt of
another the whiche is wonne alwaies after the strok was gi-
uen/ and he that is so hurt foloweth hym and atte laste shulde
hurt hym/ Whether Justyce shulde pugnysshe hym therfore/
CItem and ys a man of armes boroweth horses and har-
noys and keseith them/ Whether he ought to yelde them ayen-

CCapitulo / viii/

Mister I remembre me that thou hast sayd here also/
ys/ that to a man in defense is permited to hurt ano-
ther/ And by cause that all hurtes and fetynge that he do-
on by euill wille one vpon other ben and may be called the

members dependyng of Werte / I make vnto the suche a
questyon / If a man haue hurt another and assone that he
hath light his stroke vpon he venneth alwaye as faste as he
can / But he that is hurt foloweth after tyl that he ouertake
 hym / and semblablly stryketh and hurteth hym / So demaun
de I of the whethir he that foloweth ought to be punysshed /
For it shulde seme by thyn owne sayenges Nay seynge
that he hathe not goon beyonde the wavyes of Justyce / syth
that he was first hurt / thought he after wardes hurteth / and
namely yf he had slayn hym by that that I vnderstante of
ryght in defensyng of hys body / yet shulde he be excused / &
also he hathe doon hym without tarynge / For yf he had tary
ed to the morn after I wold not saye that it were vengence
I ansuere to this that the cas that thou spekest of / is dyffe
red fro Juste defensyng / the whiche is preuyleged / that is to
wite after the lawbes / For syth that the fyrt fled awaie af
ter his stroke / the lawbe graunteth not / that the other shulde
purveye hym nor hurte hym / and therfore he deserueth pu
nycyon / But trouthe it is that more grete pumpissment
hathe deserued he that fyrt strokē & hurted / And yf the se
conde hathe deserued grete or lytell punycyon / amonge the
masters be therof dyuerce oppinions / Neuerthles it is noo
doubte that the fyrt moeuyng that is in hym to felle hym
self hurte and the hasty herte that causeth and chaffeth hym
soore to folowe / excuseth hym moche / Wherfore more moderat
ly he ought to be punysshed for / But and yf he had slayne
that other sodaynly vahan he fyrt strokē hym / Justyce shul
de not haue had ought to do / with so that he can prove that
he was assayled and strykien fyrt / by cause that the lawbe
suffreth to felle another for sauyng of his owne lyffe / & yf
thou telle me that it may be soo / that he that assayleth fyrt

hath noo wille for to see/I ansuere the/that soo doeth not he
that is assayled/And also strokies be not stryken after noo
patron/For such veneth onely to stryke that sleeth/ And
therfore he that hath the first strokis myght wel tarye so lon
ge are he strakis ayen that he shulde fynde hym self the fyrest
slayne/But thees thynges not wythstandyng for consci
ence and for alle ought aman to kiere hym self as myght as
he can that he see not another/ For nothyng what soeuer
it be is more dyspleasance unto god than for to dystroye
hys lyfe/and he is the Iuge that all the thinges after right
punyssheth/nor nothinge can not be hid nor kept from hym

Another petyçon / A knyght of almayne or of som
other countrey cometh to paris wher he syndeth the kyng
redy for to goo to batayle/the sayd knyght that therof was
not aware had not atte that oþre no manere of harneys
properte for hym self/but as desyrouse to serue the kyng &
to encrache hys honoure/he doethe so moche that som gentyl
man that knoweth hym well seneth hym bothe horses and
harneys such as pleaseþ him well/ It happeth thenme that
this almayne lesseth in the bataile bothe horses and harneys
and all that he hathe and with peyne as a naked man he
scapeth/After whiche thyng the saide gentyl man that
had sent hym all this assyeth and wol haue hit ayen of hym
nol to wite after the ryght of armes/Wyther he is bou
de to make restytucion therof or not/I ansuere the that this
questyon is in the lalbes all clere ymough / And this to
selle I seke not to selle hit by noon other reason/ For I
telle you of a trouthel that syth the knyght is to the batayl
le for whiche he hadde borowed the said horses and harneys/
and that he hathe not begyled that other that is to wite / he
hathe not made hym to understande one thyng for a nother

Certeynly he is not bounde to yelde them ayen/ But and yf
he were goon som wylre ellis ther with all/ or that he had
borowed them for to deceyue hym therof/ and that he sholded
sfernly that he had loste them/ and that it myght be proued
other wyse I shulde saye other wyse/ Mayster and yf it were
so that he had hyred all thees thynges of certeyne mar-
chauntes/ that is to wyte the harneys of an armure/ and
the horses of one or of two marchauntes/ and had lost
them as it is sayd/ shulde not he be bounde to yelde them ay-
en and to paye the hyre therof/ I telle the semblably that
nay as a loue/ in cas that noon other expresse couenaunte
were made betwix hym and the marchauntes/ that what so
euere it happeneth he shulde yelde the sayde horses and harneys
Unto theym ayen/

¶ Whether subtyltees and polycyes of armes are goode
and Juste to be woon/

Capitulo /xij/

Another questyon dyfferten fro the forsayde purpos/
I wol aske of the/ Telle me I praye the Is it of a
gode reason and after ryght/ that a kyng or a prynce shal
do so moch by calvete and subtyl pollicye/ that he shal sub-
due and come to hys above ouere hys enemye therby/ se it in
bataille or ellis wher/ For it shulde be aduyced that nay co-
syderynge that rightfulnes and reason oughte to be kepte/ &
it can not be noo ryght there as one deceyueth another/ and
also every man that hath a Juste quarell/ ought to haue a
gode hope in god that wel it shall fortune with hym therof
yf by peyne and dylgence he pursueth/ Therfore he that hath
a good & a ryghtelvis quarell ought to goo as me semeth

M ij

the ryght wye of werre without to use of eyn wyles/
Doughter and my dere loue thou sayst full wel/but nathe
les I certysye the that after the ryght of armes / and that
more is after god and holy scripture / men ought to bayn;
quysse his enemys or may overcome hym by barat/cabotet;
le and engyne without wronge of armes syth that the wer
re is Jugeo and notyfied betwyx bothe partyes/ And that
truthe it is that it may be doo/oure lorde Ihesu cryste gaffe
exsample therof whan he ordyned and taught to Josue holo
by cabotet he shulde surpryse and overcome hys enemys/
And of sucht thynges men are wooned to use and common
ly yngough they helpe themself in tyme of werre / but I con
fesse and tell the well / that there ben certeyne maneres of
barates whiche ben reproved and forboden / as well in fayt
tes of armes as in other caas/ As yf it were/ that I shulde
assure som body for to come to me in a place whiche as I shul
de be for to speke with hym/ and so muche I shulde doo that
Endre myn assurance he cometh there whiche as I shulde
doo hym to be taken and slayne / Sucht a thyng werte a
ryght euylle treason/ Or ellis yf by feyned trewdes or peas
I shulde a spye my tyme for to hurte som other body that he
weth not hym self ther fro and wensem to be sauffe/ and all
sucht other maneres of waynes wherof I shulde doo euill and
grete dyshonoure and repreef shulde come to me therby/ and
grete synne shulde one doo to doo so/ And therfore the
lalwe saythe/ that syth the fayth is pouen to hys enemys /
men ought to kepe it to hym / But another thyng ther
is yf a valyaunt man of armes or a wyse capteyn/can
well ordeyne busshementes theras hys enemys muste pas
se and nouȝt is felware therof/ or alle sucht other maneres
of cabotetes/ so that they be not ayenst fayth promysses nor

ayenst thassurance that men had made/ And nougnt is
to be sayde the reason that thou sayst syth that men haue a
good quarrell/ Wcherto I accorde me/ But hold wel that the
kynge of Fraunce haue goode ryght ayenst som other kyn-
ge/ yet muste he gyue helpe to susteyne and bere out his gode
ryght/ And thenne whan by wyte and dylgence men doo
theyre deuoyre/ they ought to haue hope in god that he shal
helpe that the thynge shalbe conducted and brought to a go-
d endyng and perfecyon

¶ Whether a man of armes that were dystressed and ro-
bed by the waze myght assie by ryght his domages vnto
hys lorde/ ¶ Item yf a lorde sendeth som socours of men of
werre to som other lorde in his werre wþþout that he be soo
requyred for to doo/ Whether the lorde to whom the sayde men
of werre be thus sent/ is holden to paye them of theyre wa-
ges or not/ ¶ Item whether men of werre may lawfully
take bytakles vpon the countrey or not/

¶ Capitulo / xiiiij

¶ Ayster as to oure before sayd purpos me semeth by
thys that ye haue concluded a fore/ that is to wyt/ yf
a kynghyt or som other man of armes is sent fro som lorde
for a garnyson of som fortres wþþout that eyn couenaunce
te of waze he made nor noo promesse vnto hym/ and that
it happeneth thys kynghyt or man of armes to be robbed by the
waze/ may he assie by ryght restytucion of hys losse of the
lorde that soo sendeth hym &c/ I wyl make another questi-
on vnto the/ I suppose that a capptayne of Lombardye or
of som other countrey/ as men som tym haue doo com in to

Frawnce had brought Wyth hym a hondred or two hondred
good souldeours/and that he and hys felawshyp were re-
teyned in to wages atte a hondred shelyng by the moneth/
and were sent vnto a certeyn place / and in hys gooyng
therer he were assayled by the waye by the enemys whiche
as he had lost hys penonell hys places and hys harneys
hys pyxe and hys tabret/and hys felawhes theyre curates/
theyre paueyses and all theyre bagage. I assie of the yf they
myght demaunde of the kyng theyre losse and dommage/
Wythout faylle I ansuere the/that nay/m caas that noon
other couenaunt were there but onely of theyre bare wages
For the same wythout euy moo / was graunted to them/
and the same they may aske and nomore / And yf thou
wylt demaunde of me/for what reason thys capptayne hath
not also greete an actyon for to demaunde of the maystre
that sendeth hym/as it is sayde here before & cetera / I telle
the that that whiche the lawe fereth/ hathe a greter fauou-
re to hym that is not bounde by noo bargayne made and is
putte to werk / than hys doeth to hym that is bounde/ And thys
thou mayste see by an exsample of a man that shal ha-
ue dwelled with a marchaunt or wyth som other man a ye-
re and a day wythout thys that he be not bounde by noo bar-
gayne made/he may make a moche more greter demaunde
of the godys and marchaundyses of the house / wythout
that ther be som certeyn excuse made by the mayster/than he
that hathe hyred hym self by bargayne made/ ¶ And ther-
fore I telle the that a man is not wel aduysed that in hys
house taketh euy seruaunt to contynue wyth hym / but yf he
make couenaunt wyth hym/ For the lawe presupposeth
and taketh a man soo duellynge wyth another as felawe to
his mayster/as well of the getynge/as of the losse/ Another

questyon I make vnto the / I putte caas that som lorde had
sent for som souldours out of a straunge contrey / and had
retayned them in hys wages for a hole pere for to come
and socoure hym in hys were / whiche he thoughte shulde
laste longe / And that it shulde happe thenne that or euere
thys folke with theyre capptayne myght arryse in to the
sayd lordys lande / Howel that of al theyre powere they
had hasted them self / he had lost all hys sayd lande / in so
much that noo socours atte all / myght helpe hym nomore /
Wherby he had nomore nede of noo folke / I aske whether
the sayd souldours so retayned myght aske theyre wa-
ges for the hole pere / or onely fro that day that the couena-
unt was made / For it shulde seme ye / for thys that an
aduocate of the kyng or of som Lorde takyng a pensi-
on or fee of hys mayster by the pere and that hathe bygon
ne to do hys offree / hys wages of the hole pere are due
vnto hym For yf he redyed bythin the fyrt monethe of the
pere after the interynacyon of hys offree hys feyne myght
have an actyon for to demaund the hole payement of
hys wages / ¶ Whynne myght not thees folke en-
ioye thys ryght as well as they / And also it may wel be
that they haue lost by meane of the same as good wages
of whiche they shulde haue be sure for a hole pere in som
other place / ¶ And many other reasons myght be yet al
playnly sayde whiche I leue for shertynge of the matiere /
¶ Fayre loue I amsuere the sherty that thees reasons
and all other that thou coude saye thereto are of noo value
¶ For I make the sure that for content they ought to hol-
de hem self to be onely payed for the whiche that they haue
serued / ¶ And here ys the reason / They were retayned for

souldours for to kepe the lande or euere that hit was lost/
But syth that it is lost they can noomore serue therfore/
and thus they ought not to deserue the wages of a seruice
whyche they can not doo/that is to wyte to kepe a lande why-
che is al redy loste / And the lalve byndeth noo man to a
thyng that is Imposyble / For yf by compulson they
wolde be payed men myght saye vnto them/and ye shalbe al
so compelled to kepe that whyche is al redy loste / hwo can
that be doo / And by thys concludeth that that is sayde/
Now good mayster here me a lytel yf thou be so pleased/I as
ke of the yf whan men of werre are taken in to wages/and
that of theyre payement be noo faulke made/ Whethere it be
houeth them wyth theyre wages truly payed to take bytai-
les vpon the countrey / and to dyspoyle and take dyuerse
other thynges as they comonly doo thys day in the realme
of Fraunce/ I answere the certeynly that nay / and that
suche a thyng is noo poynct of the ryght of werre / But it
is an evylle extorsyon and a grete dyolencie made wrong-
fully and wyth grete synne vpon the people / For thus
as thy self haste sayde here to fore/ that a prynce that wyl
makie werre ought before hande to aduyse and see wherē &
hōd hys fynaunce shal be made and taken / and aboue all
thynges he ought to ordene so that hys folke be well payed
wherby they may truly paye that whyche they take/be it by-
tayle or other thynges/ And then it were a Juste thyng
to purisshe wel theym that wythout money shulde take eyn-
thyng what someuer it were / But by argumentacyon
thou myghtest agayn saye to me/and yf caas were that the
ennemys cam in to the lande sodaynly/wherfore it were ne-
de to makie a sodayne defensē or euere that the prynce might
haue purueped for so grete a fynaunce as muste be had for

to pape monethly a grete quanþte of men of Werre/ But
yf a tresore be had/ I ansuere the/that in al thynges that is
of nedē men m̄ste helpe hem self as they can leſt after theyre
polwre/ For whan that thys caas were/the prynce shulde
be þnough excused / yf he suffred them to take/that is to
wyte al onely bytaylles necessarly as they passed forthe
for sustenaunce of theyre bodyes onely to the leſt hurt vpon
the poure labourers that myght be doo/ and not that they
shulde doo as the woulos to whom suffyseth not one ſhere
whan they entre in to the folde but stranglen and kylle all
the hole flocke/ Semblably many of oure men of Werre doo
the same / For therw as a henne or a Lambe myght suffy-
ſe them/they take and kylle/þ or/þn/ of them / And ſucceſſe
waste of goodes they makie even as they were veray woul-
ues rauyſhyng without conſcience as though ther were
noo god or that they never shulde deye/ Alas wel ſe thoo
þtterly blynded that thus doo / For more in parell of de-
the they goo/ than other folke/ and leſſe than eyn other men
they take ſhe thereto

CWhat men ought to doo with the proges that be gotten
in Werre/

CCapitulo/þ3

Another manere of queſtyon I wyl to the make/ I as-
ke of the what men ought for to doo wyth the thynges
that be wonnen vpon the ennemys in bataylle/ Dere
þoue to thys queſtyon byhoueth to be anſuered by dyſtinc-
tion of cases/ For hyst after the cyrple laþe/ is to be vni-
derſtande of what aſtate and condycyon the persone is that

hath conquered a thynge by faytte of Werre/ And there is
a manere to vnderstand in what cases & in what Wernes
thees lalbes haue place/ For yf a Werre be made by man
dement or callyng of the kyng or prynce/ that hath pouer
to ordynre and sette vp a Juste Werre/ som lalbes be rese
ued to such a lorde/ and not to other folke / that is to Wyte
that all the getynge ought to goo atte the Wyalle of the pri
ce or of the lyeutenaunt or fed captpayne / For syth that
the men of Werre are atte the wages of the kyng or pryn
ce what someuere they take be it prisoners or other prope
oughte be to the lorde after the lalbes/ And aunciently it
was wooned to be thus doon/ What that of grace in tyme
present by longue custome in Fraunce and in other landes
is lefte to the men of armes that whiche they conquerre and
gete/ yf the thynge that they conquerre be not of so grete a po
ys that it passeth the prye and Somme of ten thousandne
frankys/ the whiche thynge be it a prisoner or other good
moeuable is yolden vnto the kyng or prynce / by al thus/
that he is holden to gyue to the sayd man of armes that ha
th gotten hit what so euere he be / the sayde prye of /v/ thou
sand Francs/ And such a thynge is a gode custome in
a lande/ But the forsayde lalbe affermeth the decree that
sayth playnly that al the prope ought to be after the pryn
ces Wyalle/ And ought to departe it iustely amonge them
that haue holpen to gete hym every man after hys mery
te/ And that thys thynge be of a trouthe/ noo man myght
not sustaine the contrarie / For the same is approued by
the ryght Briton y namely assygneth thereto such a reason
that is to Wyte/ that if it were soo that the prisoners or
propes shulde be to the man of Werre/ all thus and by the sa

me reason shulde be theyrs the castles and townes that
they take / the Whyche thynge were neyther good nor Juste
that they Wyth the money of the kyng or prynce and had
at hys expences shulde gete for theyre owne behoue eyn gro
unde / For that Whiche they doo is doon as of the kynges
owne werk men that be sette alberke for hym and in his na
me / therfore ought not the proye to be theyrs Wyth theyre
wages / but onely thys that the prynce / wyl tyue them of a
specyall grace the Whiche grace to saye trouthe wel and larg
ely hit behoueth them / as to them that setten in aduenture so
dare a catell / as is the blode the lynes and the lyffe / And
the more that a prynce is hygher in the degree of noblesse / so
muche more he ought to rewarde them that wel haue deser
ued it / ¶ And of the proyes wonnen in erthe the noble
and worthy auncyent kept nothyng therwof for theyre ow
ne self / but onely hys suffyced them to haue the name and
the worshyp of the dede doon by theyre men Whyche had the
proffyt therwof / And by such alwaye they gate the hertes
and loue of theyre men of werre / that they brought atte a
gode ende theyre grete and merueylouse entrepryse /

¶ Begynneth to speke of prysomers of werre / and holde
a myghty man taken in werre ought to be yolden vnto the
prynce / and holde not /

¶ Capitulo / xviii

Ho by cause I haue tolde the here by fore / That af
ter the forsayd lawe / is to be knowen / of what con
dynyon is the persone that hathe conquered som what in
armes / wherof I haue declared to y one parte / Nowe suppose

We other Wyse / that is to Wyte that a bawon made Werre
apenst another bawon / Were hys quarell Juste or not / or that
Wolde defende hys lande fro som other / For why aswell to
defende hym self and to kepe hys lande what that the caas
be / It behoueth hym to Juge a iuste Werre / as whan he enua-
hysseth / And yf it hap theinne that thys bawon that so def-
endeth hym self / taketh that other that enuahysseth hym /
shuldest thou saye that he were hys owne prysoner / I certyn-
fye the that nay / nor noon other ryght he shulde haue vpon
hym by the lawe / but only to holde and kepe hys persone su-
re vnto the tyme that he shulde presente hym to the lorde so-
uerayne of whom he sholde holde the baronnye Whiche shulde
gyue vpon hym hys Iugement / but another inspecte may
be herupon / that is to Wyte / that yf he that taketh hym be su-
che a man that he haue souerayne Justyce in hys owne han-
de / or ellis that he haue the powere to doo Justyce vpon the
mysdoers / and hathe custome to do therof as the Veray lor-
de as sen many lordships that haue such auctorite / I telle
the that syth that he syndeth hym rymyng ouer the lande
robbyng and sleepyng hys men / that he by hys Justyce may
punyssh hym yet supposed that he were a gretter lorde in de-
gree than hym self / ¶ Not Wythstandynge that men
myght make an arguement vpon thys caas / that a man
may not nor ought not to be Juge in hys owne propre
cause / I say that he may doo soo / and by two reasons / that
one by vertue of his Jurisdycyon whiche is to punyssh
and doo Justyce of the mysdoers / and that other that he
punyssheth the dede of hym that maketh hit vpon the
propre place / Whereof he hathe auctorite of the lawe to do
soo / For yf a man assayleth another and thynketh to hur-
te hym / he that is so assaileld may doo to that other that

that he wold had doon to hym/and I telle the that it is at
temperaunce of a reasonable deffence/but I confess well that
ys he that so is assailed and that had noo Jurysdycyon nor
auctoryte to do so/shulde punysshe of his owne hed/hys ad-
uersarpe vnder the tyke of Justyce/or that shulde kepe hym
in prysyon/he shulde doo wronge to his souerayn lorde / and
shulde putte hym self in parell to lese that that he holdeth of
hym/therfore he ought to yelde hym soone to the said soue-
rayne lorde / Ifp r namely it were lawfull to a man of the
chyrche in suche a caas for to recouere his thynges apyn/

CWether men ought to doo deye a chyef capptayne of an
oste taken in fayttes of Werre/or ellis ys he oughte to be for
the prynce/And whethir it is a thyng lawfull and that
concerneth the ryght wryton for to makie a man to paye eyn
raunson for hys delveraunce/ **C**apitulo/xxvii/

Qnyster syth that we ben entred in to purpos of priso-
ners taken by by faytte of Werre/I aske the ys it hap-
pe the hed captayne to be taken or som highe man that hathe
sore letted & doon greate hurt and yet myght doo to that par-
tye that hath taken hym ys he escaped/ Yf by the lawe and
ryght men myght putte hym to deth/ For by the lawe of na-
ture hyt shulde axere that ye wshere as it is trouthe/ that al
thinge alwaiteith to distroye his contrarye/Certes dext loue
I ansuere the that what especially the lawe cyuyle sayth/
that he that is taken in batayle is in thralldome as a sclauie
or seruaunt that taketh hym/he ought not to be slayne/ For
whyn the decree affermeth hyt sayenge/ that syth at a man
is in prysyon mercy is due to hym/ Thenne thus ys myl-
dene is due to hym/wolde myght he be putte to deth wryth-
out that Inurye were doon to hym/ **C**And yet more

harder I shal tellle the / Another decree there is that saythe
that syth that a man hathe overcome another/ he is holden to
pardonne hym/ specially his lyffe / Soo saye I to the welle
that it is ayenst all ryght and gentylnesse to selle hym that
yeldeþ hym / And I tellle the that the parentes and frendes
myght pursue therfore as for wronge doon/but yf it were so
that the prynce shulde kepe hym towardys hym and take
hym fro the handes of hym that had taken hym / and by a
gode and Juste cause yf he had well deserued it / and that he
by hys counsayll knelwe that a greate euyll and hurt myght
come to hym and to hys lande yf he let hym goo free / shulde
make hym to deye / For in other manere of wylle it were a
thyng Inshumayne and to grete a crudenes / And yf thou
say to me that aunciently they had a lawe that they myght
make thire praysoners to deye yf it pleased them/ or selle them
to whom they wold/or make hem to laboure in theyre seru-
ſe/ ḡ ē/ I ansuere the that amonge crysten folkis wher the
the lawe is altogyder groundyd upon myldefulnes and pyte
is not lychte nor accordyng to use of such teranyne why-
ch he acursed and reprooved / Nowe I make the other que-
styons to knowe wher a praysoner ought to be or to whom
or to the lord/or to hym that hathe taken hym / For me se-
meth that ye haue sayde here byforē/ that one lawe therer is
that wytnesseth/that a praysoner is in the wylle of hym that
takeþ hym/ and syth that he is atte hys wylle / hyt semeth
thenne that he shulde be hys owne / ¶ Fayre loue it se-
meth that thou hast forgoten that that I haue tolde the a-
fore / Soo saye I yet vnto the ageine/ that verily therer
ben many oppynions of dyuerse maisters / ¶ Pro and
contra in this caas here / ¶ Neuertheles it is con-
cluded that al pryses and prayses / as alredy I haue

told the ought to be atte wille of the prynce whom apparetyneth to dystribuite them after dyscrecyon/ Wel I vondre stande the maister/nold teile me/that syth that we exsten men atte thys day haue lefte the auncynt lawes to putte in thraldom or to ssee the prysoneis/ I askie of the ys Justly men may demaunde of a prysoner a fynaunce of gold or of siluer or of som other moeuable goodis after this that men vsen comonly in faytte of werre/ For ys I remembre me well/ thou hast sayde here byfor/ that to a prysoner is myl defulnes due of ryght vnto hym/ and me semeth that sith it is due to hym after ryght/ men doo hym wronge themme to makie hym pape reanson wher as men doo to hym noo misericorde/ I tellle the yet and ansuere upon a nelve that verly is myldefulnes due vnto hym in two maners / that is to wyte/ that the laude ought to be respiced to hym/ and the lyf sauad/ and more harde I tellle the that the mayster is holdeyn of ryght and bounde to helpe his prysoner aienst another that wold offense hym/ Item with this is myldefulnes due to hym in suche a manere that ys it were possyble that a man of armes had al that he is woorthe upon hym atte that oþore that he is taken al togider may be to the mayster that tasketh hym without that he shalbe hym fauour and doo to hym mysercorde/ But of ryght vnyton he ought to be myl defull vnto hym so that in takiyng of his prysoner reanson whyche is permittid in ryght of armes/ by especyall of one natyon aienst another whan they doo woorre togider as englyssh men and frenssh men and other in lyke wyse/ ought to be taken heede that the reanson be not so cruell that the man be not vndoo therby g his wiffe g children distroyed and brought to pouerte/ Other wisse it is tirannye/ aienst coscience g aienst al ryght of armes/ For it apparterneth not

that a gentyl man shulde begge hys brede after the payement
made for hys reasoun but ought to be left hym wherof he
may lyue/kepyng his astate/And wel ought to be praysed
the usage of pylpe/in whiche werres whan a man of ar-
mes is taken/he comonly leseth but onely his horses & har-
ness/So nedeth hym not to selle his lyfloe nor to desertye
hym self for to pape his reasoun/ Thus mayst thou see in
what manere is reasoun couenable Juste and good after
the ryght of armes whiche is permittid/But for to putte a
man in an euyll pryon and constrainne by tormentynge to
paye more then hys pouer may bese it is an hemynable
horreur and the dede of a cruel cristen tyraunt wers than a
Jew/ And wote thou for certeyn that that whiche he hath bi-
suche wayes of hys prysoner it is ryght euyll gotten/and he
is bounde to yelde it apen or ellis it is hys dappnacyon/ Soo
kexe hym self there fro every man

¶ Whether it is of ryght that men may take vpon the en-
emyses londe/the poure laborers/ ¶ Capitulo/viii/

Asse the whan a kyng or a pryncie hathe werre ay-
ent another though that it be Juste Whether he may
by ryght ouer renne the contrey of his enemys takynge al
manere of folke prysoneris/that is to vise them of the co-
myn poure xple as ben laborers/shepares and suche folke/ &
it shulde semeth that nay/ For what reason ought they to be
re the penaunce of that that they medle not hem self/ wher
as they can not the crafte of armes/nor it is not theyre of
fice/nor they be not called for to iuge of werres/ & also Wer-
res comen not by suche poure folke/ but they be full soray for
it/as they that full fayne wolde alwayes lyue in gode peas
nor they assie no more/ So ought they thene as me semeth
to be free therowf/ lykethat of ryght ben prestes religyouse &

all folke of the chyrch / by cause that theyre astate is not
to entremette hem self of warre / And wþþt thys what
worship may thys be nor what pycce of armes for to flee &
renne vpon them that neuere bare harneys nor coude not
help hym self wþþt all/ and that haue noon other offyce/but
poure Innocentes to goo to ploughfe and laboure the lande
and to kepe the bestes/ To thys I ansuere the suppesyng
in thys manere/ We putte caas that the people of Englan
de wolde make no manere of helpe to theyre kyngfe for to gree
ue the kyngfe of Fraunce/ and that the Frenshmen went
vpon them wþþtout faylle by ryght and reason and after
the lawfe they ought not to hurte nor misdoe nother in body
nor in goodes of the people nor of them that they shulde
knowle that had not meddled them self in nothyng to helpe
nother by theyre goodes nor by theyre counseyl theyre kyng
ge/ But and yf it be so that the subiectes of the same kyngfe
or of som other in semblable a caas be it ryche or poure labo
rers or other gyue apñe comfort and fauoure for to mayn
ten the werre/ the Frenshmen after the right of armes may
ouer renne theirre lande and take al that they fynde/that is
to wþþt prysoneers of all astates/and al thynges and be not
founde for to yelde them ayein For I tell the/ that such right
is determyned ryght of werre / Judgeth bothe kynges or
princes counseyl theyre men of werre may gete the one v
pon the other/ And yf som tyme the poure and sympyle thou
gh they arme not hem self doo aby the bargeyne and be so
re hurt therby/it can not be other wþþt/ For the euyll herles
can not be had out from emonge the goode by cause they be
so myghte ech other wþþtout that the gode herles haue a fe
lyng therof/ But to beholde ryght well it is true that the ba
tauants and gentylmen of armes ought to kepe hem self as

moch as they can that they dystrope not the goode symple
folke nor to suffre that theyre folke shal Inhumaynly hurt
them / For they ben crysten/and not sarasyns / And yf I
haue sayde that mysercorde is due vnto the one / Knowe
thou that not lesse it is due to the other / Soo ought they
to hurt them that ledeth the warre/and spare the symple and
peasable of all theyre purssauance /

Whether a english scoler or of som other enempees lande
were founde studyeng atte the scoles in parys myght be ta-
ken prsoner or not/

Capitulo/xiv/

But syth that we ben entred in matere of prsoners of
warre I wyl that thou Juge they self after thyng aduy-
se of such a debat whiche by an exsample I shal propose vnto the/
Now knowdest thou al ynough how the kyng of
Fraunce and the kyng of England haue comonly warre
one ayenst an other / I putte the caas that a scoler licencyed
atte Cambryge in Englannde is com to the unuersite
of parys for to be there graduate or enhaunced in the degree
of doctour of dyngynce or in other facultee / Wch it happeth
that a man of armes of Fraunce knoweth by other that
thys scoler is an englyshman borne and taketh hym as his
prsoner / to the whiche prse the sayde scoler sayth ayenst
thereto opposeth hym self / so ferforth is the thyng brought
that before the Justyce cometh the questyon / to the whiche
debat / the Englyshman that in ryght sondred hys reason
sayth that he hathe a caas expert of the lalve that doeth for
hym self / for cause of the greate preueleges that the scolers
haue there / and hyt defendeth that noo gryef nor dysplea-
syre be doon to them / but honoure and reuerens / And here
is the reason he saythe that the lalve assygneth Who shulde

Be he sayth the lalbe that shulde not haue scolers for recompa
niced whiche for to knolle and acquirre conyng haue leste
and layde aspye ryfesses/delicates & al easies of body / theyre
carnall frendes and theyre countrey/ and haue taken the as
tate of pourete/ and as banysched from al other goodes/haue
forsaken the woorlde and al other pleasirs for loue of scyntice
So shulde he be wel full of all vnsyndenes that shulde doo
euy euyll to them / To thees reasons the man of armes re
plycqueth thus saying/Brother I telle the that emonge vs
we frenshmen makie noo force of the empesores lalbes to
whom we be not subiect/so owe not we to obeye them/The
scoler ansuereth/Lalbes ben noon other thynges but veray
reasons that were ordeyned after wysdome / and ys therof
ye do makie noo force/it is not sayde therfore that the kyng
& lordes of Fraunce shal not vs of reason & of thynges that
ben reasonable and of that that they hem self haue ordeyned
For Charlemayne remeued the generall sole of wome by the
popis wylle to parys/they crasse grete & notable preuyleges
to the same sole/And therfore sent the kyng to fetche mai
sters out of all partyes and scolers of all manere of langa
ges and all them be compayned in the sayde preuylege/ And
therfore hemme shal not they molde come from all partyes
Whan they haue licence of the kyng/ Where as al thynges
at theyre fyrt comyng do werte that they shall kepe the sai
de preuyleges/ In the name of god sayde the man of armes
supposed that that ye saie/ye ought to wite that sethen that
a generall werte was cryed & proclaimed betwyx our kyng
ge and yours/non enchyssmen ought to come within the
realme of Fraunce for suche a cause nor for noon other What
someuere it be/Without a gode laſeconduyte/ & the reason is
goode/ For why ye myght vndre colour of the sole write &

do vndrestande in youre contrey hold it is lyve and the asta
ce of thys lande/and other dyuers secret euyllers ye myght
do here ys ye wolle/Wherfore it is not reason that noo ma-
nere of preulege shulde tourne in to preindycē of the kyngē
nor of hys roialme Thes reasons harde/saye thou my loue
now What thou therupon thinkest/Wythurout fayll wayster
syth that it pleaseþ the/that my lytel and sobree aduyse shall
serue in thys bishalfe/I tell the/that yf it be so and Wythurout
fraude/that he of whom thou spekest be a true scoler/ that is
to saye/that he were not come vndre fycyon to kerne connin-
ge/for to aspye or to do som other euyll / I holde hys cause
for goode and that he ought not to be takeþ prysoner/prouy-
ded al wayes/but yf the kyngē had made to be cryed by hys
maundement especyall that noon englysshman What someue
re he were shulde not come to studye in hys roialme / Thou
hast ryghtwelt Iuged and wylsely dystynged / For namely
yf the bishopryche of parys Were wythurout a bishop of clis
tharchbischopryche of roen or of sens or of other of the sayd
roialme/and that an englysshman Were therunto elected &
chosen/the kyngē by rayson may gaynsaye to the same/ For
why the rayson is liche/that it is not expedient nor behouful
to the kyngē nor to the roialme for to haue there hys enne-
myes resydent/ But yet ansuere me to thys/supposed that
the scoler ought not to be taken there prysoner/ What shal
thou saye to me of hys seruauntes yf he brynge one or two
or more wyth hym out of englande/ For the preulege that
scolers haue in parys Was not gyuen for theyre seruauntes
In gode feith maister vndre thy correction not vndaryng
this reason/me semeth that vndre the preulege of the mai-
ster whiche is a true scoler as it is sayde ought to be comprised
hys seruauntes/ryght soo as in the sanegarde that the kinge

gnyeth to hys offyciers be comprysed theyre seruautes and
all theyre famylle or meyne/ **B**ut of the mayster I wol as
ke one thyng/ I putte cas that the sayde scoler were taken
Wyth a syknes/might of ryght hys fader come to bysytte &
see hym without parell/ **E**o thys I ansuer the/that after
ryght dorpton/but ys he cam there for fasshed as it is sayde/
he myght aad ought to come sauffe there/ **F**or whyn y reason
is such/that more grete is the ryght of nature/than is the
ryght of werre/Soo is the loue of the fader and of the mo
der to theyre sone so muche preuyleged/that noo ryght of ar
mes may not surmounte the same/ **A**nd yet more harde I
telle the/that ys the fader went for to see and bysytte his chil
de leyng in gode helthe stodyng a tte the scoles Wythin pa
rys or wher so cuere it were/for to here hym other vitaples
or syluere/he ought not to be arrested nor taken for the same
of what so euer countrey frende or foo that he were of/ **A**nd
thys sentence is determyned in the lawe lyfie as I saye and
semblably ought not to be apched nor letted the brother/the
kynges man nor the seruant that syluer or bookes shulde br
ge hym/but I presuppose al wayes reserued the clauses a
loue sayde/ **F**or it is all by vertue of the preuyleges that
scolers haue in generall scoles as is paris and other/

CWether a grete lorde of englande that fortunably were
fouide in a forest al one as madde & out of hys witt/might
of ryght be taken and putte to taunson

Capitulo/xxv/

Another questyon I make to the swete mayster/I sup
pose that a duke or an erle departeth out of england
and cometh in to Fraunce with hys folke for to werre ay
enst the kynges there/whiche duke or erle hath/hath by aduen
ture to wey madde/so that al alone as a sole he gothe rennin
ge by woodes and hedges wher as he is fouide by frenshmen

O iii

of armes/ he by a iuste quarelle may se wel putte to rauson
Ilf it happed that som ambassatours cam towardys the
kyng of Fraunce/ and as they passed by Borealby shul
de take and hyre there of englyshmen horses and cartes for
to carye theyre bagage/ Whether thees thynges so hyred
myght be arrested within Fraunce or not. **I**tem Whether
an englysh preest myght be emprysomed in Fraunce or not

Captulo / xxiiij

Maister I wyl putte to the another questyon/ I suppose
the kyng of Scotlande sendeth his ambassatours in
to Fraunce/ the whiche comen and take lade atte Borealby
or atte Bayonne in whiche place they hyre horses mules cartes
and other thynges that they nede/ & goo to parys with all
and happeneth by aduenture that they be mett by the waye of
a captyayne frenshman/ the whiche as he is wel informed
that the sayde horses mules & cartes be longyng to englishe
men and not to the sayde ambassatours/ arrested and taketh
them/ and saith that whare thees thinges be of the kynges
enemys they shal abyde as his owne/ and that by the right
of armes he may wythholde them as that he hathe truly con
quested and gotten/ Now tell me maister yf of ryght they
ought to abyde hys or not/ I tell the that of ryght Wryton
the ambassatours or legates haue a preuylege al about wyle
wiche they goo that they and theyre thynges shal be sure and
sauf/ & sith that they goo to the kyng it apperteyneth not
to noon of his men to lette nor trouble them/ & who is he that
more greely is preuyleged than abassatoure/ for yf he were
bounde to a marchaunt of Fraunce in a greate sume of mo
ney/ He can not compelle hym to paye hym hys money for
the tym duryng of hys legacyon/ **F**or ryght suf
feth not to constraine the Legate of a prynce or

ys. I helde thene a foo mortall of myn within my powere in
what manere that euere it were/whiche haply after he were
goon fro me shulde kyple me / or atte the last shulde hurt me
right sore ys he myght / Wel I wote that with al his power
he shulde force him self so to doo shulde themne be wisedome or
wittie within me to late hym goo thus freely from me Say
re loue to thy s I answe unto the/that this man of whom
I speke unto the supposed that he be thyne enemyn in the for
sayd cas thou shuldest not alwayte for to kynge hym but one
ly for to haue syluer of hym by waye of rauision/and whan
the money were payed whiche without reason thou hast re
ceyued how moche more shuldest thou se thenne assured of
hym/than thou were by fore certes of nothing/ & this secketh
nor wol not the ryght of armes that men shall doo wrōge
one partye to an other/but all noble men ought to kynge in
this bialue the ryght of other that durscht aske & require to
haue hit/ Soo tell I to the yet that the woorste that to thy s
may myght be doon/it is that men shulde makynge hym to sive
re that he nevermore shulde arme hym self ainst the kynge of
Fraunce/ & in cas that men myght not bryng hym to this &
that the man of armes/or the towne/or the countrey that he
retyngh hym shulde dred lest they shulde be reproved yf they yet
luffred hym goo free/by cause he were so greate a man that he
myght yet greue or hurt full soore the roialme/yf surst wāys
for them were so to discharre themself withall/ yf they shul
de yelde hym to the prynce whiche shulde doo of hym that whi
ch were best to be doon by thadurfe of his good counseyll/ &
al waies to thende that thou wel shall vndrestaunde/that I
telle the of the frenshman to the englysshman/ I mene sem
blably of the englysshman to the frenshman/
¶ If it happe that vpon the fronteres of Caleys be taken

O iii

som olde man englyssh bourgeys or other of the said towne
that neuere medled with warrer wether by ryght of the lawe
of armes/ ought such a man to paye rauson or not/ and in
lyke wyse a lytel chyld or of a blynd man C/xxv/

In putte cas that som frensly knyght O thou maister se
poynted in armes towardis the fronteres of calcis or
of Bordelox / & it happeth that a bourgeys sore olde/ a man
of the said bordelox or calcis be by aduenture come out for to
here his messe or for som other adoo vpon the frensly groblon
de wvere soone the said knyght taketh hym & saith that he
shall be his prysoner but that other ansuereth that it is not
right/ For in the kyngynge of englandes warrer he neuere ar-
med hym self nor neuere went ayenst the kyngynge of Fraunce
nor neuere gyrded swerde nor gaff noo counsell / but hathe
alwayes be sorry for the warrer whiche al wyes of all his
powere hathe discouespiled / & that shal be proued for a trou
the & with this saith he I tell you that an olde man as I am
that is not shaxen to were nor ferre armes nor harries ought
not of ryght to be kepte in prison/ soo ye may not nor ought
not to take neither the goodes nor the prysoners of them y
entremete not with the warrer/ but yf it were that they gaſſe
helpe & fauoure to maynten y warrer ayenst the kyngynge of fra
unce of theirre free & goode wille / for yf by force it were yet
shulde they be excused after ryght/ but of all this neither by
force nor for loue I haue doon nothinge & all this I wyl pre
ue true/ soo demaunde I of the maister yf a man may in such
a cas be kepte in prison after the ryght of armes/ I tell the
as aboue that verly nay in cas that the saide excuse myght
be suffisauntly proued/ but & it were soo that he had gyuen or
gaſſe pertynent couſeill to the warrer in what ſocuer manere
that it were as many an olde man doth that by his couſeill
woth muche more thereto than other yong men doo by theirre

armes Now wel maister another manere alwaie I wil spek
telle me thene / & a frenshmen had taken a litell childe of
an englishman/might he aske by ryght any causen for hym
for it shulde seme yf seen that he that may wel make the mo
re grete a thinge/may wel make the smalleste / as what to
saye he myght wel take prysoner the fader of the cas keffell
why not the childe aswell / for he might wel take the
faders goodes and the childe as himself fath is compysed
for the faders goodis / I telle the certeynly that after right
the litel child may nor ought not to be kept prisone/ for re
ason wil not acorde/that innocencye be a greeued for it is be
ray trouthe that a childe in such a cas is innocent & not coul
pable of all werre in al manere of thigis/Wolrefore he ought
not to here the peyne of that wherof he is not in falwe nor
of counsell nor of goodes he hathe nougth holpen thereto for
he hathe as yet noon ye maister/but supposed that the said
child were ryche of hym self as of his fader & moders godes
that he dede/mooste he paye/ For it might be soo that his tu
tourres or they that haue the rule ouer his goodis shulde pa
ye a subbydye of hys goodes to the kyng of Englaunde for
to maynten his werre in Fraunce/ Yet y telle the that nay/
for what that his tutourres paied therof it were not of þ chil
des wile whiche is not yet in age of discrecion/Without fa
ille maister thene is not this daye this lalb wel kepte thou
last to me trouthe fayre loue/nor yet be nomore kepte noþer
the noble ryghtes of olde tyme that helde and truly dyde lie
þe noble conquerours/Thus abusen with the right of
armes they that now doo exerçise them by þ grete couerty
se that ouercometh them/soo ought to tourne them to a gree
te shame for to epysone wymen or children & impotent &
old / & thys custome that they haue brought þy ought to be

reþroued to theirre grete deshonour & blame / lyke as otherwhi
le haue doon duringe þ warre in þ roialme of Fraunce whi
ch as longe as fortune was for them they spared noþer
ladies nor dameselles grete smalle nor lytel whan they toke
the fortresses but they were all putte to raunson as many as
were founde there / whiche is a grete shame to them for to ta
ke that whiche can not reuenge hemself / & ought wel to haue
suffisid them for to haue take the saifine of the fortres and
that the ladies had goon quyte / But that that to them is
happed atte the last may al þnough & ought to be ensample
to al other warriours for to deale other wyse for by þe micer
teyne that noo good euyl gotten can not be longe possessed
nor kept of hym that geteth hit nor of his heires / Now late
þs see of another debat / yf a blynde man happe to be taken of
a man of armes / ought he to lewe prysyon / I telle the that yf
a blynde man shulde putte hym self to be a man of armes
thoughe his folye / & happeþ to be taken / he is worthy to ha
ue worse than another & this I may proue by the hoþy scrip
ture whiche it is spokien boþe Caym selþe Abel his brother
and hooli a blynde man that was called Lameth toke a bo
we / & went shetyng by wodes & hedges huntynge the wylde
bestes / and by aduenture his arowe lighte upon caym and
shold hym / wherof god saide that the syne of Caym shulde
be punysshed seuen tymes / But the syne of Lameth shul
de be punysshed / lxxvii / tymes / Wherby it appereth that
for to putte hym self to an office in whiche he be not suffi
sant / it is a souerayne folye / But yf a simple blynde man we
re taken pyte were due unto hym / and yf he were such that
he before tyme had seen / And was a man of armes in the
werre / and so gaſſe counsayll to the enemys to do bataylle
or to stèle a place or that aduyſed them of som other cauile

that wel knowbe hym! I asske whether he ought to be kept
in pryon/ For it shulde semme/ye/ seyng that thetent of his
comyng was for to werte ayenst the kyng ther and for
to hurte the roialme/ To this I ansuere the that we synde
in the ryght wrichton that a made man duryng his fourour
may not be reputid nor taken for enemye / for he hath non
arbytrey of free wylle whiche reason cannot werte therfore
thene yf he selle a/c men he shulde not be punysshed therfore
by iustice nor taken for homycide / & such a man can nother
yelde nor gyue faythe to paye euy rauison/ Who shall he then
ne be prysoner/ And to putte in pryon a man that namely
is vexed wyth such a maladie what a valyautnes were it
certes it were greate synne/ & rather every noble man shulde
payne him self after hys powere to admynistre unto him hel
the of witt & aduyse/ Soo telle I to the that he can not nor
ought not by ryght to be kept in pryon nor paye noo rau
son/ but ought to be yolden ageyn to his frendes/ & more yet
I telle the/ We putte caas that he beynge in pryon shulde
gwyssheth there of his synnes / yet ought he not to be kept
nor paie noo manere of rauson/ y cause whyn is bycause that
whan he was taken he had nother witt nor powere for to
defende hym/ of the whiche for to Juge rightewisly of atmes
noo man ought to be taken prysoner/ but that he first yelde
him self by woorde of hys owne mouthz or ellis by som signe
but hold shulde he doo this/ for as y lalwe saith/ such a man
can not make noo testament nor mary himself nor entre
in to religyon/ the whiche thinges requyren free wille / nor
namely he may not receyue batesme yf he were not baptyzed
whiche is never gyuen unto man / but yf he requyret hit
with his free wille & therfore there is noo cause whyn he shul
de be kept prysoner/ hold thene maister y teldest me merueylle

som place notable/but of such thynges as he had taken by
the waye / And namely seynge that they neded to take hor-
ses and caryage for to bere them self and theyre fadellage as
that seknes or other lettynge myght come by the waye / or
as it may Wel be for to bryng certeyn presentes to the kyn-
ge/they ought to goo bothe them self and theyre thynges
sauffe/But it myght wel be that som coloure of debate may
be herof in caas that without veray ned they had brought
wyth them som englysshemen for to gyue hem spore and
that horses or other thynges were in the compayne longyng
to them/For of such autorite they myght bryng in to fra-
unce the enemys of the roialme/so were it not thenne dys-
cuted wythout cause/ For to knowe yet more I beseeche the
mayster that thou wyl tolle me yf Frenshemen myght by
ryght take a preste of englaunde prisone/ & as wel english
men a preste of Fraunce/be it other bysshop/or abbot or man
of relgyyon/Fayre loue by that that dyuerse tymes I haue
al ymoughc concluded may thy demaunde be soryled/ that is
to wyte that we saye after ryght Wryton/ that thoffyc of
men of the chyrch separyd from al werre/for the seruyse of
god in whiche they be occupied or ought to be maketh them
vnable to were armes nor what someuer harneys of tem-
porall bataille/ & belongen to them in nothyng/for noon of
fice apparteneth to them but for to absyole the synnes & to
bringe ayen in to the ryght waie they that walkie here wrōg
& to admistre y sacrementes nor namely for to defende them
self behoueth hem not after y decree but swete wordes & bery-
gnite/Soo were it thenne wel a harde thyng that they shul-
de bere penaunce of that that they ought to be Innocent of/ &
yf thou wold saye to me/ye but they helpe the kynge of en-
gland of theyre reuenues & rentes for to maynten the weare

or namely of theyre counseyll / I ansuerthe that they ought
not to doo so / nor they shal not holden therunto / For it appar-
tyneth not to noo man of the chyrsche to gyue noo coun-
seyll that concerneth the Werre / but it is theyre offyce for to
sette alwayes peas amoungē cristen peple / And yf it happe-
thāt theyre kyngē tolde of theyre goodes by force for to goo
to hys Werre / I saye that they can not doo thereto / And
that they ought not therfore to paye noo taunson nōther to
be taken nor kepte as enemys of nōther partye / But other
wyse it is / yf it hap that som chapellayn or other of the chy-
rche goo to Werre or that ingereth or putteth hym self forthe
by eyn manere of waye thereto / yf he were taken such a
man wþout faulke ought not to be spared but that al ry-
goure of crudesse be doon to hym / Were he a prelat or other
as to the fayt of the payment of taunson / And shulde sa-
ye that such a man were had to the poper that wel shulde put
myselbe hym / but other wyse to put in pryon men of the chy-
rche / it is to dyscouenable a thyng and out of all ryght
Whether a pryonner of Werre may departe hens after he
is shet up and not myndoo anempst hys maister /

Cappitulo / xxij /

Now wil I make the another demaide that of the pre-
cedent as of a pryonner of Werre alynough dependeth
I putte caas that a kyngē hath taken in Werre his enne-
mye / and hath puttē hym in a castel or in to som other pry-
son / I aske the yf the pryoner sceth tyme and place for to es-
cape alawaye by caldelle or subtylty / Whether he may do thys
lawfully after the ryght of Werre / for I make doublē that he
may for many raysons / yf yrst / because he hathe taken hym his
feyth / so may not he goo alawaye without he must be forsw-
orne wþchek / ys a thyng that the lawe can not graunt that a

man shall forswere hym self / y other is / that right wil not
that men shal not doo to other / otherwyse than they wold
be doon vnto / and thys man wolde not that hys prysomme
yf he had euy shulde paye hym so / and thus woynge he dooth
trespas axenst thys lalve / that other is that he is lyke his
seruaunt and in hys mercy vnto tym that he haue acquy-
ted hym self of hys taunson / Thenne thus he mysoeth as
me semeth in as moche that he taketh hym self from hym as
hys owne pure and propre gode / whiche can not be doo with-
out mespryse / Nowwe fayre loue to thys I shal ansuere the
for that other partye / and moche is here to see to / For herof
behoueth to be determyned after the cirecomstances / I tolle the
that men may saye for thit other that he had in thys no thyn-
ge trespassed / For he hathe won after the lalve of nature
whiche gnyeth to al manere of personne a ryght to be in ly-
bertee / ¶ Item whan he gaaf hys feyth it was by force
and by compulson won / And the lalve compelled not to
kepe a promesse made of force / and other reasons myght be
sayde / But as to the ryght of armes whiche is permittid
by all lalve / al that maketh but lytel / For to the ryght for
to goo I tolle the that whan a man is taken and gnyeth his
feith to kepe pryson wythout faylle he can not departe alwai
but he wyl trespass bothe axenst god and the Worlde wyth
out he take leue of hys mayster / ye som caas reserved that
must be well vnderstantide / That is to wyte that the sayde
mayster doo not to hym noon other evyl nor hurt than to
put hym in a couenable prysone / as ryght hath lymyted / wil
¶ But I accorde wyth the Wel / yf he were kept soo strapt
ly and soo euyll delt wyth all that hys lyff or helthe were
putte in Jeopardye therby / and that Inhumayne or cruel-
ly a thyng it were / I affirme vnto the that yf he can syn-

de meanes for to escape alwaye that a ryght grete wyt it were / nor for noo trespass it ought not to be taken / or ellis also yf the master were untreatable and that wolde not take noo reasonable rauson after the powere of hys prysoner / and had proffered hym dnyerse tymes /

Item also and yf the mayster were soo cruell that he were wont to doo deye or tormente or makie hys prysoners to langlysshe in prysone / or such other crueltees that doen ayinst the lawe of gentylnesse / he that such a man holdeth is not bounde to kepe hym promesse nor feyth yf by eyn wa; ye he may escape / For such a feyth to gyue is to be vndrestande that lykis as the mayster is lorde of the prysoner by ryght of armes / he in lykis wylse ought to entreate and ke; xe hym goodly and humaynly as the sayd ryght requyret / And not to kepe hym as a leste or worse then a Jelwe or sarrasyn / the whiche namely behouen not to be dealed with all so sharply that men gyue them cause for to dyspeyre hem self / And therfore I telle the that he that furst bresketh to other and doo trespass the ryght deserueth also that in lyke wylse he doo to hym / Ye mayster / but yf it happed that som gentylman tolde another in goode werte / And not wyl standynge that the prysoner haues worne to the mayster for to kepe prysone / the sayd mayster kepe hym in a stronge toure fast shet vp / I assye the yf such a prysoner may goo hys waye yf he can / and not be in noo falote therfore / **I** For som myght thynke ye seynge that the mayster trus; tet hym not of hys othe that he hathe taken of hym / And sythe that he trusteth not in hys prysoners feyth / thenne can the prysoner breske noo feythe / for he contenteth him not wþt the fyrest bonde / But taketh hym another more stronge to whiche he trusteth mooste / Therfore bresketh

not as it semeth the prysoner hys seyfth / syth hys mayster re-
puteth and taketh hyt as for noone / I tolle the yet axen that
after thys that the ryght bathe dysstynted of that that con-
cernen the thynges of armes / yf the gentylman that hys pri-
soner is sworne to holde and kepe hys seyfth to hys master /
Wchiche in lykis wypc after hys promyss / gnueth hym mete &
drynkis suffysaunly and lodgysse not ouere strayre / and is
wyllynge to treatte wyrth hym for a resonable rauson / and
that wold not / he myght be appayred of hys helthe for cau-
se of the pryson that hys masters gnueth hym / yf such a pri-
soner escape out and goo his wape / thoughte hys mayster ke-
pe hym in a sure holde / that he bresketh hys othe and doeth ap-
enst the ryght of werre and hys dyshonoure / For yf he be
a gentylman he ought to doo as it apparteyneth / that is to
wryte to holde hys othe to hys master Wchiche wold haue kyl-
led hym whan he toke hym yf he had wold / And supposid
that he kept hym fast shet wþ / he doeth to hym noo wronge /
For he dyde promyse hys master to kepe pryson wel and tru-
ly and not breske hyt / soo can not excuse hym self such a fu-
gyptif but that he hath doon euyll / For syth he dyde putte him
self in pareyll of bataylle / that is to wryte to be other ded or
taken / he ought to haue bethoughte in hym self / that pryson
was not a place of dysporte nor of feste / Soo ought he then
ne sythe that he is fallen in to parell / to bere swetly and pa-
cently the penaunce in hope to come out atte last to the best
CWhether a gentylman prysoner of good werre ought ra-
ther deye than to be false of hys othe Capytulo / xxvij /
I suppose maister that a knyght or a man of armes be
Wythyn the lordys pryson or of som other of the tow-
ne / but so grete a rygouris made to hym / that men tolle &
afferme to hym for certeyne / that yf he Wythyn certeyn space

of tyme haue not doon his rauson/he shal be slayne /Wherfore he requyreteth for goddis loue and for perte that men wil late him goo in to his countrey for to gete his rauson & that without any falste he wil come agen within a certeyn day/ And shertly to saye men cyue hym leue to god upon hys oþre made and taken of hym upon the holy gospele of oure lord/ by whiche he swereth that for to deye he shall not leue but that he shall come agen within the day that he hath promyfed/ and so it happeneth that it is impossibyl to hym for to gete hys rauson/note is to be knowen whether he ought to tourne agayne for to presente hym self to the dede whiche is promyfed to hym/ for namely it is wryton in the Romayn histories that the noble romayns conquerours dyde som tyme soo that rather wolde expose hem self to the dede than to beeke the oþre of prysyon/ & þt they that were paynemys & of euyl blyne that swered wolde leuer deie than for to forsware them/ It is thene to blyne that bettre ought the crysen men to keþe theirre oþres made upon the holy gospel of almighty god than they fayre loue thou saist wel/ & yet many moo rausons to thy propos thou myght haue/but to þt trouth of the dede ben ouer many that myght excuse man in such a cas what that som doctores wil holde þt a man shulde rather be willing for to deye/ than for to forsware the name of god the whiche thus is true in som cas/but as to the same whiche is parforced & vvolently made for to sauue his owne lyfe/ it is not determinyd þt it were the best/ & what he is holden thereto I shall say the reasons/ I telle the that after the ryght wryton an oþre that ayenst wele and vþlyte and namely ayenst good condycyons made/ is not to be kept/ And what that it is evyll to forsware hym self/ It is yet worse to keþe such an oþre/ ¶ Soo ought to be chosen of thes two

euyll the best lyke as a man shalbe sworne vpon the gospel
or vpon the holy body of oure lorde that he shal see a man or
ellis shal do som other greet euyll / it is noo wolt but that
moch more werte he shulde doo for to see a man or to sette
a house on a fyre or som other grete euyll / than he shulde doo
in such a cas for to forswere himself / what though he dede
dedly sinne at the fyrt whan he dede swerde / for thinges that
he vnaisonable he ought not to se sworne / now it is so that
noon ought to thynke the contrary / that noon man after the la
we is not master of his body for to putte hit to be slayne or
his limes to be cut asondre nomore / than of an another body
for yf he swerde himself / the justice wil punyssh the body & att
a gybet shal hange hit shamefully / also yf he dede cut hys ly
mes he shulde also be punyssh by the justice as another had
doon hit / wherfore I telle yþ yet ayen that it is not in him for
to binden himself by such manere of wise / nor the oþer bindeth
him not for it is of noo value / & more I telle the / It is of
right wron that yf a man may kynge another from deth / &
he doth it not / we saye that he hathe killed him / he thene tres
passeth not / yf he doo kynge for hym self that right whiche he
ought to kynge for another / that is to wit to eschelde his dethe
& this is as for to excuse the extrempye of the thynge / & to sup
plie that whiche he coude not amende touching the payement
of his rauson / But for al this I telle the not / but that he is
holden to makke his rauson assoone as he may / and to put
te hym self in peyne and deuoyre for to acquytye hym self /
Chere finissheth the i[n] partie of this booke / & consequently fo
lowlith yþ table of the rukures of yþ i[n]n & last partie of yþ same
To the fyrt chapitre asketh Cristyne to the maister yf
a lord seundeth a saufcondynt to another his enemye
be it a baron or a kyngþ / or what someuer he be / and that

the saufcondynt contyneth onely of sauf comynge Whether
after ryght he may arrest hym by such a calvete at hys go
oyng hom agayne/

Capi^o / ii/

Item demaundeth yf a knyght or som other gentylman
had a saufcondynt for himself g/iv/moo with hym Wheter
he myght vnde shadolle of the sayd nobre bringe with him
som grete lorde for one of the ry/m to the countrey of his ene
myes/

Capi^o / ii/

Item saide crystyne to the maister that sh/ gryueth herself
grete merueylle seyng the lytel feyth that remmeth in the
worlde/ hys men dare trust vpon thees saufcondyntes/ and
thermee asketh yf it happy that som knyng or prynce crysten
gryueth a saufcondynt to a sarasyn Wheter the other crys
ten men wher he muste passe by ought to kepe vnto hym the
strengthe of his saufcondynt/

Capi^o / iii/

Item wherre as trewes be taken betwene two warreyers
demaundeth crystine yf that one partye by som manere of wyp
se may take eny tolde fortresse or place ayenst that other/
and yf that one partye breketh v trewes Whether that other
partye is holden to kepe hem or not/

Capi^o / iiii/

Item begynneth to speke of a manere of veire whiche is
cleped markie/ g/ asketh yf such a manere be iuste or not / c/v

Item of the manere v a knyng ought to kepe or that he gy
ueth any markie/ g/ Whether every lorde may gyue hit/ C/vi/

Item begynneth to speke of chap de bataylle g/ demaundeth yf
it is a ryghewis thige g/ of ryght v a man shall proue by his
body ayenst another v thige v is secrete g/ not knowben/ c/vii/

Item sheweth for what manere of cas ordeyned the la
we impreyall/ champ de bataylle/

Capi^o / viii/

Item for what manere of cas lombardys latte ordery
ned/ champ de bataylle

Capi^o / ix/

Item holtz champ de bataylle sheweth & representeth som
what the dede of a questyon pleteable / And whether it is
ryght that at thentrynge of the felde the chammpons gyue
theyre othes/ Capi^o vi

Item yf it hap that one of the chammpons lesseth any of
his armes whyle that he fyggetteth whether men ought to yel-
de hem ayen or not / And yf the kynge wolle pardonne hym
that is saynquisched whether the bytoryouse may assie his
costes or not / And yf there be founde that a man is accused
wronfully what men ought to doo of hym that hath ac-
cused that other/ Capi^o vii

Item assyeth yf a man is punyshed of a misdeed proved
by champ de bataylle / whether the iustice may punyshe hym
vpon a new therfor / and yf one calleth another to a champ
whether he that calleth that other may repente hym self of his
callynge atte his owne wylle Capi^o viii

It denyseth to whiche thinge a kynge or a prynce ought
to see to before that he ingeth euy champ de bataille / & what
counseil men ought to gue to them that shal befight ech
other/ Capi^o viii

It whether batailles may be don after ryght vpon a ho-
ly day or not / & whether the lawe holdeth that men may saue
hemself in exercting thoffyce of armes / And whether cler-
kies may or ought after the lawe go to a bataille Capi^o ix

Item beginneth to shewe of the fayte of blasomnyng of
armes / whether every man may take of his owne auctory
te such armes as he wyl Capi^o x

Item in what manere a gentylman may chalenge ano-
ther manrys armes / and in what manere not/ Capi^o xi

It of the armes & penoncelles and of the colours moste
noble that apperteyne to the fayte of blasomnyng/ Capi^o xii

Here begyneth the fourthe and last part of thys boke/

In the first chappytre remaunded Crystyne ys a lorde sen-/
deth a saufconduyt to another his enemye/ and that the sauf-/
conduyt speketh but of sauf comyng/ Whether after right he/
may arreste hym atte his gooyng hom ageynne/ Capi^o /ij/

At the begynnyng of thys fourth part of thys boke
ryght dere master I wil entre in to another dfferent
purpos of werre depending of that whiche is aforesaid
that is to wite in to a manere of assuryng whiche is giuen
to them that goo and come from a contrey to another
that haue werre to ech other whiche assuring men calle let-
tres of saufconduyt/ wherof I wil first make vnto the such
a remaunde/ I putte cas that a baron haue werre with a
knyght/ of the whiche werre/ the frendes of bothe partyes pe-
yne hem self to make a goode peas/ wherfore the saide ba-
ron sendeth hys letters of saufconduyt to the sayde knyght
vnde whiche he may com towardis hym/ & sendeth to hym
worde with all that he may com surely/ the knyght trusting
pon the assuryng of the same letters cometh to the sayde ba-
ron/ but whan they haue spoken bothe togider/ and that the
knyght wyl departe/ the baron doeth arreste hym/ and sayth
and proposeth that he is hys prysoner/ For he saythe/ ye be
atte werre wyth me as every man knoweth well wherfor
I may take you atte myn aduaantage wherre someuere I can
fynde you/ that other answereth that he may not doo soo/ For
the strenghty of his owne saufconduit defendeth y same the
baron saith that this helþeth hym not for because y the sauf-
conduyt speketh only of y coming thither & not of there tour-
nyng ayen wherfore he doo hym noo wronge ys he krep hym
soo remaunde I of the whether the baron hath a gode cause
For it shulde semme ye/ seyng that hit suffiseth emonge

enemys to take heede to the tenoure of the lettere vpon ywhi
che is wryton / & sith that the knyght hathe so folyshe that
he vndrestode not wel that whiche the sayde barons wrytyn
ge contyned / it is not without reason yf he were a penaunce
therfore / For it behoueth in fayttes of werre / as thy self hast
said here byfore / to vse of calveteles for to deceyue ech other /
late neixe him self that may / I telle the fayre loue that thou
myself in thy sayeng in thys byhalfe / For yf it were as thou
saist ouer many inconuenientes shulde folowde therof / and
therfore the lalve hathe purveyed thereto / that defendeth ex-
pressly that noone shall deceyue by wordes of fallace nor
calveteouse / For shuldest thou trowbe thene that a man shul-
de be herde atte a Jugement for to saye I haue sole to another
an ho idred pollwonde worthe of lande / and fayre and well
I haue deluyered hit vnto his handes wherof he is holden vnto
me in such a som of money that he moste paye me for / &
semblably of other such thinges of the whiche as wel I tel-
le the shulde not be reputed nor taken in Jugement but for
a triffe or a mocke / and the man begylter that wold vse ther-
of shulde be punysshed therfore / And therfore to oure propos
what that for to take alwaye all scrupulenys a man ought
neuer to trust in such lettres / without that it be wel expres-
sed of sauif gooing and sauiffe comyng ayn and also of
sauif abydyng & of al the other circumstancess that bylongen
therunto / holdit that the lalve wold not that the malyx of
the fralwydlouse deceyuer take soo strately the symplenys
of hym that gooth thus vpon and vndre the termes of go-
de feythe / **C**Soo ought to be vndestande the sauicon-
duyt thentent of hym vnto whome it is yeden / By the whi-
che sauiconduyt he holdeth hym selfe sure as wel for to abyde
sauif as for to goo & retourne ayn sauif / otherwysse it were

noo saufconduit/but it shulde be treason that ouer gretly we
re to be blamed/g such is y certeintee therof/Notwistanding
it may be y som in dede without right nor reason haue vsed
or wolden gladly vse therof/whiche ought to tourne them in
to grete vituperye and blame/but every man hathe not the
powder for to wo al the euyll that he gladly wolden doo/

Cyf a knyght or som other gentylman had a saufconduit
for his persone & for ry men with him/whether he myght vnde
dre colour of the same take wyth hym in to the countrey of
enemys som grete lorde in stede of one of the rx men/ C/ij

Sayth that we be entred in materie of saufconductes/an
sluer me nowl of another question/A knyght of en
glond hathe a saufconduct of the kyng of Fraunce
for hym & for ry other with him on horsbacke for to com in
to Fraunce for som adoo he hathe there/g it happeth that a
grete lorde or baron of england desyreth hym that he may be
one of the ry his felawes/by cause that he wolden sayne goo
see Fraunce to spore hym there/the whiche thinge the knyght
graunteth to him/g thus he goeth forth wyth hym wherof it
happeth wahan they be lodged nyghe paris that the sayde lor
de or baron is knowen there of a knyght of the kynges of
Fraunce/whiche well accompanied cometh soone to lwardys
hym there as he is lodged/and tellet hym that he yelde hym
g that he is his psoner/ To the whiche thinge the englyssh
knyght that brought the baron with hym ansuereth/that he
may not doo soo/For by vertue of hys saufconduct he may
goo he leyng the tenthe thrugh the roialme of Fraunce of
whiche/y this baron is one/ For such as hym pleased he
might take wyth hym/ **C**Ansuereth the frenshe
knyght and sayth/ Ye be but a lympke knyght/soo may
ye not brynge wyth you noo gretter man of condycyon
than ye be of vndre your saufconduct/ For yf it were so

than myght ye in lyfeloyse haue brought youre kyngis with
you or som of his children/ the whiche thynge is not raysonable/ and namely hym that ye bryngis with you is bettre in
Value to bringe you with him/ than ye hym/ for he is moche
more grete than ye he/ That other saith/ I bryngis hym not
wyth me vndre my saufconduyt/ But vndre the kyngis
of Fraunces saufconduyt/ so aske I and besike that hys
may be enteryned and keepte to me after the tenoure therowf/
This questyon comen to iugement I aske the whiche of both
hath the right I saie the frenshman/ For after the ryght wry
ton/ in such a generalyte ought not to be vnderstante a greet
ter man than he is hym self/ For yf a man gnyeth a procur
ayon to another for to doo & execute certeyn thynges of hys
owne/ it is not therfore to be vnderstante that he gnyeth hym
a generall procuracyon/ or that he ought to abuse therowf/ & in
especyall in fayt of armes/ never such a thinge shulde right
suffre to passe/ For it myght tourne to prejudice to the per
sonne that gnyeth the saueconduyt/ Now I aske the another
thyng/ I suppose that a chyef captayne of an oste of Fraunces
whiche is sent by the kyngis vpon the fronteres/ saith and
affermeth that he hathe the powere for to gyue saufconduy
te throughe all Supenne/ Wherefore he doo sende word to the
Seneschall of Boredby that he wil com vnto a certeyn pla
ce vpon the frenshe grounde/ by cause that gladly he wold spe
ke with him/ & for to doo soo he sendeth hym a saufconduit
wchurpon the sayde seneschall departeth vpon the suretee of
the same saufconduyt for to come to the place that is saide
betwene hem/ but it hapmeth hym to be taken of som frenshe
men by the waye that putte hym in to pryson/ I aske the we
ther the sayde chyef captayne is holden to gete him out of pri
son atte his expens/ For it semeth vs/ seeing that by his

asseldraunce he is fallen in to that Inconuenyence and domage / Fayre loue the contrary is trouthe / & knowle thou wyl / For it is sayde comonly that without a cause shulde a man be called a sole without that his holpe shulde be causer of hys domage / Andit is clechy certeyn that the seneschal ought not to haue blyned the captayne / but ys he wylst for certeyn that the frenshmen woldie kepe his saufconduct wtherfore theris ne ys he hathe ben syngle and folyshe / the hurt and domage must a light and abyde vpon hym / for with all this he ought wel to wite / that a captayne hathe noo powere to kepe hym sure but fro his owne folke / And sithe thenne that other frenshmen that he not of his reteneue haue doon vnto hym the same / what can the sayde captayne doo therwof / And also it is noo ryght that one shall gyue a preuylege to one that is gretter than hym self for to come in to the wpalme of his souerayne lorde / nor namely ys he warden to kepe hym sauffe / all shulde not awaylle / For an oblygacyon made ayens polver is of noo value / and all other the wiche he in the ryght of armes ought not to be vnsknowen to the seneschall / otherwise he were vnworthye and not ale to that office / Soo thenne I conclude for that the captayne had gyuen the saufconduct for true and goode wiche hathe ben of noo value / he is not therfore holden to paye the sayde rauision / Ne uertheles ys he be a gentylman he is holden to purchasse towarde the kyngis his delyuerance with all his powere because that thrugh his falte he is fallen in to such an inconuenyence /

Chere saythe xprystyne to the mayster that she hath herself crete merueyple seyng the litle feyth that regneth vnde ony body dare trusste in saufconducttes / And syn demandeth that ys it happe that som prynce or cristen kyngis gyue a

sauconduytte to som sarrasyn / Whether it is so that other
kynges ought suffre hym to passe by them vndre vertue
of the same /

Captulo / ij/

Myster wythout fayle thyſ ſemeth me greate merueyl
þe ſeeing the lytel trouthe and fydeylete that thiſ day
venmeth thrugh al the Worlde hold a prynce or a lordē or ſom
other gentylman / & namely what ſouere man þt be dare
trufe hym ſelf vndre a ſauconduyt for to goo in a place
wher he hiſ enemys be more myghty and more ſtronge than
he / **C**ryſtynē þt thou therew haue merueylle / it is not
Without a cauſe hold well that a ſauconduyt after thau
cenynt conſtitucion of the ryght of armes & al laſve
oughſe for to be after hys nature a ſure thynge betwix par
ties and mortall enemys whiche we call capytall enemy
es in oure laſves / the whiche letters of ſurete the good and
valyaunt conqueroures that were in tyme paſt / ſhulde not
haue broken ne enſrayned for to dey / But no dey in tyme pre
ſent for the barates / ſubtylnes / and deceyptes that be founde
þe whiche men haue noo shame for to makie a lyke bekyng
theyre ſeyth and theyre oþe amoneghe cryſten folke moche
more than ony Jewes nor paynemys Wolde doo / Wherefore
it is counſeyled by ſom of oure maſters that men ſhal not
trufe of light in ſauconduytes wher he as the tyme is now
come that wher he laſves doo calle fraude and barat it is now
called ſubtyltee and calvete / wherof ſoldoweth ofty
mes greate pavell / For indey þt a man of what aſtate or
condycyon that he be of wyl do ſom treaſon to ſom other bo
dy wher he that he haþe the perſonne in a place wher he ſyn
deth hym ſelf þt more ſtronge he ſhal ſynde a noone al ynow
gh he wherof to coloure a cauſe to ſtryue wyth hym Wherefore
he ſhal ſee hym or poſon hym þt wyl / or perhaſpes ſhal

brene his hous or shall wolle hym/or otherwyse shall hurt
hym vndre coulourable deteypte/ And whan thys is so doon
there nys noo ryght that can com tyme mynough for to recou-
pene hym therof by cause it is doon vndre false coulour /
for thees doubtes saith the lawe with gode ryght that for
surete of a persone that putteth him self vndre the powre of
his enemye can not gyue hym self to grete a preuylege/ For
after the dede doon the restitucion were nothyng/ With
out faille maister/it is trouthe/but yet to this propos telle
thou me a questyon after ryght/ I putte cas that a crysten
kyng had gyuen a sauconduyt to sem sarasyn/ I aske the
what folke crysten ought to kepe hym his sauconduyt/for
to the purpos of that that thou haste said to fore may semme
to me al first that the popis nor the emproueres folke/haue
nothinge a doo therof whiche as they be felonynge to a gret
ter lorde/than is the kyng/I knolle what thou wylt saye/
For sothe they be not holden thereto nor namely noon other
kynges crysten after the wytnes of the lawes/ the whyche
saye that a kyng can not gyue noo maudement nor ordyn-
aunce wythout his Jurisdicyon/ And therof I shall telle
the the trouthe/ For som of his owne subgettis myght also
doubte that they be not holden therunto/the cause why is/ by
cause that the sarasyns ben generall enemyes of al crystia-
ntyte/ And it is a thyng of trouthe and also wryton that
noo crysten man ought not to receyue ony maner enemye
of the lawe of god/Soo is a man moch more bounde to
oxeye god/than his temporal lorde/as the lawe wytnesseth
that saythe/that to every persone is permittid for to gaigne
saye hys lorde/yf he be suche a man that he wil kepe/keve/sus-
tayne/gyue fauoure to the enemyes of the lawe of god/ By
what ryght thenne shulde he holden the subgett of the sayde

kyng for to kepe that same saufconduyt/ And also the farrasyns haue not therre onely Wyth one kynges crysten but ayenst all/ and with thys the lawe saith that that thyng whiche to welcheth all ought to be approued of all/ it is other wise nought/ but no wile another thyng is there to be vnde stondane/ that is to wite/ that if it be so/ that for a rasonable cause it is gyuen unto hym as for to purchasse the rauison of som lord or kynght or som other that is in the farrasyns handes as a prynsoner/ or for som other cause Juste & raysonable/ dwyltene not therwof/ that not onely the subiectes of the sayde kyng that gyue the sayde saufconduyt/ but generally all crysten men wherre as he must passe by/ ought to suffre hym goo surely for two pryncypall raysons/ that one is/ by cause that they shal not saye by vs emonge themself that litel feythe and loue we shulde haue togayter amonge vs that are crysten people/ whan we wolle not suffre that they shulde purchas the delyueraunce of thoos crysten that be prynsoners in theyre handes for the feyth of oure god/ that other/ if crudnes were doon to them of the crysten whan they come amonge vs/ supposed that it were for delyueraunce of theyre marchaundyses or as ambassatours or for som oþer Juste encibeson/ they myght sell hit ryght dere to oure crysten people that for semblable causes goo amonge them full often/ Soo ought we to kepe them such ryght/ as we wol that they shall doo to vs/ But if it happyd soo that a kyng or a towne had therre ayenst another/ and for to aduenge hym self or for som other vndre reasonable cause shulde doo come to his aide or other wyse som myghty farrasyn vnder saufconduyt/ In such a cas ne oþer crysten folke subgetto or other ought not to suffre hym/ nor the vasselles nor capptaynes shulde not be reputid for forsworne nor vntrewe to

Theyre lord for the same/ For the lalbe namely sayth that
if eny body se founde berynge eny lettres ayenst the comon
Btlyte men may take hem from him and beseke hem wþþ
out leue of the iuge/and another like hys sayth that al man
ought to putte from a bout hym all heretykes and folke that
wo ayenst the feyth/

Cbeginneth to speke of trebles/ and asketh yf that whyle
they laste betwene two wretchers / Any tolone castell or
other thyng may be taken one upon other/ And whethir
that one partie shal kepe the trebles whiche that other par
tye hath broken or not!

Cappitulo /iii/

Qyster me semeth that there is another asselvryng
of wretche betwix enemys that men calle trebles/ Whi
ch is as one maniere of a peas made for a certeyn season/
So wol I therfore som what wþþe of the of such questy
ons as I shall make to the concernynge the same / by cause
that other whyle I haue hard saye in som contreyne whete na
mely it hath se som tyme vsed/ that it is noo grite euill in
tyme of trebles yf men see theyre aduauntage so to take or
stele by som calotele som tolone or castell or som gode prisone
yf they may/ So demaunde I of the yf it is trouthe that
men may do sooo without wronge to doo Wherby to thys I
ansuerent unto the that who someuer do sooo he engrayneth the
pure ryght of this that trebles conteynen/ And to thende
thou shall knowe hit best soo that thou mayste in thys par
tye testyfye it the bettre/ I shall tellle the whtat oure maisters
sayen therof/ Fyrst of all they saye that trebles is a wþall
asselvryng that by ne o ryght ought never to be broken
Upon peyne capytall lyfe as the ryghtwþis lalbe of a kyn
ge or prince ought never to be broken/ **C**Item that trebles
conteynen thre pryncypall thynges / that is to wþþe suretee

ponen for goodys moeuable and other goodis/ Item sem
blably to men/ and thirdly hit draweth to a treatee and to
hope to haue peas/ And thenne syth that trelbes conteynen
in hem self sucht thynges bothe in generall and in especiall
by what ryght myght the one partie take other tolone or
castel or other thyng vpon that other partie/ Dere loue with
out fayle they that doon soo or that contrynen that yt may
be doon without wronge/ they sett nothyng by the ryght/ soo
synce they dyuerse maneres of beglyng/ And sythe that
they wol couere theyre fasshed with ryght and with the la/
We whiche vtyrly is axenst hem / there as he sayth that al
thyng taken and usurped vndre truste of trues ought to be
yolden axen and restored and all the costys paged/ the name
of trelbes ought not to be called amouge sucht men/ But
theyre doyng ought rather to be cleped extortyon & deceipte/
And wþte thou what a kyng or a prynce ought to do of
hys olone folke that sucht a bylany sholde doo to hym/ as to
make hym ly and not sayeng trouthe of hys promesse and
affraunce made/ On my seythe to make theyre fides to be
empten of/ So shulde other take ensample/ and thys is the
sentenc of the lawe and therow he shuld gete sucht a gode na
me that he shuld be reputed a ryghtelvis kyng/ and more
doubted he shuld be therfore/ And by the same he shulde gyue
to hys enemys cause for to yelde them the sooner and glad/
Iper vnto hym/ the whiche ys they be broken of them/ and that
he can haue som of them to hys a boue/ noo rauison ought
not to spare them/ but that they be pugnysshed as it apparet
neth/ And I assie the mayster/ of the kyng of Fraunce and
the kyng of englaund had sworne a trelbe togyder for a
certeyn tyme/ and that the sayde kyng of englaund shulde
breke hem in dede/ shulde the kyng of Fraunce se hem to

kepe for it myght seeme ye/seeing that supposed that ys one
doo som euyll/another is not holden to doo hit semblably/
but ought every man to kepe his trouthe within hym self/I
telle that syth that one of the two kynges wyllych that he be
and of all other in lyke cas/hathe broken hys promesse and
hathe for sworn hym self/that other is not holden to kepe
hys othe that he had made vnto him/and for the same he for
sworeth hym not/for after ryght syth that men haue brokyn
fyrt couenant wyth hym he is not bounde to kepe the sa:
me/but he is assylded by the ryght wryton of the Jugement
therof/And that worse is he shuld sygne deedly ys he shulde
suffre hys owne folke to be slayne for falste of his owne
defense

Cheri syxieti of one manere of were called marque/to
wiche ys iuste/ Capitulo 8/

Myster wheret yet I am not satysfyed with thy wylle
and Juste conclusyons I wot make vnto the certeyn
questyons and demaundes vpon another manere of dysse:
rence that myght draweth to weree whiche I wot not wher:
ther it is of ryght or not/ For the auncyent gestes make
noo mercyon therof/but the prynces and the lordes syn the
auncyent lordshipes haue taken to vse therof whiche is cal:
led Matke that is whan a man of a roialme as it were of
Fraunce or of som other lande/can not haue noo ryght of
certeyn wronge don to hym of som myghty man straunger
wherfore the kyng gryueth hym a manere of a lycence to ta:
ke/arreste or to putte in to prisyon thrugh strengthe and ver:
tue of certeyne letters opteyned of hym marchauntis and
all other and in likelwyse theyre goodis that cometh out of
the lande and countrey of hym that hath don the wronge
vnto tyme that ryght and restytucion were made vnto the

party playnlyff of his actyon and demaunde/ Soo wolle I
gladly wite yf suche a thinge cometh of ryght/ For a grete
merueylle it is to me that a man of the countrey of hym that
hathe doon the mynde that haply never see hym nor is not
culpable/and yet for thys cause he shal be arrested or putte
in to pryson and his goodys taken yf he be founde wher he as
he that was wronged hathe polde/and shall must nede
paye and restore that wherof he oþerwile nought nor hathe no
gylt therunto/ Doughter dere to saye trouthe thou must
knowe after the wrytynge of thauncient ryght/ that thys
manere of were that is called markie/through whiche one
takeith and bereith damage for another wþout hys deserte
is not iuste nor the ryght wryton graunteth hit not / the
whiche ryght hath ordyned that yf a marchaunt of parys
or of whens he be of is bounde to a marchaunt of Florens
whiche assyeth justice byforc his iuge/ but he can not haue
of hym hys assyng/ the marchaunt florentyn may pursue
his desbytor to ffor the kyng tyl that ryght be admynist
red vnto hym/ But for to saye that by cause that a mar
chaunt of parys is bounde vnto hym he myght putte in pr
yon another marchaunt or bourgeys of parys or of some
other place of the roialme/or hys goodis to take vndre ar
rest/verly for to saye thys manere of fourme is nother of
ryght nor of rayson grounde/ But see here what of ryght
may ke doo thereto/whiche lordes haue brought vp for thys
cause/ I suppose that an italyen were holden to a frenshe
man of a grete some of syluer/ of the whiche bonde he wyl
defraude and begyle hym that is hys credytour/ wherfore he
forsaketh hys owne countrey and goeth dwell in england
by cause that he knowe well that the frensheman shall not
goe for to pursue nor plete with hym there/ Or ellis thys

myght fall another manere of cas / A genelbey is founde
longe a goo to a frenchman whiche shall knowe well that
by cause of the euyll wylle that nowe is betwene the kyng
of Fraunce and the duke of Jennes / the frenshman shal not
goo to Jennes for to pursue his dutee / wherfore he shal be of
so euyll contynauance / that he shal doo noo force for to makie
restytucion / what shall thenne the frenshman doo he shall
drawe hym self towardis the kyng / as a subgect ought to
his lorde / for to haue his help that he may recouere his olde
goodis / The kyng thenne welle enformed that this man
sayd trouthe / shall gyue hym marke / And in lykewyse the
kyng shall gyue the same yf it hap that a knyght or som
gentylman complayneth that he hath be dystressed & robbed
Inuried or brought to a shame som wher as the kyng ha
the noo defyaunce of were unto the tyme that restytucion
and amende be to hym made / Thys caldecke founde the coun
scyllers of the prynces for to withstande such barates and
decytes / Thys marke conteyneth that every persone that
shulde be founde in the lande of the prince that ciueth hit that
is of the contrye / towne or place of hym that shulde haue doo
or shulde doo the oultrage or wronge / shulde be take / & his
goodis in to the courtis hande / tyl that the marchant were
payed & restored / or that to the inurie were made a suffisant
amende / & thenne whan the marchantes see themself so euyl
handled in straunge countreis wher as marke is giuen aienst
them they fynde such wayes with the iustice of theyre pla
ce or towne that he or they that be causers of the wrong that
was don / shal be constrainyd to contente & restore that other
& for this cause hit was founde & brought vp / and to this pro
pos scriueth well a comon prouerle that sayth / that by an in
conuenient is chastyed another inconuenient / also by the

same hurt is another hurt repayred/for by noon other wa;
ye can men haue noo ryght of many and dyuerse wrongys
that he doon/or that might be doo to straungers gooyng by
waye/But not withstandyng that this thing myght ha
ue eup coloure of ryght I telle the so mochx therof that every
kynge or pryncipe of whom this markie is requyred / ought
not therfore to graunt hit lyghly/For it is a thinge ouere
grevous and poyaunt/ Wherfore it ought to be delibered
wyth payne for two pryncipall raisons/that one by cause it
is a thinge that full sore may hurt a mannys conseyence/
that other is/that it may be a legynnyng of alberre/ And
therfore what ought a kynge for to doo whan he is requy
red for to gyue hit ayenst som countrey / cyte or tolone / he
ought first enquire by his president or chauceller/or by som
other wise lexyste or man of lawe for what rayson he requy
reth the same & what cause he hath thereto/ And if the man
sayth that whan he cam fro mylaen were taken from hym
in the tolone of Ayl ten thousand frankis or the value the
wof or more or lesse/& that of them he coude haue noo ryght
but they of the tolone bare out this thynge though that he
dide his deuore to complayne biforn theirre iustyce/ Thenne
ought y kynge to write unto them / praying that amyably
they wyl receyue his lettres & makre restitucyon to be made
unto his subget of the oultrace hurt & domage that by one
or dyuerse of hem hath he doon/ and if it so happe thenne that
for his sending & desire they wol doo noughe & makre noo
force of the kyngis lettres/& that it be seen & delibered by dy
recion of gode conseil thenne such a markie longeth thereto/
the kynge thenne after the costume of the lordes temporall
may gyue hit of his auctorite especyall/
Thet of the same/and whether al lordis may gyue markie

Whether the kyngे ought to gyue hit for a stranger whal
wil be made his cytezeyne/ & Whether sochers myght be trou-
bled by vertu of the same or not/

C apitulo vii/

Then maister yf it happed that the peple of florence or
of ellis wher had taken in like caas the goodis of a
marchaut of paris hold shulde markie be gyuen ayenst that
same cyte/ for yf men goo to the right therre most iustice be as-
ked therwſt to the souerayne iure of the same place that is the
emperoure/but hold be it that they ben of right his subgetis
it is not to be doubted but that they wol do litell or nougat
for hym/ & to saie that the marchaut shulde goo to plee bifo-
re therre potestate of that yere y haply shal be a cordewanner
or a tailer & yet shal he bere hys gylt gyrdell as a knyght
shapynge & soldwyng his shone after theyre custome/ Soo by
loue I that litel ryght he shulde fynd there/ I saye not onely
more of florence than of another cite wherre as the people go
uereth/ What thene shall herof be made/ Na faire loue/ that
that I tolde the biforn shalbe doo/ the kyngē shall sende thy-
ther his lettres & if they makie of them noo force/ he shall the-
ne molde gyue hys markie ayenst them lawfulli/ sith y they
saie hemself that they haue noo souerayne/but calle hemself
lordes of florence/ maister I askie the yf all lordes may gyue
markie/ My loue I ansuere the nay/ For as thy self hast say-
de & repliked biforn / noo lorde may Juge werre / but yf he
be souerayne of Jurisdiction/ And wherre thene this dede of
markie after his owne kynde & condicion is like vnto Wer-
re noon may gyue the same/but yf he be a lorde without me-
ane/as the kinge of fraunce & other ben of theyre royalnes/
Now tolle me yet/ I suppose that a marchaut borne of the ci-
te of mylan hathe ben dwelling of longe tyme in parys/ &
hath therre housynge herytages & landes/ Wherfore he shalbe

Q ij

reputed & taken after the custome as a burgeys of the cyte
there I aske the yf for this man the kyng shal gyue marke
yf the cas as a loue is saide hatheth to falle/seyng that he
is not of the nacion of fraunce/but is borne vndre the iurys/
diction imperyal/I ansuere the that after the rule of ryght he
that is partener of the hurt & charge/he ought in lykeliwise to
be partener of the wele & confort/Wherfore yf it be so that this
marchauant haue of longe tyme payed the subsidies & imposi
cyons of his marchaudise & goodis vnto the kyng & is a
burgeys/Without faylle yf kyng is holden to berte & supporte
 hym in al thynges as his subgett & citezynne/ & semblably
I telle the of a knyght or som other getylman straunger dw
ellyng of long tyme in France & seruyng the kyng in his
werres/soo that he haue lyuelode there of his owne/yet I as
ke the yf for cause of this markie thus gyuen/might a clerk
studieng atte the scoules within paris be letted or troubled or
his godis arrested/I ansuere/as aboue/that nay nor name
ly his fader that were come hore to see hym there Nor name
ly the kyng may not gyue markie though the cas so besell
ayenst what someuer folke of the chyrch/Wher as he hath
nought to knowbe oner them/but this longeth to the pope
yf they ben prelats/ & of other it lieth in theyre prelat that
ought to compelle them for to do right & reason/nor the king
by right can gyue thereto noo remedy/but yf it be atte thyn
staunce of his prayer/ & yet I telle the that al pelgrimes of
what lande or nacyon so enere they be/be it in tyme of Wer
re/of trebles or of markie/ben in y sauengarde of god & of the
saint wher as they propose to goo to/ & therfore yf countrey
taketh hem in her espicyall sauengarde wherby they be preci
leged aboue all other folke that be reputed as folke of holy
chyrch/ & he is accursed of ourse holy fader the pope yf heurteth

or troubleth them by any manere of woyse /

CHere beginneth to speke of chāp of bataill/and asketh
yf it is iuste & goode that a man shall proue by his owne bo-
dy fightynge ayenst another that thing whiche is secret and
unknowen/

Capitulo viii

After thes thinges wchere as I am ryght content of the
solucyons aboue sayde/ right dere maister cōtinuyng þ
matere of Werre I wol make to the other questiōs/bi cause
that in my tyme I haue somtyme seen b̄sed in frānce of thys
Wchewſ I wil nowbe speke/& namely before my tyme hit ha-
þe þe b̄sed all þnoughþ in other places as for faites of ar-
mes/that is to wite Werre þ is onely made betwene two chā-
pions or otherþbyle many of one quarell in a closed fel-
de/the whiche Werre is called chāp of bataille wchiche one ge-
tylman b̄ndetaketh for to doo ayenst another for to proue
by myght of his owne body som cryme or trayson that is oc-
culted or hydd/soo demaide I of the yf such a bataille is iu-
ste & permittēd by ryght/doughter & dere loue of this matere
amonge all other/bi cause þ the noble men that be not clerkes
that this wchell shall molwe here or rede / knolwe best what in
this is to be doon it pleaseth me right well to ansuere þ ther-
of/wcherefore to þēde that they þ loue the dedes of kyngþþo-
de shall b̄nderstande hem self in this matere / & that thy self
that after me shal wriit it mayst shewe þ trouthe therowf I tel-
le the/that emonge the other thingis of armes/after diuine
ryght & also after right humayne bothe canon & ciuyll/to gi-
ue a gage of chāp of bataille/or to receyue hit for to fyght/
is thing repreñed & condēned/& amonge the other decrees
that forbedeth þ same/is acursed by the ryght canon as wel
þe that gyneth hit/as þe þ receyuet hit / & moche more they þ
suffren & byholden them/now mayst thou see wchether it is a

Q iii

thinge that ought to be don or not / & that this be true Wel dy
de shelde pope Urbain the 3/ of that name Johan that a chap
of bataille shulde haue be made atte Villenoue by auynon of
two knyghtes þ had arrested themself for to fight one ay
enst that other before kynge Johane of Fraunce the whiche chap
or clos felde oure saide holy fader the pope as thinge prohibit
& defened/ comauied expressly vpon peyne of cursyng þ noon
shulde goo there for to see the same / & yf thou or other wold
telle me/ that to doo such a thinge/ it is vsaunce of armes / I
ansuere the/ that muche more grete is the right of god / & mo
re ought men to obey therunto/ than to the vusage of armes
and that it is true/ that folke ought not to suffre nor doo the
same there is many good raisons that dyuine ryght affi
gneth thereto the whiche right diuyne is þ ryght of holy chur
che/ vberunt we ought to obey vpon peyne of dedly sinne/
whiche right diuyne condempneth all thinge by whiche fol
ke wyl tempte god/ For men wil knowe yf god shall helpe
the ryght / & also as by theyre tempyng þ god shulde do my
rake/ the whiche thinge is vndue as for to experimete the
wille of god / & it apiereth/ for we saie that for to aske a thyn
ge ayenst nature or aboue nature is presumpcyon / & it displea
seth god / & for to tolde that the feble shalle overcome þ stro
ge / & the olde the yonge or the sicke the hole/ by strengthe of
goode right/ to haue/ as haue had / & haue confidence they that
thereto putte hemself/ such a thinge is but atemptyng of god
& I saye for certeyn þ yf it happe them to wyne/ it is but an
aduerture / & not for the gode ryght that they thereto haue / & þ
this be true/ I shal by reason shew it to the / hathe not oure
lorde suffred many a goode man to be putte to dethe wrong
fully / & without a cause of whom the soldies ben blyssfully
in paradise / & not this miracle he dede for them/ shulde the
mene

tro'be a poure sinner/that god shulde doo more for hym/than
he dide for them/ & woulde it is also that of tymes it hathe be
seen that he that had good ryght lost/wherefore a decretall re
membreth such an historie/wher upon a tyme in the cyte of
poulen were two brotherne accused of thefe/wherefore after
the usage of the same cyte besoued to defende himself in chap
of bataylle where as they were overcome/whereof soone after
hit happed that within the saide cyte was founde the theef
that had doon the dede wherby manifestly was knowen that
the two brotherne that al redy were dystroyed were nothig
gylty therof/And thus by cause that semblably it hathe be
knowen to hap soo dyuerse tymes in dyuerse landes & also
that it is a thinge unraysonable to be doon/the ryghtes ca
nonall haue reproved this manere of fyghtyng/& as the la
we saithe yf by such a manere men wold proue & make go
od theire ryghtwis quarelle/the iuges that be stablished &
ordeyned for to do iustice were as Bayne/& it is an euyll rai
son for to saye/yf I can not proue nor make gode that that
I saie/I shall fyght therfore and shall proue hit by my body
for noon but god & I and he that I appelle therof knoweth it
not/& yf som man wold saie to me trouth but the euyllis y
secretly be doon can not be punished by iustice sith that they
can not be proued/I telle the that verly they can not be pu
nysched/but he that alwayceth that the sinne whiche is hid & se
cretly kept be punysched by hym/suche a man wil vsurpe the
diuine puissaunce & the sapience of almyghty god whiche one
ly apparteneth to the punycyon therof/& affermeth a decree
that saith/that yf all sinnes were punysched in this woorlde
the iuges of god shulde haue noo place/& another rayson
there is that this thinge condēpneth/that is/that the lawe
cyuyl hathe ordeyned iuges & iugement for to do as raison

reqyngreth in place & that noone be taken for a witnes in his
owne cause/but a man that thus wyl make a proue by his
body forceth him self for to breke this lawe/ Item by ryght ca-
non it is yet more reproued / for it comandeth expressly that
men shal obeye the pope & hys comandement/ & he by a good
rayson hathe comanded expressly that men shal never fyght
by such a manere of wise/ Fayre loue thus mayst thou see
that such a bataylle is proued/to the whiche thing god gra-
mercy the kyng of fraunce and his gode conseill/ hathe wel
advised therfore hit shulde be noo more in elre within his
royalme/the blessed god gyue ioye peas & honour & paradise
to them that thrugh vertue of god hit haue entremytted &
peined hem self that such a thinge were putte a donne out of
that right cristen royalme of fraunce/ And that all such
other folissh dedes of armes that thrugh poughe without
cause/but onely for a manere of pride of one for to overcome
that other without any quarell whiche is dysplayuant to
god/ be left/ & therfore this said royalme whiche is the super-
latif above all other cristen royalmes hathe bygome thesa-
me al other yf it please god shal take ensample so to doo that
therre noble men dysobey not the chyrche puttinge the body in
parell of dethe to therre grete dysvership without a cause &
therre solbles dappned & lost for euermore/O lord god what
folyssh enterpryse/

¶ For what causes the lawe
Imperial dyde ordeynne champ of bataylle ¶ Capitulo viii/

But bi cause that the defences aboue said of the ryght vri-
ton haue not be alwieres obserued nor kept nor yet be
not obeyed in al royalmes as touchyng for to fight in chap
of bataylle as it is said I shal tellle the causes for the whiche
they that dede sett hit vp haue iuged it to be doo y is to vnde
therewur fedrik that so muche contrarietie holy chyrche that he
chassed y pope out of hys place y tyme whan he cam to his

refuge & secoure to Ward þ kige of fraunce / & also another scrip-
ture that men calle the lōbardisshē latte / deuyseth therof in di-
uerse cases / the whiche herafter shalbe declared by me vnto
the first the said excurours latte saith / ys a man se accysed of
traisōn that he haue machined purchased procured or cons-
pired ayenst his prynce or aienst his cite / or ellis to þ preiu-
dice of the comyn welle what soeuer the cas se of whiche the
trouthe can not se by noo proues knowen / & þ this man so
accysed offreth to defende & purge hym self by champ of bata-
yle aienst al men that wol late aienst hym / shalbe receyued
to to the said champ of batayle / Item that ys a prisone of
werre se kept in prysyon by the partie aduerser / & þ it happeth
during the said prisonemet / that ys se made betwix the two
parties vndre condicyon that al manere of prisoneſ ſhalbe
deliuered ſauſ ageyn without pateng of any cauſon wþerfore
it may hapli fall that the master fleteſ his prisoneſ for wþi
ch myſde by right he may leſe his bed / & he ſe reproued & at-
tentid therof / wþerupon he ſaith þ he ſelue him in his deſſe-
ſe / & that firſt of all the prisoneſ had oþer traitouſly or by
ſom otherwile assayled wþan they were but them two togid-
er / & this he wol make good by gode proue of his oþone bo-
dy in a champ of bataiile / if any man were that wold ſay
contrary aienſt hym / he ought to be receyued / Item alſo it
ſaith as by ſuſh a fall / we putt cas that the kyng of fra-
unce & the kyng of England had twelves togider / & that it
ſhulde hap a frenſhemā durynge this tyme to wounde &
hurt full ſore an Englyſhemā or an englyſhemā a frenſhemā
of þ whiche thynge þ latte ſaythe / þ in ſuſh a cas behoueth
of ryght and Justyce a gretter punyçon to him that hath
hurte þ other than þ he hadde doon theſame to one of his
owne countrey / þ ſe þ this wronge hath doon wold bere hyt

out by the prouie of his owne body that this was doon of
 hym in his defence ayenst that other that fyrt had assaillid
 hym his wordis by the sayde lawe imperial ought to be her
 de / If a man accuseth another þt he wold haue had slayn
 the kynge or the pryncipe by poysone or otherwys / & that other
 saithe that he lieth fally & for the same called hym to chāp
 of bataylle / he is holden by the said lawe imperiall to ansuere
 him & kepe hym the day þt he shal sett for to fight with hym
CFor what causes dyde ordene the lombardysche lawe
 chāp of bataylle /

Capitulo/ix/

So is there another lawe that is called the lawe of lo
 bardoys whereto in se copyred many dyuers thinges / &
 in the same by especyal the maistres that stablyshed it
 haue therupon writon many causes to whiche men may gy
 ne gage for to fight in chāp of bataylle / & out of the same
 lawes are come almost al the iugementis of gyving of ga
 ge that is to saye a token of defyaunce for to besyght hys ene
 mye within a clos felde whiche men calle chāp of bataylle /
 so shal I tell the som of thoo causes / that is to wite yf a man
 accuseth his wyf that she hathe traytred or bespoken for to
 make hym dy other by poysone or by som other secret dethe
 wherof by som coloure he hath her in suspectyon / but she can
 not be to the trouth truly attainted / or ellis whan thehusband
 is ded / & his kyndesmen putten vpon his wif that she hath
 made hym to be brought to dethe yf thys woman can fynde a
 kyndesman of hers or som other frende that wyl fyght for her
 kerbyng out þt that whiche is laide vpon her / is fally saide / the
 lōbardysche lawe wyl that he shal be receyued for to fyght for
 her ayenst who someuer wyl blame her / If a man were ac
 cused that he had slayne another And that this coude not be
 proued ayenst hym / If he casteth his gage ayenst hym that

accuseth hym the latte wyl that he be receyued / It semblable
that yf he hadd kete a man vndre asselbrans / Item also yf a
man haue slayne another man bothe al alone & that he wyl
make a proffe by gage of his body that it was in his deffē
syng & that the other assayled hym first / the saide latte wyl
that he shalbe herde / It yf a man after the decesse of som kin
nesman of hys of whom he ought to haue the goodis by suc
cession as next kyng / Were accused to haue slayne hym forto
haue his litlede & his goodes / he may deffēd hym self therof
by his body after the forme aforesaide / It yf a man were put
to vpon and accused to haue layen wþt a manrys wyffe
the whiche cas after this latte yf her husband or kynges man
complayne to the iustice is capitall deth that is to saye / Woor
thy to lese his hed for the same the sayde latte wyl that thys
man shall molde deffēd hym self by gage of bataylle / It
in likelidwise it is of a manrys daughter beinge yet vndre the
rule of her parentes yf they doo complainne of som man that
hathe had fleship wþt her / though it was wþt her good
wile this latte wyl that he deye but yf he deffēd hymself
therof by champ of bataylle in cas that the thinge were so
secretly kept that it myght not be proved ayenst hym / for yf
manfeste or openly knownen it were / yf the kyngesmen
wyl there were no remedye / and therfore thys latte shuld
seme well straunge in Fraunce & in other place that a man
shuld die for such a cas seeing that it was by the goodwil
le of the woman wedded or not wedded & this latte is v
pon such a raison folonded where it is trouthe that a man
takeith deth by sentence of the latte or of iustice for to haue
commited a smal thefste of golde or of siluer a rielvel or other
thynge / of whiche cas what souere necessite hath brought
him thereto shal not molde excuse hym but that iustice shal

Repe Spyn hym her rygoire / ys grace for respect of som piteou
se cas / se not to hym imparted / & made / Whyn thenne shall be
spared he that hathe dyspoylled / & taken awaye the honoure
& worship not onely of a woman alone but of her husband
& of bothe theyre lygnages / & bycause that vñxre this folke
that fyrt made / & stablyshed thees lawnes prayse / & sette mo-
che more by worship than they dede of golde nor of syluer /
they concluded that yet moche more ought to haue deserved
dethe he that robbed another of the forsayd honoure wherbi all
a holl kyngede is reproued / than yf he had taken from them
What someuere other thyng / and therfore som dede saye that
the lawne was yet wel gracyouse / & pytouse to them / Whan
suche folke were not more cruelly punyssed / then other that
were worthy of dethe / that is to wite / that hit made hem not
to dreye of a more cruel dethe / than for another cas / Another
cas putteth the sayde lawne that shulde seme al yngough ap-
enst rayson / that is to wite that yf a man had holden and
possesed certeyne lyfplode house or lande or namely moeuable
goodes the space of xxx yere or more / & that another shulde
accuse hym that thrugh euyll / & deceyuable meanes he had
hit / & falsly had possessed hit / that yf this accusar offred to
prune the same onely by his body in chāp of bataille / he shal
be receyued therunto / But without faile not withstanding
thys lawne / I telle the wel / that folysshē is he that suche lawne
accepteth or suche gage / and he that is therunto called / and
that al redy hathe the possessyon in hande / myght ansuere
thus to that other / Fayre frende / I haue nougħt a doo with
thy gage / figh thy self al alone yf ȳ seme it gode / for I shal
never fyght for this cause / soo is there noo lawne that may
gaſſayn hym in this cas / for prescrpcion is aþrowed of al
right / It saith the said lawne yf it happed two men to fall

a debate togider & that therice question were brought to iuge
met whiche of hem shulde produce or bringe forthe theyt
proues / to this entencyon that ys the one partie wolle
gainsayre y other & that they colde not accorde / ys he wil ma
ke it goode by proffe of his body / he shal be receyued / Item ys a
man takieth an action vpon another for certeine some of syl
uer or som iellowell or of som other moeuable gode whiche as
he saide he lent to his fader or moder / & that other dengett him
the same he shall also be receyued ayenst y other to xx chāp
of bataylle / ys he proffreth to makie it good by the same mea
ne Item ys a man hath he brought to losse & domage by fortu
ne of fyre in his hous or in his grange or other thinge / ys
he wil proue ayenst another in manere a forsayde that he ha
the putte the fyre theryn / he shalbe herde / Item ys a man com
playneth ouer his wyffe that shē ic noo good woman / tho
ughe he doo this for a wyle for to close her within awalle or
for to le quytte of her or that she shulde be banysched from her
dwarye / shē may defende herof herself / ys shē can fynde a chā
pyon that wyl syght ayenst her husband for her / & ys the hus
band refuseth hym he shal not be byleued / Item ys a man
haunteh in the house of alwedded man / ys the husband wil sa
ye that this man hath haunted & haunteh for to haue a wo
wyth hys wyff for to shame her and hym / thys other man
that so haunteh there may defensse hym ayenst the hussbāce
by gage of bataylle / wherof I wo lalbgh consydering such
a folye / that ys the felawhe that so is accused were grete and
stronqe it were well bestowed ys he sele hym self Innocent
that he sholde lete well & thryffly in the champ that Jalous
& folishe husband / Item ys a man accuseth another y he hathe
paroured hymself in iugement he y is so accused may gainsayre
hit as it is sayd / many other thiges conteyneth y sayd lalbe

that concernen chāmp of bataille whiche I leue for shorthenes
of the matiere/ as a thinge not nedfull more for to say/but
so moche it is to be vndestande that thes batailles are som
tyme doon by the principall persones whan a rasonable cas
of sem lettyng falleth there/ As it were yf a man to yong
were accused/or a man that were to olde/or a man that had
som sicknes or that were impotent & coude not helpe himself &
som time a woman and all suche other persones/ the whiche
thynges are alle prought expressed & named in the sayde la
wes/ And namely yf a bondeman saide that his lordē had
made him free of his bondē & seruytude & this he will make
goode by his body/ the lordē is not holden to receyue bataille
therfore/but ought to deliuere him a champion/ & more hyt
saith that two clerkes of lyke degree may haue leue to be
fight ech other in chāmp of bataylle of the whiche thinge
lauffe her grace I say that she hathe wronge to entremette her
self in such a cas of any man of the chirch for the canon y
ought more to be obeyed defendeth them exprely al manere
of bataylle & violent hurt/ & I assie the yf a man impotent
as it is saide may sette for him self sach a champion as shall
please him/ I ansuere the/ that the champions that be compt
ted for another are in this deede of bataille sygured or in sy
gure of procurours & aduocates of plee/whiche offyce eue
ry man may doo for another yf he wyl / yf ryght exprely
gaynsayeth it not/ ryght euyn so it is of the chāmpeōs/ for
who souere wil he may be one so that ryght gaynſare hym
not for som cause/ For a theeff or som other that tofore
had commytted som gree euyll or cryme shulde not be re
ceyued thereto nor noo man that is knowen of euyll
fame/ And the rayson is goode/ That is to wite that yf
such a man entred a chāmp of bataylle for another and

Were vanquished there/ men shulde wene that it had ben for
his owne sinnes/ and that therfore he had lost the bataylle/
CHow chymp of bataille representeth somwhat proces of
pleetyng/ And wylther it is of ryght that the chamyons
shall swere by fore they entre the felde/ Capitulo/ x/

But holde we it that gage of bataylle as I haue sayde bi
fore we of oure doctours reproved Neuertheles because
it is a thynge whiche is in usage in the dedes of noble men
e in the exercyce of armes e of knyghthode that such batayl-
le haue ben e are by the kynges/ prynces e lordes iuged after
the ryght that hit can haue wherof the custome shall not
yet fayle in all places it is gode for to speke yet therof to the
lernyng of thoos that shall most iuge therof/ e semblably
of them that shall vndertake hem/ For I holde that the most
parte of the noble men/ what that many one speketh of/ kno
we not veray well that whiche is or ought to be contyned
in such a bataylle touchinge thentreprise/ the dooing e the
iugement vpon the same/ so shal I telle the therof/ first thou
ought to knolle/ e it is veray certeyn y thees particular
batailles shewen by figure nature of iugement for ryght soo
as to a iugement is the iuge e he that claymeth action also the
defendant present/ also is therre the foresherer e the proues e
after the same foloweth the sentence / semblablly so is the iu-
ge e lorde in a clos felde tofore whome the bataille is made/
the party playntif e y defendant be the two chāpions that
fight therre togyder/ the witnes e proues ben therre armures
e the strokis y they giue to ech other by the whiche strokis e
armures either of them forceth him self for to proue best their
entencion/ e therafter foloweth y victorie whiche falleth to one
of them y representeth y diffinitive sentence/ maister I beseeche
the y thou take not now in anger yf I putte interrupcyon

in thy wordes/for a questyon that I wil aske of the/ by ca
se that I haue herde the saye that the champpions wo shewe
whan they entre the felde & c/ whether it is a thynge ryght
wys that they makie eny othe there/ For it shulde seme nay
and it needeth not by cause that in a generall bataylle shewre
two kynges were and theyre folke shulde noon othe he ma
de/ and why thenne shall two personnes shewe/ Dere loue I
ansuere the/ that for to makie there theyre othe it is but the
ryght of such a bataylle/ and it is noo goode that that thou
sayst that in grete batailles is noon othe made/ & knowdest
thou the cause/ it is by cause that such grete bataylles are
entreprysed by delyberacyon of a grete conseyl and Jugeod
of the lordes/ soo behoueth there noon othe/ But to such a
particuler werre/ the prynce can not knolle so wel the certe
ynce of the quarell/ and therfore he wil take of them theyre
othe vpon that whiche they vndertake to prove by theyre bo
dys/ Soo calleth hit the lombardysse lawe/ the fed othe/ &
thys othe that thou knolle/ is of the nature of þ othe of ca
lengyng whiche ought to be taken atte the begynnyng of al
manere of pley/ Where as the party playnlyff shewreth that
his action is right wys & gode/ and after that shewreth the
partye defendant that his defences be true/ and eyn thus
it ought to be doon in a champ of bataylle/ But to thende
that thou shalte vnderstande/ there is a crafte for to take
suche an othe/ For yf he that called that other shewreth ab
solutly ayenst the other of that thynge wherof he is not wel
certeyne/ as thought I were vpon the holy gospel/ that thou
hast mordred or made to be murdred my fadre or my broder
and al weyes he is not therof wel certeyne/ For he hathe
not hit wel seen/ but it may be that he shall haue herde saye
the same/or for som coloure he shal haue a suspectyon therof

Suche an othe is folisshly made / For noon oughte to s'were
absolutly for a thinge/but that by his owne eyen he be sure
and certeyn that it is soo/and for thyse cause may be his qua
rell nougat/For he forswere hym self ys it be not as he say
th / But it is otherwyse of the partye defendant/for he can
not be ygnoraunt of the quarell/for well he doth knowe ys
he be coulpaible of the dede or not/and therfore his quarell is
bette/ in cas that he sele hym self pure & cleue therof / but ys
he wilfully doo for s'were hym self/muche more is Worse his
cause than of hym that weneth to saye trouthe/ Wherefore for
to be more certeyn and in surete to haue a good quarell the
party playntif/that is to saye he that calleth that other Whi
ch is party defendant/ought to s'were onely without mo
re that he holdeth stedfastly & biliueth that that other hathe
kynde his fader/or hathe doon to hym thynurpe Wherefore he
callith hym to bataylle/ & by the same shall his quarell be the
bette/Soo ought he for to saye before the prynce / the cause
why he his so moevyd and the manere of the cas/ & the prin
ce therpon ought to be wyse for to see and aduyse by the cyr
constances/ys this that he saith may be true or not/for ys the
cryme or mysyde had he doon the day aforne myghe the party
of byernes/ and that he that of the same is accused colde
bryng true proues that all that day he was ferre thenys/he
ought not to gyue noo feyth to such callingpon that Whi
ch were impossible/so ought the prynce therfore wel to adui
se that the quarell be iuste or ener that he iugeth hit accep
table and not to here all them that calle other thrugh folyssh
moeuynges and dotyng oppynyonys/ For many there be so li
tell wiise that they wold folysshly expose hem self to thesame
for noo cause atte all/or for litel occasion / and they shulde
wene that it were a fayre dede doon of hem because of theire

Iþþyl confideracion / And it is noo yþke whan it falleth
euyl to them/but of that other partie is compassion for they
must deffende hem self/and if they doo it not after the vse of
armes men shulde gyue hem Blame and dysworshyp ther
fore/ye after thopynyon of the yong folk not wisse in this
caas/And I assie of the/ys it happyd that bothe the parties
wolde fyght ech other in a playne felde/ or ellis without
the presence of the prynce/shulde he suffre it I telle the/ nay/
For it is a thinge wþerof the knoldenge longeth vnto him
for to gyue hys Jugement vpon the same / and ayenst the
prynce in this caas/may not theyre owne will makie noo
pruwidence/but that the sayde lorde or he that is commyng
and ordyned and also they that must kepe hem/musste be the
re present by cause they shal be there sure of all other person
nes nor noo man in the Worlde ought not to say there no
thyng vpon peyne to be gretely shent without it be by the kyng
or prynces maundement that ought to iuge att latter en
de whiche of bothe is overcome or bþctoryouse/

Asketh yþrystyne/ys it hap that one of the two cham
ppons lese som of his armes be it swerde or other thyng
whether men ought of ryght to see hit restored ayen to hym
AItem whiche of bothe/ought to enuahys he fyrist / Item
ys the kyng pardonne hym that is overcome / Whether the
þctoryouse may assie hym the costes that he hathe doon &c

Capitulo /xi/

Myster I assie/ys it falle soo belwene two champy
mons that fyght ech other within a clos felde/that
the one of hem breketh the swerde or the axe of that other/

or casteth hit ouere the pale/ For I holde well wþtþ all that
they doo the Worste that they can one tyl other / supposed
that thys man had none nother aye/dagger nor mayle nor
noo wþpen to defende hym wþtþ all / Whether by rayson
men shulde delyuere to hym other harneyse defensable/ For
syn it is in the manere that thou hast sayde/ that is to wþpte
that the armures Inuasible and also defensable are fygu-
red and taken for wþtþnes and prowes wher wþtþ all men
may help hym self in plee & c/ It shulde seme that men ought
to delyuere and pelde hem new harneys apen/yf they require
to haue hit / For yf it were so that for to prove good myn
intencyon I had produced and brought som wþtnesses whi-
che I suppose shulde faille me by deþe or otherwisse I may yet
bryng forth many moo/whi thene/yf this champion hath
not molwe prove hys intencyon by the same swerde or other
wþpen of hys/ may not he haue another/ Fayre loue soothe
for saye/ after the rayson of such ryght as he alwayteth ther-
to/a grete conþderacion ought to be had here for to iuge of
the same/ For a grete dyffERENCE is there yf the swerde is by
aduenture falle from hys hande/or yf that other hathe taken
hit fro hym or broken or cast out of the clos/or yf by folyshe
nes he shulde lese hit/and lyke wþpte of hys other harneyse
But yf the swerde by aduenture brake by the strokis that
he hym self shulde gyue wþtþ all/ and not by the effort or
strengthe of hys aduersarye and that he had nomore wþpen
for to defende hym self/ and that by suche manere he had lost
it all/Without fayle som maystres sayen that men shulde
do hym wrong but þþ they sholde gyue him other harneyse/ but
selden it happeneth a man to entre in to a clos felde wþtþout
that he be garnysshed wþtþ moo wþpens than one / soo may
he helpe hym self wþtþe that one whan that other is lost or

fayllet: Now fere: and yf it hap that the iuge can not kno
we the fyrt daye whiche of bothe is ouercome are they hol-
den to retourne the morowe after: I telle the certeynly that
ye yf it be in theyre polbere/ so that they haue enterprised to
be fyght eche other atte theyre vittermoost hynderaunce in cas
that noon other condycyon were not sett afore/ So can theri
not be assylded nor quyte vnto the tyme that the one of
them be ouercome though that it tarpe never so longe/ reser-
ued al wyses the comandement of the prynce contrary to
the same / or that they shulde accorde hem self togidre by ma-
undement of the kyng/ For other wysse they may not doo
it after that they be ones entred Within the felde / But the
prynce ought to be piteouse vpon the same hauing mercy of
thees two men that he not onely in parell of bodily lyf and
worship but also in Jeopardye of theyre sondes / Cesse me
yet master & teche me whiche of bothe ought fyrt to smite
the fyrt strok whan they bothe two be Within the felde/ For
I haue not forgotten that thou saidest here byfore / that thy
manere of batayle holdeth in party the nature of a plee /
Wherby it semeth that he that calleth that other ought to be
gygne fyrt to smyte/ For so mocke I wote well of the ma-
ner of a plee wherby as I haue often assayed hit and hath
cost me/ that he that is actoure/ that is to wyte / partye pla-
ynysg cuyeth and sheweth fyrt hys actyon and demaunde
and after the partye defendaunt ansuereth therupon / and
bycause that in this dypng here yf he that is accused shulde
smyte fyrt/ themme shulde he seeme to be partye playnyf and
not partye defendaunt/ For it is noo defense that cometh
aflore the stroke/ but it is offense / dere loue hold well that
thy raysons ben consonaunte/ Neuerthelesse it sheweth to be
won here in thy caas by another manere of waye/ than as

a plee is rebolde wher as it is there exploittyd by wordes
and here by waye of dede/ And therfore wher as a man is
in parell of dede he ought not to abyde after the fyrest strok
For such a strok myght be so heuy and so grete/ that to la
te he shulde come for to defende himself/ And also alle ynow
ghe hathe begynne fyrest of all he that calleth the other wahan
he fyrest dede caste hys gage for to be fyght that other in a
champ of bataylle/ And yf att a iugement the playntif she
wyth fyrest his actyon it is but by wordes wherof is gode
cheþ ynowghe/or by a lytel wrytynge/ So is it not so parcl
louse a lykelle or a rolle as is a strok of an axe or of a spere
And after that they be ones closed in bothe togyder /z/ that
men haue escryed them that eyther of them doo hys deuoyre
and his best/nother of them careth not holt greate hurt that
he doeth to his foo/ And therfore I telle the that in thys cas
after all rayson be it by wylynesse/callidels/barate/ Witte/ ap
petysse or strengthe or by eyn other manere of wyse/sin that
they be so colyled togyder/he that is appyled may be the fyrest
that stryketh yf he can haue leyset so to doo for hys easc/ and
in all poyntes to take hys aduaantage yf he can or may doo
soo/ But trouthe it is that he muste tary tyl that other be
marched ayenst hym fro hys place one paas or two/or ellis
that he haue made semblaunt for to come tolwardys hym/ It
vet ageyne another questyon I aske of the/ I take that the
kyng that thus bholdeth and seeth two chamypons fyght
yng togyder/haue pitee vpon hym whiche is to the poynit
brought that he muste be ouercome and dyscomfyted soo com
maundeth the kyng to calle and crye ho ho whiche as muche
is for to saye/nomore/nomore/by hys connestable/ and that
not withstandyng the same/he that hathe the lettir of the
felde requyret y kyng for to doo admynistracyon of justice

g that he wyl Iuge the ryght for hym/ the kyng ansuereth g
faith/ I adiuge vnto the honoure g the victorp of the bata
ylle/ and I pardone to that other/ for so is my pleaseyr for to
be doo/ thys man asketh hys costes g expenses / ought he to
haue hem or not/ for it myght semme/ that nay/ because that the
kyng hathe not condēpned that other in the same whiche al
so hath not confessed the dede as a man that is overcome / I
ansuerē p/ that yf he were vtrly overcome/ though that the
kyng shuld pardone hym the debate the whiche thinge lieth
in his pupssauice/ he may not doo therfore noo wronge to the
partye that rightelvly required hym for iustice/ but yf it be
so that men calle/ so/ before that he be all atteyned g in al po
ynctes overcome/ he is not holden therunto/ for how be it he ha
th the worse of the bataylle/ yet hathe he not confessed p/ thig
wherymē lieth the veray victorie that longeth to the bucto
ryouse/ that is to wite whan he maketh that other for to co
fesse himself gyldi of the dede/ g also he myght yet haue a hepe
that som strok might be yet gyuen/ that shuld hapli see him
that twelveth to haue the bettre of the bataille/ as it hathe be
seen dyuers tyme/ that he that was vndre/ smote that other
that so felde hym/ so strogely with a dagger or som knif that
he felde hym sterke ded/ for a fayt of bataylle/ what that it se
meth yrof can not be godly raged vnto tyme y/ it be brought
atte an ende/ and fayre swete maister/ p/ hit happed that it
were soude ones that som body in suche a cas had accused a
nother wrongfullly of murdere or of som other cryme/ what
shuld he doon of the accusar/ Wythout faylle oure mas
ters deermynen/ that men shal doo that punicion vpon him
as the cas gaffe for to be doo vpon that other yf he had be
truly atteyned therof

CS he asketh yf vohan a man is punyshed by chanc of

Bataylle of som mynde/ Whether the Justice hath ma more
to doo with him or not in this byhalfe/ **C**apitulo/vn/

Et ayn I assie/a man calleth another to champ of ba-
taylle for to make gode vpon his body/ that he is
falsly forsworne/and so it happeneth that he ouercometh him
And giveth to hym the punicion accordyng the cas/ It hap-
peth afterward/that for the same cas/he his troubled & atta-
ched by the iustice/ought this man to be iuged & punysshed
more than ones of one self cas/for it shulde not seme that it
were ryght/nor god wil not of it nor holy scripture accordeth
not to the same that a body shulde be twys condēpned for one
sinne/ Faire loue hereto I shal ansuere the whtat that the ex-
cusacions that thou makest be goode & namely many other
for the partie that is accused/ that other partie myght an-
suere/ We are now in court of ryght wryton/by the whiche
ought to be iuged of the cases that requiren punycion/ but
Whare gage of bataylle is not aproued by noo ryght wryton
it suffiseth not/For supposed that by such alwaye he hath
ben corrected/it is therfore noo punysshon/ For iustice hath
noughte seen therof and noon other thyngie it is as to con-
syderacyon of ryght/but as ys it were so / that the fader had
kete his childe for cause of som trespace that he had doon vhi
ch he correctyon shulde not suffysse/nor iustice shulde not leue
hym therfore to punyssh hym other wyle/ Soo shal I telle
the after thees two alteracions the trouthe therof/ Wete
thou for veray certeyn/that ys it had be soo that the daye had
be deferred so longe betwix thaccusat/and he that was ac-
cused/ and that in thy meane wyle the cas had come to the
knollage of the justice/I doo the wile to wyle/that not
withstandyng theterprise of the sayde bataylle iustice may
punyssh hym/ys it be a thing that can be proved/ But ys

Thou aske me wherether after the punicion he had he holden to
kepe the day of the felde / I shulde ansuere the nay / For what
eyght conde he haue for to defende hym self of the dede wher:
of he is al redy conuyct and attaynted / But yf it be soo that
the prynce/or he that keper was of the felde / had punysshed
hym of thys mylde/or that he had remytted hit to hym or
pardoned whtat soevure it were / Without faylle thauctoryte
of the prynce is so grete that this custome aproved to proue
by chap of bataylle & to punyssh by such manere of wape
they that he attaynted / that it ought well to suffise / that he be
punysshed ones & no more / Nor the prynces & lordes shuld
not suffice to reuoque nor calle ayen theire sentenes/ maister
yf thou se not to very that so muche I doo enquyre of thys
matyere/ telle me yet alworde to this propos / A knyght accu-
seth another & calleth him to bataylle/ and syn rexenteth him
that he hathe doon soo/ may thys knyght repente him or not
atte his owne wille yf he wyl & that noo more be spoken nor
no hing made of that that he hath said / for verly it shold
seme / that he myght well calle ayen his woorde fro the same se-
eyng that yf a man accuseth another or saith euyll by hym
by hastynesse or wrathe he may well repente him therof yf he
will without more making a doo as me semeth / nor he shal
not be by the Justyce imposed nor sett therfore to that pynne
that he shulde bere for the same yf he proceded forthe ferther
more / and whyn thenne shulde it not be soo in thys cas / To
thys I ansuere that yf a gentylman calleth another by eas-
tyng to hym his gage / For what somenere that it be in that
sence of hys lorde or of the constable or mareschal or of som
other Juge alle and competent / and that after thys he doo re-
pent hym self therfore bycause as it may wel be / that he was
euyll informed / or ellis chaffed for anger or malencolie / or

haply for taking of ouere moche wyne/this thynge by gode
meanes may lightly prouesse remydded in a manere that
to that other ought to suffre/ & not to make sondre vpon hym
for the said callyng/ For noon ought to be ouer sharp nor
to hote vpon the same whiche it is a thynge daungerouse vther
by grete perell may fall whatsoeuer gode ryght that a man
hathe/ seynge also that that other receyveth shame/all pnuou
ghe for to repente hym self of the castynge of his gage and
to be so holde of the bataylle/by the whiche his folyshe moe
upnge he hathe shewed well that he was not wyse/ For an
ouer grete shame it is and a token of a lytell wytte for to
caste hym self so ferre in wordes/ that he muste nedes after
ward to gaynesape hys owne worde/ Neuerthelesse it is
more bette for to repente of a folyshe before that it be execu
ted or made/ than for to entre with an evill quarell in to a
champ of batayle/ nor it is noo byc for to repente hym self
of the evyll/ but it is a grete synne and folyshe for to vndre
take and make yt in dede/ But in caas that the wordes
were goon so ferre forth/ that by force the prynce or his con
nestabbe or Marischall or som other able for to receyue
hym/ That had caste hys gage of batayle/ he shulde not
mowe repente hym self therof without the wylle of the
prynce and assentynge of the partye/ the whiche by reson
myght aske amende/ ¶ For to the purpos that I telde
the before that champ of batayle foloweth the wyses of
plee/ soo doethe represente thys gage the batayle that men
gyue atte the iugyng of a cause/ after the wylle/ he that gy
ueth hit/ muste purselwe hys quarell of the partyes accor
den not togyder/ But well it is trouthe/ that the prynce/ syn
that he that calleth repente hym self/ oughte to be a large

forgyuer to thoos that repente themself / as god and holy
scripture requyreth/

Chere deuyseth of the thynges/that a prynce oughte to see
Unto byfore that he shall iuge a champ of bataple/ And
holde men oughte to gyue couseyl to them that muste beseight
ech other/ **C**apitulo / viii/

The bataylles of a clos felde wcherv thou haste deuy-
sed that no we sen in usage in many landes/and haue
be longe tyme past / as for to saye in all the Worlde so that
the custome hath suffred them/notwithstandyng the defen-
se of the decree and of the ryght canonall/as thou sayst/is
tourned as to a lawe/me semeth that a stonge thyngis itis
to the prynces for to iuge and determinye well of the causes
that such bataylles requyren/For it is noo doute/ but that
the lordes desyre and wyl/that ryght be doo to every man / &
therfore they suffre such a bataylle to be doo / to thende that
the causes that ben obscure and hidd may be therby attain-
ted and knolden Dere loue thy wordes ben of trouthe with-
out faylle/And therfore affirmynge that , that thou saist/
that the Iugement of such a bataylle is ryght parillyouse &
subtyll;it playseth me,for the doctryne and techynge of the
noble men to the whiche ende thou doest laboure in thy boke
to putte here & declare som rules that must be keptpon this
matyere : the first rule is this;that noo prince seuler to the
de he doo not amis;al ke he never so prudet nor so wise what
soever gode couseyl of wise knyghts & other seuler men v he
haue ought not iuge noo champ of bataylle/Without the re-
garde & couseyl of the sage men of lawe/bi cause that of al
causes that may hap to fal they can determinye muche bettre
than other folke/For theyre connyng sheweth & techeþ them

thesame/soo apparteyneth to them for to declare of the cau-
ses what therof is to be doo/and whethir it is a thyngre re-
provable/forsoden/condēpned or aproued & comendable/ Or
whether one cause be preuyleged before another/& that thys
be true/that such folke whan they ben expert/can determyne
therof bettre/than other doo/the latte cyuyll doo graunt the
same/the whiche saith that the aduocates are protectours &
rulers of al humayne folke/pet is there another raison wher
by it behoueth vnto them for to determine of the same byfore
all other men/It is by cause that kyngþees & other gentyl
men are sooner moeued ffor to swere a fapt of armes/than
clerkies be /& this cometh to them of a statute that they ha-
ue amonge hem that they shal repute & take a man for desho-
noured & ashamed/Without that he soone accepteth thegage
of him that casteth hit vnto hym/whiche is an opinen yis
moeued as to this he halve sauft theire reverence Without
eny regarde of rayson/for lesse worship shuld he after ryght
to him that shuld gyue or accepte a gage of bataylle for a li-
tel cause or occasyon or for folyshe and nyce moeyngre/than
to hym that shulde refuse yt/ For Without fayle it is noo
dyssworship/but rather the contrarie/ For to refuse & not
consent to eny folyshe enterpryse/specyally wherre as so dere a
catell hangeth in parell/as is bothe the sole and the body
And myght saye he that is assayled and called/ My frende
If thou lyste for to fyght/Soo fyght thon thenne by thy
self al one/ For as for me I wyl not be partener of
thy folye/The seconde rule that the prynce oughte to kepe in
this byhalfe it is/that though a gentyl man shulde accepte
the gage of another/ that haply were moeued ayenst hym
For som malyce or for fauoure or for som prydefull wylle cau-
sed With enuye/trowyng to ouercome and putte hym vndre

¶ he to be the bettre enhaunsed for the same / or for what so
menere other moeyng without rayson / the prynce or his li-
utenant oughte to adupse demelvely herupon for to here &
Vnderstante Wel the wordes & the manere of hym that cal-
leth that other / For som ther be th at wyl colour ryght vni-
drie a falasse by theyre grete wordes & are so folyshe that they
trowe for to legyle god / but this al to gider falleth vpon hem
self / With the same the prynce ought also to consider wel
what the cause is that moeyth hym therunto / & what ma-
ner of thyng it is / that he putteþ vpon the other / And yf
it be soo that he saith that it is for dette / the prynce or som
other for hym / ought to aske for what a cause is the dettore
due vnto hym / in what lande & in what place it was made
Wherether he hathe wortyng or wittnes therof or not / & yf it
hap that it be perceyued that aparente of som proffe be there
or som couloure wherby ryghtwyse iugement can be had / he
ought to comytle the cause in arbitrage / for in such a cas a
man myght not by ryght susteyne nor saye þ / therfore shuld
champ of bataylle be made / It the ij rule is / that the prynce
ought to make hym that calleth that other / for to propose by
fore hys persone / the cause of thacion þ he hathe axens that
other / and also in lyke wyse / to see that the partie deffenda-
unt be there examyned in presence of his couesyl wher as
shalbe as it is said the best men of lawe / and there it ought
to be seen & full well dyscuted and duely serched wherethe
partye plaintif hath iuste cause or not / and there shal every
man saye hereupon hys oppynyon / After whiche thyng yf
it be founde soo that the cause be moeved by pride presumpcion
or folye / as who shulde saye / I wol prove my body axens
his to the dette in a champ of bataylle for to gete worshyp /
or for the loue of myn owne lady / or that she is fayrer than

lys is / & such other dyners maners of folye / Soon ought
to be putte abacke thys thyngē and not to be herde / and to for
bede that therof be not spoken more / And yet more I saye /
that for whatsomeuer wordes of iniurie þ it be / þf they ben
saide in an angre / or in hete by suspition or malencolpe and
that he ayenst whom such wordes haue ben / Wyl fygght for
hit / there ought not to be iuged noo bataylle / Wythout that
he that hathe saide them wold haue myniten styll the same and
wolde fygght in thys quarell / To the whiche thinge / þf it so
happed / yet shulde me peyne hēself for to moderre & rease eche
of hem without bataylle / Whiche by no o wyse / as it is said
ought not to be enterprised nor suffred to be made nor iuged
Without an ouer grete falte / cause the same to be doo / but
ought to be forboden and letted as muche as men can / But
þf it be so that the matere be grete and peysant / as it were
for trayson / for murdere or for som grete bvolence doon / and
that the partye playntyf can not proue ne shewe the same
but by proue of his owne body / and þ the partye offendyng
can not suffisauntly excuse himself / but that he is gyldy the
þf / thenne thus as it is said / by thynspectyon & consentynge
of al the counsel / ought the prynce to iuge the bataylle after
that the lawe in such a cas requyret the whiche is such
that assoone as it is iuged / though that many one ben so
proud of hemself / that they trusste in noone other thyngē /
but oneli in therre bodily strengthe / and care nother of god
nor of his help yet ought to be therre commytted som wyse
men / that shall shewe to them the grete parell bothe of
the sole and of the body / wherynne they doo putte hem
self / And that they aduyse and see wel and that they wyl
callen unto them som wyse confessours for to be shryuen
and that they aduyse and see wel to them self and that they

of them/that they may be in good astate/and that they calle
Unto god to helpe theyre parte/For grete nede they shal haue
therof atte laste/and thus oughte the sayde vysmen to exor-
te and admonesten them/eythre of hem by hym self/ Shewynge
Unto them how thys thyngis is full heuy and grete in why-
che they muste dep/ or ellis Suffre grete dysworshyp & shame
so aduyse he and see well to for hym self/that he come not to
late for to repente therof/and all such thynges that ben go-
ode bothe for the soleil and for the body ought the confessor
to see that he can wel telle and shewe unto hym that he shal
shryue/and to admonesten hym truly/not leuyng hym atte
the ende of the thyngis whiche he mynstret moost to be wel co-
usayled/specyally in tournoys of armes that in such a cas
ben couenant/as wel to assayle/as to defende/and this for
to do/that is to wite for to gye counseyl thereto bothe the
partys as wel to the one/as to the other/certeyn kynghtes
oughte to be assigned unto them / that shal be expert & wyse
in such arte and connyng

Asketh Crystyne whether a bataylle may be won vpon
a holy day after ryght/and whether it is taken in ryght that
a man of armes may sau his soleil/And yf clerkes may
goo to werte or not/

Capitulo viiiij

Mister nolde tell me yf a bataylle be it general or spe-
cial/may be won after ryght vriton vpon a holy day
For to me shulde seme that nay/seyng that the festual da-
yes be ordyned for to serue god onely/and it is noo seruice
appliked nor won to god for to fyght in a fide one ayenst
another/Without faille my loue/of this propos/y shalte fide
in the auncient testamēt.how it was permittēd of god vnto
y children of israel that vpon what soeuer day y men shuld
com vpon them/that they shulde defende hem self & that they

shulde yssue out for to gyue bataylle / Therfore I telle the
that for cause of necessyte men may well som tyme make a
fide vpon a holy daye/that is to wyte in caas that men we
re assaylded / But wythout fayle for to vndertake a day
of bataylle vpon a holy day/it is not well done/nor it apper
teyneth not / though that at thys day ben the crysten peple
of so feble and so lytyll fayth/and of so lytyll reverence tolde
ardys god and to hys sayntes/that men of of armes ma
ken noo force soo that they see theyre aduauntage/for to
ryde scarmysshe/steele/and to goo forthe to the pplage and
wolterpe/aswell vpon an Estiday/or the good Fryday/or
vpon som other grete and solempne day / as vpon other
dayes/the whyche thyng ought not by noo manere to be
doon/Without that grete nede constraineth thereto / or that
this be doon for a grete goode to the comon vtylyte/I demau
de of the mayster ys we oughte to sieye & holde / that a man
of armes may sauie hys sole in exercyting thoffyce of ar
mes/For a grete doubte myght be casse he to/seyng the gre
te euylls that necessarly behoueth hem for to doo/and also
he that dyeth in vylle and desyre for to greue or hurt hys
neyghboure/gooth not a good alwaye / Soo semeth to me
that such is the despere of men of werre that goo in armes
ayenst theyre ennemyes/Whiche wold god that men shold
lue/ How thenne myght he be sauied that dyeth so there/
Doughter I shall ansuere the shordly / thre conelusyons/
The fyrist/that wythout doubte/after that the decree decla
reth/the knyght or the man of armes/that dyeth in the wer
re ayenst them of euyll byleue/for thenhausing of the fayth of
Ihu Criste/soo that he be repentyng & soray for his sinnes/he
goeth straughete as a martyr vnto heuen/ The seconde/that
ys a man of werre dyeth in a bataylle growonded vpon

a iuste and gode quarelle/for to help the ryght/or that hit be
for the true defense of the lande/or for the comonwele/or for
to kepe the fraunches and good customes of the place or cou-
trye/but yf som other hym letteth hym/ his sole is not a
greued but a right greet mervyte he hathe therby/ & such may
the cas and the quarelle be that he goeth right forth in to
paradyse by and by/ And it is determinyd that he that expo-
seth his lyffe for to defense iustyce/repeth well a good dede
as it is for to fyght in a iuste quarelle for his kyng or pri-
ce/for the countrey and for the peple/ Whiche his a mervitory;
ouse dede/ But the thirde conclusyon is contrary to the same
that is to wite/ that yf a man deye in a bataille whiche were
ayenst hys conscyence/ that is to wite/ that he shuld thynke/
that the quarelle were not goode/ and that it were doon but
for to surpe and take the ryght from another/ & that shuld
care for noone other/ But that he may robbe and take and ge-
te his wages/ without faylle yf such a man hathe noo lep-
ser to haue repentaunce at hys last endyng we coude not pre-
sume that he were in waye of saluacion/ Late therfore ke-
pe hem wel that therto putten hem self/ For bothe the body &
the sole they putte in grete pareyll/yf they doo gyue hem
self for to susteyne a false quarelle/ And to this ought stra-
unge souldyours to take gode heed/ But many there be that
make noo force of the quarelle/ soo that they be well payed
of theyre wages/ and that they may wel robbe/ But such
folke doon moch worse/ & are lesse to be excused/ than tho
whome it behoueth/ be it right or wronge / Upon peyne of los-
syng of theyre landes/ to be with theyre naturell and soue-
rayne lorde/ how be it/ that they oughte with all theyre pow-
er/yf they die felte that theyre lorde had wrong to putte hem
self in peyne and in her deuoyre for to lette and dysmoeue the

Werre thou hast spokyn ryght well gode mayster/but I pra
ye the tell me / yf clerkes or men of holy chyrche doughten
or may go goo to a bataylle without that they shal myspri
se hemself/I tell the that oure doctours maken hem many
questyonys / & after the oppynyon of som/they may goo with
daffensable armes and not inuisible/that is to wite/as to a
cas of daffense/and not for to enuayshe/ And other sayen/
that they ought not to come out of theyre place for noo ma
nere a cas/but onely is permittid to them the daffense of the
cyte / fortres or manoyre whiche they be in vpon the walles
or at som wondowes for to daffende hem self with gode sto
nes & with such stauies as they haue without shot of yron
and other sayen that they may vse of al manere of armes
as well without forthe/as within and not tary tyl they hem
self be enuahished/for a man must somtyme offendre another
yf he wyl sauie hym self/and not abyde that he be offendred/for
such myght be the tarynge that men shuld come to late for
to putte remedye therunto/another oppynyon is holden that
atte the maundement of the pope whiche is souerayn aboue
all clerkes/they may doo bothe the one and the other/ And
other seyen that the bysshopes & other clerkes that iurydyc
tyons of landes and of iustice doo kepe and holde of the prin
ces/as of the kyng of Fraunce holden many prelates their
temporalites/are holden for to goo to the werre with their
lorde/yf he wyl/and by especyal such prelates as be of the
peres of Fraunce/the whiche may well saye to the men of
werre/that they take folke and putte hem in pryson/but not
that they shalle flee noone/ For thenne irreguler they we
re/ And by noo manere it apperteneth hem not for to smite
nor fyghe with any man:but yf men wold Smyte vpon hem
For there nys bishop nor prelat/but that he may daffende

him self Justly / in caas that he were fyrt enuahysshed
Without that he were irreguler therfore/namely ys he slevde
Sombody/but for to saie that men of the chyrch shalbe armed
to fight/noz specyall i they to be in a feld/this is not of right

Cbegynmeth to speke of the manere of armorye/ Whether
every man may take armes atte hys wylle/ **C**api^o xv/

Mayster without faylle I see and knolde that more gre-
te is thy wytte in concludyng & sollyng propely to
the trouthe all questyonys/than myght be the Importunytes
of myn ignorance in reformyng of dyuerse argumentes/ &
Wher al ynought may suffysse/Without I trauaylle the oþre
more/that whiche thou hast declared to me of the ryght of
armes/pet a woorde ys it please the/for to makie me wylle of
som thynges that al ynought doo depende of the precedentes
that is to wyte of the ryghtes of armes after the whiche de-
maundes/bycause it shal not thynke to the ouer longe I
shal taske an ende in concludyng my booke vpon the same/ It
is that thou telle me of the faytte of the badges/armes/ba-
niers and penoncelles that lordes and gentylmen haue and
be accustomed for to were and to doo them to be paynted &
sette vpon theyre garmementes Whethir every man may take
and bere them atte his owne wylle/ Dere loue/of thees ar-
mes that by noblesse were fyrt founde by cause that the lor-
de in a bataylle myght be knowen by his armes and entre-
sygnes/I shal ansuere to the/thou oughtest thene to know
that in thees armes as for to saye in general ben there thre
dyfferenches / Whether the somme were made & ordeyned of
olde tyme for thestate of the dygnytees/and not for the perso-
nes nor for theyre lygnage/as is the sygne of the Egle the
whiche is deputed for the dygnyte Imperyal/ Wherfore who
someuere is emperoure ought to bere the same/ Item another

manere of armes there be of office / lyke as we saye / Ca
pytelers of Tholowse / th: Whiche duryng theyre offyces
doe bere armes the whiche ben of olde reputed and ordeyned
for the same offyce / Seblably the Consules of Mountpilly
er / Where namely of eny assemble were there made of armes /
noone other armes they myght not bere but such as ben re
puted to theyre offyce of consulate / Wythout that they wold
be rebuked for / and they shulde not be suffred / Semblably
in dyuerse places ben appropred one manere of armes / It
the seconde dyffERENCE of armes / Is of such as come purly
by successyon of lynage vnto kynges / dukes / marquesses / er
les and other lordis / lyke as the flourdeylse for the house of
Fraunce / the Luperches for the house of England / and of all
other kynges / and in likewise of other lordes lesser / as is the
Emprise for the dukt of Bretayne / the white crosse of silv
ere for the Eile of Sauoye / & thus of other lordes be it
Dukes / marqueses / Earles / or other of vskens that they be /
of thoos specially ought noon to take theyre armes / & yet
maist thou see / that men knowe al lveyes the syd of the lord
ship by cause he bereþ the playne armes of the same with
out difference / & thoo that are of his linage they putte
theunco dyuerse dyffrences / And seblably it is of the other
barons / & of al gentylmen in likewise / soo tellle I to þ wells
that of ryght & rayson / noone ought to presume himself for
to take eny thinge of the armes of gentylmen nother for to
bere any thinge semblable / nor namely one gentylman of any
other gentylmans armes / Without that it be soo / that he can
shelde that of old tyme they be or haue ben longyng to his
predecessours or that som lord had gyuen som bēde or quarter
or som other part of his armes to him or to his predecessours
for thus might he wel bere hem / Without that the kyngre or

other myght chalenge him for the same / for to diuerse baro^s
kynghes & gentylmen haue ben gyuen the armes that they
bere or suchy differences as be there of olde tyme past by som
princes or grete lordis / therfore they ought not to be taken
by noon other / as it is said / But it is well trouthe / that if it
happeth a straunger to come in place whiche bare the same ar-
mes & eynlyke of som gentyllman of fraunce / or of som other
partys / that semblably had borne of olde tyme his predec-
sours / he shulde not do wronge to noo body in this byhalfe
nor noo thinge myght not be said vnto him for the same / Item
the iij/ difference is of the armes that dayly be founde nede
atte wylle / as whan it falleth haply oftentimes / that fortune
enhaunceth men att her owne plaisir / that they that be of
ryght lowe degree comen to highe astate whiche thyng som
tyme happeth / by the suffisaunce of the persones / other in fayre
of armes / or in scyence / wisedom / or couseyll / or by som other
Vertue that they haue / Soo it is not euyl emploied to them
that be worthy therof by noblesse of vertue / the whiche whan
they see hem self brought to highe astate / they take armes att
theyre owne wylle and suchy a deuyse as them plaieth therfor
of som grovonde and souded the same vpon theyre name / as
one that is called petur hamer / he shall take one two or thre
hamers for his armes / And as another called John pye / he
shal in likelwise sett the figure of certeyne pies vpon a sheld
for his armes / & thus dyuersly of other deuises / as it plaieth
himself best / & the keynes that afterward shall descende & come
of him / shall bere evermore the same / & by thys manere of
waye ben armes first founde and taken /

CIn what manere may a gentylman chalenge another
for armes /

Capitulo / xvij

Now tell me that I may understande I putte eas that
my fader haue take for his pleasir in his armes a be-
de of goules with thre sterres of golde aboue the same/or so
me otherthinge/and that another man whiche is of noo sib-
be to my fader had tas semblable armes / myght this man
therine here hem by right without gainsaying of eny chalenge
I asuerre the that the maistres of the lades masien vpon the
same such a questyon/that ys a man or a lynage had taken
welvour armes sith that openly he had borne hem/ and that it
happed sooth that another man of the towne or namely of the
country of Wens that other man or lynage were of wold
take or had taken hem/it were noo rayson/but they ought to
abyde styl to hym or them that first sette hem vp/nor the lor-
de of the place/ys eny complaynte be made therof vnto hym/
oughte not to suffre the same/ For such armes sen & were
founde for to knowe a dyffrence amoncge the folke/ & other
wyse there were noo dyffrence/ but rather a confusion/ & it
apperteyneth not to the prynce nor to his iustice for to suf-
fre that his subgettes shal dwong nor doo shame to ech other
And to doo such a thing/ that is to vnde to take the armes
that another hath taken a fore / hit shuld seme as a des-
pyng don for a despyt for a ryote or noyse to begynne one
vpon another/noll maister yet wold I be ansuered of ano-
ther maner of debate that myght wel com/a gentylman of al
mayne cometh to parys for to vsyde the kyng/ & see the ma-
nere of his court/ wher he doo fynde another gentylman that
bereth the same propre armes that he & they of his kynde
bereth/ the whiche thing the said almayn wyl chalenge but the
freshman ansuereth that he hath not foudyn them of late but
that his antecessours of old tyme had & yet dyde bereth them/
The almayn saith that his lynage is more aucent than the
frenshmannis kyndred/ and therfore ought the sayde armes

to be his owne and not the frenshmans/ And that more
is by cause that the frenshman sayth ayenst the same & demy
eth hit/ the almayn answereth/ that he wol bpon this quarell
fight with him/ & casteth in ded his gage to him therfore in
presence of the kynge/ soo aske I of the yf this almayn hath
a good quarell/ & whether the kynge by the ryght of armes
ought to iuge herupon the champ of bataille/ In gode seyf
my loueyf/ for this cause shuld a bataill be iuged/ noo right
accordeth not therunto/ & ymough euydenc is the rayson wher
fore/ for what damage nor dysworship can come to the alma
yn/ yf a frenshman that his not of the countrey borne yf he is
of and that are not bothe vndre one lorde/ bere suche armes
as he dooth/ syn that they be namely of olde tyme hys owne
wherfore hemme nor by what rayson ought he to chalenge
the same/ Certes hereto bilongeth noo bataylle to be iuged
nor no maner of ryght other/ but that eyther of them who
shal kepe still that that he hathe/ I saye not that yf it happed
to a knyght or man of armes of Fraunce or of som other lade
thryngesse falle dysymulacyon that that were a man lyuyng
an euyll lyffe a grete theef or man sleer/ to take the armes
of a knyght of almayne/ with the whiche he shulde goo in to
bourgoyne or in lorrayne for to take his proye & to sette hon
ses on a fyre there/ and robbryng folke by the wavye/ Without
saylle the almayn shulde haue noo euyl cause for to chalenge
his armes from suche a man/ but schold his quarel be iuste &
good/ But noone other bataylle were not for to be Iuged
ayenst this euyll man/ but onely the hangyng of his body
on a gyset/ For it were not ryght that a good manshulde
putte hym self in parel/ ayenst another that euydencly were
knowen crymynal and lyuyng an yl lyffe/ and for this ba
rat to take the armes of another as his owne men myght

be purysshed by ryght in dyuerse wise/ For ys a souldour of
simple lygnage of almayne or of som other lande/ shulde co-
me in to fraunce for to take the kynges wages in hs wer-
res that shulde bere the armes of som auncynt knyght of
his countrey/ of whos predecessours after the renomme/
were accustomed to com ryght gode men of armes/ and forto
be the more worshiped and more sett by and for to haue bet-
tre astate/ had taken the said armes/ It is noo doulte/ that
ys such a thynge cam to knowlege/ and that the kynges
shuld reclame of wrong doon to them/ he were or ought to be
by ryght purysshed therfore likeloyse as he that shuld contrefet
the signe of a tabellyon or notarye/ or as a marchaunt that
shuld contrefete the markis of another marchaunt/ & lykeli-
se of such other thinges/ for ys such a thynge were suffred
infyryt barates and deceytes myght be do vnde coloure of
thesame /

Conveyseth here of the armes and renoncelles and of the
armorie Capitulo/ viij/

By cause that we be entred in this matiere/ & that thou
hast remembred me of the baners and armes of the
greate lordes I shall telle the of thoo colours that men repu-
ten and taken for the most highe moost ryche and most no-
ble/ For amonge hem is a difference of noblesse/ for cause
of the representacyon that either of hem doon after his natu-
re/ Soo holde the maisters of the lawe of armes/ that the co-
loure of gold is the moost ryche/ And the rayson is/ because
that the gold of his nature is veray clere & resplendisshyng
Vertuouse and confortyng/ soo that the master of physique
woe cygne hit for a soueryne recomfort to a man abylyted &
myght dede and with this the golde representeth the sonne
whiche is a right noble lumynarpe/ And the law saith that

there is nothige more noble / than is clarete & light / for
this excellencie saith the scripture that the iuste & holy persone
is like the gold & the sonne / by cause that the golde of hys
proprietate is likned to the sonne / the auncient lawbes dyde orde
yne that noman shulde stere gold / but that he were a prynce
Soo is thene the colour of gold moost noble / Item the secod
colour is purpre that we calle red Whiche representeth the
fire/soo is the fire moost shynynge in his naturell cours af
ter y sonne & the moost noble of all / iiiij/element for the whiche
the noblenes setably dide ordynye the lawbes y noone shuld
were red that betokneth hyghnesse/but onely y prynces / Item
the iv/noble colour is azure/whiche by his figure represen
teth the ayer the whiche after the fire is the moost noble of
other elemente/for hit is in his cours penetringe substyl & ab
le to receyue the lumynose influences / Item the vij/coloure is
white that men calle in armoyrie siluer / the whiche colour
of white is the mooste noble of all them that folowbe after
for hit is more next to the shynynge cours / With this hit si
gnifieth innocencie & cleynnesse / the scripture saith that the
vestement of Ihu Crist dide semme to his apostles white as
snowe / this colour of white representeth y vatre whiche
after the ayer is most noble / Item that other colour is blak
that men calle in armoyrie sable / that representeth the other
& betokneth sorowbe for it is fader from the lyght more than
cyp of the other be / therfore was fonde that in token of so
wolbe blak rayment shuld apperteyne to the sorowfull & he
vy / so is hit the moost wolbe & moost habble colour that is /
therfore it was ordyned y religiouse shuld rueste & clothe
hemself of the same / Item that other colour of armoyrie is gre
ne that men calle sinopie or verte whiche betokneth vodes
feldes & meadowes / and because it is not represented to noon

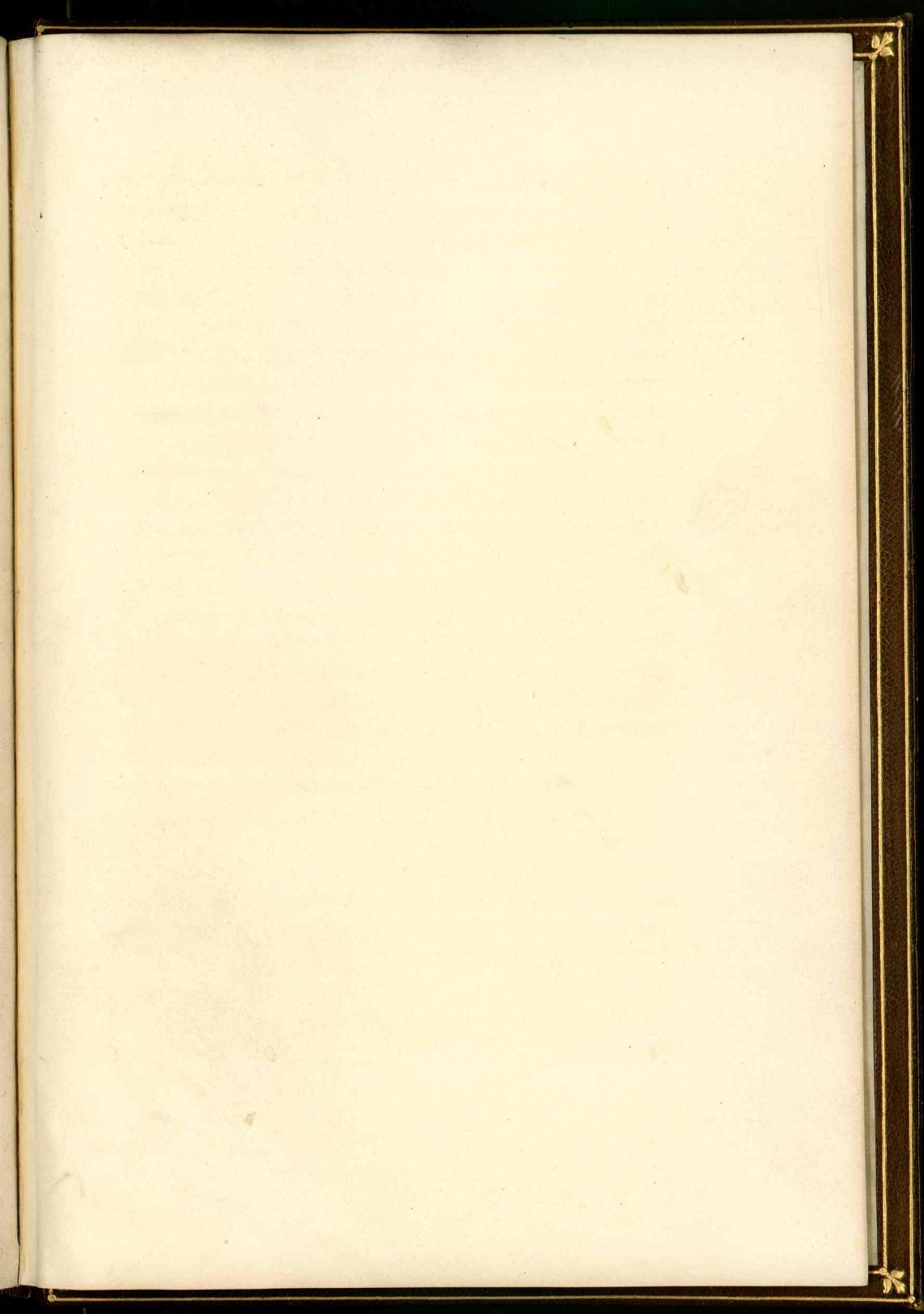
of the fourtelemente it shuld be taken for the lasse noble/ &
of thees seven colours are dyfferenced all manere of armes
penoncelles and bariers by dyuerse deuyces taken by hault-
nesse fro the tyme ryght auncyent/

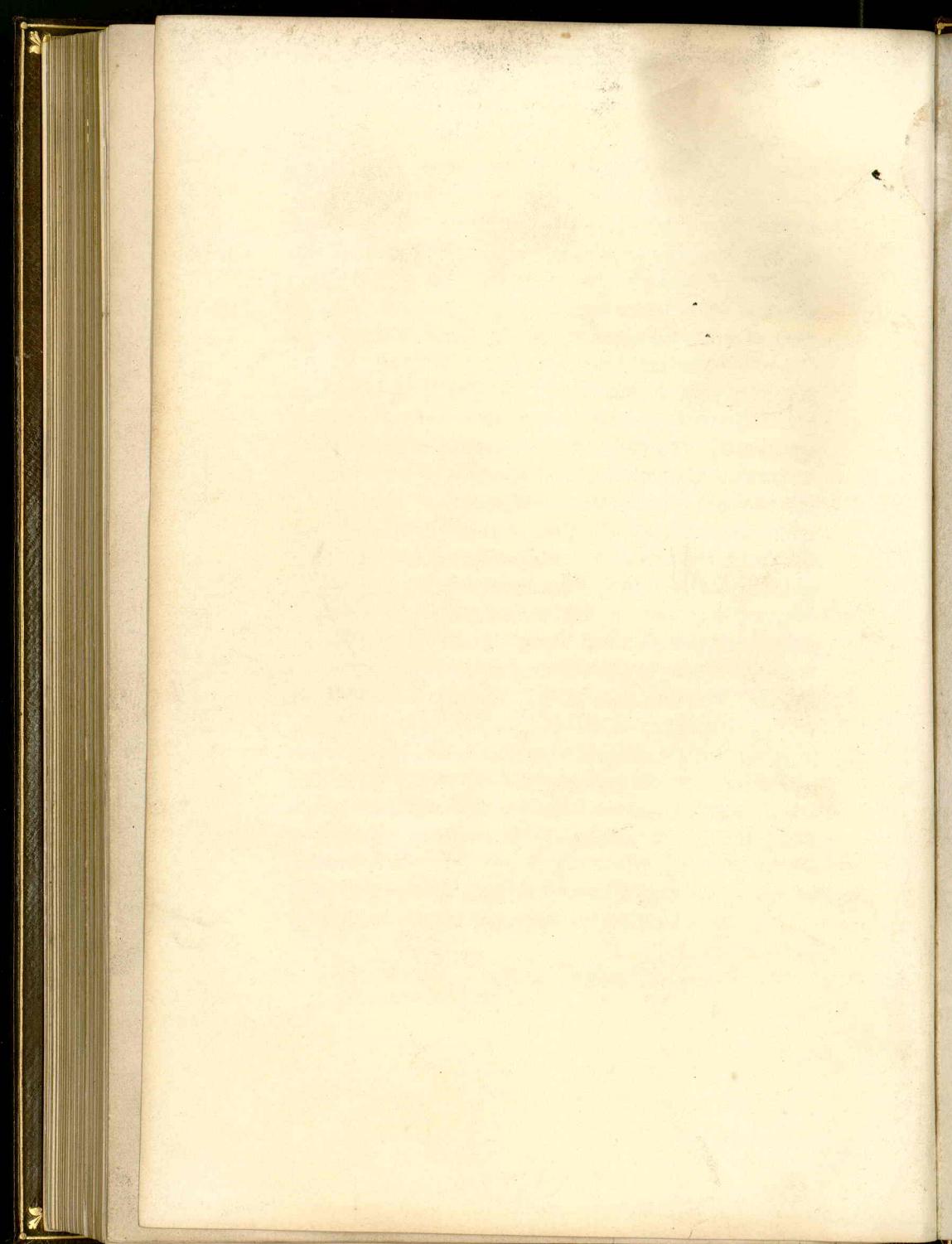
Explicit

Thus endeth this boke whiche xpyne of pyse made & dre-
we out of the boke named Begecius de re militari & out of
tharbre of bataylles wyth many other thynges sett in to the
same requisite to warre & batailles whiche boke beyng in frē
she was deluyered to me Willm Caxton by the most crysen
kyng & redoubted pryncipe my naturall & souerayn lord kyng
henry the viij/ kyng of englond & of fraunce in his palais of
Westmestre the xvij/ day of Januari the iij/ yere of his re-
gne & desired & wylled me to translate this said boke & reduce
it in to our english & natural tonge & to put it in enprynte
to thende that every gentylman born to armes & all manere
men of warre captayns/ souldours/ btyayllers & all other
shold haue knowldege how they ought to behaue theym in the
fayttes of warre & of bataylles/ and so deluyered me the said
book thene my lord therle of Oxenford alwaylig on his said
grace/whiche volume conteynynge four bokes/ I receyued of
his said grace & accordig to his desire whiche to me I repute
a comandement/ & verili glad to obeye/ & after the lityl conyng
that god hath lente me I haue endeuyord me to the bterest
of my polber to fulfyle & accoplisse his desire & commaunde-
ment/ as wel to reduce it in to englyshe/ as to put it in emp-
&/ to thende that it may come to the figh & knowldege of eue-
ry gentylman & man of warre/ & for certayn in myn oppyn-
on it is as necessary a boke & as requisite/ as ony may be for
every estate hys & lolle that entende to the fayttes of warre

Whether it be in bataylles sieges/rescolthe/z all other fayters
subtytees/z remedyes for meschierues/ Whiche translacion
Was finysshed the viij/ day of Iuyll the sayd pere/ & empyn
ted the xvij/ day of Iuyll next folowynge/ & ful fyndyng the
ne syth I haue obked his most dредful comauement/ I haue
bly bysecke his most exellent & bounteuous hyeues to pardone
me of this symple & rude translacion whiche in se no cury
ous ne graye termes of rethoryk/ but I hope to almighty god
that it shal be entendyble & understanden to every man/ & al
so that it shal not moch varye in sentence fro the coppe recey
ued of my said souerayn lord/ And whare as I haue tryed
or made defaulce I beseeche them that fynde suche to correcte it
& so doyng I shal praye for them/ & yf ther be ony thig ther
in to his pleasur/ I am glad & thinkie my laboure wel emplo
ped for to haue the name to be one of the litel seruantes to the
hiest & most cristen kyng & prince of the world/ whom I by
secke almyghty god to preserue/ kepe/ & contynue in his noble
& most redoubted enterpryses as Noel in bretayn/ flaudres &
other placis that he may haue victorie honour/ & renome to
his perpetuel gloriye/ For I haue not herd ne rede that ony
prince hath subdued his subgettis with lasse hurte & c and
also holpen his neighbours & frendis out of this londe/ In
whiche hys enterpryses I bysecke almyghty god that he may
remayne alleday vctoryous/ And dayly encrease fro vertu
to vertue & fro better to better to his laude & honour in this
present lyf/ that after thys short & transitorie lyf he may at
teyne to everlastyng lyf in heuen/ Whiche god gaunde to
hem and to alle his lyge peple AMEN/

Per Cayton





Pisan, Christine de
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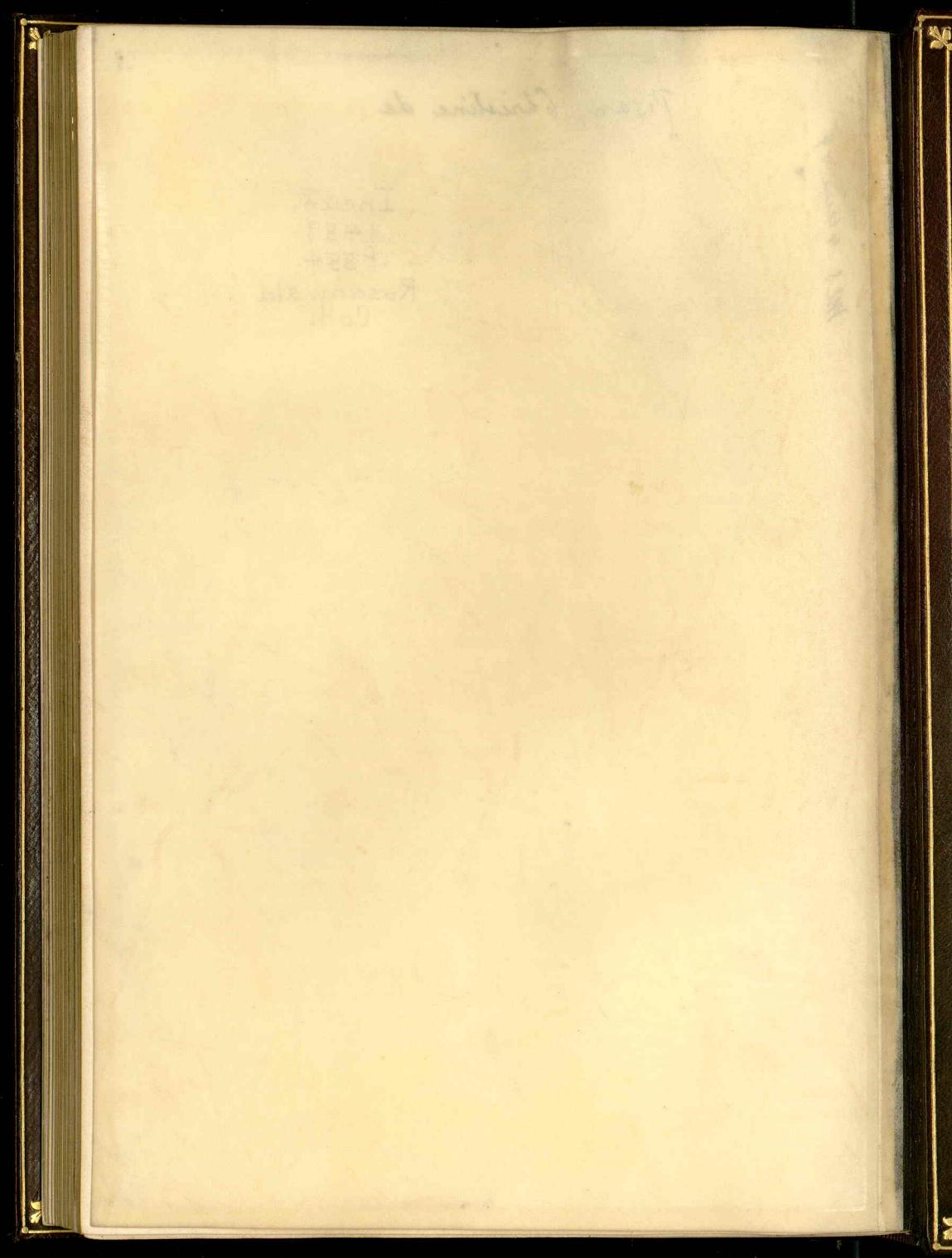
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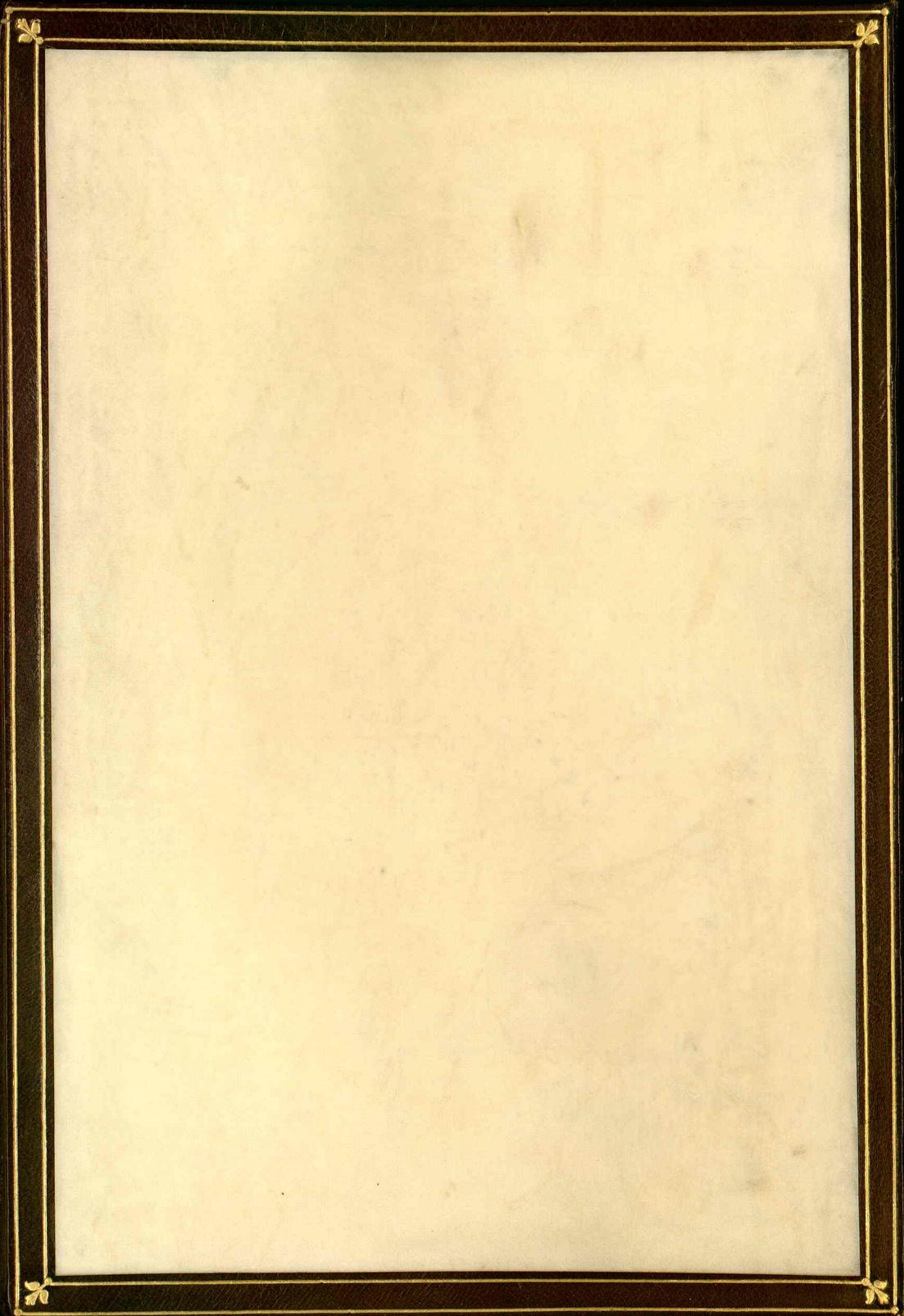
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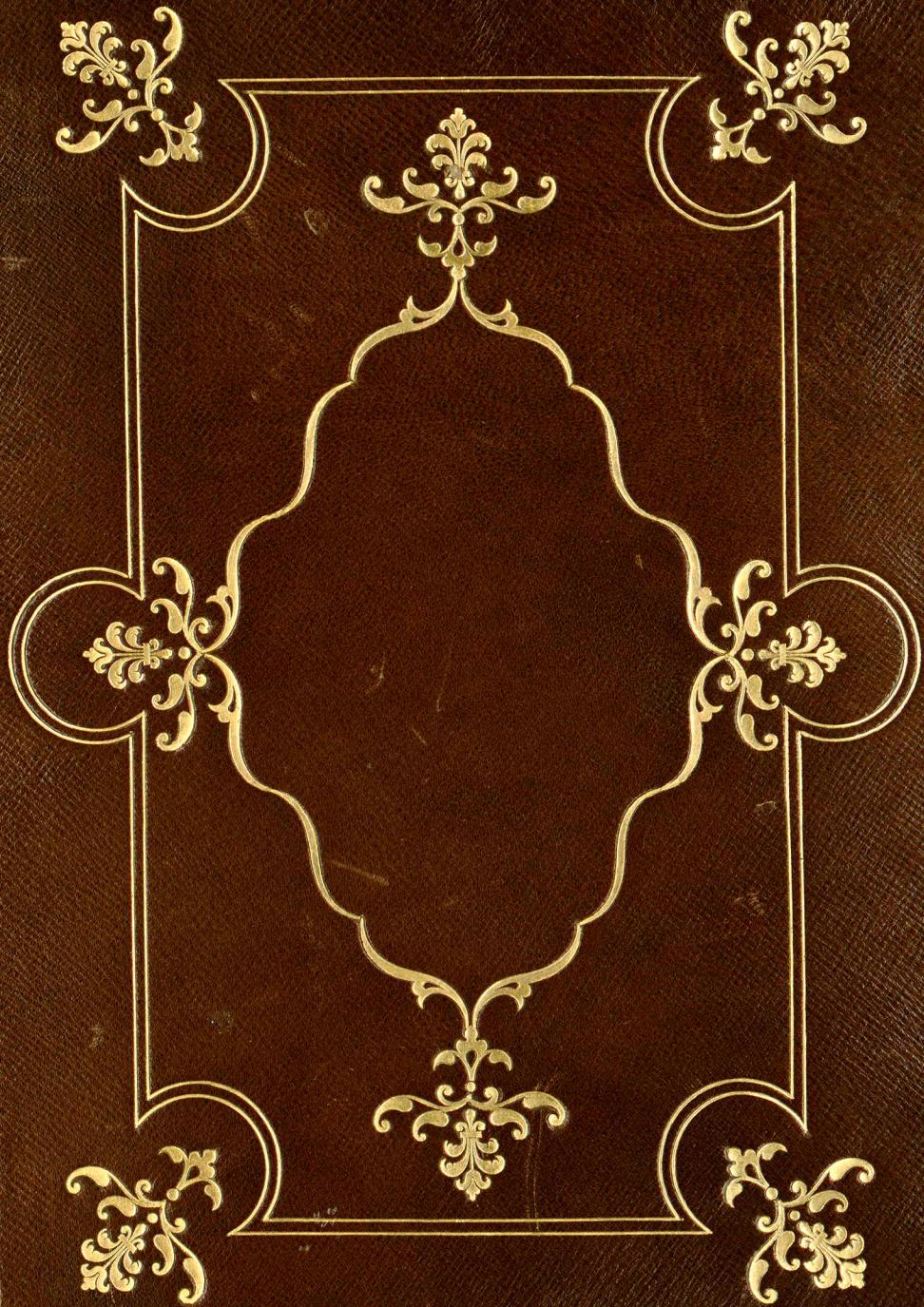
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