Caxton's Mirroux of the World.

Early English Text Society.

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1913 (for 1912).

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INTRODUCTION.

Caxton's *Mirror* has a double claim to the notice of all book-lovers and students of mediæval literature: it is the first work printed in England with illustrations, and one of the earliest encyclopædias in the English language.

As Caxton himself tells us in his introduction, the *Mirror* was translated in 1480 from the French, at the request of his friend Hugh Bryce, a fellow member of the Mercers' Company, who wished to present it to Lord Hastings. The translation was made from a MS. at Bruges which, as we show later, is now in the British Museum. The book was printed at Westminster. Definite dates mark the various stages of the work, all the facts connected with it being accurately stated. Thus we know that it took nearly ten weeks to translate the whole of the *Mirror* (Jan. 2 to March 8, 1480). This gives us a fair idea of the rate of work in the Middle Ages, and is a testimony to the great printer's industry.

Caxton's choice was in every way a happy one. He could have selected any one of many Latin works of great value, which contained the sum of the knowledge of the times. But these were too learned or too cumbersome for the use of ordinary readers and laymen. There were many didactic works treating of one or two scientific subjects only, which were drawn out to an inordinate length, with long moral disquisitions.

1 Hugh Bryce, like Caxton, was a Kentish man. He was knighted about 1472. In 1473 he was sent on a trade embassy to Bruges "de difficultatibus super intercursu Burgundiae removendis." He held the offices of Keeper of the King's Exchange, London, Governor of the King's Mint in the Tower, under Lord Hastings, and was Mayor of London in 1494. He died in 1496. (Cf. Blade's *Caxton*.)

2 Cf. p. 7.

3 Cf. p. 185.
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The French Image du Monde alone fulfilled the necessary conditions of a popular encyclopedia. For two centuries this work had been read and appreciated, as the vast number of manuscripts which we still possess testifies.

The English version met with equal success. Caxton himself produced two editions of the Mirrour. Later, about 1527, Lawrence Andewes thought it worth while to reprint the book with some alterations and additions.¹

We do not know for certain when Caxton’s Mirrour was printed; the date 1480, already mentioned, refers only to the translation. The first edition, of which at least 33 copies are known to exist,² was probably produced in the course of the same year, or in 1481, the type used, (2*). being the same as that of the Kendale Letters of Indulgence, first issue, dated 1480.³

The second edition, of which we know 19 copies, must have been printed about 1490.⁴ The type used, (6), is definitely dated 1489 in the Fayttes of armes and chyvalrye.

The differences between the first and second edition are very slight. One of the original figures ⁵ (God with an orb and cross, Fig. 3, p. 11) has been replaced

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¹ The British Museum copy of Lawrence Andewes’s edition is catalogued “c. 11. b. 13.” 89 leaves, without pagination; sig. b–y ii. Imperfect: wanting the leaves between the title-page and b1; containing preliminary matter. The title-page is mutilated.

² The copy reproduced in our text is catalogued in the British Museum IB. 55041 = c. 10. b. 5.—The first edition and the copies of it known are described in Seymour de Ricci’s Census of Caxtons, pp. 93–96.—Folio, 100 ff., the first a blank: a–m4, n4, 29 lines.

—The copy in the Gottingen University Library was bought by the Government at the sale of F. W. von Duve’s collection, and then given to the library. By a slight mistake Seymour de Ricci states that von Duve bequeathed it to Gottingen University (p. 94).—In April 1909 Mr. E. Stanley paid £2600 at Sotheby’s for a volume containing five productions of Caxton’s press. These were The Mirrour, 1481; Dictes or Sayings; Tally, on Old Age; Cicero, de Amicitia: and Cordyale. This tome is mentioned as being the property of a gentleman living in the North. It does not seem to appear in S. de Ricci’s list.

³ British Museum copy, catalogued IB. 55024.

⁴ Second edition: folio; 88 ff.: a–l8, 31 lines. (Cf. Seymour de Ricci o.c., pp. 96–98.)

⁵ The figures and diagrams, which form such a striking feature of the Mirrour, have all the explanations inserted in ink. Oldys suggests that the writing is that of Caxton himself; but of this, of course, there is no proof.
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by a woodcut, which is here quite out of place, representing the Transfiguration. A few mistakes have been corrected, and thus we get definite evidence as to the proper sequence of the two editions. On the whole it seems as if Caxton had taken greater pains over the first issue than over the second, in which misprints are numerous and abbreviations far more frequently used.

The English printer was undoubtedly a good French scholar. Obscure passages are sometimes rendered rather freely; but in the whole work we only find ten mistakes in translation. With his usual modesty he apologises beforehand for his shortcomings, and warns the reader not to blame him for strange statements which are entirely due to the French author. And indeed Caxton seldom departs from his original. When he does, his motives are evident: he is thoroughly patriotic. To the mention of Paris as a seat of learning he invariably adds Oxford and Cambridge; the King of France becomes King of France and England; Bath is mentioned among the great health-giving resorts of Europe; the disparaging story about men with tails in England is omitted. Otherwise he keeps strictly to his text, though occasionally expressing surprise at some geographical eccentricity of the French work, or doubt about some mediæval legend, such as that of St. Patrick's Purgatory.

According to Caxton himself the French MS, on which his translation is based was written at Bruges in 1464. This MS. is now beyond a doubt in the British Museum: the MS. Roy. 19A IX. In it we find the date and place, Bruges 1464, duly given; a long prologue, which appears in no other MS., has been translated, word for word;

1 In the first edition Saxony is called "Sapronye" (p. 92), which is also the spelling of the Old French text. In the second edition Caxton solves the riddle and spells correctly "Saxonye."

2 For these mistakes, see pp. 79, 81, 84, 91, 95, 99, 100, 145, 147, 170.

3 Cf. p. 7.

4 Cf. fo. 4 vo. in MS. Roy. 19A IX.; "Ci fu grossé et de tous poins ordonné, comme dist est, en la ville de Bruges l'an de l'incarnation nostre seigneur Jhesu Crist mil quatre cens soixante et quatre."
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and all the mistakes and omissions peculiar to Roy. 19A IX reappear in the *Mirror*.

A further coincidence enables us to say what MS. the Bruges scribe used for his copy. In his preface he states that the *Image du Monde* was translated from Latin into French in the year 1245, by order of the noble Duke John of Berry and Auvergne. This son of Jean le Bon, king of France, lived 1340–1416, and is well known in English history. He was present at the battle of Poitiers, and went to England as hostage for his father after the peace of Bretigny. Some time later he returned home, Edward III having granted him permission to remain a year in France; but, as Froissart says, *he acted so prudently and made so many different excuses that he never went back.*

Obviously the *Image du Monde* could not have been written in 1245 by order of Jean de Berry, who lived in the fourteenth century.

We find the explanation of this strange error in a MS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Fonds fr. 574). On the first page, and again at the end of the volume, we read: "Ce livre est au Duc de Berry. Jehan B."

The scribe of Roy. 19A IX, evidently deceived by these inscriptions, ascribed to Jean de Berry, the owner of the MS., the suggestion of a work written more than a century earlier—an historical mistake which Caxton does not correct, and which, worse still. Blades perpetuates.

This alone would not be a sufficient proof of the close relationship between the two MSS., but our opinion is further strengthened by other points which they have in common. The most striking mistakes which we find in the Paris MS. have been faithfully rendered in Royal 19A IX, and consequently in Caxton's *Mirror*; the omissions also are the same in all three texts of the same work.²

² We shall in future refer to this particular MS. as "MS. A."
³ For further details on this point, and generally on the Old French work, cf. *L'Image du Monde de Maître Gossouin* (Lausanne, 1913).
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The French MSS. we have mentioned so far belong to the prose version of the *Image du Monde*.

In its original form, this encyclopedia was a rhymed poem of 6594 octosyllabic verses, divided, like the prose version, into three parts. Twice in the course of his work the author states that the poem was completed in January 1245 (O.S.). There is no reason for doubting the accuracy of this date which is confirmed by the measure of the verses and by mathematical calculations, based on the date 1245 (O.S), in the Astronomical part of the *Image*.

In 1247 (O.S.) a second rhymed version appeared, in which the poem, increased by some 4000 verses, was divided into two parts only, and the order of the chapters altered.

We possess further two Hebrew translations; also a shameless plagiary by a man called Buffereau, who published the poem under his own name at Geneva in 1517; and two very scarce and valuable French editions of the prose version, printed in Paris in 1501 by Michel le Noir, and in 1520 by Alain Lotrian respectively.

As usual, much has been written and much argument expended on the subject of the place of origin and authorship of the *Image du Monde*.¹

There is little doubt that it was written at Metz in Lorraine; the frequent mention of that town in the course of the work, the intimate knowledge of the neighbourhood, the mention of local monasteries, and especially the use of the Lorraine dialect in the poem, are sufficient proofs.

Paul Meyer² gives the author's name as Gauthier de Metz. Ch. V. Langlois³ disputes this opinion. He points out that Gauthier occurs only in one MS. of the second rhymed version,⁴ which in many respects is a new

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¹ The arguments for and against are given in full in the French edition.
² Paul Meyer in *Notices et extraits des Manuscrits*, XXXIV. 1, p. 174.
⁴ MS Phillipps, No. 3,655 in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Cheltenham.
and a different work, while the name Gossouin is found under different forms in one verse MS., now lost, of the first original edition and in three prose MSS. The balance of arguments seems to be rather in favour of Gossouin.\footnote{In the rolls of the town of Metz for the thirteenth century we find both the names Gauthier and Gossouin frequently mentioned. But these references give us no further clue to the identity of our author. Cf. Dr. K. Wichmann, Die Metzer Bannrollen des XIIIen Jahrhunderts (Metz, 1912).}

The prose version follows very closely the poem composed in 1245 (O.S.), and seems to have been written at about the same period. It may be the work of Gossouin himself, whose name, as we have just said, is given in three of the MSS. There is, moreover, some internal evidence in the prose version itself which strengthens this presumption.\footnote{Cf. L’Image du Monde, p. 7 s.}

The Image du Monde is the work of a well-read man. Many classical authors are quoted fairly accurately, and the sources are numerous and varied. It is not likely that Gossouin had any direct knowledge of Greek, but an acquaintance with Hellenic literature was far more widespread in the XIII\textsuperscript{th} century than is generally supposed. Latin translations of several of Aristotle’s works and of Plato’s Timaeus were certainly available. Such men as Neckam and Albertus Magnus are known to have lectured on Greek philosophy and expounded texts in Paris and at other Universities.\footnote{Cf. Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship (Cambridge, 1906–8, 8°), vol. I.}

Our encyclopedia is not a translation from any one Latin writer, but a compilation in which we find passages taken word for word from various sources. Jacobus de Vitriaco, Honorius Augustodunensis, Neckam have been used freely. We shall have occasion to mention many others. By a curious mistake, in Duff and Seymour de Ricci’s works the Mirror is found under the name “Vincentius.” The few passages which can be traced back to that prolific writer appear likewise in the works of Adelard of Bath and other writers. The translations from the latter sources are sufficiently
literal not to require the assumption of a lost work of Vincentius, an unknown *Speculum vel Imago Mundi*, which might be the original used by Gossouin.

The study of sources is an interesting and fruitful one. We discover thereby the origin of many a myth. Even a most serious and scientifically valuable work may produce the strangest result at the hands of a scribe or translator. Solinus may talk of a nation living on fish as "ex mari viventis"; a scribe or Jacques de Vitry himself renders this by "ex mari bibentis." We understand then Gossouin's account of a nation which drinks nothing but sea-water.

But not once do we find in the *Image* statements merely due to gross mistakes of the kind on the author's part. However extraordinary the facts mentioned by Gossouin, they are due, not to his carelessness or ignorance when translating, but to his sources.

Caxton is not so blameless; for instance, he describes the slingers of the Balearic Islands as people skilful "in the maner of meltynge of metals," mistaking O.F. la *fonde*, the sling, for la *fonte*, melting. This is one of the mistakes we alluded to before.

In the following pages we give a summary of the first book by chapters, and some remarks about the next two books. Especially in the first part, Gossouin is apt to expatiate at length upon subjects of great moral and theological interest at the time; but to us all this may seem drawn out and tedious. Moreover the logical sequence of ideas is not always obvious, and this alone would render a help both justifiable and necessary.

**Part I**

In the first chapter, Gossouin describes the power of *ch. 1* God:

"All things come from Him and return to Him. "There can be no evil in Him; if there were He would be mortal like ourselves. "Everything that is good rises up to Him; the bad goes down like dregs in wine."
"He is both immoveable and motionless: yet all motion has its origin in Him.¹

"Time does not exist for Him nor for the elect. Even before the world was created God knew all that was to happen in it.

"God created the world out of kindness, so that others might share in His bliss, which we must therefore strive to deserve.

"He has given us all the power to do so.²

"God created man in His own image, and made him master of all creation. He gave him intelligence, to remember His blessings and share in His bliss.

"The man who does good is superior even to angels.

"God gave man the power to do good or evil. There would be no merit attached to a man who could not sin, for then his virtue would not be due to himself.

"Angels, who cannot sin, are not rewarded as we are.

"By God's will, it was to be within our power to attain to the bliss which is His; for this purpose He endowed us with reason and common-sense.

"A man must be mad who imagines that he is helping God by abstaining from evil; for even if the world did not exist, God would be none the worse.

"In former days men strove to discover the reason of things, the secrets of the firmament. They did not merely think of their food, as people do nowadays. They endeavoured to acquire the sciences which would give them the knowledge of God. They studied His work, for the workman is known by his works.

"They suffered persecution for love of truth, just as the Saints suffered martyrdom for the love of Jesus.

"By means of their science, certain philosophers, and among them Virgil, were able to foretell the coming of Christ."

¹ Gossuin adopts the new Aristotelian ideas which were beginning to spread in the first half of the thirteenth century. Plato's Deity merely creates, and then rests, leaving to nature the care of reproduction and increase.

² This chapter and the two next are based apparently on St. Augustine. We give the parallel passages in the notes to the text.
In the third part, a whole chapter is devoted to Virgil the magician who here appears as a prophet. We need only briefly refer to this well-known legend of the Middle Ages, about which so much has been written.

Virgil's 4th Eclogue, which contains the Sibylline oracles about the golden age, gave rise to his supposed prophecy. Even St. Augustine (Patrol., t. 33, col. 1073) quotes verses 13 and 14, and adds: "Quod ex Cumaeo, id est, ex Sibyllino carmine se fassus est transtulisse Virgilius, quoniam fortassit etiam illa vates aliquid de unico Salvatore in spiritu audierat, quod necesse habuit confiteri."

Gossoum tells us that on reading Virgil's verses St. Paul exclaimed: "If only you had lived until my time, I would have made of you a child of God!" These very words formed part of a hymn sung as late as the fifteenth century during the mass of St. Paul at Mantua. Chapter 5 continues with a scornful reference to those wealthy people who buy many books in order to be thought learned; the author applies to them the fable of the Cock and the Pearl.

Next he gives us the list of the seven liberal arts which formed the subjects of teaching in the School of Alexandria: the trivium (grammar, logic, rhetoric), the quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy).

Philosophers at Athens divided men into three classes: labourers, who must provide for the needs of others; knights, who must defend others; clerks, who must teach them.

Since the time of the Emperor Charles the Great, the kings of France have always upheld the liberal arts, which are cultivated with most care by the "fratres

1 "Quem te, inquit, reddidissem,
Si te vivum invenissem,
Poetarum maxime!"

Cf. Comparetti, Virgilio nel medio evo (Livorno, 1872), p. 72 s.; also Bettinelli, Delle lettere e delle arti Mantovane (Mantua, 1775). We often find quoted also the old Christmas song of the Church, beginning: "Maro, Maro, vates gentilium, da Christo testimonium."
minores" (minorites or Franciscans), and the "Jacobins" (Black friars or Dominicans).

Chs. 7–13 contain a detailed account of the seven liberal arts. Medicine is not one of them, because it is concerned with the body alone; and only sciences which affect the soul deserve the name of "liberal."

In this chapter Gossouin further develops his ideas about God and nature.

"First God created nature, which causes the stars to move; it gives them light, and brings things to life at will. Without nature nothing can exist.

"Nature in the hand of God is like the carpenter's axe: the axe cuts, but the hand which holds it guides it wherever it wishes."

"According to Gossouin, Plato describes nature as a power which makes like bring forth like. Aristotle calls it a principle which gives to things the power of movement.

"The world is in the shape of a ball.

"The heaven surrounds both the world and ether, a pure air from which the angels assume their shape. This ether is of such startling brilliance that no sinner can gaze at it with impunity: this is why men fall down in a faint when angels appear before them.

"Ether surrounds the four elements placed in the following order: earth, water, air, fire. Gossouin compares this to the different parts of an egg: the shell, the white, the yolk, the drop of grease.

"In the middle of the world lies the heaviest of all elements, the earth.

1 In France the Black Friars were named "Jacobins," when, in 1218, they settled in a house of the "rue St. Jacques" in Paris. This fact alone, without any other data, would enable us to say that the Image du Monde could not have been written before 1218.

2 A similar comparison occurs in the works of St. Thomas Aquinas, who wrote some twenty years later than Gossouin, and whose Summa Theologica is an echo of contemporary thought. We quote from Migne's Patrologia, series secunda, t. I. col. 1313.

"Deus movet non solum res ad operandum, quasi applicando formas et virtutes rerum ad operationem (sicut etiam artifex applicat securim ad scindendum, qui tamen interdum formam securi non tribuit)."

No further proof is needed that Gossouin's theories had nothing subversive, and were in accordance with the ideas held by theologians of his time.
"A man could walk round it, just as a fly can go round an apple. Two men going away from each other, one due east the other west, would meet again at the antipodes.

"By means of a series of examples with explanatory figures, Gossouin proves that stones thrown to the centre of the earth could go no further, since they would then be at an equal distance all round from the firmament.

"If these stones were of different weights, the heaviest would reach the centre first.

"If we could rise up to a sufficient height, mountains and valleys would vanish and the round shape of the earth would become evident. Large rivers would look no bigger than a hair on a man's finger.

"No shape is more favourable to motion than the round. As everything in this world is in a state of motion God made the earth round.

"The sky is so far away from us that a stone would fall for 100 years before reaching us.

"Seen from the sky, the earth would be in size like the smallest of the stars.

"The sky turns from east to west, the sun and the other planets from west to east. This motion can be compared to that of a fly moving one way on a wheel while the wheel revolves in the opposite direction."

**Part II**

Gossouin's geography is in some respects the most interesting part of his work.

We read there descriptions of all the strange countries, nations and animals which are so frequently mentioned in medieval literature.

In most maps and works of the Middle Ages, we find Jerusalem situated in the middle of the world; but Gossouin assigns this position to a mysterious city, round in shape, called "Aaron."—According to the Arab legend this place lies on the extreme limits of the inhabitable world; it is the refuge of demons and the seat of Iblis, their prince and master. "Aaron," or "Arym," is occasionally mentioned in works of the
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thirteenth century; but it is difficult to say how this
Eastern legend found its way into Gossouin’s work; it
certainly appears in none of his usual sources.

In the chapter on “Africa,” Caxton, though con-
scientiously translating all the information given, cannot
help protesting mildly against the inclusion of Greece,
Tuscany, Lombardy, Gascony, Spain and other countries
in that continent. This same fact has puzzled all
modern critics of the Image du Monde, who see in it a
mere mistake of the original transcriber perpetuated by
careless scribes.

Yet this apparent mistake is found in every MS. of
all three versions of the French encyclopaedia. The
explanation is simple enough. Many writers looked
upon Africa as merely a province of Europe. Passages
to that effect can be quoted from many authors belonging
to widely different periods; in the note we mention
a few names which by no means exhaust the list.

Gossouin himself tells us (p. 93) that the southern
limit of Europe is Mount Jus (Mons Jovis, i.e. the
Great St. Bernard). He thus settles in an arbitrary
fashion the somewhat vague boundary between the two
continents, ascribing to Africa the whole of Southern
Europe and the shores of the Mediterranean generally.
Thus Thessaly, Epirus, “part of Constantinople,” are
in Europe, but Italy, Greece, Spain, Palestine belong to
Africa.

“Maron” provides us with one of those riddles which

1 Cf. Miller, Mappemundi, iii. 127 (Stuttgart, 1895).
2 Varro (De ling. lat., 4): “Ut omnis natura in celum et
terram divisa est, sic celum in regiones, terra in Asiam et
Europam.”

Sallust (Jugurth., ch. 17): “In divisione orbis terre plerique
partem tertia Africam posnere: pauci tantummodo Asiam et
Europam esse, sed Africam in Europa.”

Orosius (Históri., I. 2): “... quamvis aliqui duas (partes), hoc
est Asiam, ac deinde Africam in Europam accipiendam putarint”
[Patrol., t. 31, col. 673].

Gervase of Tilbury (Otia Imp., II. 11): “... sed potius in
Europa deputantes Africam, hoc est secundae partis portionem
appellare maluerunt” [ed. Hanover, 1707].

Ranulph Higden (Polychron., I. 7): “Idcirco qui res humanas
evidentius agnoverunt duas tantum orbis partes accipiendas
cesserunt, scilicet Asiam solummodo et Europam; Africam vero
cesserunt Europae finibus deputandam...”—[ed. Babington,
London, 1865-86].
are common owing to the carelessness of scribes. The name of that island appears in the MSS. in the most varied forms: Naaron, Varon, Anon. One MS. only spells it correctly "Naxos." The letter x has always proved a stumbling-block to scribes, and is the most frequent source of error. We have another instance of this in "Sapronye" (p. 92) for Saxony.

Gossouin tells us that Naxos was the birthplace of St. Denis the martyr who was beheaded in France.

As early as the ninth century this first Bishop of Paris was identified with Dionysius the Areopagite converted by St. Paul. One of the gravest accusations against Abailard was his refusal to acknowledge this identity on the authority of a passage in Beda. Hilduin’s Areopagitica gave rise to this error.

According to Suidas, the Areopagite was an Athenian by birth. Gossouin is apparently the first author who connects St. Denis with Naxos. His mistake is due to a strange confusion between names. As Isidore tells us, Naxos, on account of its wealth in vineyards, was surnamed "Dionysias," the island of Dionysus or Bacchus. The connection of the god of wine with the Saint and Martyr is even more remote than that of the Areopagite.

The queen of Samos who prophesied the coming of Christ was one of the most famous of the sibyls whose oracles were held in reverence, even by the Church, during the first three centuries of the Christian era. The Nuremberg Chronicle gives us a list of the ten great sibyls, of which Samos is the sixth.

Caxton is very sceptical about the well-known legend of St. Patrick’s Purgatory. He admits that such

1 Cf. de Lannoy, Duo Dionysii (Paris, 1660).
2 Isidore (Etym., XIV, 6): "Naxos insula a Dionysio dicta, quasi Dionaxis, quod fertilitate vitium vinceat ceteras."
3 Beda wrote Sibyllinarum verborum interpretatio, in which he says of one of the sibyls: "Tiburtina Graece, Albanea Latina vocatur, ex cujus carminibus multa de Deo et Christo scripta continentur."

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Strange events may have happened in ancient times "as the storie of Tundale and other witnesse." But since then things have changed, and he calls to witness "a certain high canon of Waterford," and a knight of Bruges, Sir John de Banste, who, being strong-minded men, went into the cave in Lough Derg which led to the Purgatory, slept there, and came out, without having experienced anything at all thrilling.

That this spirit of scepticism was gaining ground is proved by the fact that the Purgatory was closed by orders of the Pope, Alexander VI, on St. Patrick's Day, 1497. Except the canon of Waterford, whose anonymity was perhaps wisely preserved (pilgrims still flocked to the shrine when Caxton wrote the *Mirror*), the other names mentioned are well known.

An account of Tundale is found in *Helinand,* and the "Vision of Tundale" has given rise to a small literature of its own in modern times.

Sir John de Banste, if not quite a historical character, was certainly more than a mere local celebrity. Jean de Banst, to call him by his correct name, belonged to a distinguished family of Bruges. He was three times burgomaster, "chef-homme" in 1461, and died in 1485.

For centuries the English were nicknamed by the French "coués," i.e. tailed men.

The passage of the *Image du Monde* which refers to this legend has been omitted by Caxton, obviously for patriotic reasons. It is a curious instance of a tradition, at first purely local, gradually gaining ground and being made to apply at last to a whole nation.

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1 Cf. p. 99.
2 Cf. Helinandi frigidi montis monachi chronicon. (Patrol., t. 212, col. 1038 seq.)
3 Cf. A. Wagner. *Das mittelenglische Gedicht über die Vision des Tundalas* (Halle a/S, 1893) ; Ward, a.c., pp. 416-435, and an article "Vision de 'lindal, etc.,” in Bibliothèque Méridionale, Série I. t. 8, 1903.
4 For further details about Jean de Banst, see J. Gailliard, *Bruges,* I. (Bruges, 1857).
5 *Image du Monde,* fo. 72b: "En Bretaigne et une maniere de genz qui avoient keues par darrières." As Jacobus de Vitriaco, from whom this passage is translated, says definitely, "in Majori Britannia," there can be no doubt that the story applies to England.
S. Baring-Gould, who has a chapter on the subject, does not quote any very early authorities; we mention here what is apparently the first form in which the legend appeared. The inhabitants of the country round Dorchester, having mockingly tied fish-tails on St. Augustine of Canterbury’s garments, or thrown them at him, were cursed as well as their descendants by the apostle, and had tails ever after.

According to Baring-Gould the same accusation was levelled against men of Kent and even Cornwall. Caxton’s evident sensitiveness on the subject may be an argument in favour of the Kentish origin of this myth.

By some unaccountable oversight a whole chapter has been omitted, both in MS. Roy. and in Caxton’s translation, between those numbered 30 and 31 in the Mirrour.

In the old French Text this chapter is entitled “Du dragon qui samble cheoir, et que ce est.”

Gossouin describes meteors, in which people in the Middle Ages saw the shape of a dragon, as a dry vapour which catches fire, falls to the earth and disappears. This is based on Neckam’s De Laudibus (I. 319), in which we read:

“Impetus in longum nubem producit et illam Serpentis formam visus habere putant.”

**Part III**

Several passages of the *Image* have been borrowed from the *Almagest* of Ptolemy.

Claudius Ptolemy, who taught at the renowned school of Alexandria in the second century after Christ, was born at Ptolemais, and has of course no connection with King Ptolemy of the Legidae Dynasty. His work was translated into Latin from the Arabic by order of Frederic II in 1230. It is not surprising, therefore, that Gossouin should use what is evidently

1 S. Baring-Gould, o.c., pp. 146, 147.
2 *I. e.* “About the dragon which seems to fall, and what it is.”
an Arabic title, for a work originally written in Greek.

A homily, somewhat lengthy but by no means without merit, fills the greater part of the chapter. In it the author speaks to us about the proper use of time, punctuality, and the punishment of those who strive after wealth and forget the service of God.

Both the historian Josephus¹ and Gervase of Tilbury² mention the following legend: The Philosophers, knowing that the world must perish twice, once through fire, a second time through water, erected two columns on which they inscribed the seven arts. One was of stone to resist water, the other of bricks to resist fire. According to the Hebrew historian these two columns still existed in his time in Syria, but had been erected by Seth. To the latter, Josephus also ascribes the discovery of astronomy after the Deluge. Gossouin confuses names, and mentions Abraham and Sem, son of Noah, instead of Seth.

It is impossible to say on what authority our author states that Aristotle believed in the Holy Trinity. Certainly no passage in the known works of the philosopher can have given rise to this statement, which, besides, is nowhere to be found in the writings of the Fathers of the Church. As for Plato the case is different: his belief in the Trinity is frequently referred to in theological writings of the Middle Ages. Clement of Alexandria,³ the first to write on Plato and the Trinity, quotes Timotheus, and discusses at length the passage on which his opinion is based.

We come now to the chapter on Virgil and his miracles. We read of him before as a prophet. He earned his reputation as a magician through the eighth Eclogue and a passage in the Aeneid (vi. 263 seq.)

Except one,⁴ all the prodigies mentioned in the Image

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² Gervase of Tilbury, o.c., I. 20.
⁴ The miracle of the two candles and the lamp which burn buried in the ground.
The most widely known is the miracle of the brazen fly near which no fly could live.

This legend appears to have existed also in the East. In the travels of Evliya Efendi (published by the Oriental Translation Committee), p. 17, the author, speaking of some ancient columns at Constantinople, says: On one of them, erected by the Hakim Filikus (Philip), lord of the castle of Kavalah, was the figure of a black fly, made of brass, which by its incessant humming, drove all flies away from Istambul.

We found this note in a copy of the Image du Monde, MS. Add. 10015, made by Thomas Wright himself. In his Popular Treatises the learned author mentions his intention of editing the Old French encyclopedia, with copious notes. His inability to carry out his plan is a grievous misfortune and a loss to literature.

So far, no critic has been able to trace the origin of the miracle of the lamp and candles such as Gossouin relates it. It seems as if the story were, in part at least, original, and the result of a process of association very similar to that by which our author connects St. Denis with Naxos.

The legend of the lamp was well known in the Middle Ages, even before the Image was written. Thus we read in William of Malmesbury's Gesta Regum Anglo-Rum: 'Epitaphium hujusmodi repertum:

'Filius Evandi Pallas, quem lancea Turni
Militis occidit more suo, jacet hic.'

Quod non tunc crediderim factum, licet Carmentis, mater Evandi, Latinas litteras dicatur invenisse; sed ab Ennio, vel alio aliquo antiquo poeta compositum. Ardens lucerna ad caput inventa arte mechanica, ut

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1 This copy is now in the library of the Halle University Romanisches Seminar, where we had access to it.
nullius flatus violentia, nullius liquoris aspersigine valeret exstingui."

The same account is found in the Roman de Troie of Benoit de Sainte-More.

The train of thought which led Gossouin to attribute to the Latin poet the miracle of the lamp seems now to be fairly obvious: Virgil the Magician, author of the Aeneid, easily becomes, in the writer's mind, the inventor of the lamp in the tomb of Pallas.

As for the candles, Gossouin probably added this detail himself.

We end our introduction to Caxton's translation with some remarks about the mathematical calculations in the Image du Monde; in these we shall endeavour to justify our corrections of the numbers as found in the Mirrour.

Caxton gives the distance from the earth to the moon as equal to 15 times the circumference of the earth.\(^1\) This number ought to read 12, as stated in some of the MSS. The distance from the earth to the moon, according to the Old French text = 34\(\frac{11}{12}\) times the earth's diameter (6500 miles) = 226,958\(\frac{1}{3}\) miles; = 12 times (to a fraction) the circumference of the earth.

The earth is 39 times (and a little more) larger than the moon. 29, as given by Caxton, is a mistake, as both the MSS. and Ptolemy give 39.

The figure 34\(\frac{11}{12}\) mentioned above is altogether wrong in the Mirrour\(^2\). We read there 24\(\frac{1}{2}\). 34\(\frac{11}{12}\) is confirmed not only by the calculation which we have just given, but also by the measure of the line in the rhymed version of the Image, which is too short by one syllable if we read xx (vingt) instead of xxx (trente).

When reckoning the time taken by Adam to walk from the earth to heaven, starting at the Creation, the Prose MSS. of the Image du Monde base their calculations on an average of 20 miles a day, which produces an absurd result. Caxton corrects the figure to 25, which is in accordance with the Verse MSS. According to these calculations Adam would still have to walk

\(^1\) Cf. p. 124. \(^2\) Cf. p. 170.
for 713 years after the date when the Image was finished, i.e. in 1245 (not 1246 as Caxton says).

If we work out this sum we find that the Creation must have taken place in the year 5199 1/2 before Christ. This is the date given by Orosius. The figure 25 is thereby proved to be correct.

We reproduce here the interesting passage which fixes this last date:

"Sunt autem ab Adam, primo homine, usque ad Ninum magnum (ut dicunt) regem, quando natus est Abraham, anni tria millia centum octoginta et quatuor. . . A Nino autem vel Abraham usque ad Caesarum Augustum, id est, usque at Nativitatem Christi . . . anni duo millia quindecim."

All these numbers must have been well known and acknowledged as correct in the Middle Ages, since Gossouin uses them as a basis for his calculations without even mentioning them.

In the following pages we give Caxton’s full text without any corrections or emendations, as copied by us, only the stops being inserted as a help towards the correct reading. The extension of abbreviations is given in italics. Capitals are used in all cases for the initial letters of proper names.

Otherwise the present edition can in no sense be called critical: it is a reprint. All mistakes, as far as lay in the editor’s power, have been mentioned and corrected in the notes. A careful comparison with the Old French Version, and with a perfect copy of the second edition, belonging to the Cambridge University Library, have also been the means of explaining some obscure passages of which a paraphrase is given in the foot-notes.

Here and there the text, often incorrect, of the old French MS. Royal 19a IX., seems to have baffled Caxton. In such cases he either gives us a free translation or an approximate meaning of the original, or else he translates word for word and sacrifices clearness to accuracy.

1 Orosius, Hist., I. 1 (Patrol., t. 31).
Differences in spelling between the two English editions will form part of a separate work, undertaken at the suggestion of the late Dr. Furnivall, dealing with the influence, often most striking, of Old French idioms and syntax on Caxton's translation. This subject, so interesting in itself, is proving more extensive than was at first supposed, and could not have found room in the present volume. A separate vocabulary was deemed unnecessary. The few exceptional words, not to be found in Mayhew and Skeat's Middle English Dictionary, are either translated in the notes, or Caxton himself explains them by means of pairs of words which answer the purpose of a glossary.¹

Before closing this Introduction, we must add that any point which may seem to have been passed over rather lightly and without sufficient references to authorities, will be found fully dealt with in the French edition of the *Image du Monde*. The reader will also find there a complete bibliography of the subject.

The editor has to thank many scholars for kindly help and advice: Professor H. Suchier, of Halle University, who first suggested the editing of the Old French text; Dr. Pietschmann, Director of the Göttingen University Library; Mr. A. de Poorter, town-librarian at Bruges; Mr. J. A. Herbert, of the British Museum, who, in addition to revising some of the proofs, has been a source of invaluable assistance and never-failing information; Mr. John Munro, thanks to whose efforts a work begun some years ago is at last seen in print.

A student in search of material for his work is not received everywhere with the kindness and courtesy shown by the Cambridge University Librarians.

The inception of this edition was due to Dr. Furnivall. It is through him that the Early English Text Society undertook its publication.

¹ Cf. p. 10. defete or vnmake.
14. ewrous and happy.
17. enhamused and lyft up.
26. ouche or gemme.
50. araye and atourement.
68. condnyted and brought.
78. aryse ne rel-ne, etc.
We append a list of works to which we frequently refer as sources. For the sake of brevity, the author’s name alone, printed in italics, is given in the notes to the text.

Adelard of Bath, *Quaestiones Naturales* (Louvain, 1480).


Jacobus de Vitriaco, *Historia Hierosolimitana* (Douai, 1597).


Solinus, *Polyhistor* (Biponti, 1794).

Besides the above, other authors are occasionally mentioned as sources. In such cases we give in full, in the notes, the title and edition of the work quoted.
The Mirrour of the World

Here begynneth the table of the rubrices of this presente volume named the Mirrour of the world or thymage of the same.
The prologue declareth to whom this volume apperteyneth and at whos requeste it was translated out of ffrenshe in to englissh.
After foloweth the prologue of the translatour declaryng the substaunce of this present volume.
After foloweth the book callied the Myrour of the world and speketh first of the power and puissance of God. Ca. primo.1
Wherfor God made and created the world.
capitolo C. ii.
Wherfor God formed man to his semblaunce. Ca. C. iii.
Wherfor God made not man in suche wise as he myght not synne. . . . . capitolo C. iii.
Wherfor and how the vii Artes liberal were founde and of their ordre . . . . capitolo C. v.
Of thre maner of peple and how clerge ye cam first in to Ffraunche. . . . . capitolo C. vi.
And first it speketh of gramaire . . . . capitulo C. vii.2
After of logyke . . . . capitulo C. viii.
And after of Rethorique . . . . capitulo C. ix.
And after of Arsmetrike and wherof it procedeth.
Ca. x.

1 The numbering of the chapters in Caxton differs very much from that of the O.F. text. This can be accounted for by the fact that chapters in Royal 19A, IX., the O.F. MS. used by Caxton for his translation, are not numbered, the references in the table being not to chapters, but to pages in the text.
2 Chapters vii to xiii, Part I, form one chapter only in the O.F. original, which has therefore only fourteen chapters.
After of geometrye capitulo C. xi.
After of Musique capitulo C. xii.
And thenne of Astronomye capitulo C. xiii.
And after it speketh of Nature, how she werketh and what she is capitulo C. xiii.
Of the fourme of the firmament capitulo C. xv.
How the foure elementes ben sette capitulo C. xvi.
* How the erthe holdeth hym right in the myddle of the world capitulo C. xvii
What the Roundenesse of the erthe is capitulo C. xviii.
Wherfor God made the world round capitulo C. xix.
Of the moeuyng of the heuen and of the vii planettes, and of the lytilnes of the erthe vnto Regard of heuen capitulo C. xx.

Here endeth the first partie of the Rubrices of this present book.

Here begynneth the second partie of the Rubrices of this present book and declareth how the erthe is deuided Ca. i.
What partye the erthe may be enhabyted capitulo ii.
After it speketh of paradys terrestre and his foure flodes capitulo iii.
Of the regyons of Ynde and of thinges founden there capitulo iii.
Of the dyuersitees beyng in the lande of Ynde Ca. v.
Of the serpentees and of the beestis of Ynde capitulo vi.
Of the precyous stones and of theyr grete vertue, whyche growe in the Royanie of Ynde capitulo vii.
Of the londes and contrees of Ynde capitulo viii.

1 The second part in the O.F. original contains only nineteen chapters. The chapters correspond as follows:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>O.F.</th>
<th>Caxton</th>
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<td>i and ii</td>
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<td>ii</td>
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<td>vii, viii, ix, x</td>
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<td>xi, xii, xiii, xiv</td>
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<td>xviii</td>
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<td>xix</td>
<td>xxxiii.</td>
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</table>
Contents.

Of the ffysshes that ben founde in Ynde. capitulo ix.
Of the trees that ben in Ynde and of thyr fruyt. Ca. x.
Of Europe and of his contrees . . . . capitulo xi.
Of Affricque and his Regions and contrees. Ca. xii.
Of dyuerse Ysles of the see . . . . capitulo xiii.
Of the dyuersytes that ben in Europe and Affricque.
   capitulo xiii.
Of the maner and condicion of beestis of the same contrees . . . . . . . . capitulo xv.
Of the maner of birdes of the same contrees. ca. xvi.
Of the dyuersites of somne comyn thyngis. ca. xvii.
To knowe where helle is sette and what it is. ca. xviii.
How the water renmeth by therthe . . . . capitulo xix.
How the fresshe water, and salte, heote and poysned sourde . . . . . . . . capitulo xx.
Of dyuerse fontayns that sourde in therth. ca. xxi.
Wherfore and whi the erthe cleueth and openeth.
   ca. xxii.
How the watre of the see becometh salte. capitulo xxiii.
Of the Ayer and his nature . . . . . capitulo xxiii.
How clowdes, halles, tempestes, thondres, lightnynges and hayte come comynly . . . . capitulo xxv.
Of the frostes and snowes . . . . capitulo xxvi.
Of hayll and tempestes . . . . capitulo xxvii.
Of layhte, lyghtnyng and thondre . capitulo xxviii.
For to knowe how the wyndes growe . . capitulo xxix.
Of the fyre and the sterres whiche seme to falle.
   ca. xxx.
Of the pure Ayer and how the vii planetis ben sette.
   xxxi.
How the vii planetis gyue names to the vii dayes.
   ca. xxxii.
Of the tornyng of the firmament and of the sterres.
   capitulo xxxii.1

Here endeth the second partie of the table of the Rubrices of this present booke.

1 This chapter is wrongly numbered xxxii. It ought to be xxxiii. The correct number is given p. 128.
Here begynneth the thirde parte of the table of the Rubrices of this volume.

Hier is declared how the day and nyght come.

Wherfore men see no sterres by day light . . . ca. ii.
Why men see not the sonne by nyght . capitulo iii.

* Why the mone receyneth dyuersly her lyght and clerenes . . . . . . . capitulo iii.
How the eclipses of the mone come . . capitulo v.
Of the eclipses of the Sonne . . . capitulo vi.
Of the eclipse that cam at the deth of Ihesu Cryst.

ca. vii.

Of the vertue of the heuen and of the sterres. ca. viii.
Wherfor and why the world was mesured . . ca. ix.
Of kynge Tholomeus and of other philosophres . ca. x.
How the scriptures and sciences were saued aynst the flode . . . . . . . capitulo xi.
Of them that fonde the science and clergye after the flode . . . . . . . capitulo xii.
Here after is sayd in substaunce of the meruailles that Virgyle made by astronomye in his tyme by his witte . . . . . . . capitulo xiii.
Here is declared why monoyfe was made . . ca. xiii.
Of the philosophres that went thurgh the world. ca. xv.
What thynge is philosophye and of thanswere of Plato.

capitolo xvi.

How moche the erthe hath of heyght, how moche in circuyte and how thycke in the myddle.

capitolo xvii.

How moche the mone and the sonne have eche of them of their propre heyghte . . . . . xviii.
Of the heyghte and gretenes of the sterres. ca. xix.
Of the nombre of the sterres . . . capitulo xx.
Of the gretenes of the firmament and of heuen that is above . . . . . . . capitulo xxi.
Of heuen Crystalyn and heuen emperyal . . ca. xxii.
Of Celestial paradys . . . . . . capitulo xxiii.

1 The O.F. version has only twenty-two chapters in the third part.
O.F. ch. i corresponds to Caxton's ch. i, ii, iii.
Prologue.

*After this foloweth the Recapitulacion of the thinges [*to. 4] aforsaid . . . . . capitulo xxiii.
Hier endeth the table of the Rubrices of this present book.

Prologue declaryng to whom this book apperteyneth.¹

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¹ Considerying that wordes ben perisshyng,ayne & forgeteful, and writynges duelle & abide permanent, as I rede Vox audita perit, littera scripta manet, thise thinges haue caused that the faites and dedes of Anncyent mena ben sette by declaracion in fair and Aourned volumes, to thende that science and Artes lerned and founden of thinges passed myght be had in perpetuel memorye and remembraunce; flior the hertes of nobles in escheyng of yllenes at suche tyme as they haue none other vertuouse ocupacion² on hande ought texcersise them in redyng, studyng & visityng the noble faytes and dedes of the sage and wysemen.

² In the wood-cut reproduced here, a scroll, issuing from the magister's mouth, with the words "audita perit, scripta manet," has been inserted in ink.
somtyme travaillyng in prouffytable vertues; of whom it happeth ofte that sommen ben enclyned to visyte the booke the treatyng of sciences particuler, and other to rede & visyte booke spekyng of faytes of armes, of loue, or of other mervail*1ous histories. And emonge alle other this present booke, whiche is called the ymage or myrrore of the world, ought to be visyted, redde & knowen, by cause it treateth of the world and of the wondreful dyvuisyon therof. In whiche book a man resonable may see and vndrstande more clerer, by the visytyng and seeyng of it the figures therin, the situacion 1 and moyuynge of the firmament, and how the vnyuersal erthe hangeth in the mydle of the same, as þe chapitres here folowyng shall more clerly shewe and declare to yon. Whiche said book waz 2 translated out of latyn in to frensshe 3 by the ordynaunce of the noble duc Johan of Berry and Auergne, the yere of Our Lord .M.CC.xlv. 4, and now at this tyme rudely translated out of frenshe 5 in to Enlish by me symple persone William Caxton, 6 at the request, desire, coste and dispense of the honourable & worshipful man Hugh Bryce, Alderman and Cytezeyn of London, 7 entendraing to present the same vnto the vertuous, noble and puissaunt lord, Wylliam 8 lord Hastynges, lord Chamberlayn vnto the most Crysten kynge, kynge Edward the fourthe, kynge of England and of Ffrance, etc., and lietenant 9 for the same of the toun of Calais 10 and marches there, whom he humbly besecheth to resseyue in gree and thanke. 11 Whiche booke conteyneth in alle lxxvii chapitres and xxvii figures, 12 without whiche it may not lightly be vnderstande.

1 Caxton: situacion ; 2nd ed. sytuacion. Cf. also "recommendacion," p. 77; signefycacion," p. 143, etc.
2 2nd ed. was.
3 "Caxton, 2nd ed. frenshe.
4 We find in the first part of this Prologue the strongest evidence in favour of Caxton's use of the British Museum MS. Royal 19A. IX, for his translation. The striking information which this Prologue contains is not found in any of the other O.F. MSS.
5 2nd ed. frenshe.
6 2nd ed. Wyllm Caxton.
7 2nd ed. Londyn.
8 2nd ed. Wyllm.
9 Caxton: lietenant ; 2nd ed. lieutenante. 10 2nd ed. Calcey.
11 The passage from "And now at this tyme . . ." to " . . . and thanke." is not in the O.F. text.
12 O.F. text contains 55 chapters and 23 designs, including two designs not in the text. (2nd ed. says "xxvii. chapitres.")
Date of Caxton's translation.

And for to declare more openly, it is ordeyned in thre parties, of whiche the firste conteyneth xx chapitres and viii figures, the seconde partie xxxiii chapitres and ix figures, and the therde conteyneth xxviii chapitres and x figures; whiche was engrossed and in alle poyntes ordeyned by chapitres and figures in ffreushe in the toun of Bruggis the yere of thyncarnacion of Our Lord .M.CCCC.lxiii. in the moneth of Juyn, and emprised by me ryght vnable and of lytil connyng to translate and brynge it in to our maternal tongue pe second day of the moneth of Janyuer the yer of our said Lord .M.CCCC.lxxx. in thabbay of Westmestre by London, hunmbly requyryng alle them that shal fynde faulte, to correcte and amende where as they shal ony fynde, and of suche so founden that they repuete not the blame on me, but on my copie whiche i am charged to folowe as nyghe as God wil gyue me grace; whom i most humbly besche to gyue me scyence, connyng and lyf taccomplysshe and wel to fynysshe it, etc. 

Thenne who so wylle comprise and vnderstande the substaunce of this present volume, for to lerne and knowe specially the creacion of this world, the gretnes of the firmament and lytilnes of therthe in regard of henen, how the vii sciences were founden and what they bee, by whiche he may the better auaylle in know-leche alle the dayes of his lyf, thenne late hym rede this said volume treatably, auisedly and ordynatly, that, in suche thing as he shal rede, he suffre nothyng to passe but that he understonde it right well; and so may he knowe and vnderstonde veritably the declaracion of this said volume. And he thenne that so wille obeye this commandement may, by the conteunte of the same, lerne grete partie of the fourme and condicion of this worlde, and how, by pe wyll of Our Lord, it was by Hym created, made and accomplisshed, and the cause

1 O.F. text: 1st part 14 ch., 8 designs
2nd " 19 ch., 9 "
3rd " 22 ch., 9 "

2 2nd ed. Londen.

3 The passage from "and emprised by me . . ." to " . . . fynysshe it, etc." is not in the O.F. text.
wherfor it was establis-hid; wherof the debonayr Lord hath don to vs so grete grace that we euer ben bounden to gyue hym lawde and worship, or ellys we had not ben of ony valew ne worth ony thyng, no more than vnresonable beestis.

Thenne late vs praye the maker and creatour of alle creatures, God all myghty, that at the begynnyg of this book it liste hym of his most bounteuous grace to departe with vs of the same, that we may lerne, and that lerned to reteyne, and that reteyned so teche that we may haue so parfyght seyence and knowleche of God, that we may gete therby the helthe of our sowles, and to be partyners of his glorye permanent and without ende in heuen. Amen.

*Hier begynneth the book callid the myrrour of the world,
And treateth first of the power and puissaunce of God.
capitullo primo.1

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Ye ought to knowe that whan Our Lord God made the world and that he had made alle thinges of nought,

1 O.F. text Ch. I.
he had no need of it; ffor as moche had he bfore as he had afterward. Certainly God was to fore, and shal be incessantly after, without ende and withoute begynnyng. Thenne he shal nothyng amende ne be better, ffor hym sayled neuer ony thynge. He seeth all, hereth all, knoweth alle, and holdeth alle thynge in his honde; he had neuer hunger, ne thurst, ne tyne, ne daye, ne hour, but abydeth contynuelli in alle good; ffor to hym ne apperteyneth soone ne late; and of alle them that euer were, that ben and shal be, haue alway ben and shal be to fore his eyen as wel the ferre as the nyghe, and the enyll as the good. He sawe as wel the world er it was made and foured as he doth now at this daye.

And yf he had neuer made the worlde, as moche had he ben thenne worth, and of as grete valewe, as he euer myght haue be; ffor other wise he myght not be God yf he knewe not, sawe and herde alle that myght be; and yf he were not soo, he shold be lackyng * and not myghty of every thynge; and of so moche he was and shold be a mortal man.

Bus2 his nature was not suche, ffor he is God entierly and hool withoute begynnyng and withoute ende. Nothyng is to hym newe ne olde. Alle wee and good thingis ben his by right, and by nature go on and retourne agayn to hym; ffor fro hym alle thynge procede and meue, and retournyng to hym in holdyng the right waye.3

He retcheth neuer of ony harme, ffor hys bounte is alle pure, clene, hool and clere withoute ony espee of euyll. Certes alle euyllis ben to hym contraryes. And therfor it is pure necessite that they wythdrawe them vnder hym and fro alle his goodnes; ffor it is nothyng but donge and ordure whiche muste nedes descend in to the depeest. And the good thingis must nedes goo vpward tofore the souerayn creatour

1 "and of alle . . . good": All those that ever were, or are, or will be, whether far or near, whether good or bad, have always been before His eyes, and always will be.  
2 "bus" stands of course for "but"; 2nd ed. "but."  
3 "ffor fro hym . . . waye": (O.F. text, p. 60) for all good things come from Him and move through Him, and return to Him by keeping on the right way.
which is clere, net and pure. And the synnes, whiche ben obscure, horrible and derke aboue alle other thyng, leuen the good whiche is aboute God and auale and goo
doun; fforso behoueth it to be by rayson and nature, alle in lyke wyse as we see the ordure of the wyn that is put in the vessel, and the foule departeth fro the clere, in suche wyse as the good and clere abydeth aboue. And the lye,¹ which is thordure, abideth byneth in the bottom as infecte and not good. And the good wyn that is aboue abideth alway clere and fyn. And that whiche is not good, that is byneth in the bottom, abideth alway obscure, fowle and black. And so moche the more as the wyn is good and more clere, so moche more reteyneth the lye more of filthe and obscure.

Thus is it of the good and euyll; ffors the euyll
muste descende in to *places derke and horrible and ful of all sorow and bitternesse. And so moche more as the good shyneth to fore God and the more it ioyeth, so moche the more sorowe and derknesse is in helle, where it is contynuall and shal be as longe as God shal be in heuen, where as God hath alle goodnesse to fore hym and alle way shall haue without payne, wythout traunyl, and without grief or Annoye; he hath alle, and alle he enlumyneth without ony defaulte and without ony terme.

God may make alle thyng, and alle deffete or vnmake without changyng hym self in ony thing that may be: ffors he may alle and conceyueth alle. Ther is nothyng that may hurte hym. He is establed without ony menuyng, and alle menuynges meue of hym.

An hundred thousand yere mounte not to hym so moche as the thousand parte of one only houre of this world, ne to alle them that be in heuen; of whiche the leste that abideth there hath more Joye in an hour only, and of dednyte, soulace, gladnes and of honour of whiche he shal neuer be wery ne full, than ony man may thynke ne knowe ne esteme in this world in an hundred thousand yere, yf he myght so longe lyue and endure, though he were the most subtyl of alle the men

¹ lye: dregs of wine.
that ever were born or ever shall be, though he thought the beste he myghte.

Of this so grete and inestimable glorye is God the veray and souerayn lord without any other, as God that alle knoweth and alle seeth, alle that ever that hath ben, alle that is, and alle that ever shall be, and all that belongeth to hym. Hym faylled neuer ony thynge that is good; he hath hem alleway to fore hym; ner ther was neuer ony good thing, ne neuer shall be, but that it was pourtrayed to fore hym before the creacion of the world.

Now ye shall here why and wherfore God created and made the world.

Wherfor God made and created the world, capitulo ii.¹

¹ O.F. text, Ch. II.
God made and created all the world of his only wyle by cause that he myght haue some thynge that myght be suche as myght deserue of his weel and goodnes, yf it were not in his defaulte. And therefore he establisshid this worlde, nothynge for that he shold be the better, ne that he had ony nede. But he dyde it for charyte and by his grete debonairte; for, as right charitable, he wolde that other shold parte with hym of his weel and goodnes, and that alle other creatures, euerych after his nature, sholde fele of his puissance after that it myght apperteyne to hym.1

Thus wold God establisshe this world, that suche thinges shold yssue that myght vnderstande and knowe the noblesse of his power and of his sapynce, and also of the good that he made for the man erthely, that he myght serue hym in suche maner, that by hym he myght deserue the grete weel and good that he had made for hym.

Thennought we aboue alle other thynge to loue hym and thanke hym that made and fourmed vs, whan we haue suche power and suche auctorite by hym that, yf we wil loue hym, we shal be lorde of alle goodes. Now loue we hym thenne with alle our myght, and thenne shal we doo as wise men. And yf we do not, we shal haue grete harme and dammage; for yf we by our cause lose suche goodes as Our Lord hath made for vs, yet for alle that God shal lese nothing. Certaynly he made them to thende that we shold haue them, syth that by our good dedes we myght come deserue them and that he of his grace hath gyuen to vs the wytte, thentendement and the power.

Wherfor God fourmed man like vnto his ymage and to his semblance. capitulo iii°.2

1 "God made . . . apperteyne to hym"; St. Augustin, Liber de diligenido Deo, c. II (Migne's Patrologia, t. 40): "Sciendum est ergo rerum creatarum, coelestium et terrestrium, visibilium et invisibilium, causam non esse nisi bonitatem Creatoris, qui est Deus unus et verus; cujus tanta est bonitas, quod alios sua beatitudinis qua aeternaliter beatus est, velit esse particeps."
2 O.F. text., Ch. III.
When God fourmed man, he wolde make and create hym like vnto his ymage and semblaunce, to thende that he shold haue remembraunce of the goodes that he had lente hym, and that he myght deserue them alle by right and raison; ffor he shewde to hym so grete loue, that aboue alle other creatures he fourmed hym to his figure and semblaunce, and gaf to hym naturally right parfyght vnderstondyng for to loue and knowe hym more than ony * other thyng, to thende that he myght more largely of his goodes than ony other creature.2

Ne God dyde neuer ne made for other creature so many good thynges as he hath made for man. But who is he that wyll deserue them? And yf he doo not, it is Reson that he sorowe; ffor he doth to God no bounte, that doth wel for to haue his grace and his loue; ffor he doth it

1 parte: share in.
2 "Whan God ... creature": St. Augustin, De Trinitate, xiv. 12 (Migne's Patrologia, t. 42, col. 1048): "Non propter ea est Dei imago in mente, quia sui meminit et diligit se, sed quia potest etiam meminisse, intelligere et amore Deum, a quo facta est."
Why man ought to do good.

more for his own prouffyt than he doth it for other. And ther for he doth well that loueth and servyth hym; ffor moche may he calle hym self Caytyf and meschaunt that by his folye leseth so hye, so noble and so excellente glorye ffor his synne that prouffyteth hym nought. And hath not in thende but shame and blame, and draweth hym in to suche a place where is no thinge but payne, yre, sorowe and heuynesse, of whiche he shal neuer see hym delyuerd as longe as he lyueth.

Thus hath he loste the grete joye that was gyuen to hym, whiche is taken away by his synne. And myght haue ben a lord yf he had wolde, yf he had mayntened hym self in doyng alway good werkes, and wold haue absteyned and kepte hym fro doyng euyll; ffor who that doth wel in this world, he hath so moche good and honour that thangels of heuen make hym their lord and maistre by fore God kynge of alle kynges. Thenne he may wel holde hym for ewrous 1 and happy that doth so moche good in erthe duryng his lyf, that may conquere and haue this honour. And that may euery persone doo all for hym self yf it pleseth hym. Now late euerych doo as hym good shal seme, and take whiche that he wylle; for he may wynne by doyng well, and also lese by doyng euyll.

* Wherfor God made not the man suche as he myght not synne. capitulo iii°.2

When Our Lord God created the man, he gaf to hym power to doo his fre wille, that is to wete to doo good or euyll, whiche he wolde. Ffor yf God had made the man suche as he myght not haue synned ne to haue don nothing but well, he shold haue take from hym somwhat of his power; ffor he myght not thenne haue don euyll whan it had plesyd hym, and thenne it shold haue folowed that, wold he or not, he shold alway haue doon wel withoute reson; and thus he shold not haue ben cause of the good that he shold haue doon, but it

1 ewrons: O.F. beneiirc (happy, blessed).
2 O.F. text, Ch IV/.
sholde hau proceded of another whiche by force sholde 
hau caused hym and hauu gyuen hym the wyll. And 
he by the moyen of that he so shold do shold deserue 
the gyverdon, and not only he; ffior litty l deserrueth he 
that by force of other doth seruyse.1 Who that to morow 
shold put me in a strange prison ayenst my will for to 
doo good, I sholde not holde hym for wyse, ffior he shold 
doo me wronge.

Neuertheles it was wel in Our Lordes power, yf it had 
plesed hym, to hauue man suche that he sholde not 
hau synned ne hauue don ony harme ne euyll. But he 
had not deserued yet suche merite ne reward as he now 
dothe in no tyme of the world. And therfor God gaf to 
man playn fre will to doo weel or euyll to thende that 
in weel doyng and leuyng the euyll he myght 
hauue more merite; ffior other wise he myght not deserue so 
moche. Yf God had made thangels suche as myght not 
hau synned dedly ne hauue don euyll, ffior that yet 
hau syned not they deserue so noble a yefte as the men.2 
And who that willie deserue these hye merytes, he ought 
gladly with entier herte and parfyght serue, by grete 
loue and grete Reuerence, hym that hath made hym for 
to conquere and come to the most hye honour.

And Our Lord God wolde that man were suche that, 
by right, he myght deserue as moche good a boute hym 
as he hym self hath. And therfore he gaf to hym 
witte and reson for to hauue entencion3 to hym; ffior by 
right he ought wel to serue hym.

Thenne is he a moche fool that pourucyeth not to 
doo well whilis he is here lyuynge; ffior alle the good 
that every man shal doo shal be for hym self, and alle 
the euyll also; and eche man shal hauue for one good 
thinges an hundred good thinges, and for one euyll an 
hundred euillis. Ffor he is a moche fool that weneth to 
doo to God ony bounte of his goodis in ony maniere that

1 "Whan Our Lord God . . . doth seruyse": St. Augustin, 
De Libero Arbitrio, II. 1 (Migne's Patrologia, t. 32, col. 1221).
2 O.F. text (p. 64): If God has made the angels such that they 
cannot commit a deadly sin nor do evil, at the same time they 
cannot deserve the same rewards as men.
3 entencion: heed.
it be; and whan he absteyneth hym fro doyng euyll, so moche Our Lord holdeth hym the derrer and loueth hym the better. Ffor yf he loste alle the world, Our Lord shold neuer be the lasse worth, ne none of the goodis that ben in his power.

Yf alle the sayntes that euer here to fore in the world or euer shal be had neuer don good, and that alle by her demerytes were perpetuellly dampeed in hell, yet for alle that Our Lord God shold neuer haue the lasse joye ne consolacion, and shold not be the lasse worth, ne noo thinge that is in heuen.  

But the sayntes were wyse, prudent and constaunt for to doo weel and prouffyt, as they that playnly knewe that this world is not but a vayn thinge and transitoire; and had moche leuer to suffre paynes and traувaylles, and oвre their bodyes to tourment and martirdom, and to haue shames, blasphemies and other iniuries for the loue of Our Lord in this myserable world that so litil while endureth, and to haue the goodes of heuen euer lastyng, than to haue ease channgerable to the body for to haue payne perdurable. They retched not ne had no charge of suche goodis that atte laste shold be of no value, but they toke the bridle by the teeth for to gete the right hye witte and vnderstandyng of heuen. And ther ben many of them that holde them for foolis in this world, the whiche now at this tyme haue their neckis charged of whiche the other be deliueryd; ffor they ben herberowed in heuen. And yet holde they many a wise man for fool that preyse not moche their wordes.

The ren plente of wise peple in heuen now, that, yf they had preysed the folissh dикtes or sayengis and the folissh werkis of the peple that so moche coueyte the nauoir and loos of this world for the worde of foles, that they had lefte the commandemens of God. In whiche the sayntes in heuen dyde gretely their deuoyr; ffor they lefte not, for the delytes of the world, to serue their

1 here = were.  
2 her: their.  
3 O.F. (p. 64): And neither He nor anything that is in Heaven would be worth any the les.  
4 retched : cared.  
5 deuoyr: duty.
Earthly glory, the sole aim of many men.

maker and creatour for to gete heaven where they haue
tyde and alle honour, as they that ben lordes and shal
ben withoute ende. And yf they had don otherwise,
they shold haue perpetually shame, fylthe and tour-
tementis of helle where as ben alle the euyllys that * man
can demise.

It is moche grete mercuylle of this world how that
it is so, that ther ben so moche peple that will suffre
payne and tranaylle more for to gete loos of the peple
or for to amasse grete tresours the whiche so lytil
tyme abide with hem that in an only hour they faylle,
than they wille doo for to conquere the goodes of Our
Lord, the whiche shal never faylle, the whiche the blessid
sayntes haue gotten by a lytil hard lyf that they haue
endured in this world, that ne semeth but a right
delyte to them that of good herte doo it. And in thende
it semeth to them that for lytil or nought they haue
gotten heaven.

And alle thus may evry persone gete it, and be
comyn of 1 the goodes of Our Lord and haue the joyes
and glorye of heaven, yf the defaulte be not in hym
self. But they that desire the joyes, the glorye and
honours of this world, they empayre them self so moche
that they may not lerne no good ne entende to their
saucion. And had moche lieuer the ease and consola-
cions of the body, of whiche they ben so sone put out
and brought to sorow and payne, than they doo the
ease of the sowle whiche endureth withoute ende. Ne
they preyse not the wytte ne entendement of the man,
yf he can not wel haue hym in the world and haue
plente of temporel goodes by whiche he may be en-
hauensed and lyft vp in the world; but saye he is nyce 2
and folissh by cause he can not their malices and cawteles.

But alle they ben cursed of God by the mouth of Dauid
the prophete, that so payne them to plese the world by alle
the wayes that they can doo; ffor suche pryde is vyayne
thynge by whiche *the soule is eupayred. 3 Of whom
Dauid saith in the psalter: Acursid be alle they and

1 be comyn of: participate in.
2 nyce (O.F. nice): silly.
3 eupayred: harmed.
No distinction between high and low in after-life.

confused as peple of exylye, that playse the world; for of alle goodes they extende them\(^1\) and discorde fro God and fro his loue, syth they haue gyuen them and that they acorde them to the world, to his vanytees and delytes; for God hath them alle in despyte, and put them fro his grace, by cause they seche the loos and the glorye of the world in whiche he was put out and sette aback and in thende cruycyfyed and holden for a fool.

Thus saith Our Lord God in his gospell, that alle they shal be blessyd that haue the world in despyte and shal be as peple hated, defowled and cast out as folcs for the loue of me and of my name; for they shall haue in heuen their reward and guerdoun. And this may every man, yf God hym self lye not, and trouthe may not be false, that they whiche plese the world and wille haue and take the loos and glorye of the world, it may not be but they after haue sorowe. Therfor he is a fool that secheth to haue it, by cause alle they that weeshe or pourchace it by euyl connceyled\(^2\); for alle suche maner of peple ben by the deuyl ledde in to helle where they haue a right soroufull guerdoun. And ther is nowher so valiaunt a kynge ne so puissaunte prince, duc, erle, knyght or noble man to whom the deuyl hath regard, but that he doo to hym as moche grief to his power as to the most vyle and most pore that cometh in to helle, whan he hath so vsed his dayes and lyf that he is fallen in his hondes; for alle they that ben dammed for to goo theder, of what estat that they be, ben alle called Rybauldis; for he mochthe haue conquerd in heuen more noble and more worthy \(^*\) Royamme than is in this world; for who that in this world serueth Our Lord vnto the deth, he is more honoured in heuen than alle the kynges that euer were in this world that so litil endureth with vs. Now serue we hym thenne and leue we the euyll, the glorye and the vanyte of this world.

Syth thenne that hereto fore we haue deuised how and wherfor God hath created the world and wherfore

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\(^{1}\) extende them: deprive themselves.

\(^{2}\) by = be (2nd ed. : be euyl counceyled).
he made man, we shal devise to yow herafter the fourme of the world and the facyon after that it conteyneth and compriseth, and how it is made and composed rounde aboute. But it is expedyent that to fore this we speke of the vii Artes liberals and of theyr resons, and how they were founden by them that apperceyued the sciences and vertues; for by the vii Artes ben knowen the faytes of the world and how it is sette. And therfore we owe now to speke thereof for to understonde the better that we shal saye here after.

Wherfor and how the vii Artes liberal were founden and of their ordre. capitulo v°. ¹

Now declareth this book whiche is drawn out of Astronomye how somtyme the notable and wyse philosophres wold enquire of the maner of the world, and how hit had ben created and made of God, wherof moche peple meruaylled.

And thenne whan the world was made and compassed, ther was peple ynowhe of whiche many behelde the firmament that turned round aboute the world and menyd. They had grete meruaylle how it myght be made, *and they waked and studyed many nyghtes and many dayes. Thenne began they to beholde the sterres that roos in the eest, and mened aboute over their hedes.

Certaynyl thise philosophres apetyted not these grete mangeries ne delicyous wynes, ne for to fille their belyes as don beestis that seche nothinge but their pasture, like as this day doy they that retche of nothinge but to fyll their paunch with good wynes and good vitailles and after to haue a fair bedef, white shetes and softe, and there to slepe as the swyne.² But those were wakyng and studyeng many nyghtes, and it greued them not; but they were embelisshid moche of that they sawe the firmament thus torne and so nobly to holde his cours and termes.

Thus sawe they the sterres mene til they went doun in

¹ O.F. text, Ch. V ¹.
² "And thenne whan . . . as the swyne": Neckam, De Naturis Rerum, II. 173; De Laudibus Divinae Sapientiae, 10. (ed. T. Wright, London, 1863.)
the weste, somme on that one side, and somme on the other side, and somme sonner than the other. Thus behelde the prudent men, philosophres and other, aboute the firmament til it was day, that they sawe the sonne shewe and ryse in the mornyng rede and clere, whiche ascended and mounted half the day, and that other half descended so longe til he wente vnder, whiche made the nyght tapproche. And thenne cam agayn the sterres in the nyght in their cours til the sonne cam agayn and enlumyned the day, and helde his way and cours til that he repayred on the morn in to his pryncypal place.

After they behelde the mone which was a comune thynge and appered to the world dyuersely. One tyme she was rounde, another tyme haif and after horned, and so wente and becam such as no man myght see her. And after she appered horned and syth haif as she had ben to fore, and *also round and full. Thenne knewe they well by their entendement that she approched the sonne til she was euen ayenst hym, and after departed. And after she withdrew her more and more til that she was vnder the sonne as she had ben to fore. And thenne she wente and cam agayn euery nyght and day tornyng and makyng her cours aboute the firmament, right as she now doth wyth out ony thynge changyng the contrarye.

But now as said is, the peple that ben now thynke more and ben moche more curyous of their grete and fatte paunches for to fylle, and to make them fatte, by whiche they come the sonner to their ende and to carayn, and by their ouermoche nourisshyng and vylaynous, whiche delyuereth them first to tranaylle and after to shame and dampancion.

The auncyent faders gouerned them not in this wyse; ffor they setted not of mete and drynke but for talegge their hungre and thurst for to susteyne their bodyes and to holde hem in helthe in suche wyse as they myght helpe them self by their wittes, as they ought to doo for to come to the glorye of Our Lord. And that tyme they lyned xx or xxx yere lenger than they doo now
of an hundred one; and that procedeth of theyr folissh and outrageous gouernaunce. Certaynly such peple understande not wel the worde of Our Lord whan he said to the denyll whan he cam to tempte hym and saide that he shold make of the stones brede and that he shold ete. Thenne Jhesu Cryst answerd that man lyued not only by brede, but by the worde that procedeth fro the mouth of God.\footnote{"Thenne Jhesu . . . of God": St. Matthew iv. 4.}

Yf the men in thise dayes vnderstode wel this worde, they wolde reteyne more gladly the doctrynes that procede and come fro the mouth of our creatour and maker. But the grete rentes that they haue, and the grete tresours of their coffres ben cause of shortyng and abreggyng of their dayes, by their disordinat mangeries that ouermoche noye and greue them, so that nature may not wel bero ne susteyne, wherof they muste nedes the sonner rendre their soule and dye. Thus their Rentes, their tresours or other thinges wherin they delyte them, take a way theyr lyf, their herte and their wytte alle att ones, in suche wyse than whan deth cometh and muste nedes dye, they haue loste wytte and vnderstondyng; of whom many ben deed and dampned, whiche at their nede may not be counselled ne can not helpe them self whan they haue moste nede.

They lyue not lyke them that, for to kepe them fro peryllis, studyed in sciences and vsed their lyf in suche manere that they wold but susteyne their body only as longe as they shold be in this world, as they that wel knewe that this lyf shold not to them longe endure. And had enuye at none other thinges, but only for to lerne suche science by whiche they myght knowe the souerayn kynge allmyghty that alle had created of nought and made it with his hand.

Thenne they thought in their entendement, as peple that was of noble and vertuous entenci'on, that they shold neuer haue knowleche of Our Lord God, ne of so hye myght, but yf they entended and serched in his
The study of nature, a help to the knowledge of God.

Werkes whiche they fonde so excellente and as grete as they myght enquerie and knowe; ffor men shal neuer wel knowe the maistre, but yf byfore men knowe parffightly his estate and what his werkes been; ffor by the werkys is the werkeman *knowen, and how he may be suche one. And therfor the auncyent faders wold employe them and assaye the werkys of Our Lorde, and first for to hawe knowleche of his power and his vertue, consider- ing that they myght not occupye them self in a more digne ne worthy science ne more diffycile. And whan the more that they knewe of his werkys and of his wisedom, so moche more had they the better wille to lone her creatour and maker, and to honoure hym, considering that he had made so noble a thinge and so worthy as is the heuen in whiche ben the sterres that shyne bright therin, and his other meruayllous vertues whiche they preyed moche; ffor, how moche more they preyed hym, so moche with good wille they servyd hym; ffor it was all their affeccion, intencion and reson to knowe God, ffor as moche as they knewe certainly that God had gyuen to them, with nature, witte and raison for to serche and compryse of thinges of therthe and of them of heuen as moche as they myght knowe; ffor otherwyse they myght neuer haue thought it.

Thus a man, be he neuer so wise ne discrete, may neuer come for to vnderstande the hye secretes of God ne of his myracles, but by hym; ffor by right he knoweth all. But of them that by nature be made and ordeyned in heuen and in erthe, man may wel enquere somme resouns, yf it be gyuen hym and that he be garnysshid of good quyk witte, and that he haue sette and employed his tyme to studye and to lerne.

And sith they had goten vnderstandyng and raison by their grete estudye, labour and tranayll, so moche that they myght compryse wherfore and how alle the world was made and *compassed, as ye haue herd here to fore, so thought they thenne that they myght wel knowe and haue reson of somme thinges, sith they had the vnder- standyng of hym that is almyghty to knowe in partie, or
Worldly goods are a hindrance to knowledge.

atte leste of suche as they myght see with their eyen, how wel that they were ferre.¹

Thus wold they knowe the reson of that that they sawe so meue the sterres of the firmament, and of them that shone so clere. Certainly this was the pryncipal cause why first they put them to studye for tenquere the science that they knewe not; and knewe wel that they shold enquere sonner of thinges that they sawe than of them that they sawe not. And therfore were they meuyd for to knowe and tenquere the science whiclie they knewe not of that they had ofte seen the firmament to meue, and wolde knowe the trouthe. And saide it was right good to knowe it, yf it pleasid God, and to knowe of his naturel werkis, ffor the more parightly to bileue and knowe how he was God alle myghty; ffor men coude not knowe ne fynde no resons of God but only by his werkis.

The good Auncyent wise men, wiche diligently wolde vnderstonde this mater, had noo cure for to amasse none other goodes, but only to lerne the pure science. They were nothing couetous, ne sette not to gadre tresours. And ther were plente of them that apperceyued, as wise men, that it was a grete charge to them oftymes as wel to kepe it as to spende it by mesure, as in other wayes to gete it and bringe it to gadre, and that all this was a letting to them for to lerne.²

And they deliberid emong them and concluded that somme caste and threwe their tresour in to the see. The other * gaf it away and abandonned to them that wold take it, and wente as hermytes. And the other departed it to poure peple. And other ther were that lefte their good in suche wyse as them semed that they shold hawe lasse cause to thyne theron, and reteyned nothyng but only for their vse. And heilde with hem certayn folke to serve them, to thende only that they

¹ "how wel that they were ferre": although they were so far away from them.
² "And ther were . . . to lerne": And many of them, as wise men, saw that it was often as much a burden to keep their treasures, and to spend them, as to gather them; and that all this was a hindrance to learning.
The progress of the Sciences.

should entende to nothyng but to studye and to lerne. They dyde do edefye their houses fro the peple like as religious peple, and sette them in suche places that thries or foure tynes the weke they myght assemble and come to gydre for to solace them and sporte. And there eche rendred his reson of that he had founde and lerned. And so longe dyde they thus til they had experimented whiche was trewe and who knewe most, and that they had founden who had moste grettest entendement; and hym they chose by consent of them alle for maistre. And he recorded their resons, heeryng alle the felawys, and reherced to them alle to gydre that euery man had said. In this manere were the clergies first founden, contryned and anounced.

And somoche trauaylled and studyed that they knewe, by the helpe of Our Lord of whom alle science groweth and haboundeth, grete partye of that it is. But this was not in lytel tyme, ff or they were longe in studye and vnderstode mcche. And they that were first, alle that they vnderstode and knewe, they put it in wrytyng the best wise they coude, to thende that they that shold come after them and wold entremete in connyng, myght haue their wrytyngis and trauaylle alway in the science, as they had don byfore. Alle that they fonde and sawe, they sette in compilacions. * And dide so moche, eche in his tyme, that they were more than .ii.M. and .CCCC. yere er they, by their labours and continuell studyes, had goten the vii Artes or sciences liberal and put to gydre.

But they helde their labour wel employed, and the payne that they put therto; ff or they knew, by their witte and by their clergye, alle that was come on erthe by nature, when they wold sette their cure theron. And also were not abasshed whan a merueyllous caas happed on heuen or on erthe; ff or they coude wel enquere the reson wherfore it was, and sith that it happed by nature. And so loued God moche the more, when they sawe suche meruayllous werkis.

And watched many nyghtes with right grete joye and grete studye of this that they sawe; and fonde so hye

1 entremete in: busy one's self with, cultivate.
werkes, by whiche they amended them self ayenst Our Lord, that they knewe truthe and lefte the vanyte of this world; that so litil is worth, for to come to the joye that neuer shall faylle. Of whom plente of wyse philosophers that were in the world deyde wrongfully and without resoun, by cause they shewde rightuely to the grete lordes, and gaf them fair examples in repreuyng and myspreysing their euil tyrannyes and thextorsiouns that they dyde to moche peple; and preched to them right and truthe. And they that wold not bileue them and had shame of that they were of them blamed, they made them to be put in their prisons, where they made them to deye by greuous tourmentes, by cause they shewd to them the trouth wherof they were certayn, like as was don to holy sayntes that suffred deth and passion for the lune of Ihesu Criste whom they wold enhauyne.

So were ther suche philosophers that by their witte and understandyng prephecyed the holy tyme of the conyng of Ihesu Criste; lyke as Virgyle saide whiche was in the tyme of Cezar at Rome, by whiche plente of peple have ben better syth than they were bifoire; ffor he saide that a newe lignage was enjoyed1 fro heuen on hygh, that shold do vertues in erthe, by whom the denyl shold be ouercome. Vpon whiche saynt Poul that sawe this escripture whiche he moche preyed, saide with a sorowful herte, for so moche as he had not ben crysten: Ha! that i shold haue rendred and yelden the to God, yf thou haddest lyned and that i had come to the.

Other philosophers ther were of whome enerich saide good wordes and meruayllous. But we may not now reherce alle the good things that they saide, ffor they were prudent alle and valyant, seen that they set to fore alle other thynges clergye; ffor yf it were not by clergye, men shold not knowe that God were; and yf they had not ben so prudent men as they were, ther had neuer

1 enjoyed: O.F. text (p. 73) has eslessee (from "s'eslessier," to rush). Caxton has probably mistaken this verb for the past part. of s'esleccir, to rejoice.
be so grete clergye as is now; and yf ther were now suche as they were thenne that fonde first clergye, it shold be other wyse than it now is. But clergye goth now al to nought, that almost it is peri-shid; ffor in thise dayes the peple seeth not by cause that they that ought understande vertues and to teche other and enseyne and gyue example to doo well, they ben they that recule and withdrawe fro it.¹ And alle this procedeth by their folye; ffor noman holdeth clergye for vertue, ne he loueth it not ne applyeth it in all poynettes. But many ther ben that sechen the lyes and drestis,² and leue the clere wynn; ffor noman lerneth ne secheth now, but for to conne so moche that he myght conquere and *gete the moneye. And whan they haue goten and largely assemblid therof, thenne ben they worse than they were a fore; ffor the money hath so surprysed them that they may entende to none other things.

Ther ben plente of pour clerkes that gladly wold lerne yf they had the power. But they may not entende therto, by cause they haue not wherof for to furnishe them of their necessitees as wel for to haue bookes as mete, drinke and clothes, but ben constrayned for to gete their luuyng other wise; ffor the riche haue now in thise dayes seased so moche that the poure abide naked and must suffre.

Yet ben ther plente of Riche clerkis that haue bookes without nombre of one and other, richely adoubed and couerd, to thende that they ben holden for wise and good clerkes; ffor they seche to haue nomore, but only the loos and presying of the peple. And doo in lyke wyse as the Cock that shrapeth in the duste for to fynde pasture; he shrapeth so longe in the duste and mulle til he fynde a gemme riche and precyous whiche shyneth clere; thenne he begynneth to loke theron and beholdeth it, and doth no more but late it lye, ffor he demandeth not after the ouche³ or gemme, but had leuir haue

¹ "ffor in thise . . . fro it": For nowadays people do not see that those who ought to be virtuous and to set an example to others are the very people who abstain from doing good.
² lyes and drestis: dregs of wine.
³ ouche: O.F. noche, necklace. Here "ouche" is evidently synonymous with "gemme."
Of lawyers and men who affect to be learned.

somme corn to ete. In like wise is it of many of thise not wise clerkis couetous that haue the precyous bookes richely lymined, storyd and wel adoubed, that doo nothinge but loke and beholde them without forth, while they be newe, by cause them seme that they ben fair; and so they beholde them gladly and passe ther with; and after they torne on that other side and thinke for to fylle their belyes and to come to their folyssh desyres.

And they myght lerne ynooghe yf they * wolde entendee it; ffor they haue wel the power, and myght doo as the wise men dyde herto fore, the whiche by their tranayl, studye and diligence fonde first the clergyes; but they haue their entendement folissh and out of the wave. And therfor the sciences and arte perisshe in suche wise that vnuetli and with grete payne knowe they their partes of reson, whiche is the first book of gramaire, the whiche is the first of the seuen sciences, but put their artes in their males, and goo lerne anon the lawes or decretals, and become advocates and iuristes for to amasse and gadre alway money wherin the deuyl confortetli hem; and yet doo they not somoche for to lerne as they doo for to fylle their purses.

In Parys, Oxenford and Cambrige is ther suche maner of clerkes that ben acustomed to wille haue the Renomme and fame to be called maistres for to be the more preysed and honoured. And hauue leuer to conne lytil and to haue the name of maistre, than they shold be good clerkes without hauynge the degree and name of maistre. But they be called maistres wrongfully, ffor vanyte maistryeth them in suche wise that they can but lytil trouthe; because that they haue so soon the name of maistre, they leue the clergye and take them to the wynnyng, lyke as marchants doo and brokers.¹

And in this wise ben many in the world that haue the name of maistre, that knowe right lytil of good and reson; ffor they that now desire this ben not maistres

¹ "because that ... brokers": For as soon as they have the name of master they give up the pursuit of knowledge and take to making money like merchants or brokers.
after right, ffor they ordeyne them otherwise to the sciences than they dyde that fonde them first. They entred first in to gramayre for to drawe reson in their ordynaunce; and after, logyque * for to preue and shewe the trouth fro the false. After they fonde rethoryque for to speke fair in ingement and right whiche they moche loued; and after, arsmetryque for to expert in alle thinges; after they fonde geometric for to mesure and compasse alle maistrye; and after they fonde the science of musyque for to sette alle thinges in concordance; after, they had the vnderstandyng of astronoyme, ffor therby were they menud to haue science and vertue.

In this manere ye may vnderstande how that first fonde science ordeyned the vii artes or vii sciences. And they ben in suche wise entrelaced that they may not be auctorised that one without that other ne entierly preysed; and also the first may not be per-fightly conned withoute the laste, ne the laste wythout the firste; and he that wille lerne one a right and vnderstonde it, hym behoueth to lerne alle the other; ffor otherwise may not be knownen appertly the certayn ne the incertayn, ffor that one is so commune to that other that it behoueth to knowe of alle.

But now men seche to lerne no more but the arte for to gete pe monye, and ben to blame of that the other were preysed that first so tranaylled of whiche it is to vs so grete nede; ffor litil shold we haue knowne yf we had not seen it by writing¹; ffor, as it is tofore said, yf clergye had be loste, we had knowen nothing ne who had be God, ne men shold neuer haue known what thing had ben best to doo: and so shold alle the world haue ben dampted. Thene had we ben born in an euyll houre, ffor the men had knowen nomore than do dombe beestis.

And alle the good thinges ben now known, and alle comen of the vii sciences that the philosophres fonde

¹ "But now men . . . by writing"; But now men only try to learn the art of making money, and people who do work are blamed; while the Ancients were praised for doing what is so necessary to us: for without their writings we should have known but little.
somtyme by their wyttes; for therby * had they understandyng to lone God and his vertues, and that God is alway and shal be withouten ende. And so bileued they in grete faith truly in the auncient lawe. But in thise dayes the sciences perisshe by our enuyes, detractours and other euylles, in suche wise that right lityl is reteyned of one and other; for now dar no man entende but for rychesse, for myssayers, felons and enuyous men that wil lerne no good; and yf they see ony entende to sciences and clergyes, and they be not riche and myghty for to furnysse hem, the Ryche men wil anon scorne and moque them.

And thus wil the deuil exhorte them, that is their maister and their lord and to whom it pleseth that they messaye, in so moche as he shal reward them with grete hyre that they shal be sure to haue alle euyl aduentures in helle that stynnketh, where they shal mocke them self and shal saye that they were born in an euyl houre, whan they haue not lerned that they ought to lerne.

There shal they haue more prouffyt of their sciences, that louned better to conquere clergye, than the fool to conne knowe to assemble the grete tresours and the grete richesses. And knowe ye that alle they that, for to gete worldly goodes, lefte their tyme for to lerne good, ben alle assured to haue euyl and payne after their deth; for by their avarice and chemunce the sciences come to nought, so that almost they be perisshyd; and that whiche now is knownen cometh and growth of the vnuersitees of Parys, Oxenford and Cambrige and other, etc.

Of thre maner of peple and how clergye cam first in to the Royamme of Fraunce. capitulo vii.¹

Now regneth clergye moche strongly in Ffrancee in the cyte of Parys as somtyme was in the cyte of Atheºnes whiche theame was moche noble and puissauant. The philosophres that theame were, and whiche that oughte to teche and lerne other, acompted but thre maner of peple in the world after their understandyng: and that were clerkes, knyghtes, and laboures. The

¹ O.F. text, Ch. VII
labourers ought to pourueye for the clerkes and knyghtes suche thinges as were nedeful for them to lyue by in the world honestly; and the knyghtes ought to defende the clerkis and the labourers, that ther were no wronge don to them; and the clerkis ought to enseigne and teche these ii maner of peple, and toadresse them in their werkis in suche wise that none doo thinge by whiche he sholde displease God ne lese his grace.

Thus setted somtyme the wise philosophres thre maner of peple in the world, as they that knewe that no man myght sette his corage in that he myght be wise a right in ii maners or thre; ffor it happed neuer day of the world that clergye, cheualrye and labourers of therthe myght be well knowne by one only man in alle his lyf, ne lerned, ne reteyned. Therfore he that wold lerne byhoueth hym only to lerne one of the thre; and threfore the philosophres sette thre maner of peple without moo in the erthe, ffor they wold seche the very trythou."
and spryngeth, and the more it renneth and the further, the more it is holsom; and how more the spryng of the fontayn renneth and further, so moche is the more of the water and the more may be taken fro it for need. In lyke wyse may I saye to yow that Parys, Oxenford and Cambryge ben the fontayns where men may drawe out most science, and more in Parys than in other places. And sith it is soo that clergye is so moche auanced in Ffrance, thenne ought we knowe by reson, in especial yf the heyres of Ffrance daigne to conne it; ffor like as the sonne is most fair of alle the sterres and causeth moste good thinges to growe in the world by the bounte that haboundeth in hym, so ought the kyng be of more valewe than ony other, and to have more vnderstandyng and clergye, so that by his valyaunce and suffysaunce he myght syne emonge other peple, and, by the example of his wel doyng that they see in hym, they myght by right conduyte drawe them to Our Lord. And in suche wise shold he be kyngge by right in this world and in heuen.

So themne shold it be wel right and raison pat they doo their diligence to lerne suche clergye and science, that after this mortal lyf they lese not the seignourye of heuen: ffor by nature and lignage ought they alle to loue clergye and alway to lerne it.

Certes thempour of Almaygne\(^1\) loud with al his herte clergye, and auanced it to his power in Ffrance. And alle the good clerkis that he coude fynde, he reteyned them to his courte, and sente for them oneral where he knewe ony. He had in his tyme many a traunayll, many a payne, and many a daungier and ennoye for to mayntenene and enhaunce crysten faith. And therfore he neuer leite, but helde the clerkes in right grete renence\(^2\); ffor gladly he lerned alway, as is founden by his dedes. He was a good Astronomyer, and was moche lound in Lorayn; ffor gladly he dwellid there. And yet ben ther many of his iuellis fair and riche that he gaf vnto chirches as a good blessid man as he was. Truly he lound God abone alle other thyng, and dyde moche

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\(^1\) "themperour of Almaygne": O.F. text (p. 79) gives "Charlemaine," i.e. Charles the Great.

\(^2\) "Certes themperour... renence": Neckam, II. 174.
dyligence in his tyme for to brynge the sciences and the clergye in to Fraunce; and yet they abyde there and regne by his prowesse. And hath moche taught and gyuen ensample to kynges that come after hym; ffor euermore he hath in Parys conquerd science and clergye.

Now thenne Almyghty God holde it, and that it may in the cyte be alway mayntened. Ffor yf the studye wente out of Ffrauunce, knyghthode wold goo after, as it hath alway don; ffor contynuelly that one is by that other. Therfor late the kyng of Ffraunce for his weel retyne it yf he may; ffor he may wel lose his Royamme, yf clergye departe out of Ffraunce.

Also ther ben in Ffrau/ice an other peple whiche ben late come; and they ben ffreris mynours and iacobyns, whiche haue take on them relygion for the loue of God to lerne and entende to serue God; of whom Our Lord hath don to vs so grete honour and Reuerence that they reteyne alle the flour of *clergye in their ordres for tadresse and enhauence our moder holy chichere by their estudye and travaylle; ffor they haue good wille for to serue Our Lord and to lerne sciences and the holy scripture, as they that haue gyuen ouer the world and habandonned. And me semeth that they doo as dyde they that setted them by hynde the hutyns in theyr cloyster vnder the peple for the better to gete the merite of heuen in leu-yng worldly possessions. And Our Lord hath don grete bounte to them that haue them in their cytees, in their castels and townes; ffor they serve not for tricherye and barat, but travaylle in prechychng and makyng sermones for to brynge the peple to good lyf and to the waye of trouthe. And oftymes suffre grete disease for to brynge other in ease; ffor I bileue wel that, yf ne were theyre bowne and good prechychng and techyng, Cristente shold be exyled by errore and euyl hylyeue.

Yf they holde hem and kepe that they haue emprised,

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1 hutyns: The meaning of this word is doubtfull. The whole passage is a free translation of the O.F. text (p. 79), in which the word corresponding to "hutyns" does not occur. Dr. Bradley, in a kind reply to our inquiry on the subject, suggests that "hutyns" is a misprint for lutrynys, i.e. reading-desks.
Grammar, the first of the VII Arts.

as they that haue leyd doun vnder them alle the richesse of the worlde, without returynge agayn thereto, themne haue they a moche good manere¹; ffór they haue taken on them for the loue of Our Lord the lyf of pouerte; and plente of other that be in the world don in like wise, that take ensample at them, that see that they weel do.²

Therfor ought we to yeue³ thankynges to God, and adresse our hertes to, doo well, in suche wise that by right we myght goo to the joye of heuen by our good deedis, of whiche God gyue vs myght to deserue that therof we may be partoners.

But for as moche as ye haue heede reherce how the vii artes or sciences liberall were founde and by whom, I passe and deporte; but while reherce what they be and wherfore they serve; ffór fro them *procedeth sens or wytte humayn and alle maner werke that is made with hondes, alle prowesses, and all habilitiees, alle goodes and alle humylitees. And therfore I wil descriue in mater and substance couenable the vertues of eche of them, and wherof they procede particulery and of their nature; and after we shal speke of the world, and how it is composed alle rounde. But byfore alle other werkes we shal speke of the vii sciences whiche ought not to be forgotten.⁴ And first we shal touche of the science or arte of gramaire whiche is the first of the seuen and without whom the other syxe may haue no perfeccion.

Gramaire. capitulo vii⁵.

The first of the vii sciences is gramaire of whiche, for the tyme that is now, is not knowne the fourth parte; wythout whiche science sikerly alle other sciences in especial ben of lytil recommendacion, by cause without gramaire ther may none pronffyte; ffór gramaire is the fondement and the begynnynge of clergye; and it is

¹ "Yf they . . manere": If they persist in what they have undertaken, after giving up all the goods of this world for ever, then they deserve much praise.

² "and plente . . . weel doo": and many others in the world act likewise, and follow their example, as they see that such people are doing what is right.

³ yeue: give.

⁴ The description of the VII Arts is found in Neckam, II. 173; De Laudibus, 10.

⁵ O.F. text, Ch. VII ¹ (a).
the yate by the whiche in thenfancye is bygonne, and in contynnyng, men* come and atteyne to sapyence of clerge. This is the scyence to fourme the speche, be it in latyn, ffrenshe or englishe, or in ony other langage that men speke with. And who that coude alle gramaire, he coude make and construe euery worde and pronounce it by example. God made the world by worde, and the worde is to the world sentence.

Here foloweth logyke. capitulo viii°.1

The seconde science is logyke whyche is called dyale-tyque. This science proueth the ‘pro’ and the ‘contra’: that is to saye the verite or trouthe, and otherwyse. And it preueth wherby shal be knowen the trewe fro the fals and the good fro the euyll, so veryly that for the good was created heuen and maad, and on the contrarye wyse, for the euyll was helle maad and establisshyd, whiche is horryble, stynkyng and redoutable.

1 O.F. text, Ch. VII 2 (b).
Hier speketh of Rethoryque. capitulo ix°.¹

The therde of the vii sciences is callyd Rethoryque, whych conteyneth in substaunce rightwisnes, Rayson and ordynaunce of wordes. And ought not to* be [*fo. 21

¹ O.F. text, Ch. VII¹ (c).
Rhetoric, the science of right and wrong.

holden for folye; for the droytes and lawes by whiche the judgments be made, and that by rayson and after right ben kept and mayntened in the court of kynges, of princes and of barons, come and procede of Rethoryque. Of this science were extrayt and drawen the lawes and decrees whiche by nede serue in alle causes and in alle rightes and droytes.

Who wel knewe the science of Rethoryque, he shold knowe the right and the wronge; for to doo wronge to another, who so doth it is loste and dampned, and for to doo right and reson to euery man, he is saued and geteth the loue of God his creatour.

Here foloweth Arsmetryque and wherof it procedeth.

ca. x°, 1

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The fourth science is called arsmetri-que. This science cometh after rethoryque, ande is sette in the myddle of the vii sciences. And without her may none of the vii sciences parfyghtly ne weel and entierly

1 O.F. text, Ch. VII 1 (d).
be knowen. Wherfor it is expedient that it be weel knowen and conned; ffor alle the sciences take of it their substaunce in suche wise that without her they may not be. And for this resson was she sette in the mydlye of the vii sciences, and there holdeth her nombre; ffor fro her procede alle maners of nombres, and in alle thynges renne, come and goo. And no thyng is without nombre. But fewe perceyue how this may be, but yf he haue be maistre of the vii artes so longe that he can truly saye the trouthe. But we may not now recompte ne declare alle the causes wherfore; ffor who that wolde dispute vpon suche werkes, hym behoued despute and knowe many thynges and moche of the glose.

Who that knewe wel the science of arismetrique he myght see thordynance of alle thynges. By ordynance was the world made and created, and by ordynance of the Souerayn it shal be deffeted.

Fig. 9.

1 "ffor fro her . . . and goo."; Caxton translates literally an obscure passage of MS. Roy. 19 A IX., which follows the Paris MS. A (p. 81): "par toutes choses queurent et vont et viennent." The correct reading is: From Arithmetic proceed all numbers; by means of numbers all things run, come and go.
Next foloweth the scyence of Geometrye. capitulo xi°.¹

The sKythye is called geometrye, the * whiche more auaylleth to Astronomye than any of the vii other; ff or by her is compassed and mesured Astronomye. Thus is by geometrye mesured alle thingis where ther is mesure. By geometrye may be knowne be cours of the sterres whiche alleway go and meue, and the gretenes of the firmament, of the sonne, of the mone and of the erthe. By geometrye may be known alle thinges, and also the quantyte; they may not be so ferre, yf they may be seen or espyed with eye, but it may be known.²

Who wel vnderstode geometric, he myght mesure in alle maistryes; ff or by mesure was the world made, and alle thinges hye, lowe and deep.

Here foloweth of musyque. capi.-³

The sixthe of the vii sciences is called musyque, the whiche fourmeth hym of Arsmetryque.

Of this science of musyque cometh alle attemperaunce, and of this arte procedeth somme phisyque; ff or like as musyque accordeth alle thinges that dyscorde in them, and remayne them to concordaunce, right so in lyke wyse trauaylleth phisyque to brynge Nature to poyn that dis-natureth in mannes body, whan ony maladye or sekenes encombreth hit. But *phisyque is not of thenombre of the vii sciences of philosophye. But it is a mestier or a crafte that entendeth to the helthe of mannes body, and for to preserue it fro alle maladyes and sekenesses as longe as the lyf is in the body. And therfor it is not liberal, ff or it serueth to hele mannes body whiche ellis oftentymes myght lightly perysshe. And ther is nothyng liberal ne free that groweth of therth; and for as moche as science that serueth to mannes body leseth his franchise, but science that serueth to the soule deserveth

¹ O.F. text, Ch. VII (e).
² "they may not . . . known" : However far they may be, if they can be seen with the eye they can be measured (that, i.e. their quantity may be known.)
³ "capitullo xii°" is missing in Caxton (correct in 2nd edit.). O.F. text, Ch. VII (f).
in the world to have name liberal; for the soul ought to be liberal as thing that is of noble being, as she that cometh of God, and to God will and ought return; and therfor ben the vii sciences liberal, for they make the soul all free. And on that other part they teche and enseygne alle that in every thing ought properly to be done. And this is the very reason why thse artes alle vii ben called vii sciences liberal, for they make the soul liberal and denyuer it fro alle euyll.

Of this arte is musyque thus comune that she accordeth her to euerich so well that by her the vii sciences were sette in concorde that they yet endure. By this science of musyque ben extrayt and drawen alle the songes that ben songen in holy chirche, and alle the accordaunces of alle the instruments that haue dyuerse accordes and dyuerse soundes. And where ther is reason and entendement of somme things, certes who can

1 "and for as ... name liberal": Wherefore the science which has for its object the healing of man's body is devoid of freedom; but the sciences which have for their object man's soul deserve in this world the name of "liberal."
wel the science of musyque, he knoweth the accordance of alle things. And alle the creatures that payne them to doo wel remayne them to concordance.

* Hier speketh of Astronomeye. capitulo xiii.1

The vii and the laste of the vii scyences liberal is astronomye whiche is of alle clergye the ende. By this scyence may and ought to be enqueryred of things of heuen and of therthe, and in especyal of them that ben made by nature, how ferre that they bee. And who knoweth wel and vnderstandeth astronomye, he can sette reson in alle thinges; for Our Creatour made alle thynges by reson and gaf his name to euer thyng.

By this Arte and science were first emprysed and goten alle other scyences of decrees and of dyuinyte, by whiche alle Cristiante is convertid to the right faith of Our Lord God to lune hym, and to serue the Kyngge Almyghty firo whom alle goodes come and to whom they retorne, which made alle astronomye and heuen and erthe, the sonne, the mone and the sterres, as he that is the very

1 O.F. text, Ch. VII (g).
Lesser folk debarred from the study of VII Arts.

rewler and gouenour of alle the world, and he that is the very refuge of alle creatures; ffor without his playssir nothyng may endure.

Certes he is the very Astronomeyer, ffor he knoweth all, the good and the badde, as he hym self that composed astronomye, that somtyme was so strongly frequented and was holden for a right hye werke; ffor it is a science of so noble beyng that, who that myght have the parfayt science therof, he myght wel knowe how the world was compassed and plente of other parcyal sciences; ffor it is the science above alle other by whiche alle maner of thynges ben knowen the better.

By the science of Astronomye only were founden alle the other vi. to fore named; and without them maye none knowe a right Astronomye, be he neuer so sage ne myghty. In like wise as an hamer or an other tool of a mason ben the instruments by whiche he formeth his werke and by whiche he doth his crafte, in like wise by right maistrye ben the other the instruments and fondements of Astronomye.

And the auncyent wisemen, as kynges, prynces, dukes, erles, knyghtes and other grete lordeis, by their vnder-stondyng, grete trauayll, estudye, and by the hye conduyte that was in them, sette by good manere alle their payne and labour to lerne and knowe the sciences and artes of clergye for to vnderstond the science of astronomye. And so longe they trauaylled that, by the wille of Our Lord, they lerned and knewe ynoough. Ffor they knewe plente of grete affaires and werkes that happened in the world. And they preyed nothing tho thinges that were erthely, as they that knewe wel the resons therof.

And that tyme was the customme that yf a man were bonde to one or moo, or yf he were comen of lytyl extraccion and were riche and ful of grete goodes, yet durste he not estudye in the vii sciences liberall for the nobles and hye men that in alle poyntes wolde reteyne * them princypal, and to thende that they were free and liberall. And by this resons they put
The power of the VII Arts.

therto for name the vii artes or sciences liberall; ffor they ben so free that they rendre to God the soule alle free. And they ben so wel to poyn to that ther may nothyng be taken away ne nothyng put to, how well yf ony wold or coude medle ther wyth, thaughe he were a good clercke and experte; ffor yf they were torned or chaunged ony thynge that myght be, alle shold be dis-fygured; by cause they ben so resonably and truly composed that ther is nonman lyuyng in the world, be he neuer of so moche and perfounde science, be he paynem, Jewe or Crysten, that may ony thynge or can change, torne, ne take away, ne defowle it in ony maner.

And who that parfyghtly knewe the vii artes, he shold be byleuid in alle lawes; ffor ther is nonman that coude interrupte hym of ony thing that he wolde preue, were it true or otherwise, by cause he shold preue by quyck reson alle that he wolde, were it wronge or right. Thenne is he a fool that thynketh to knowe parfyghtly ony thynge that apperteyneth to clergye, by what mystere or crafte that may come to hym, but yf it be by myracle of God that alle may doo, yf he can none of the vii sciences. Ffor otherwise alle his travaylle shold be of no valewe, ne he shold not conne shewe thynge of Recommendacion, ne preue by right the pro and contra.

Therfore the vii sciences ben byleued in alle the lawes, there as they ben red. And ther is nonman, be he neuer of so dyuerse a lawe ne of so dyuerse langage, that, yf he conuerse with peple that can nothyng of the vii sciences ne preue of their vsages ne of their partes, that *shal be bileuid for experte and wise. Ne ther shal neuer be paynem ne sarrasyn so moche dyuerse, that a Cristen man or a Jewe may with-saye hym of thinges that he wil alege or preue. And the decretals ne the lawes be not euyl, thaughe somme peple holde euyl the constitucions that ben emonge them, bicause that other doo them and holden; ffor alle the lawes depende of the vii sciences, and alle men byleue them and reteyne them there where as peple knowe them. And alle resons that procede of the vii sciences ben trewe in alle causes and in alle places. Thus ben
not the sciences muable,¹ but alleway ben estable and trewe.

Herwith I deporte me to speke more to you herof, ffor ther is ynough here of tofore made ample mención.²

And now I shal reherece to you here after of thaccidents and of the faite of nature; and that shal be short. Ffor God created nature altherfirst, and tofore he created ony other thinge that apperterneyed to the world. And we ought to fore alle other werke saye and declare what she is, for to denyse after and descryue of the world. Ffor the firmament torneth and meueth by nature, and in like wise doo alle the thinges that haue meuynge. Nature meueth the sterres and maketh them to shine and growe, and also may anoye and greue as moche as she wille. And by cause alle men understonde not wel what this foloweth in substance, we shal declare a litil our matere a longe fflor to gyue the better vnderstondyng what nature is and how she werketh, to thende that more fully ye may compryse the faction of the world by this that herafter shal be to you declared, yf ye will wel vnderstande the resons. And therfore gyue ye dyligence for to compryse them and wel to reteyne them.

Here foloweth of Nature, how she werketh and what she is. capitulo xiii.³

Ovre Lord God created alther firste nature, fflor she is the thynge by whiche alle creatures and other werkes haue dured and lyue, what someuer they bee ordeyned of God vnnder the heuen. Without nature may no thinge growe, and by her haue alle things created lyf. And therfor behoueth nature to be firste, fflor she noryssheth and entertieneth alle creatures, and halandonneth her self where it pleseth the creator or maker. Nature werkyth in lyke wyse, whan she is employed, as

¹ In one of the B. M. copies, the word muable has a t written above it. It would read: muable. 2nd ed. "muable."
² "Herwith . . . mencion": Now I shall refrain from saying any more to you about this; for I have made sufficient mention of it so far.
³ O.F. text, Ch. viii.
doth the axe of a carpenter whan he employeth it in his werke; ffor the axe doeth nothyng but cutte. And he that holdeth it addressith it to what parte he wylle, so that in thende by the axe the werke is achieuid and made after thentente of the werker. Ryght so nature maketh redy and habandonneth where as God wylle; for alle things ben made by her and entiertiened as God wille make them; and she werketh after this in suche manere that, yf she lacke on one syde, she recouerith it on that other.

Nature fourmeth nothing in vayn, but she werketh in suche maner that she taketh away fro nothyng his playn; ffor her werke is alway hool after that she fyndeth matere, be it in persones or in bestes. Thenne ben her werkes aboue alle to be recomended, as she that doth nothyng that in ony wise may be contrarye to God. But where as mater lacketh, she leueth it to werke; and alleway somoche ther is more of *mater, somoche more she werketh; as men see of somme beestis, of whiche somme haue two heedes and vi feet, or it hath a membre lasse than he ought to haue, of whiche he abydeth without veray fourme naturell and may be called therfor a monstre. Also men see otherwhile somme that almost lacke alle, and other that haue plente and habondaunce in their faites. Alle in like wise falleth ofte and is seen happen vpon somme men the whiche, whan they ben born, they haue vi fyngres on one hand, and other that haue one or ii or iii lasse than they shold haue; or them lacketh an hole membre, by whiche they be of lasse valewe of that that apperteyneth to the world. And in an other shall be so grete habundaunce of nature or matere in body or in membre that he hath other thing than fourme humayn setteth; ffor hym lacketh a foot or a honde, or he shal be born somtyme more or lasse, or he shal haue a legge more lenger or shorter, or an arme, than the other.

Yet ther is another thyng whiche ought not to be forgotten: ffor that one shal be born black or broun, and that other whyte, one grete, and another lytil; that one shal happen to be wyse and discrete, and that other folissh
Endless variety in men and things.

or shrewyssh; somme be wise and sadde in their yongthe, and in their age ben ofte folish; somme be foles yong and olde, and other ben wise alle their lyue, yong and olde; somme be fatte and somme be lene; somme be seek and somme ben hool; somme be sklendre and somme be thyck; somme be hande and rude, and somme be softe and tendre; somme be slowe and somme be hasty; somme be hardy and somme be cowardis; somme be lame, haltyng and croked; somme ben wel fourmed in alle rightis and poyntes. A grete man is ofte euyl made, and a lytil man is ofte wel made and annaunt, for ther is no membre but it be wel made and apperteynyng to his body. A fair childle oftymes in his growyng becometh fowl. Somme wil haue their willes, and other desyre it but lytyl. Euerich hath his talente and his appetyte. A litil man engendreth ofte a grete man, and a grete man ofte getyth a lytil one; a litil man otherwhile empriseth to doo a grete thing that right a grete man wil not emprise. Somme deye lightly, and other lye longe; and somme lyue aslonge til age make them to gyue ouer the world, after that that nature endureth to them by the wille of God.

Also it is seen ofte emonge men that somme entende to clergye, and other gyue them to other style of science and crafte, as of carpenter, mason, smyth or ony other crafte in whiche he employeth his tyme; for every man gyueth hym self gladly to that whiche his entendement is enelyned to; and to other crafte or science than nature and understondyg gyueth hym to, he shal neuer perfightly understonde, ne so well meddle with all as he shold to that whiche his propre nature gyueth hym to. Ther ben yet other maner of peple that sette and gyue them self to do many thinges pat other may not ne can not do, for asmoche as their nature hath not gyuen it to them; for somme pretende to hye estates and grete richesses, and other ben content with lytil estate. And it happeth ofte that a man cometh to that where he pretendeth, and other can not come therto, but torneth contrarye to them and to their dommage; and ofte with grete payne may they come to their abone of pat thing pat they wolde
Plato and Aristotle's definitions of Nature.

accomplysshe⁰; and other doo and make plente of things that somme can not ne may not doo ne make. Ffor in the persones ben so many dyuersitees and *facions not lyke, and of willes, that men shal not fynde in ony contree of the worlde two men that parfyghtly be lyke, who ferre they can seche, but that they be dyuere in somme caas or of body, or of membres, or of entende-

ment, or of the visage, or of their sayengis, or of their faytes or dedes; ffor the puissaunce of nature is so dyuere that ther is nothyng that hath growyng but that she hath vpon it myght, in suche wyse that she gyueth to one somme thyng that another hath not in hym, how be it that noman can perceyue ony distaunce.²

Suche is the vertue of Nature, where plente of clerkes haue somtyme sette their entende-ment and cure, and haue strongly laboured to thende that they myghte better declare the fayte and puissaunce of nature. And first of alle saith Plato, whiche was a man of grete renommee, that nature is an ouer puissaunce or myght in thynges that she maketh to growe lyke by lyke after that that euerych may bee.³ And this may be under-

stood by one man that engendreth another, and by bestes, by plantes and by seedes the whiche after their semblaunces grewe, and after their facion. And lo this is that that the wise Platon saith whiche was a grete clerke.

After hym saith Aristotle, that this was a yefte comen fro the hye pryence, whan he gaf vertu to the firmament and to the sterres for to meue and to be, and that without God suche power ne myght not be gyuen, as the thynges that haue power to remeue, to bee

¹ "and ofte with ... accomplysshe": O.F. text (p. 88): "Si qu'a paimes pent venir a chief de chose que il vueille mener a fin," i.e. and only with much trouble can he carry out what he wishes to accomplish.

² " distaunce": O.F. (p. 88) deserverance, i.e. distinctive feature, difference.

³ "And first ... may bee." Cf. Homer, Odyssey, 17,218: ἡς ἀεὶ τὸν ὑμοῖον ἀγεῖ θεός ἡς τὸν ὑμοῖον; Proverb in Plato's Gorgias: ὑμοῖος ὑμοῖος; Boethius, quoted by Albertus Magnus, Summa Theologiae (Opera Omnia, vol. 31, p. 307, Paris 1895), VII. 30.6: "Natura est vis insita rebus ex similibus similia procreans."
and to meue.1 Aristotle saith this studied in many a book treatyng of nature. Many other philosophres ther were that said that nature proceded of vertues of hethe which causeth alle thinges to growe and nourisshe. * But for this present tyme I passe ouer for to speke of other materes. Tho philosophres ensieweth better Plato than Aristotle; thus said they that them semeth. And they spack so hye, lyke as afore is sayd, that fewe clerkes myght atteyne to come therto. And for to abregge it, he is not that myght parfyghtly knowe what it is, sauf God that alle knoweth & that alle seeth, and that first wold establishe for tacomplyssh alle thinges. Herbye may wele be knowne that God is of moche grete puissance; and it is of hym a right grete thinge when he of nought and without travauell created & fourmed so excellent a thinge, & so hye and noble a werke. And therfore wold he hym selfe create & make man to the ende that he myght be so myghty & haue suche witte & vnderstandyng in hym self, that he knewe by nature that which myght greue hym in his owle, and lyne vnto Our Lord2; for if he wille iustely and rightfully conduyte hym selfe, he may well brynge his herte to that, that nature shal not mowe greue hym in no manere.

And therfore were founden the vii sciences or artes for to take away the euyl thoughtes that myghte brynge a man to the deth, whiche they may destroye by the sciences. And thus may one chaunge his euyl estate by the techynges of a good maistre; and therfore it is

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1 "After hym . . . and to meue." Aristotle, *Physics* (Tebner, Leipzig, 1879) 2. 1. 192 B. 14: Things which exist by nature have in themselves a principle of movement and rest: τούτων μὲν γὰρ ἐκαστὸν ἐν ἐαυτῷ ἀρχὴν ἔχει κυνήσεως καὶ στάσεως.

2 "that which myght . . . Our Lord"; O.F. text (p. 89): "ce qui grever li porroit a l'ame et mieure enuers Dieu"; what might harm his soul and do him harm before God.
The wise man prefers his soul to his body.

good for to haunte emounge the vertuous men, for ther men may lerne and prouffyte in dyuerse maners. Thus theane is he wyse that is prudent in suche manere that after his deth he hath the better and that God receuyeth hym in gree. Thus than he shal haue doon more for his owen prouffye than for an other. This knowe alle men certaynly. * For he shal resseyyue alle the weel.

And moche is he a fool that somoche louyth his body that he forgeteth to saue his owen soule. Thus the he shal haue done more for his owen prouffye than for an other. This knowe alle men.

Of the fourme of the firmament. capitulo xv\textsuperscript{o}.\textsuperscript{2}

God fourmed the world alle rounde, lyke as is a pelette the whiche is al round; and he made the heuen al rounde whiche enuyronneth and goth round aboute the erthe on alle parties hooly without ony defaulte, * alle in lyke wise as the shelle of an egge that enuyronneth

\footnotesize{1 "He that so . . . reherceeth": St. Matthew xv. 14; St. Luke xix. 12.  
2 O.F. text, Ch. IX\textsuperscript{1}.}
the white al aboute. And so the heuen goth round aboute an ayer which is aboute thayer, the whiche in latyn is called hester, this is as moche to saye as pure ayer and clene, for it was made of pure and of clere purete.  

This ayer shyneth nyght and day of resplenduer perpetuall, and is so clere & shynyng that, if a man were abdyng in that parte, he shold see alle, one thinge and other, and alle that is, fro on ende to the other, also lightly, or more, as a man shold doo here bynethe vpon the erthe the only lengthe of a foot or lasse yet, if he had need. Alle in lyke wyse I saye to yow, who that were there he myght see al aboute hym as well ferre as nyghte, the ayer is so clere and nette.

Of this hester thangels taken their bodyes & their wynges, when Our Lord God sendeth them in message hether lowe in to therthe to his frendes, when he wyll shewe to them only thyngye. And thorfor seme they to be so clere to synful men in this world, that their eyen may not suffre the resplendour ne beholde the grete clerenes, as they that ben ful of obscure and derknes, that is to saye of synnes and of inyquytees of whiche they ben respleneshid. And it happeth of tymes that, when thangels ben comen to ony man in ony place by the wyll of God for to saye & shewe their message, that, whiles thangelle speketh to hym, he falleth to grounde as he were a slepe or in a traunce. And hym semeth he hereth not the wordes of thangelle but as he dremed. And is must without spekyng, vnto the tyme that thangelle repayred agayn. Thenne when he was awaked and

1 round: round. 2nd ed. "rounde."
2 "God foured . . . purete": Necker, I. 3; De Laud., 5.
3 "if a man . . . nede": if a man lived there, he could see to the very end of all things, if need be, as easily as a man on this earth can see an object at a distance of a foot or even less.
4 "Of this hester . . . repayred agayn": Gregory the Great, Moralia (Migne, Patrologia, t. 76, col. 450), 28, I: Nisi enim Angeli quaedam nobis interna nuntiantes ad temporis ex aere corpora suumrent, exterioribus profecto nostris obtutibus non apparent; nec cibos cum Abraham exerent, nisi propter nos solidum aliquid ex celesti elemento gestarent.


MIRROUR OF THE WORLD.
This clerenesse of whiche we haue spoken, whiche is callyd ayer spyrituall, and where the angels take their araye and aytourement, enuyronneth al aboute the worlde the foure elementis whiche God created and sette that one with in that other. Of whiche that one is the frye, the seconde is thayer, the therde is the water, and the fourthe is therthe; of whiche that one is fastned in that other, and that one susteyned that other in suche manere as therthe holdeth hym in the myddle. The frye, whiche is the firste, encloseth this ayer in whiche we bee. And this ayer encloseth the water after, the whiche hol*-deth hym al aboute the erthe; Alle in liche

1 Between “in no manere” and “for so moche” Caxton omits a passage which occurs in O.F. MSS. A and Roy. 19 A IX., in a corrupt form, and which he therefore did not attempt to translate. The amended passage runs as follows, the words in italics, which make the sense clear, being taken from other MSS.: “De cèle clarté est la lumiére qui est près du saint ciel la sus, dont nous sommes si en sus mis” (O. F. text, p. 91): the light of Heaven, which is so far above us, is made up of this brightness.

2 O.F. text, Ch. X.

3 "This clerenesse . . . myddle": Neckam, I. 16; Honorius Aug. I. 3.
wise as is seen of an egge, and as the whyte encloseth the yolke, and in the myddle of the yolke is also as it were a drope of greece, whiche holdeth on no parte; and the drope of greece, whiche is in the myddle, holdeth on neyther parte.

By such and semblable regard is the erthe sette in the myddle of the world so iuste and so egally that as fer is the erthe fro heuen fro aboue as fro bynethe; sfor, whersom-ener thou be vpon therth, thou art liche fer fro heuen, lyke as ye may see the poyn of a compas whiche is sette in the myddle of the cercle; that is to saye that it is sette in the lowest place. Sfor, of alle fourmes that be made in the compaas, alle way the poynyt is lowest in the myddle. And thus ben the foure elementes sette that one within that other, so that the erthe is alway in the myddle; sfor as moche space is alway the heuen from vnnder therthe as it appiereth from a bone. This fygure folowyng on that other side of the leef sheweth the vnderstandyng therof, and deuyseth it playnly; and therfore ye may take hede therto.

How the erthe holdeth her right in the myddle of the world. capitulo xvii*.2

For as moche as therthe is heuy more than ony other of theelementis, therfore she holdeth her more in the myddle; and that whiche is most heuy abydeth aboute her; sfor the thynge whiche most weyetli draweth most lowest, and alle that is heuy draweth thereto. And therfore behoueth vs to joyne to the erthe, and alle that *is extrait of therthe.

Yf so were and myght so happene that ther were nothing vpon therthe, watre ne other thinge that letted & troubled the waye what someuer parte that a man wold, he might goo round aboute therthe, were it man or beste, aboue and vnnder, whiche parte that he wolde,

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1 "Alle in liche . . . neyther parte": Honorius Aug. I. 1; Philosophia Mundi, IV. 1 (Patrologia, t. 172); Abelard, Hexam-eron, V. 1367 (Patrologia, t. 178, col. 735 D, 736 A); Gervase of Tilbury, Otia Imperialia, I. 1 (ed. Leibnitz, Hanover, 1707).
2 Cf. Fig. 12, p. 52.
3 O.F. text, Ch. XI*.
4 "For as moche . . . her": Neckam, II. 48.
Of the Antipodes.

lyke as a flye goth round aboute a round apple. In like wyse myght a man goo rounde aboute therthe as ferre as therthe dureth by nature, alle aboute, so that he shold come vnder vs. And it shold seme to hym that we were vnder hym, lyke as to vs he shold seme vnder vs, ffor he shold holde his feet ayenst oures and the

Fig. 12.

heed to ward heuen, no more ne lasse as we doo here, and the feet toward therthe. And yf he wente alway forth his way to fore hym, he shold goo so ferre that he shold come agayn to the place fro whens he first departed.

And yf it were so that by adventure two men departed that one fro that other, and that one went alle way to ward the eest and that other to ward the weste, so that bothe two wente egally, it behowed that they shold mete agayn in the opposite place fro where as they departed, & bothe two *shold come agayn to the place fro whens they menyd first; ffor thenne had that one and that other goon rounde aboute the erthe abowe and

1 "lyke as a flye . . . vnder vs": Neckam, II. 48; Honorius Aug. I. 5.
Attraction of the earth.

vnder, lyke as rounde aboute a whele that were style on therthe.¹

In lyke wise shold they goo aboute therthe, as they that contynuellly drewe them right to ward the mydle of therthe; for she fastneth alle heny thyng to ward her. And that most weyetb, moste draweth and most ner holdeth to ward the mydle; ffor who² moche depper one delueth in therthe, somoche heuyer shal he fynde it.

And for to vnderstonde this that I haue deuysed to you here to fore of the goynges of the flyes aboute thapple & of the men aboute therthe, in lyke wyse maye ye see alle the manere & facion by thyse two fygures the whiche ben here to you represented and shewde alle entierly.³

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¹ "And yf it were . . . therthe": Neckam. II. 48; Philosophia Mundi, IV. 3.
² who: bow. 2nd ed "who."
³ Cf. Fig. 13, p. 53, and Fig. 14, p. 54.
Heavy bodies cannot fall beyond the centre of the earth.

wyse that the heuen myght be seen thurgh, and yf one
["fo. 39, va."]
throwe a stone or an heuy plomette¹ of lead that wel

weyed, whan it shold come in to the myddle and half
wayne thurgh of therthe, there ryght shold it abyde and
holde hym; for it myght nether go lower ne arise hyer,
but yf it were that by the force of the grete heyght it
myght, by the myght of the weight in fallyng, falle
more deeper than the myddle.² But anon it shold arise
agayn in suche wise that it shold abyde in the myddle of
therthe, ne neuer after shold meue thens; for theyne
shold it be egally ouerall vnder the firmament whiche
torneth nyght and daye. And by the vertue and myght
of his tornyng nothyng may approche to it that is
poysant and heuy, but withdraweth alway vnder it;

¹ plomette: O.F. plomée, a club, a ring of lead or iron, a
weight.
² "yf the erthe ... myddle": Vincentius Bellovacensis, Spec-
culum Naturale (Douai 1624, vol. I.), VI. 7 (who quotes as his
authority Adelard of Bath): Quorum injectus lapis erit casurus,
si perforatus sit ei terrae globus.—Vincent's quotation is taken
from Adelard's Quaestiones Naturales (Louvain, 1480), Quaest. 49.
Necann, I. 16: Si terra in centro suo intelligatur esse perforata,
ita quod magus sit hibi hiatus, et descenderebunt maximum plumbi
pondus sine omni obstaculo, quiesceret motus ejus in terrae centro.
of whiche ye may see the nature and understandyng by this present figure, on that other side.¹

And yf the erthe were perced thurgh in two places, of whiche that on hole were cutte in to that other lyke a crosse, and foure men stoden right at the foure heedes of thise ii hooles, on abowe and another bynethe, and *in lyke wyse on bothe sides, and that eche of them ¹ (fo. 31)

threwe a stone in to the hoole, whether it were grete or lytyl eche stone shold come in to myddle of therthe wythout euer to be remeuid fro thens, but yf it were drawn away by force. And they shold holden them one aboute another for to take place eueriche in the myddle of therthe.²

And yf the stones were of like weight, they shold come therto alle at one tyme, as sone that one as that

¹ Caxton has omitted the figure to which he refers here, and also another diagram of the O.F. MSS. illustrating the last paragraph of this chapter (p. 56, "And so moche . . . playn trouthe.").
² Cf. Fig. 15. This figure does not occur in the O.F. text.
Unequal velocity of falling bodies of unequal weight.
other; for nature wold suffice it none other wise. And
that one shold come ayenst another as ye may playnly
see by this fygure.¹

And yf their weyght and powers were not egall fro
the place fro whens they shold falle, that whiche
were most heuy, that sholde sonnest come to the myddle
of therthe, and the other shold be al aboute her, as this
seconde figure sheweth playnly on that other side.²

And so moche may be caste therin that the hooles
may be full lyke as they were to fore, as ye may
[¹ fo.31, vo.] *playnly see in thys fygure whiche sheweth to you the

Fig. 16.

playn trouthe. Now thys suffyseth ynowh herof, & here
after we shal speke of other thynges.

What the roundenes of the erthe is. ca. xviii°.³

Now thenne plese it you to here for to denyse
playnly to you how the erthe is rounde.

Who that myghte mounte on hye in thayr and who
¹ Cf. Fig. 16. ² Cf. Fig. 17. ³ O.F. text, Ch. XII.
that myght beholde by valeyes & by playnes the hyenes of the grete montaynes and the grete and depevaleyes, the grete *wawes of the See and the grete floses, they shold seme lasse tappere vnto the gretnes of the erthe than sholde an heer of a man doo vpon an apple or vnder his fyngre. Ffor neyther montayne ne valeys, how someuer hye ne depe it be, taketh not away fro therthe his roundenesse,\(^1\) no more than the galle\(^2\) leneth to be rounde for his prickis; ffor it behoueth the erthe to be rounde fior to amasse the more peple; and we shal saye to you here after how the world muste nedes be round.

1 "Who that . . . roundenesse"; Ne&kam, *De Laudibus*, 5; * Honorius Aug. Aug. I. 5*: "Si enim quis in aere positus eam (terrast) desuper inspiceret, tota enormitas montium, et concavitas valium minus in ea appareret, quam digitus alicujus, si pilam praegrandem in manu teneret." This passage, which comes originally from Seneca (*Quaest. Nat. IV. 11*), has been rendered rather freely in the O.F. text, perhaps, as Fritsche suggests, owing to a confusion between "pilam," a ball, and "pilum," a hair. Yet, as a rule, Gossounin is sufficiently independent from his sources in the choice of similes to be credited with an original idea.

2 galle: O.F. *gale*, a chestnut.
Wherfor God made the world al round. ca. xix°.1

God fourmed the world al round; for of alle the fourmes that be, of what dyuere maners they be, may none be so plenere ne resseyue somoche by nature as may the figure rounde. Ffor that is the most ample of alle figures that ye may take example by. Ffor ther is none so wise ne so subtyl in alle thinges, ne somoche can vnderstande, that may for ony thynge make a vessel, be it of woode or of stone or of metall, that may be so ample, ne that may holde within it so moche in right quantite as shal do the rounde.

Ne fygure that ony may make may so sone meue ne so lyghtly make his torne to goo aboue, that ony man can vnderstande, but that it muste take other place than this to fore, sauf only the Rounde whiche may meue round without takyng other place; ffor she may haue

1 O.F. text, Ch. XIII.1
Why we do not perceive the motion of the heavens.

non other than the firste, ne passe one only ligne or Ray fro the place where she holdeth her in. Wherof ye may see the nature by a fygure squared sette within a rounde or another* which is not round, and make them bothe to torne; the corners of them that ben not rounde shal take dynerce places that the rounde secheth not. And that may ye see by thise iii figures in one, whiche ben here; of whiche that one is rounde alle aboue, and the other twyene ye may see squared.\(^1\)

Yet is ther another thynge: that ther is nothyng vnder heuen enclosed, of what dyverse facion it be, that may so lightly meue by nature as may the rounde. And therfore God made the world round to this ende that it myght best be filled on alle partyes; ffor he wil leue nothyng voyde, and wille that it torne day and nyght; ffor it behoueth to hawe meuyng on the heuen whiche maketh all to meue, ffor alle meuynges come fro heuen; therfore it behoueth lightly and swyftly to meue; and without it ther is nothyng may meue.

Of the meuynges of heuen and of the vii planetes, and *of the lytilnes of therthe vnto the Regarde of heuen. \(^2\)

d[capitulo xx].

Owr Lord God gaf meuyng vnto the heuen whiche goth so swyftly \& so appertly that noman can comprise in his thought; but it semeth not to vs for his gretenes, nomore than it sholde seme to a man, yf he saw fro ferre an horse renne vpon a grete mountayne, it shold not seme to hym that he wente an only paas; and for somoche as he sholde be most ferre fro hym, somoche the lasse sholde he seme to goo.

And the heuen is somoche hye and ferre aboue vs that, yf a stone were in thayer as hye as the sterres be, and were the most heuyest of alle the world, of leed or of metall, and began to falle fro an hye aboue, this thynge is proued and knowen that it shold not come to ther the tyll thende of an hondred yere, so moche and ferre is the heuen fro vs,

\(^1\) Cf. Fig. 18.  
\(^2\) O.F. text, Ch. xiv.
Of the motion of the heavens.

the whiche is so grete that alle the erthe round a boute hath nothyng of gretenes ayenst the heuen, nomore than hath the poynyt or pricke in the mydle of the most grete compaas that may be, ne to the grettest cercle that may be made on therthe. And yf a man were aboue in heuen, and behelde and loked here doun in the erthe, & that alle the erthe were brennynge alle in cooles flammentyng & lighted, it shold seme to hym more lytill than the lest sterre that is aboue semeth to vs here in therthe, thawh we were on a montayne or in a valeye.1

& therfor it may wel be knowen that the heuen muste lyghtly meue, when it maketh his torne and goth round aboute therthe in a day and a nyght, lyke as we may appereyue by * the sonne that men see in the mornynge arise in thoryent or in the eest, and goth doun in the west ; and on the morn erly we see hym come agayn in the eest. Ffor thenne he hath perfourmed his cours round aboute therthe, whiche we calle a day naturel, the whiche conteyneth in hym day and nyght.2 Thus gooth and cometh the sonne, the whiche neuer shal haue reste ne neuer shal fynyssh to goo wyth the heuen, lyke as the mylde that is fixed in the whole, the whiche torneth whan she torneth.

But by cause that it hath meuyng ayenst the cours or tornyng of the firmament, we shal saye to yow another reson: Yf a flye wente rounde aboute a whele that wente rounde it self, and that the flye wente ayenst it, the whele shold brynge the flye with her; and so shold it falle that the whole shold haue made many tornes whilis that the flye shold make one torne, and er she had gon round aboute the whele vnto the first poynyt.3 So ye muste vnderstonde that in suche manere goon the mone and the sonne by a way that is comune to the vii planetes that ben on the heuen, whiche alle goo by the

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1 "And yf a man ... valeye"; Neckam, I. 5: Tanta est firmamenti quantitas, ut ipsi totalis terra collata quasi punctum esse videatur.
2 "Ffor theenne ... nyght"; Neckam, I. 10; Philosophia Mundii, II. 28.
3 "Yf a flye ... poynyt"; Neckam, I. 9: Simile autem inducere videntur in musca quae a rota defertur, motu tamen suo contra rotac impetum agitatur.
same way, alleway to ward the eest. And the heuen
torneth to ward the weste, lyke as nature ledeth hym.1
Thus and herwith the first partie taketh his ende of this
present booke; and shal folowe for to deuyse of the
seconde partye, of therthe and of the fourme of the
firmament.

Thus endeth the first partye of this present book.
* Here after bygynneth the seconde partye of this
present book, and declareth how therthe is deuyded and
what partye she is enhabyted. capitulo p°. 2

Syth that the erthe is so lytil as ye haue herd here
to fore denied, lytil maye we preyse the goodes
therof vnto the regard of heuen, lasse than men do
donge ayenst fyn gold or ayenst preceyous stones; how
wel that in thende that one and that other shal be of
no valewe. But for somauche as we, beyng in this
world, vs semeth that the erthe is moche grete, we haue
declared to yow as wel the roundenesse as the gretenes
to our power, and that shortly.

Syth we haue understande how the erthe is rounde
on all partes as an apple, neuertheles it is not enhabited
in alle partyes, whiche is wel knowen, of no peple
of the world. And it is not enhabited but in one quarter
only, lyke as the philosophres have enserched, whiche
put for to knowe it grete tranayll and estudy. And
therefore we shal deuyse it al aboute in foure partyes.
Of whiche ye may take ensample by an Apple whiche
shal be parted by the myddle in foure partes right
of lengthe and of brede by the core. And pare a
quarter and stratche the parell,3 for to see and under-
stande the facion, in playn erthe or in your hande.4

1 "So ye muste ... ledeth hym": Neckam, I. 9; Honorius
Aug. 1. 68.
2 p° is of course the abbreviation for primo. O.F. text, Ch. 1.
3 parell: O.F. text (p. 103) "la pelcuer," i.e. the peel
4 "And pare ... hande": pare a quarter of the apple, and
then stretch the peel on the ground or on your hand in order to
see the shape of it.

In the MS. Roy. 19 A Ix., several lines of the O.F. text have
been omitted. These lines are also missing in the English trans-
lation; thus providing us with an additional proof that Caxton
must have used MS. Roy. 19 A IX. This passage completes
Fig. 19.

Fig. 20.

Fig. 21.

The right spine of the south
Of the equator and the city of Aaron.

And in the ende of this lyne, lyke as she gooth right by lyne, we may see a cyte whiche is callyd Aaron. It is sette in the mydle of the world and was made all rounde. There was founden first Astronomye by grete studye, by grete maistrye, and by grete dilygence.

Fig. 22.

This place Aaron is named the ryght mydday, as she that is sette in the mydle of the worlde. That other heed of this lyne whiche gooth right to ward the lyfte syde is callyd septentryon, that is to saye north; and taketh his name of the vii sterres, and torneth to ward another sterre that ledeth the maronners by the see.

fo. 34: "Only one quarter of the earth is inhabited. One half of the earth is called 'east,' the other half 'west.' The line which divides them is called 'the straight line of the south.' All this you can see by these three figures. And in the ende . . . " The three figures referred to are Nos. 19, 20, 21 (p. 62).

1 "And in the ende . . . rounde": See Introduction, p. xv.

2 "That other heed . . . sterres": Isidore of Seville Etymologiae, (Patrologia, t. 81-84). XIII. 11, 11; XIII. 1, 6.

3 "and torneth . . . see": O.F. text (p. 105): "et tourne vers l'autre montaingne qui mainne les mariniers par la mer." It
In that other lyne that is in the myddle, whiche the south cutteth, in the ende to ward the eest, as the Auctours saye, is paradys terrestre where Adam was in somtyme. This place is callyd Oryent, that is to saye eest, ffor fro thens cometh the sonne whiche maketh the day aboute the world. And that other heed is callyd Occydent, that is to saye weste; ffor there the day faylleth and wexith derke whan the sonne goth doun there. Thus and by this reson be named the foure parties of the world; *of whiche the first conteyneth the eest, the seconde the weste, the therde the south, and the fourthe the north. And this that we enseygne you, ye may see by this figure to fore on that other syde.  

![Diagram of the cardinal points]

is impossible to say for certain what "mountain" Gossuin is alluding to. Caxton's emendation ("star" for "mountain") is certainly a way out of the difficulty.

1 "In that other . . . world": Genesis ii. 8; Isidore, XIII. 1, 4.

2 Cf. Fig. 22, p. 63. For the Figs. 19, 20, 21, p. 62, see note 4 p. 61.
Of the four quarters of the earth.

This iii parts that I have declared to you, whiche been sette in a quarter of alle the erthe of the world, ought to have a round fourme; for Raison and nature gyue that alle the world be rounde. And therfore understande ye of this quarter as it were alle rounde. Now make we thenne of this quarter a cercle that is al round & al hool, and late vs sette in the myddle of this lyne that sheweth the eest and the weste, for to sette the parties in her right, as this presente figure that here is represented sheweth to you playnly.¹

After late eche partye be torned to ward his name in therthe, of whiche eche shal be the fourth parte,

![Diagram of the four quarters of the earth]

and *this present fygure is enseygnement and demonstrance certayne and trewe, without ony variacion ne doubtaunce.*²

¹ Cf. Fig. 23, p. 64. ² Cf. Fig. 24.

MIRRour OF THE WORLD.
Of Asia and the derivation of this name.

What parte of therthe is inhabited. ca. ii°.1

All the erthe that is in the world enhabited is devided in to thre parties; and therfor it behoueth by this reson to make an other dyuision. Of whiche the partye to ward orient is callyd Asia the grete, and taketh the name of a queene that somtyme was lady of this regyon and was * callid Asia. This partie named Asia holdeth and conteyneth as moche space as doo the other twyene; and therfor it is callyd Asia the grete; and dureth fro the north vnto the south lyke as this figure sheweth.4

1 O.F. text has no separate chapter here. The text goes on without interruption.
2 O.F. MSS. A and Roy. 19 A IX., both have “iili. parties.” Caxton corrects here an obvious mistake.
3 “Of whiche ... south”: Isidore, XIV. 3. 1; Honorius Aug. I. 8.
4 Cf. Fig. 25.
That other part is called Europe & taketh his name of a kynge callyd Europes the whiche was lord of this contre; & therfor it was so callyd. And it endur-eth fro the weste vnto the north, & marcheth vnto

Asie the grete. That other parte is Affryque whiche stratcheth fro the south vnto the weste. And Affryque hath his name of helle, and is as moche to saye as born a way. Like as this figure deuyseth, in iii partyes, of whiche figure this is the demonstrance.

1 "That other part . . . north": Isidore, XIV. 4. 1; Honorius Aug. I. 22.
2 "That other parte . . . a way": Isidore, XIV. 5. 2; Vincentius Bellovacensis, Speculum Hist. I. 76; Honorius Aug. I. 32.
3 "Like as . . . demonstrance": O.F. text, p. 108: "Ainsi est la terre devisée en iii. parties. Dont ceste figure est devisement sanz nulle doute." The words in italics have been omitted by Caxton. They complete his sentence, which is otherwise obscure, and which ought to read: "Thus is the earth divided, like as this figure . . ." Cf. Fig. 26.
Of Earthly Paradise.

Of thise three parties of the world here tofore named holden euerych many regyons and many contrees, of whiche, or at the beste of the most noble partye, we shal declare the names, and how the bestes that ben there ben *most comynly called. Thus we shal saye to you the condicions and fourmes of somme, and in especial of them that ben most seen by men. And first we shal speke of the peple of the contrees, and after of the bestes and flisses; lyke as the book deuyseth to vs out of which is drawen this Mappa mundi.

Ffirst of paradys terrestre and of the foure grete flodes that departe fro thens capitulo iii.¹

The first regyon of Asia the grete is paradys terrestre. This is a place whiche is ful of solace, of playsances and of delices, so that none that is therin may be greuyd ne haue none eyyll in no maner of the world.² In this paradys is the tree of lyf; and who that had eten of the fruyt, he shold not deye as longe as the world endureth.³ But noman liuyng may come theder, but yf Our Lord God or his angele conduyted and brought hym theder; for alle round aboute it is enclosed wyth fyre brennyng, the whiche goth flammyng vnto the clowdes.⁴

Ther withinne soudeth and spryngeth a fontayne or welle whiche is deuyded in to foure flodes; of whom that one is called Vngages ⁵ that renneth a longe thurgh the Royame of Ynde, and departeth in to many armes or braces.⁶ It soudeth of the mont that is called

¹ O.F. text, Ch. II ² (n).
² "The first ... world": Genesis iii.; Isidore, XIV. 3. 2; Honorius Aug. I. 9.
³ "In this ... endureth": Genesis ii. 9; Isidore, XIV. 3. 2; Honorius Aug. I. 9.
⁴ "But noman ... clowdes": Genesis iii. 24; Isidore, XIV. 3. 2; Honorius Aug. I. 8.
⁵ Ungages: O.F. text (p. 109), "Phisons ou Ganges." Caxton copied the name "Ungages" from Roy. 19 A IX. "MS. A gives "Ongages." The mistake is evidently due to a scribe's carelessnest, who left out the name "Phisons." In later copies "ou Ganges" was contracted into all the strange forms which we find in the various MSS.: Onganges, Ongages, Onagagez, Ungages.
⁶ "Ther withinne ... braces": Genesis ii. 10. 13; Isidore, XIV. 3. 3, XIII. 21. 8: Neckam, II. 2; Honorius Aug. I. 9. 10.
Ortobares, the which is to ward thoriemt, and falleth in to the see Occian.¹

The second of the four flodes is named Gyon or Nylus, which entareth in that erthe so ferre that it resourdeth in to the Longe See whiche enuyron⁴-neth alle Ethiope, so that it departeth in to vii parties, & goth rennyng by Egypte so longe that it cometh and falleth in to the Grete See.²

The other ii flodes, of whiche that one is callyd Tygris and that other Euprates, sourden in Hermesye nygh vnto a moche grete montayne whiche is named Partheacus. And thise two flodes tranerse many grete contrees so longe tyl they mete in the see Moyen where bothe two falle inne, lyke as theyr nature requyreth.³

On this side paradys terrestre alle aboute ben many dyuere places withoute ony resorte; ffor none may dwelle there ne fynde place to lyue in; but there be plente of euyl beestis whiche ben fiers and crymynel and of many guyses ther ben. Ther ben gean?ts rowh and heery⁴ whiche deuoure & ete alle thyng as wulues don, and many other wyld beestes.⁵

Here speketh of Ynde & of thynges that be found therin. capitulo iii°.⁶

Afther comen the contrees of Yndes whiche take their name of a water that is called Ynde, which sourdeth in the north. The Yndes ben closed with the Grete See that enuyronneth them round aboute.⁷

¹ "It sourdeth ... Occian": Orosius, Hist. (Patrologia, t. 31), I. 2: Mons Orsobaras; Honorius Aug. I. 10.
² "The second ... Grete See": Genesis ii. 13; Neckam, II. 2; Isidore, XIII. 21. 7; Honorius Aug. I. 10.
³ "The other ii ... reqyreth": Orosius, I. 2: Parchoutras; Isidore, XIII. 21. 10; Honorius Aug. I. 10.
⁴ "gean?ts rowh and heery": O.F. text (p. 110): li jaïant et li chemillieu, giants and Canaanites. The O.F. word chemillieu (L. Chauanuæum) is evidently used in a disparaging sense by Gossonin. Caxton's rendering (rough and hairy) seems to be fairly correct.
⁵ "ffor none ... beestes": Honorius Aug. I. 10.
⁶ O.F. text, Ch. II° (b).
⁷ "Afther comen ... aboute": Isidore, XIV. 3. 5; Neckam, De Laud. III. 1021; Honorius Aug. I. 11.
Of Ceylon, and of the nation called Gog and Magog.

In Ynde is an yle named Probane,\(^1\) wherein ben founded ten cytees and plente of other townes, where as evry yere ben two somers \& two wynters; and ben so attempred that there is alway verdure,\(^2\) and vpon the trees ben contynuelly flowres, leeuis and fruyt. And it is moche plenteuous of gold and syluer, and moche fertyle of other thynges.

There be the *grete montaynes of gold and of precyous stones and of other richesses plente. But, no-man dar approche it for the dragons and for the gryffons wylde whiche haue bodyes of lyouns fleyng, whiche easily bere a man away armed and syttyng vpon his hors, whan he may sease hym with his clawes and vngles.\(^3\)

Ther ben yet plente of other places so delectable, so swete and so spyrytuel that, yf a man were therin, he shold saye that it were a very paradys.

Here foloweth the dyuersitees beyng in the lande of Ynde. capitulo v\(^0\).\(^4\)

There is in the lande of Ynde a right grete montayne that men calle mount Capien, and it is a moche grete regyon. Ther ben a maner of peple without wytte \& without discrescion, whiche the kyng Alysaundie enclosed therin. And ben named Goths and Magoths, or Gog or Magog. They ete flesshe all rawe, be it men or wymmen or bestes, as men wood, mad or demonyacks.\(^5\)

This Ynde of whiche I you hererce conteyneth xiii Regyons, and in euerich of thise regyons ben moche peple.

And also ther is therin grete trees and so hye that they towche the cloudes. And there dwelleth peple that ben horned, and ar but ii cubites hye. And they goon to gydre in grete companyes; sfor ofte they fighte

\(^1\) Probane: Taprobane, i. e. Ceylon.

\(^2\) "In Ynde . . . verdure": Honorius Aug. I. 11.

\(^3\) "There be . . . vngles": Isidore, XIV. 3. 9; Gervase of Tilbury, II. 3; Honorius Aug. I. 11.

\(^4\) O. F. text, Ch. II \(^2\) (c).

\(^5\) "There is . . . demonyacks": Honorius Aug. I. 11.
Of some strange people in India.

ayenst the Cranes whiche them assaylle. But within vii yere they become aged and olde that they deye for age. This peple is callyd Pygmans, & ben as lytil as dwarfes.

Ryght nygh vnto this contree growveth pepre alle whytte. But the vermyne is there so *grete that, whan they wold gadre and take it, they muste sette fyre therin for to dryue away the vermyne; and whan it is so bren, the pepre is foundeu al blacke scorched and cryspe.

Yet ben there other peple whiche ben callyd Groyne & Bragman, whiche ben fayrer than they to fore named, that, for to saue anothers lyf, wyll put them in to a brennyng fyre.

Ther is yet another maner of peple the whiche, whan their fadres and modres or their other frendes ben passyng olde and eaged, they slee them and sacryfye them, be it wrong or right, and eten their flesshe¹; and holden them for meschannt and nygardis that so doo not to their frendes; ffor they holde this maner emong them for grete wele, grete worship and for grete largesse; and therfor eche of them vse it.

Toward the eest is another maner of peple that worshyppe the sonne only, and taketh it for their god for the grete goodes that come therby. And by cause that in alle the world they see none so fayr a thyng to theyr semyng, they byleue in hit as their god.²

Yet ben ther other peple that ben al rough, whiche eten fysshe al Rawe and drynke water of the salt see.³

Toward this same contre is a maner of peple that ben half bestes and half men. Yet ben ther in that partye other peple whiche haue on one foot viii toes.

In thise contrees is grete nombre of bestes right dredful and terryble, whiche haue bodyes of men and heedes of dogges; and haue so grete vngles or clawes that areste alle that they can holde; and clothe them with the hydes and skynnes of bestes; and haue suche maner of voys as barkyng of dogges.

¹ "And also ther is . . . flesshe": *Honorius Aug.* I. 11.
² "Toward the eest . . . their god": *Isidore*, XIV. 3. 12.
³ "Yet ben ther . . . salt see": *Honorius Aug.* I. 11.
Yet ben ther other called Cyclopyens\(^1\) whiche passe by rennyng the wynde; * & haue only but one fote of whiche the plante\(^2\) is so right longe and so brode that they couere them therwith fro the shadowe whan the hete cometh ouer sharp on them.\(^3\)

Another maner peple ther is whiche haue only but one eye, and that standeth right in the myddys of the fronte or forhede, whiche is so reed and so clere that it semeth properly fyre brennyng.\(^4\)

And there also ben founde another maner of peple that haue the visage and the mouth in the mydiddle of their breste, and haue one eye in euerys sholdre, and their nose hangeth doun to their mouth; & haue brestles aboute their mosell lyke swyne.\(^5\)

Yet ben ther founden toward the ryuer of Ganges a maner of strange peple and curtoys whiche haue the right fygure of a man, whiche lyue only by the odour and smellyng of an apple only. And yf they goo ferre in to ony place, they haue nede to haue thapple wyth them; ffor yf they fele ony stenche euyll & styneckynge and haue not thapple, they deye incontynent.\(^6\)

Of the serpentes and of the bestes of Ynde. ca. vi°.\(^7\)

**In Ynde** ben plente of serpentes whiche ben of suche force and myght that they denoure and take by strengthe the hertes and buckes.\(^8\)

Yet ther is an other maner beste whiche is callyd Centycore, whiche hath the horne of an herte in the

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\(^1\) The description of the Scinopodae, erroneously called by Gossonin "Cyclopien," is taken from Honorius, who merely mentions the name "Cyclops" in his next paragraph without adding any further details.

\(^2\) plante: O.F. plante, the sole of the foot.

\(^3\) "Toward this same contre . . . sharp on them": *Honorius Aug. I. 12.*

\(^4\) "Another maner . . . brennyng": *Isidore, XI. 3, 16, XIV. 6. 33; Honorius Aug. I. 12 (Cyclopes).*

\(^5\) "And there also . . . swyne": *Isidore, XI. 3. 9; Honorius Aug. I. 12.*

\(^6\) "Yet ben ther founden . . . incontynent": Jacobus de Vitriaco: *Historia Hierosolomitana* (Donai, 1597), 92; *Honorius Aug. I. 12.*

\(^7\) O.F. text, Ch. II (d).

\(^8\) "In Ynde . . . buckes": *Honorius Aug. I. 13.*
Of some strange animals in India.

myddle of his face, and hath the breste and thyes lyke a lyon, and hath grete eeris and feet lyke an hors, and hath a round mouth. His mosell is lyke the heed of a Bere, and his eyen ben nyghe that one that other, and his voys is moche lyke the voys of a man.

*Another beste men fynde there moche fyers, whiche hath the body of an hors, the heed of wylde boor, and the tayll of an Olyphaunt. And he hath two hornes whiche eueriche is as longe as a Cubyte, of whiche he sette that one upon his back whylis he fyghteth wyth that other. He is black and a moche terryble beste & merueyllous delyure; and is both in watere and on the londe.

There ben also seen bullys which ben alle whyte. They haue grete hedes, and their throte is as wyde & brode that it endureth from that one eere to that other; and haue hornes that remene aboute hym so that noman may tame ne danute them.

Another maner of bestes ther is in Ynde that ben callyl manticora; and hath visage of a man, & thre huge grete teeth in his throte. He hath eyen lyke a ghoost and body of a lyon, tayll of a Scorpyon and voys of a serpente, in suche wyse that by his swete songe he draweth to hym the peple and deuoureth them. And is more delyuerer to goo than is fowle to flee.

Ther is also a maner of Oxen or buefs that haue their

1 "Yet ther is ... Bere": O.F. text (p. 113) has "comme le chief d'un tuel" (like the top of a spout) instead of "heed of a Bere" (bear).—Honorius Aug. 1. 13.
2 "... and his eyen ... that other": This passage is apparently taken from Solinus. It does not occur in any of Gossonin's usual sources, Honorius, Neckam, Jacobus de Vitriaco. The full description of the Centwore, as given in the Image du Monde, is found in Solinus, Polyhistor (Biponti, 1794), 52.
3 "... and his voys ... man": Honorius Aug. 1. 13.
4 "... and is both in watere and on the londe": O.F. text, p. 113: "et est moult penible en eau et en terre": and is most unde-fattagable both on land and in water.
5 danute = danute, i.e. tame.
6 "... thre huge grete teeth": O.F. text, p. 113: i.e. ordinées de denz: three rows of teeth.
7 "Another beste ... lyon": Honorius Aug. 1. 13.
8 "... tayll of ... deuoureth them": Solinus, 52.
feet all round, and have in the mydle of their fronte iii horns.¹

Yet is ther there another beste of moche fayr corsage or shappe of body whiche is called monotheres, whiche hath the body of an hors and feet of an Olyfant, heed of an herte and voys clere and hye & a grete tayle. And hath but one horne whiche is in the mydle of his forhede, whiche is four foot longe, ryght & sharpe lyke a swerd and cuttyng lyke a Rasour. And alle that he atteyneth to fore hym and towcheth is broken and cutte. And for trouthie this beste is of suche condicion that, by what someuer engyne he is taken, of grete desdayn * he suffreth to be slayn and deye. But he may not be taken but by a pure virgyne whiche is sette to fore hym where as he shal passe, the whiche muste be well and gentylly arayed. Thenne cometh the beste vnto the mayde moche symply, & slepeth in her lappe. And so he is taken slepyng.²

In Ynde ben ther other bestes grete and fyrs whiche ben of blew colowr, and haue clere spottes on the body; & ben so right stronge and crymynell that noman dar approche them; and ben named Tygris. And they renne so swyftly and by so grete myght that the hunters may not escape fro them in no wyse but yf they take myrrours of glasse and caste them in the waye where they shal renne; for the tygris ben of suche nature that, whan they see their semblance, they wene that it be their fawnes. Thenne goon they aboute the myrrours so longe til they breke the glasse and see nomore; in whiche while the hunters escape fro them that ben there. And somtyme it happeth so of thise tygres that they thynke so longe and beholde their figures, that otherwhyle they ben taken so lokyng all quyck and liuyng.³

¹ "Ther is also . . . hornes": Honorius Aug. I. 13.
² "Yet is ther there . . . slepyng": The full description of the rhinoceros is found in Isidore, XII. 2. 12; Neckam, II. 103, 104, and Jacobus, 88.
³ "In Ynde ben . . . liuyng": Neckam, De Laud. IX.: Jacobus, 86, 88.
Of the castor, the lion, and other animals of India.

Yet ben ther other beastes whiche ben called Castours, whiche haue this nature in them that, whan they ben honted far to be taken, they byte wyth their teeth their owne genytoirs or ballocks and lete them falle; and thus they ghelde them self. For they wel knowe that for none other thyng they be hunted.

Also there groweth another beste lyke a Mous, & hath a lytill mouthe, and is named Muske or muskaliet.

In this contree ben the drye trees that spake to Alysaundre, the puissaunt kynge.

Another beste ther is that men calle Salemandre, whiche is fedde and nourysshed in the fyre. This Salemandre berith wulle of whiche is made cloth and gyrdles that may not brenne in the fyre.

There ben yet myes the whiche ben as grete as cattes & also swyft in rennyng.

Toward thoryent ben the lyons whiche haue more strength and myght in their brestes to fore and in alle their membres than any other beste haue. And they come to fede their fawnes the iii day after they haue fawned, as they that were deed and ben as reysed agayn from deth; & whan they slepe they holde their eyen open; and whan the hunters hunte them they couer the traas of theyr feet wyth their taylle. They shal neuer do harme ne grief to man but yf they ben angred. And whan they be assaylled they defende them. And whan he that kepeth them bete and chastyseth a lytill dogge to fore them, they fere and doubte hym lyke as they knewe hym wel. And the lyonnesse hath the first yere fyue fawnes, and euery yere after folowyng one lasse, vnto her ende so declynynge.

Ther is another beste whiche is lytil, and is so terryble and redoubted that no beste dar approche it. And by

1 and = and.
2 "Yet ben ther ... ghelde them self": Neckam, II. 140; Jacobus, 83.
3 "Also there groweth ... muskaliet": Isidor, XII. 3. 4 (musaraneus).
4 "In this contree ... kynge": Jacobus, 85.
5 "Another beste ... fyre": Neckam, I. 7; Jacobus, 89.
6 myes: mice.
nature the lyon doubteth and fleeth from it; ffor ofte it sleeth the lyon.¹

In this partye conuerseth & repayreth another beste whiche is of dyuere colours by spottes white, black, grene, blewe and yelow, lyke as it were paynted; and is moche propre, and is called panthere. And ther cometh out of his mouth so swete a sauour and breeth that the beestes goo folowyng after it for the swetnes of his body, sauf the serpent to whom this swete smelle greueth in suche wyse that ofte the serpent deyeth. And whan this beeste is otherwhile * so fylded and full of venyson that he hath taken and eten, he slepeth iii dayes hool wythout awakyng. And whan he awaketh, he gynueth oute of his mouth so swete a sauour and smelle that anon the beestes that fele it seche hym. This beest hath but ones yong fawnes. And whan she shal fawue, she hath suche destresse and anguyss that she breketh with her nay lies and renteth her matryce in suche wyse that her fawnes come out. And neuer after, whan the matryce is rente and broken, they engendre ne brynge forth fawnes.²

Ther is a maner of Mares that conceyue of the wynde, and ben in a contre that is named Capadoce; but they endure not but iii yere.³

In this contre ben the Olyphauns whiche is a beste grete, strong and fyghtyng. And whan they see their blood shedde to fore them, they be most corageous and most stronge, and fnght⁴ in alle places & alle bataylles. Vpon this olyphaunts were wonte to fyghte the peple of Ynde and of Perse; ffor an olyphaunt bereth wel a tour of woode vpon his back, fulle of men of Armes, whan it is wel sette on & fermly. And they haue to fore them in maner of boyell grete and large, whiche they ete by, whiche they renne on men, & haue anon deuoured them.⁵

¹ "Toward thoryent ben the lyons . . . sleeth the lyon": Jacobus, 88.
² "In this partye . . . fawnes": Neckam, II. 133; Jacobus, 88.
³ "Ther is a maner . . . yere": Neckam, II. 158; Jacobus, 88.
⁴ fnght = fight; 2nd ed. fyghte.
⁵ "And they haue to fore . . . deuoured them": O.F. text, p.
Kynge Alysauandre whiche was a good clerke & prynce of grete recommendacion, & that wente in to many contrees for to serche & enquer the adventures more than he dyde to conquere, theane whan he shold fyght ayenst them that had taught & lerned tholyfauntes to fyghte in playn londe, he dyde do make vessels of copper in fourme of men, & dyde do fylle them with fyre *brennyng, and sette them to fore hym to fyght ayenst them that were vpon tholyfauntes. And when tholyfauntes caste their boyel by whiche they slewe the peple, vpon tho men of copper, feelyng that they were so hoot that they brenned them, thenne they that were so taught wolde nomore approche tho men for doubte of the fyre; ffor they thoughte that alle men had ben as hoot as they were of copper, whiche were ful of fyre. And thus kynge Alysauandre, as a sage prynce, eschewed the parell and daunger of thise olyfauntes, and conquerd this wylde peple, and in suche wyse dompted tholyfauntes that they durst doo nomore harme vnto the men.

The olyfauntes goo moche symply and accordyngly to gydre. And whan they mete and encountre eche other, they bowe their heedes that one to that other lyke as they entresalewed eche other.

They be right colde of nature; wherof it is so that, when one putteth vpon the tooth of yuorye a lynnem cloth and brennyng cooles ther vpon, the lynnem cloth shal not brenne; ffor, assone as the coole feleth the cold, he quencheth, the yuorye is so colde. The tooth of an olyfaunt is yuorye.

Tholyfauns haue never yong fawnes but ones in longe tyme; and they bere them ii yere in their flankes.

An olyfaunt lyneth ccc yere. He doubteth & fereth the wesell and the culeuure & dredeth vermyue. Yf the culeuure clyue & be on tholyfaunt, it departeth not tyl it hath slayn hym. She fawneth her fawnes & hydeth

116: "Si ont. i. lœuel par devant, grant et large, dont il menjuent. Et en prennent bien i. homme et deviennent en poi d‘eware." And they have a kind of large bowel in front with which they eat. By means of it they can catch a man and devour him in a short time.
Of the elephant, and of other animals.

them where is no woode and fawneth in the water; for she laye on therthe, she sholde neuer aryse ne releue, for as moche their bones ben al *hool without joyntes from the bely vnto the feet.

And whan tholyphaunt wylle slepe, he leneth vnto a tree and there slepeth stondyng. And the hunters that seche them and knowe the trees to whiche they lene when they sleepe, thenne when they haue founden them, they sawe them lowe by the ground almost a sondre that whan tholyphaunt cometh and knoweth nothyng therof and wold slepe and leneth to the tree, and anon he falleth with the tree vnto the grounde and may not releue hym self. Thenne he begynneth for to braye, crye and waylle, that somtyme ther come many olyfaunte to hym for to helpe hym. And whan they may not redresse and reyse hym, they crye and braye and make a meuyllous sorowe. And they that ben most lytil and smale goo aboute for to lyfte and reyse hym to theyr power in suche wyse that other whyle they lyfte and reyse hym vp. But whan they may not reyse ne releue hym, they goon theyr way wayilyng and makynge grete sorowe and lene hym. And the hunters that ben embusshed by, come; & by their engyns that they haue propice for the same take hym; thus by this subtylte ben tholyfaunte taken.

Wythin the ryuer & flode of Ynde named Ganges goon the eales by grete rences, whiche ben eee feet long, & ben good mete to ete at nede.

Many other bestes peryllous and terryble ben ther in Ynde, as dragons, serpentes & other dyverse beastes whiche haue feet, heedes and taylles dyverse.

1 "She fawneth... woode": O.F. text, p. 117: "Ele repont ses fauns es ilies ou il n'a boz ne couluves." She brings forth her young on islands where there are neither toads nor adders.—Caxton mistook "boz," toad, for "bois" or "bos," wood.

2 There is a blot on "lene," which makes the l look like a b. There is no doubt as to the true reading; 2nd ed. "lene."

3 O.F. text, p. 118: "et ne se pnet sus relevet" (and may not releue hymself); and cannot rise up again.

4 meuyllous = merceuyllous, marvellous: 2nd ed. meuyllons.

5 "tholyfaunte": this is evidently a misprint for "tholy-

faunte."" 117

6 In this contre ben the Olyphauns... tholyfaunte taken": The whole description of the elephant is taken from Jacobus, 58.

7 "Wythin... nede": Honorius Aug. 1. 13.
Of some strange serpents in India.

Ther ben the basylicoocks whiche haue the sight so venymous that they sle all men; and in lyke wyse doo they alle fowles and beestes. *He hath the heed lyke a cocke and body of a serpent. He is kyng of alle serpents, lyke as the lyon is kyng above alle beestes. He is whyte rayed here and there. Ther is neyther herbe ne fruyt on the erthe wherby he shal passe, ne the trees that ben planted, but they shal perisse. *Yf he haue byte or slyyn beste or other thyngue, neuer other beeste dar approche it.¹

Ther is in this Regyon another maner of serpents that haue horns lyke a shepe.²

Ther groweth a beest named Aspis that may not be deceuyyd ne taken but by charmyn, ffor he hearith gladly the sowne.³ But assone as he hearith the charme, he putteth his taylle in his one eere. And that other he leyeth to the ground doubtyng to be deceuyyd by the charme.⁴

Other serpentes ther be whiche be named Tygris, whiche ben taken alle quyck by force of engyns. And of them men make tryacle whiche deffeteth and taketh away other venym.⁵

Other wormes ther growe there, whiche hane two armes so longe and so dyuerse that they bete and slee the Olyphaunts. This worme lyneth right longe. And whan he is olde and feleth hym feble, he consumeth hym self by fastynge; and⁶ suffreth to be enfamyned so ouermoche that lytil abydeth of his body. Thenne he goth in to a lytil hool of somme stone, which is wel strayt, and thenne he putteth hym self out with so right

¹ "Ther ben ... approche it": Solinus, 27, Isidore, XII. 4, 6, 7, Neckam, II. 120, 153, and Jacobus, 89, give a full description of the basilisk; but none of them describe it as having "the heed like a cocke and body of a serpent."
² "Ther is ... shepe": Jacobus, 89.
³ "that may not be ... sowne": O.F. text, p. 119: "Qui ne peut estre pris ne enchantez, se n'est pur douz chant; car il en ot trop volentiers le son": which cannot be taken nor enchanted except by sweet singing, the sound of which he hears with delight.
⁴ "Ther growth ... charme": Neckam, II. 114; De Laud. IX. 289; Jacobus, 89.
⁵ "Other serpentes ... venym": Neckam, II. 108 (De tiria); Jacobus, 89.
⁶ and = and.
Of precious stones in India.

grete distresse, that his skynne remayneth al hool. And ther groweth & cometh on hym another skynne. And thus reneweth his age as a wyse best that he is.¹

Ther ben plente of other serpents that haue many precyous stones in the heedes and in the eyen, the which ben of right grete vertue for them that myght haue them and bere them.²

Now we shal deuyse to yow of stones that growe in Ynde and ben there founden.

Here foloweth of precyous stones and of their vertue, whiche growe in Ynde. capitulo vii.³

IN Ynde groweth the Admont stone, whiche is a stone charged with many grete vertues. She by her nature draweth to her yron, and maketh it to cleue to it so fast that it may vneth be taken fro it for the vertue that is in it.⁴

The dyamont groweth also in Ynde alle hool, and it may not be broken in pieces ne vsed, but it be by the vertue of the blood of a ghoot alle hoot.⁵

Yet growe there other stones of many dyuerse facions and vertues, the whiche ben of moche noble recomenda-cion, renommee, and of moche fayr vertue. And first I shal speke of the Emerawde whiche is so playsaunt to the eye that it reconferteth all the sight of hym that beholdeth it.⁶

In lyke wyse groweth in Ynde an other stone the whiche is callyd Carboncle; the whiche, by nyght or yf it be in derke place and obscure, it shyneth as a cole brennyng.⁷

¹ "Other wormes . . . that he is": Jacobus, 89.
² "Ther ben plente . . . bere them": Neckam, II. 146; Jacobus, 91.
³ O. F. text, Ch. II ², (e)
⁴ "In Ynde . . . is in it": Neckam, II. 94, 98; Jacobus, 91.
⁵ "The dyamont . . . hoot": Neckam, II. 92; Jacobus, 91.
⁶ "And first . . . it": Neckam, II. 90, 91 (De beryllo); De Laud. VI. 153; Jacobus, 91.
⁷ "In lyke . . . brennyng": Neckam, De Laud. VI. 241; Jacobus, 91.
Also ther growe Saphyres whiche by theyr vertue take away the swellyng and redenes of the eyen.\(^1\)

Ther groweth also a stone callyd Topace whiche is of colour lyke vnto fyn golde and also is of hye vertue. Yet also ther growe there Rubyes, whiche is a stone moche preyed & louned among the peple, and is also of right more grete valewre and vertue than is the toupace. She rejoyseth the sight and comforteth it moche, and specyally to them that bere it.\(^2\)

Yet ben ther also in Ynde plente of other maner stones whiche have in them moche fair vertues and bountees. And who that wil more knowe of their vertues and bountees maye rede in the book called lapydayre, in whiche he shal knowe the names and vertues; ffor now at this tyme we shal make an ende of this mater for to recounte yow the contrees and Royames of Ynde.

Here foloweth of the contrees and Royamymes of Ynde. capitulo viii\(^3\).

\(1\) "Also ther . . . eyen": Neckam, \(De Laud.\) VI. 135; Jacobus, 91.

\(2\) "Ther groweth . . . here it": Neckam, \(De Laud.\) VI. 192, 241; Jacobus, 91.

\(3\) O.F. text, Ch. II\(^2\) (f).

\(4\) O.F. text, p. 121: "En cele contrée croist une poiz qui est si chaude . . ." Caxton mistakes "la poiz" (pitch) for "le pois" (the pea).

MIRROUR OF THE WORLD.
wanyng it discreceth at eche tyme of his cours. It helpeth wel to them that ben nygromanciers.  

After this Royame is another whiche is called Mesopotamye, wherein Nyanye, a Cyte of grete seynournye and myghty, is sette and establissnid, whiche is iii daye journeyes of lengthe and is moche large and moore.

In Babylon is a tour that somtyme was made by grete pride, of whiche the wallis ben meruaylously grete, stronge and hye, and is called the towr of Babel; it is of heuyght round aboute iii. M. paas vnto the hyest.

In the Regyon of Caldee was first founden Astronomy. In this Regyon is the lande of Saba, and therby is the Regyon of Tharse, and after is that of Arabe. Of thse iii Regyons were lordes and prynces the thre kynges that offryd to Our Lord Sauyour Jhesu Cryste gold, encence and Myrrre, that tyme whan he laye in the Crybbe aftyr his blessyd Natuyyte, as he that was the sone of God. And this knewe they by their grete witte and vnderstandyng of astronomye in whiche they were endowed and founded. In this Regyon of Arabe groweth thence and the myrrre. And ther ben therin many peples and dyuerse folke.

Ther is also in Egypte a Regyon whiche is called Assyrie.

And the Regyon of Ffenyce is there, whiche taketh his name of a byrde calyed ffenyx of whiche in alle the world is on this day but only a lyue; and whan he deyeth, anone groweth another of hym self. He is grete and moche fair of Corsage, and hath a creste on his heed, lyke as the pecok hath. The breste and the garge of hym shyneth and draweth toward the propre colour of

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1 "of whiche the first . . . nygromanciers" : Gervase of T. II. 3 (t. II. p. 756, ed. Leibnitz); Honorius Aug. I. 14.
2 "After this . . . brood" : Jonah iii. 3; Gervase of T. (t. II. p. 756) II. 3; Honorius Aug. I. 15.
3 "In Babylone . . . hyest" : Gervase of T. II. 3; Honorius Aug. I. 15.
5 "In this Regyon . . . folke" : Psalm Ixxii. Honorius Aug. I. 15.
6 "Ther is also . . . Assyrie" : Honorius Aug. I. 16.
fyn golde. And he is alone on the back also reed as a rose. And toward the tayll he is of the colour of Asure, lyke vnto the heuen whan it is pure and clere. And whan he is olde and eaged, he withdraweth hym vnto an hye and meruayllous fair place or montaygne, where as sourdeauth a fontayne right grete and large, and the water * fair and clere. And ouer the welle groweth a fair tree and grete, whiche may be seen fro ferre. And he maketh vpon this tree his neste and his sepulture right in the myddle of the tree. But he maketh it of spices of so right grete odour that ther may be founden no better. And after he adressyth hym in his neste whan he hath all perforrmed it; he thenne begynneth to meue and to bete his wynges ayenst the sonne so faste and so longe that a grete hete cometh in his fethers, in suche wyse that it quykeneth of fyre and brenneth al rounde aboute his body that he is on a clere fyre. And thus the fyre brenneth and consumeth hym alle in to asshes; and out of thise asshes and pouldre groweth agayn another byrde alle lyuyng semblable to hym.1

After this regyon of Fenyce is the Ioyame of Damas where as good fruytes growe.2 And after Damas is founden the Regyon of Anthyoche where as be founden grete plente of Camels.

After cometh the contre of Palatyne, and after that Samarye, thenne Sebaste,3 and thenne Penthapolye where somtyme were founded two myghty cytees, that one callyd Sodome and that other Gomor, the which God wolde they shold perisson for the grete and enorme synnes that they commysed. On this parte is the Dede 

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1 "And the Regyon of Fienyce . . . to hym": This account of the phenix seems to be taken from Necker 1. 34, 35, where all the details given by Gossouin are found. Solinus (93), Isidore (XIV. 3. 17; XII. 7. 22), Isambus (90), and Honorius (I. 16) give a much shorter description.

2 "After this . . . growe": Honorius Aug. I. 16, 17.

3 From Isidore we learn that Samaria and Sebaste are two names for the same town. Sebaste is not a separate country. Elym. XIV. 3. 22: "Samaria regio Palestine ab oppido quodam nomen accept, quod vocabatur Samaria, civitas quondam regalis in Israel, quae nunc ab Augusti nomine Sebastia muncupatur."
by xii maner of peple; & after this thenne is Egypte the grete where it neuer reyneth, & conteyneth xxiii peoples.

Another Regyon ther is the whiche cometh toward the north, in whiche ther dwelleth noman, but wymmen whiche ben as fyers as lyons. And whan nede is, they fyghte *frely ayenst the men. They go armed as knyghtes in bataylle, and brynge doun their enemyes without sparynge. They haue fair tresses of their heer whiche hange doun byhynde them, and they be garnysslied with grete prowesses in alle their werkes and afFayres, and ben called Amazones. But they haue men nyghe to their contre dwellyng, whom they euery yere fetche for to be in their companye viii or xv dayes longe, and suffre them to knowe them carnelly so longe that they suppose that they haue conceyuyd. And thenne departe the men fro that contre and goon agayn thedyr that they come fro. And whan thise wymmen haue childed, yf it be a daughter they reteye her with them. And yf it be a sone they nourysshe it fyue or vi yere, and after sende it out of the contre.

Yet in other places ben many fayr ladyes whiche in betaylles & in estowrs vse alle their Armes of syluer for lacke of yron and of steel of whiche they haue not.

In the woodes of Ynde ben other wymmen the whiche haue their berdes so longe that they come doun to theyr pappes. They lyue by wyde beestis, and clothe them with the skynnnes of the same beestis.

And ther ben men and wymmen alle naked and also Rowhe as beeres, & ben dwellyng in caues in the erthe; & whan they see other men they hyde them in the caues so that they appere not outhe. Other peple ther ben that ben also Rowhe as swyne & why-nyng. And ther ben other wymmen Rowhe also lyke vnto the men; but they ben moche bestyall and whyte

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1 "After cometh ... peple": Honorius Aug. I. 16. 17.
2 "& after this ... peoples": Honorius Aug. I. 18.
3 "Another Regyon ... contre": Isidore (IX. 2. 64) and Jacobus (p. 92) both give the same details as Gossouin about the Amazons.
4 caues: caves. O.F. text (p. 123) has "yaue," i.e. water.
5 caues: "", "", "", (p. 123) "", "", ""
as snowe. Their teeth ben more lyke vnto houndes than to other. And dwelle and abyde wel in the water.1

Another grete regyon ther is in whiche * dwelle xliii peoples. Ther ben the byrdes whiche ben ful of deduyte, of whom the pennes shyne by nyght like vnto fyre.2

There ben popengayes whiche ben grene & shynyng lyke pecoks, whiche ben but lytil more than a jaye; of whom, as men saye, they that haue on eche foot fyue clawes ben gentyl, and the vlayns haue but thre. He hath a tyll lengre than a foot, and a becke courbed & a grete tongue and forked. · Who that myght haue one, he myght wel lerne hym to speke 3 in the space of two yere.

Another byrde ther is in this contre, whiche is named pellicane, and alle hoor. Whan he leueth his chekens, & cometh agayn to fede them as is of nede, hym semeth that they ben al deed, thenne he Smytheth hym self with his bylle in his breste tyyl that the blood spryngge out; wherof he reyseth agayn to lyf his byrdes.4

In Armenye is a maner of peple that haue al their heer whythe.5 In thise parties is a moche hye moun-tayne where vpon the Arke of Noe abood and rested after the flood was passed.6

After cometh the prouynce of Ynde the lasse 7 whiche is alle enuyronned wyth the see, wherin ben many regions of whom for this present tyme we wil not declare the names.8 In this prouynce of Asie is the Regyon of Dar-dane, and the contre of Frygye in to whiche Parys, whan he had rauissshed Helayne, brought her to; wher-for the puissaunte cyte of Troye the grete was, at

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1 "Yet in other places . . . water" : Jacobus, 92.
3 O.F. text, p. 124: "Qui l’a jauie, il le puett faire parler . . .": whoever takes it young can teach it to speak . . .
4 "There ben . . . byrdes" : Necum (I. 36, 38, 73; De Laud. II. 657) and Jacobus (90) give a similar account of the popinjay and the pelican.
6 "In thise parties . . . was passed" : Honorius Aug. I. 19.
7 O.F. text, p. 124: "Apres vient Aise la menour": Caxton gives "Ynde the lasse" instead of "Asia Minor."
8 "After cometh the prouynce . . . names" : Honorius Aug. I. 20.
Of some lands and people in Asia Minor.

thempryse of the Grekes, destroyed by fyre and glayue. This Cyte was sette at one of thendes of Greece. In thise partye is sette the noble Cyte of Lychaonia. And nyghe to the same stondeth another Cyte called Cayer,\(^1\) by whiche renneth the grete flood name Herme, of whiche the grauel \(^2\) is of gold all shynyng.\(^2\) Ffro this parte toward thende of Egypte cometh to vs the paillole whiche is of fyn golde.\(^3\)

Ther is toward thoryent on that other syde a maner of peple that somtyme descended fro the Jewes; and ben peple of their condicion vyle, fowl and stynkyng. They have no wyues wedded, ne holde no concubynes ne other, for as moche as they may not byleue that wymmen may holde them to one man only, withoute to double them with other. And therefore they sette no store by wymmen, but only that they may haue generacion.\(^4\)

Another maner of peple ther ben in this prouynce, whiche ben callyd Barbaryns, & ben also called Jacobyns, ffor Jacob was auneyently their maistre. And ben crysten men corrumped by the mariages and Alyaunces that they doo and make wyth the sarasyns whiche on that one syde marche on them. Thise Barbaryns pourpryse wel xl Royammes. In no wyse they byleue that confession be vayllable to shewe it to ony mansauf to God only.\(^5\) When they confesse them to God they sette by them fyre and encence, and they wene certaynly that their thoughtes goo vp vnto Our Lord in this fume; but it is not so as they byleue, but they mysbyleue saynt Johan Baptiste the whiche first baptysed them; ffor to fore all thingse they behoued to saye their synnes to hym self,

\(^1\) O.F. text, p. 124: "une autre cite qui Charie a non."
Cayer "stands therefore for "Caria."

\(^2\) "In this prouynce . . . shynyng": Honorius Aug. I. 21.

\(^3\) O.F. text, p. 124: "De cele part devers la fin nous vient la paillole qui est de fin or": From the borders of that country comes the dust of fine gold.—There is no mention of Egypt in the O.F. text.

\(^4\) "Ther it toward . . . generacion": This is translated from Jacobus, (82), who adds: " . . . dicuntur Essel, de genere Judaeorum descendentes."

\(^5\) O.F. text, p. 125: "Il ne croient pas confession a nul autre homme fors que a Dien": They do not believe in confession to other men, but only to God.
and after they receyued of hym baptesme. Ffor seynt Johan Baptest sayth hym self that, whan one telleth his synnes to another that may be a synner as he is, this shame that he hath to saye his synnes is torned to hym in stede of penytence and is to hym allegiance\(^1\) of his synnes; & hym ought by reson the sonner to absteyne hym fro syn*ynyng, seen that he muste shewe them to another man, by whiche he may haue of Our Lorde remyssion and pardon of his synnes and inyquytees. This witnesseth to vs seynt John Baptyst the whiche, by the holy & blessyd sacrament of baptesme, rendreth vs quyte\(^2\) ayenst Our Lord God of our synnes, & that we may be purged by very confession, good contricion & ful satisfacion, euerych after his power. Ther for thise Jacobyns ben greatly deceyued, ffor they haue euyl reteyned the holsome doctryne that seynt Johan Baptyst taught them.

In this regyon is another maner of peple Crysten that byleue a lytil better in God, and ben stronge and myghty in bataylle. The sarrasyns doubte them moche and dar not mysdoo them, but ben to them sweete and amyable. This peple be named Georgiens and ben good crysten men, and ben enclosed round aboute with feloun and mysbyleuyd peple. And they ben called, as afore is said, Georgiens, bycause they crye alle way on seynt George in batayll, in estours and in Recountres ayenst the sarrasyns. And also they worshippe and loue hym aboue alle other seyntes. They haue alle crownes shauen on their heedes; but the clerkes haue them round and the laye peple haue them square. Whan they goo to Jherusalem for to worshipe the holy sepulcre of Our Lord Jesus, the sarrasyns dar not take of them ony tolle ne nothyng hurte them, by cause they doubte that, whan they come and repaire agayn, they sholde abye it dere. The gentyl ladyes of the contre Arme them and ride vpon good horses rennyng and swyfte, and fyghte asprely in the companye of the knyghtes of Georgie ayenst the sarrasyns. They

\(^1\) allegiance: alleviation.
\(^2\) quyte: O.F. "quites." quit, clear.
Of the fishes of India, and of the whale.

Hier speketh of the ffysshesh that be founden in Ynde, ca. ix".2

IN the see of Ynde is a maner of ffysshesh that on their skynnes growe heer so longe that the peple make therof robes, mantellis and other vestementis whiche they were whan they haue taken and made them.3

Yet ther is another maner of ffyssh in this see, whiche ben named escimuz,4 whiche ben no lengre that a foot longe; but they haue suche strengthe that, in contynten that they touche a ship, one of them only reteyneh hym style he may not goo forward ne afterward.5

Ther is also another maner of ffyssh that be comynly callyd dolphyns; they haue a custome that, whan they fele that the tempest shal come and that the shippes ben in daunger for to be lost and perisshid, they warne them out of the watre and shewe and playe on the waves of the see in suche wyse that somtyme they be playnly seen.6

In this see of Ynde is another fyssh so huge and grete that on his backe groweth erth and grasse; and semeth proprely that it is a grete Ile. Wherof it happeth somtyme that the maronners sayllyng by this see ben grety decyued and abused; ffor they were certaynly that it be ferme londe; wherfor they goo out of their shippes theron. And whan they have made their preparacions and their logys theron, and lyghted their fyre and

1 "Another maner of peple . . . Grekes": This account of Jacobins and Georgians is translated from Jacobus (76 and 80). Sir John Maundeville, who owes much to the O.F. original of the Mirror, gives an almost literal translation of these two passages.
2 O.F. text. Ch. II2 (y).
3 "In the see . . . made them"; Jacobus, 90.
4 escimuz; O.F. "eschinuz," prickly. As a substantive this word denotes the sucking-fish or remora.
5 "Yet ther is . . . afterward"; Neckam, II. 34, 43; Jacobus, 90.
6 "Ther is also . . . playnly seen"; Neckam, II. 27, 28; Jacobus, 90.
made it to brenne after their nede, wenyng to be on a ferme londe, but incontynent as this merueyllous fyssh feleth the hete of the fyre, and meuyth hym sodenly and deualeth doun in to the water as depe as he may. And thus alle that is vpon hym is lost in the see. And by this moyen, many shippes ben drowned and perisshid, and the peple, whan they supposed to haue be in sauete.

Ther is in this see plente of other fysshe the whiche haue heedes and bodyes lyke vnto a mayde, and haue fair tresses made of their heer. The shapp of their bodyes vnto the nauel is lyke a mayde, and the remenaunt is lyke the body and tayll of a fysshe. And somme haue wynges lyke fowles; and their sone is so swete and so melodyous that it is meruaylle to here; and they be called seraynes or mermaydens. Of whom somme saye that they be fysshis, and other saye that they be fowles whiche flee by the see. But take it aworth, flor at this tyme I shall deporte to speke more of this mater flor to telle & recounte to yow of the merueyllous trees that growe in Ynde, of whiche ben many dyuerse and bere soudrely fruyt, as here after al a longe shal be declared to yow.

**Hero** foloweth of the trees that ben in Ynde and of theyr fruyte. \(\text{capitulo. x}^b\)

**IN Ynde growth a tree moche grete and right fayr, and is moche swete smellyng and is called palmyer, and bereth dates. This fruyt is good and holsom. Ther ben also apple trees the whiche ben ful of longe apples whiche ben of merueyllous good sauour.**

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1. "and lyghted . . . the fyre": O.F. text, p. 126: "sialument lor feu et font leur cuisine. Mais quant li poisons sent le feu . . .": then they light their fire and do their cooking. But when the fish feels the fire . . . —Caxton's sentence is quite clear if "but" is omitted before "incontynent."

2. moyen: means

3. "In this see . . . sauete": The description of the whale is taken from *Jacobus*, 90.

4. 

5. This chapter, as a whole, is translated from *Jacobus*, 86, 87.

6. O.F. text, Ch. 11² (A).
And they entretiene and cleue to gydre wel an hondred in a clustre. And the leues that growe on this apple trees ben wel two *fote longe & a foot brode. Other apples ther growe moche grete, wherein appiereth the bytte of a man with his teeth. And ben called thapples of Adam by cause of the bytte that appiereth in them. Ther ben other trees whiche bere apples that ben right fair without forth. And within it is as it were asshes.

The vygnes bere there grapes of whiche wynu is maad. They ben so habondaunt of fruyt, and the clustres of grapes ben so grete and so full of Muste, that two men ben gretyly charged to bere one of them only vpon a colestaff. Also ther growe lytil smale trees that be remeuyd euery yere, the whiche bere cotoun. Also ther growe in many places canes grete and longe, whiche ben within forth ful of sugre, so moche and especial that ther growe none lyke in alle the worlde.

At one of the hedes of the Royame of Babylone groweth the bame whiche is moche dere; and crysten men that ben prisonners there delue and laboure the erthe. And the sarasyns saye that they hane ofte preuyd it that, whan they doo delue and laboure that erthe with peple of other nacion than crysten men, that it bereth no fruyt ne bame that yere. And vpon the felde where the bame groweth, somme saye that there spryngeth a fontayne where the blessyd virgyne Marie bayned her sone Jhesus. And wyth the watre of this fontayne is the bame watred; and of this water may not be employed ne born in to other place, ffor in substaunce it doth nomore than other water.

In this contre ben other trees the whiche in stede of leues bere wulle of whiche is made cloth right fair & substyle, of whiche thynhabitauns of the contre make them robes and mantellis *for their weryng.

Yet ben ther other trees that bere a fruyt right swete smellyng. But this tree takyth his fruyt by nyght in hym, and in the mornyng it cometh out agayn when the sonne is rysen.

Ther growe there plente of other trees of whom the cooles, whan they be afyre, duren in their asshes an
Of trees in the Earthly Paradise.

hole yer without goynge out, or quenchyng, or mynyssyng.\(^1\) Also ther growe plente of Cedres and of lybans,\(^2\) the whiche, as men saye, may not rote. Other trees there growe moche gloryous and right good whiche bere clowes, and other that bere notemygges. And of the rynge and score\(^3\) is the canell or synamomn; and also ther groweth gynger. In this partye growe the good espyces of alle maner hibou\(»\)dantly. Also there growe notes grete plente whiche ben also grete as grete Apples, and other that ben as grete as the hede of a man.

To the Regard of the trees that ben in paradys terrestre we knowe not what fruyt they brynge forth. But it is wel knowne of the tree that Eue had so grete desire to ete aboue the commandement of Our Lord God, & of whiche she deceyued Adam our first fader; and in lyke wyse is there the tree of lyf, of whiche we haue spoken to fore more largely. Ther ben in this right noble paradys so many other trees beryng fruyt so good and so delicious that it semeth that the glorye of Our Lord be therin ouerall. But ther is a meruyllous watche and kepar; for the Angele of God is kepar of thentree with a naked sword in his hande contynuelly brennyng, to thende that nomen ne bestes ne euyll spirytes approche ne Auannee them for to take in ony wyse there their delytes and playsaunces, and *tacomplissh them ther within.\(^4\)

And here wyth we make an ende of this purpoos for to speke of the contrees of Europe and of the condicions.

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\(^1\) "Ther growe . . . mynyssyng": The usual sources of Gossouin do not mention this tree. "mynyssyng": O.F. amennisier, to diminish.

\(^2\) lybans: O.F. ebanus, ebony-tree. There seems to be a confusion between "ebanus" or "ebenus" and "lybans" (F. for "Mount Lebanon"), probably caused by the mention of "cedars" immediately before.

\(^3\) score: bark.

\(^4\) "To the regard . . . ther within": Genesis iii.
Now foloweth of Europe and of his contrees. ca. xi°.1

SYTH we haue deuyed to you of Asye and of his contrees and regyons, I shal saye to you of Europe and his condicions shortly, ffor as moche as we may ofte here speke therof.

The first partye of Europe is Romanye and a parte of Constantynoble, Trapesonde,2 Macedone, Thesalye, Boheme, Sapronye,3 Pyrre,4 & a moche holsom contre named Archade. In this contre sourdeth & spryngeth a fontayne in whiche men may not quenche brennyng brondes, ne cooles on fire and brennyng.5

In Archade is a stone whiche in no wyse may be quenchyd after it is sette a fire tyl it be alle brent in to asshes.6

After Archade is the Royame of Denemarke, and thenne Hongrye, & sythe Hosterich ; and thenne foloweth Germanye, whiche we calle Almayne, whiche conteyneth a grete pourprys toward thoccident, in whiche pourprys ben many grete & puissaunt Royames.

In Allemayne sourdeth a grete flood & ryuere named Dunoe, the whiche stretcheth vnto in Constantynople, and there entrith in to the see ; but erst it trauerseth vii grete floodes by his radour & rennyng, & as I haue herd saye, the hede of this Dunoe begynneth on one side of a montayne, & that other side of the same montayne7 sourdeth another grete ryuer which is named the Riün8 and renmeth thurgh Almayne by Basyle, Strawsburgh,9 * Magounce, Couelence, Coleyn, & Nemyng where fast by it departeth in to iii ryuers

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1 O.F. text, Ch. III 2.
2 Instead of "Trapesonde," O.F. text has "Rete, Corinte."
3 2nd ed. "Saxonie."
5 "In this contre . . . brennyng": According to Gossuin and Honories Aug. (I. 27, "In Epiro est fons . . ."). This spring rises in Epirus. Neckam, II. 6.
6 "In Archade . . . asshes": Neckam, II. 86 (De asbesto); Honories Aug. I. 27.
7 Caxton probably refers here to Mount St. Gothard, where both the Rhine and the Rhone have their sources.
9 Strawsburgh: 2nd ed. "Strasburgh."
Of the boundary between Europe and Africa.

& renneth thrugh the londes of Ghelres, Cleue and Holande, and so in to the see. And yet er this ryuer entre in to the see, he entreth in to another ryuer named the Mase, & than loseth he his name and is called the Mase, & maspe depe xl myle longe in the see.¹

In Europe is also Swauen, Basse ² Almayn, Ffranunce, Englonde, Scotland and Irlonde, and abowe this many other contrees whiche endure vnto the mount Jus ³ ; & thus moche space holdeth the partye of Europe.

Now shal we denyse to yow how moche Affryke conteyneth.

Here foloweth of Affryke and of his regyons and contrees. capitulo xii⁴.

AFTER Europe is Affryke of whiche the regyon of Lybe is the firste. This is londe moche riche, wel peopled and strongly garnysshid. After cometh the royaîme of Surrye, Jherusalem and the contrey aboute. This is the holy londe where Our Lord Jhesu Cryst receyuid our humanyte and passyon, and where he roos fro deth to lyf. After thoppynyon of somme is that this holy londe longeth to Asye.⁵ After thenne cometh Grece, Cypres, Cecyle, Toscan, Naples, Lombardye, Gascoyne, Spayne, Cateloyn, Galyce, Nauarre, Portyn-gal and Aragon.⁶ And how be it that the Auctour of this book saye that thise contrees ben in Affryke, yet, as

¹ The passage from "as I haue herd . . ." to " . . . longe in the see" is not in the O.F. text.
² "& is called . . . in the see": 2nd ed. "and is called the Mase, and the x myle longe in the see." The word omitted in the second edition is probably the verb to maspe, i.e. disturb.
³ Basse: low.
⁴ "After thoppynyon . . . Asye": This passage is not in the O.F. text.
⁵ "Grece . . . Aragon": Of all the O.F. MSS. which have been collated, Roy. 19 A IX. is the only one which mentions "Cypres" (Cyprus), "Secyle" (Sicily), "Naples," "Cateloyn" (Catalonia), "Galyce" (Galicia), "Nauarre" (Navarra), "Portyn-gal" (Portugal). Caxton adds "Aragon" and omits from this list "Alexandrie," Alexandria or Egypt, which he mentions, however, a few lines farther down.
I understonde, alle thise ben within the lymytes and boundes of Europe. ¹

Also ther ben somme of thise regions & contrees that take their name of somme beestes that dwelle in the same londes, & *the cytees haue taken the fourmes, as Rome hath the fourme of a lyon, and Troye the grete of an hors, &c.²

All Barbarye is in Affryke, & Alysandie. And Ethiope stratcheth vnto the ende of Alfrayke. In this contre of Ethiope the peple ben black for hete of the sonne; Ifor it so hoot in this contre that it semeth that the erthe shold brenne.³

Beyonde Ethiope is no londe but deserte & londe withoute bryngyng forth of ony fruyt; but it is ful of serpentes, of vermyne and of wylde beestis⁴; whiche londe endeth at the Grete See.

Here shal we speke of dyuerse yles of the see. ca. xiii°.⁵

SYTH we haue descryuid & denysed the londe, it is reson that we enquire of the yles of the see, and in especial of them that we knowe the names, of whiche ther ben plente in the see.

Ther is a moche grete yle called Andos,⁶ which is to ward Europe; & syth is the yle of Colchos where the flyes⁷ of gold was found, lyke as to vs reherceth thystorye of Jason. Ther is another yle called Maron⁸; in this yle was born the holy man seynt Denys whiche receyuid martyrdom in Fraunce.

Toward Asye the grete ben the nombre of xliii.⁹ There is one yle named Delos; this yle appiered first after

1 "And how . . . Europe": This passage is not in the O.F. text (see Introduction, p. xvi.).
2 "Also ther ben . . . hors, &c.": Gervase of Tilbury, H. 9 (t. II.); Honorius Aug. I. 28.
3 "In this contre . . . brene": Jacobus, 92.
4 "Beyonde . . . beestis": Honorius Aug. I. 33.
5 O.F. text, Ch. V².
7 flyes: fleece.
8 Maron: O.F. text, p. 130, "Naaron," i.e. Naxos (see Introduction, pp. xvi. and xvii.).
9 xliii.: O.F. text, p. 130, "cinquante quatre," i.e. 54. Isidore (XIV. 6. 20) gives the number as 53.
Of the islands of Asia and Africa.

Noes flood. Ther is another whiche is called Meloth. And it is so called for the right grete melodye that is herd therin of swete songe of byrdes that ben in this yle continually. In this yle groweth plente of whyte marble. Ther is another yle in this contre that is called Psalmos, in whiche the quene Sebylle was born, the whiche prophecyed of many thynges of Our Lord * Jhesu Cryst longe tyme before he was born of the virgyne Marie; and she prophecyed thise thinges at Rome where she was sent fore. In this yle was first founden the maner to make pottes of erthe, whiche ben yet vsed in many contrees. In this yle was born a grete philosophre & a good clerke named Pictogoras, the whiche by his grete entendement fonde the poyntes and the difference of musyque.¹

In Affryke is also an yle in the see, whiche is callid Sardayne, where an herbe groweth whiche is of suche vertue that, yf one ete of it, he deyth anon forth with all lawhyng.² Another yle ther is named Bosut,³ wherein is no serpent ne vermyne. And ther is another whiche is called Colombyne,⁴ where as is grete plente & foysun of vermyne and meruyllous serpentes. Yet ther is another yle that is moche longe and right brode that is called Alleares. In this yle was first founden the maner of meltyng of metals.⁵ Also ther is the yle of Meroes the whiche at the myddle of the day hath no shadewe. Yet ther is pytte in this yle that by right nombre and mesure is vii foot brode and an hundred foot depe; and the sonne shyneth in to the bottom.⁶ Also ther is another yle whiche is called Cylla where the Cyclopiens were somtyne.⁷

Another yle is in this contre so grete, as the wyse

¹ "Ther is another yle called Maron . . . musyque": Honories Aug. 1. 34.
² lawhyng: laughing.
³ Bosut: Ebusus, now Iviza. (Ptolemy's "Εβουσα.)
⁴ Colombyne: "Columba tera" or "Colubraria" in Pliny, may be either "Formentera," one of the Balearic Islands, or the "Columbretes" on the coast of Spain.
⁵ "Alleares . . . metals": Alleares, O. F. text, p. 131, "Halleares," the Balearic Islands.—"En cele yle est premierement controyee le fonde": "the slinge was first invented in this island." Caxton confuses,fonte, a sling, with fondre, to melt.
⁶ "In Affryke . . . to the bottom": Honories Aug. 1. 36.
⁷ "Also ther is another . . . somtyne": Honories Aug. 1. 35.
Plato's Island, the "lost island," and others.

Plato\(^1\) witnesseth the whiche in his tyme was a clercke of right grete renomme, whiche hath more of pourpris & space than alle Europe & Affryke conteynen. But sith the tyme of Plato it was in suche wyse destroyed & broken, lyke as it plesid Our Lord, that it sanke doune in to Abisme for the grete synnes that they commysed pat were dwellers & inhabitans * therin. And is now the see right that is called Bethee.\(^2\)

Another yle is there the whiche may not be seen whan men wold goo therto; but somme goo thyder, as men saye; and it is called the yle loste.\(^3\) This yle fonde seynt Brandon\(^4\) the whiche, beyng therin on ferme londe, sawe & fonde many meruaylles lyke as his legende conteyneth\(^5\); & who that wil knowe it maye visyte his legende & rede it.

In the marches hetherward ben fonde many good yles. The yle of Cypre & of Secyle ther ben, & other plente that be founden in the see, of whiche I now speke not.

And be not admernaylled of suche thinges as ye haue founden wreten in this present booke, the whiche may seme to yow moche strange, dyuerse & moche diffycile to bileue; ffor Our Lord God, whiche is almyghty maker & creatour of all thynges, & in whom alle goodes & vertues ben, hath made by His only wille & playisir in the erthe many meruaylles & many werkes to be meruaylled on, by cause that noman knoweth by no waye the raysons wherfore; & therfore we ought not to mysbileue in no wise that we here redde ne tolde of the meruaylles of the world vnto the tyme we knowe it be so or no; ffor the werkes of Our Lord ben so hye & to the men so difficile & hard that enery\(^6\) man may reporte

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\(^{1}\) Plato's Island is "Atlantis," mentioned in Timæus (25 a) and Critias (113 e).

\(^{2}\) Bethee: O.F. text, p. 132, "la £ner Betê" ("Concretum mare" in Honorius).

\(^{3}\) According to maps of the Middle Ages the "lost island" is situated to the west of Cape Verde Islands.

\(^{4}\) A long "Life of St. Brandan" is given in the second rhymed version of the "Image du Monde."

\(^{5}\) ""Another yle is in this . . . conteyneth": Honorius Aug. I. 36.—The rest of the chapter is taken from Jacobus, 92.

\(^{6}\) enery = enery, every.
hym to that that it is, how wel that a man doth not moche amys somtyme to gyue no bileue to somme thinges, whom he knoweth not þe trouthe, so that it be not in erryng ayenst þe faith; for it is a good & prouffytable thing to euery man to vnderstande & reteyne, to thende that he may lerne of whiche he be not abasshed when he heereth speke of suche thinges, & can answere to the trouthe. Ffor in like wise as to vs seme grete meruaylle of thinges * that I here reherce, in lyke wyse semeth it to them that ben fro vs, that those thinges of thise contrees ben moche dyuerse & strange; & meruaylle gretyly by cause they haue litil seen of it; & therfore a man ought not to meruaylle yf he heer somtyme ony thyng though he can not vnderstone the rayson; ffor alleway a man ought to lerne. And ther is noman that knoweth all, sauf only God whiche all seeth and alle knoweth.

The geaunts that ben in som place haue right grete meruaylle of this that we be so lytly ayenst them; lyke as we meruaylle of them that ben half lasse than we be, as it is tofore saide: And they ben the Pygmans whiche ben but iii foot longe. And in lyke wyse meruaylle they of vs of that we ben so grete, & repute vs also for geaunts. They that haue but one eye and one foot haue grete meruaylle that we haue tweyne, lyke as we doo of them that haue but one. And also as we denyse their bestis and name them by their names, in lyke wyse denyse they oures by theires, bothe of body and of membres. Yf the centicore haue an foot of an hors, in lyke wyse hath the hors the foot of a centicore. Also we may wel saye that the hors hath the body of monotheros, ffor they ben lyke of corsaige. And thus their bestes resemble vnto oures, whiche ben dyuerse of heedes, of bodyes and of membres as oures ben contrarie to theires.

1 "every man may reporte . . . faith": Every man may represent to himself that it is so (i.e. may take these works for granted), though a man does no harm if he disbelieves, sometimes, things about which he knows nothing, provided that he does not thereby err against faith.

MIRROUR OF THE WORLD
Of dyuersytees that ben in Europe and in Affryke.1

We haue in thise parties many thinges that they of Asye and of Affryke haue none. Ther is toward * Irlonde on the one syde a maner of byrdes that flee, and they growen on trees and on olde shipp sides by the bylles. And whan they be nygh rype, they that falle in the water lyue, and the other not; they ben callyd barnacles.3

Irlond is a grete Ionde in whiche is no serpent ne venemous beeste. And who that beieth with hym the erthe of this yle in to another contre and leyeth it where as venymous vermyne is, there anon it deyeth.

Another ylond is in Irlonde whiche stondeth ferre in the see, where no wymmen may dwelle; and also the byrdes that ben femalles may not abyde there.

Ther is another yle wherin nomen may dye in no tyme of the world. But whan they ben so olde & feble that their membres faylle and ake and lyue with payne that they may not helpe ne susteyne them self, and that they had leuer dye than lyue, they doo them to be born in to another yle and ouer the water for to dye. And the trees that ben in this yle kepe their leues grene and in verdure alle tymes, wynter and somer.

In another yle in Islonde the nyght endureth vi monethes; and thenne cometh the daye that dureth other vi monethes shynyng fair and clere.4

Another place is in the same ylonde whiche brenneth nyght and day.

Ther is also in Irlonde a place called seynt Patryks purgatorye, whiche place is perillous. Yf ony men goon

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1 This chapter is almost entirely translated from Giraldu.s Cambrensis Topographia Hibernica (Opera, ed. Dimock, London, 1861–91, 8vo, vol. 5), I. 15, 28–31; II. 4, 5, 7.
2 O.F. text, Ch. VI 2(a).
3 barnacles: According to Jacobus (92) the barnacle grows in Flanders (in quibusdam partibus Flandriae).
4 "And the trees . . . clere": Jacobus, 92; Honorius Aug. I. 31. Isidore (XIV. 6. 4 and 13) mentions an island, Tylos, in India, where the trees are always green, and another island, Thyle or Thule, near England, where a night lasts six months.
Of Saint Patrick's Purgatory.

therin and be not confessed and repentant of their synnes, they be anon ranysshed and loste in suche wyse that noman can telle where they be come. And yf they be confessyd and repentant, and that they haue don satisfaccion and penuance for their synnes, without that alle be clensed and full satisfied, therafter shall * they suffre paine and greef the tormentis in passing this crymynel passage. And whan he is returned agayn fro this purgatorye, neuer shal no thyng in this world plesse hym that he shal see, ner he shal neuer be Joyous ne glad, ne shal not be seen lawhe, but shal be continually in wayllynges and weepinges for the synnes that he hath commysed.1

Hit may wel be that of auncyent tyme it hath ben thus as a fore is wretcon, as the storie of Tuondale & other witnesse, but I haue spoken with dyuerse men that haue ben therin. And that one of them was an hye chanon of Waterford whiche told me that he had ben therin v or vi tymes. And he sawe ne suffred no suche thynges. He saith that with procession the Relygious men that ben there brynge hym in to the hool and shette the dore after hym; and than he walketh groping in to it, where, as he said, ben places and maner of cowches to reste on. And there he was alle the nyght in contemplacion & prayer, and also slepte there; and on the morn he cam out agayn. Other while in their shepe somme men haue meruyllous dremes, & other thyng sawe he not. And in lyke wyse tolde to me a worshipful knyght of Bruggis named sir John de Banste that he had ben therin in lyke wyse and see none other thyng but as afore is sayd.3

In Brytaygne, that now is called Englond, as is said is a fontayne, and a pyler or a perron4 therby. And whan men take water of this welle and caste it upon the

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1 "but shal be ... commysed": O.F. text, p. 134: "Mais ades est en pleur et en gemissement pour les pechiez que les gens font et pour les maux qu'il leur voit faire": ... for the sins which people commit, and for the evil which he sees them do.

2 Slepe = slepe, sleep (2nd ed. slepe).

3 "Hit may wel be ... is sayd": This passage is not in the O.F. text (see Introduction, pp. xvii. and xviii.).

4 perron: O.F. "perron," stone, steps.
perron, anon it begynneth to rayne and blowe, thondre and lyghtne meruayllously.¹

Also in Ffraunce hath ben seen somtyme a maner of peple that haue be horned. Toward the mountes of mount Jus ye * shal fynde plente of wymmen that haue botches vnder the chynn, whiche hange doun of somme doun to the pappes; and they that haue grettest ben holden for fairest. Other folke ther ben that haue botches on their backes and ben croked as crochettes.² And they that see alle thise thinges ofte meruaylle but lytyl; also it is ofte seen that in this contre ben born children deef and dombe, and also of them that haue bothe nature of man and woman; yet ben ther ofte seen somme children comen in to this world somme without handes and somme without armes.

Of the maner and condicion of beestes of thise contrees.³ capitulo xv⁰.⁴

The foxe is of suche a condicion that, whan he departeth fro the wode and gooth in to the feldes, there he lyeth doun & stratcheth hym on the grounde as he were deed for to take byrdes.

Whan the herte wylle renewe his age he eteth of som venymous beeste.

Yf the tode, Crapault⁵ or spyncop⁶ byte a man or woman, they be in daunger for to dye; it hath be ofte seen.

The spyttle of a man fastyng sleeth comynly the spyncoppe & the tode yf it touche them.⁷

Yf a wulf and a man see that one that other fro ferre, he that is first seen becometh anon aferd.⁸

¹ A passage, which is dealt with in the Introduction (cf. pp. xviii. and xix.), has been omitted by Caxton. In the O.F. text (p. 134) it precedes the account of horned people in France.
² “Also in Ffraince . . . crochettes”: Jacobus, 92.
³ This chapter is translated almost entirely from Jacobus, 92.
⁴ O.F. text, Ch. VI² (b).
⁵ tode: toad.—Crapault: O.F. “crapaus,” Mod. F. “crapaud,” toad. Caxton uses here, as he often does, two synonymous words.
⁷ “The spyttle . . . touche them”: The usual sources of Gossonin do not mention this fact.
⁸ “he that . . . aferd”: O.F. text, p. 135: “Celui qui est premiers veiz si enroe”: he who is seen first becomes hoarse.
Of the wolf, the spider, the she-ape, and other animals.

The wulf bereth the sheep without hurtynge or grenyng of hym, doubtyng that he wold crye, and that he shold not be folowed; and after deuoureth hym whan he hath brought hym to the wode. And yf he be constrayned to leue hym in his berynge, he destrayneth hym with al his myghtathis departying.1

* The spyther or spyncop of his propre nature spynneth ["fo. 53 to."] and weneth of his entraylles the threde of whiche he niaketh his nettes for to take flyes whiche he eteth.

Whan the sheape hath two whelpes or fawnes, she loueth that one moche better than that other. She berith hym that she loueth best in her armes, and that other she leteth goo, whiche, whan she is hunted, lepeth on the moders backe and holdeth her faste. And that other that she bereth in her armes, she leteth falle and is ofte constrayned to saue her self.2

Also it is so that the hounde kepeth the goodes of his lorde and maistre, and ben by hym waranted ayenst men and bestes. And aboue alle other he knoweth his lord and maistre by his smellyng, & loueth hym of so right good loue that ofte it hapeth, be it right or wronge, he wyl not forsake his maistre vnto the deth. And also is so sorrowful for the deth of his maistre that other whyle he losteth his lyf.

In Englond in som place is ther a maner of houndes that goon & seche out the theuys,3 and bryngen them fro thens where they fonde them.4

The moustele5 is a right lytil beste & sleeth the basilycock, and in longe fyghtyng byteth hym out of mesure. She of her nature remeueth so ofter her fawnes fro one place to another that wyth grete payne they may vnnenethe be founden.

The hyrchon,6 when he fyndeth apples beten or blow-

1 destrayneth : injures.
2 ""And yf he be constrayned . . . departying"": This passage is not in the O.F. text.
3 The passage from ""whiche, whan . . . "" to "". . . sane her self,"" is not in the O.F. text.
4 thens : thieves.
5 ""In Englond . . . fonde them": Neckam, II. 157.
6 moustele : O.F. ""mustele,"" weasel.
7 hyrchon : O.F. ""li herîçons,"" hedgehog.
en doun of a tree, he woloweth on them tyl he be chargid and laden wyth the fruyt stykyng on his pryckes. And whan he feleth hym self laden as moche as he may bere, he goth his way wyth them syngyng and makynge his dednyt. And yf he mete ony beste that wold doo hym harm, he redyuyst het hym self as rounde * as a bowle, and hydeth his groyne & his feet, and armeth hym wyth his pryckes aboute his skyynne in suche wyse that no beste dar approche hym, doubtyng his pryckes.

The lambe, whiche neuer sawe wulf, of his propre nature doubteth and fleeth hym. But he doubteth nothyng other bestes but goth hardyly emonge them.

Of the maner of birdes of thise forsaid contrees.\(^1\) ca. xvi\(^\text{a}.\)\(^2\)

THE egle of his nature taketh his byrdes by the ungles or clawes wyth his bylle. And hym that holdeth fastest he loueth beste & kepeth them next by hym. And them that holden but febly, he leteth hem goo, and taketh none hede of them. Whan the Egle is moche aged, he fleeth so hye that he passeth the clowdes, and holdeth there his sight so longe ayenst the sonne that he hath al loste it and brende alle his fethers. Thenne he falleth doun on a montaygne in a water that he hath to fore chosen, & in this manere he reneweth his lyf. And whan his bille is ouerlonge he breketh and bruseth it ayenst an hard stone & sharpest it.

Whan the Turtle hath loste her make\(^3\) whom she hath first known, neuer after wyl she haue make, ne sytte vpon grene tree, but fleeth emonge the trees contynuelling bewayllyng her loue.\(^4\)

The hostryche by his nature eteth well yron, and greueth hym not.

Whan the heyron seeth the tempest come, he fleeth

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\(^1\) This chapter is translated from *Jacobus*, 92.  
\(^2\) O. F. text, Ch. VI \(^2\) (c)  
\(^3\) "but fleeth ... her lone": O.F. text (p. 136) says merely "Ainz s'en vait par les arbres ses touz jourz gemissant": flies among dry trees always wailing. MS. Roy. 19 A IX., changes ses into the possessive ses (her), and writes "Ainz s'en vait par les arbres, ses amourz contnuellely gemissant." Caxton translates this last sentence literally.
Of birds of Europe.

vp so hye tyl he be abowe the clowdes for teschewe the rayn & tempeste.

The Chowe 1 when she fyndeth gold or syluer, of her nature she hydeth and bereth it away. And who somtyme * heareth her voys, it semeth proprely that she speketh.

The crowe weneth that he is the fairest birde of alle other, and the beste syngyng. Yf her byrdes be whyte in ony parte, she wil neuer doo them good til they be all black.

The pecok whan he beholdeth his fethers, he setteth vp his tayll as Rounde as a wheel al aboute hym, by cause his beaulte shold be alowed and preysed, and is moche prowde of his fair fethers and plumage. But whan he beholdeth to ward his fethers, he setteth his tayll falle wenying to couer his feet.

The culuer or the dowue is a symple byrde, and of her nature nourisshith well the pigeons of another douue. And apperceyuith well in the water by thy shadowe and seeth therin when the hawke wold take her.

The huppe 3 or lapwynche is a byrde crested whiche is moche in mareys 4 & fylthes, and abydeth leuer therin than out therof. Who someuer ennoynteth hym self with the blode of the huppe, and happe that after leyde hym doun to slepe, hym shold seme anon in his slepe dremyng that alle the deuyllis of helle shold come to hym and wold strangle hym.

The nyghtyngal of her propre nature syngeth well and longe, and otherwhyle so longe that she deyeth syngyng. And the larke in lyke wyse ofte sing-yng. The swanne 5 syngeth ofte to fore her deth. In lyke wyse doo ofte many men.

1 chowe: O.F. "choe,“ jackdaw, choong. (Jacobus, 92: monedula.)
2 thy = the.
4 mareys: marshes.
5 O.F. text (p. 137): "Li cignes est touz blancs par dehors, et par dedenz est touz noirs": The swan is white outside, and black inside.—This passage has been omitted by Caxton.
Of the properties of some common things.

Of these things and of many other moche peple meruaylle that neuer herde of suche thinges to fore, ne knowe not therof as we * doo here that dayly fynde it; ffor in this book we fynde many thynges and resons, wherof men meruaylle strongly that neuer haue seen, lerned, ne herd of them.

Of dyuersytes of somme comyne thinges,¹ ca. xvii".²

PLENTE and many thynges ther ben seen at eye, of whiche the resons ben conuert and hyd fro vs, of whiche the people meruaylle but lytil, bycause they see it so ofte.

The quyck sylyuer is of suche nature and manere that it susteyneth a stone vpon it, where as water and oyle may not, ffor the stone in them gooth to the bottom.

The lyme or brent chalke in colde water anon it chauffeth and is hoot that noman may suffre his hand on it.³

The rayes of the sonne make the heer of a man abourne or blounde.⁴

And it maketh the flessh of a man broun or black; and it whiteth the lynnen cloth; and the erthe that is moyst and softe maketh drye and hard; and waxe that is drye, it relenteth and maketh softe. Also it maketh cold water in a vessel warme. Also oute of glasse ayenst the sonne men make fyre, and out of Crystal in lyke wyse.⁵ Also with smytyng of a stone ayenst yron cometh fyre, and flammeth.⁶

¹ This chapter is translated from Jacobus, 93.
² O.F. text, Ch. VII.²
³ "The lyme . . . hand on it" : O.F. text, p. 138 : "La chalz vive a si tost la froide cave eschauffée que l'en n'i porroit souffrir sa main" : Cold water is so quickly heated by lime that it is impossible to keep one's hand in it.
⁴ "The rays of the sun make the hair of a man auburn or fair" : This passage is not in O.F. text.
⁵ The passage from "Also it maketh . . ." to "Crystal in lyke wyse" is unintelligible in the O.F. text. It is the same in all the Prose MSS., and reads (p. 138) : "Si fait l'en de l'eau froide et i vaissel de voirre le feu encontre le soleill, et du crystal aussi." Jacobus (93) says : "Crystallus licet frigidus sit, aqua frigida comperens ad solis radios, ignem ex se producit" : Even if crystal is cold, when covered with water and exposed to the rays of the sun it produces fire.
⁶ Before "The breth of a man" Caxton has omitted a passage
The breath of a man, which is hoot, coleth hoot thyng; and it chauffeth colde and ayer by meuyng.  

The erthe, whiche is peysant and right heuy by nature, holdeth hit in the myddle of thynges that God maketh; ffor noo creature hath the power to shewe reson wherfore they * ben or not; ffor ther is nothyng, how lytil it be, that the glose may be knowen vnto the trouthe, sauf only that whiche pleseth to Our Lord God. Ffor to be wel founded in clergye may men knowe & vnderstande the reson of somme thinges, and also by nature suche thinge as by reson can not be comprehended. Thawh a man enquyre neuer so longe of that is wrought in therthe by nature, he shal not mowe come to the knowelenge wherfore ne how they be made. This may noman certaynly knowe, sauf God only whiche knoweth the reson and vnderstondeth it.

Ffor to knowe where helle stondeth, and what thyng it is.  

WE haue declared to yow and denysed the erthe without forth the best wise that we can. But now it is expedyent, after that this that is said, to knowe and enquyre what places and what mansions ther may be within therthe, and whether it be paradys, helle, purgatorye, lymbo or other thynges, and whiche of them is best, and whiche of them alle is worste.

As to the regard of me and as me semeth that that whiche is enfermed and closed in the erthe is helle, I saye this for as moche as helle may in no wyse be in thayer which is one so noble a place. Also I may frely mayntene that it is not in heuen: ffor that place is so

(O.F. text, p. 138): "Li venz, qui est froiz, esprant le feu et l'enflambe et le fait plus grant": Wind, which is cold, kindles the fire and increases the flames.

1 "and it chauffeth . . . meuyng": The O.F. text (p. 138) says: Li airs refroidie par mouvement, et l'yaue en eschauffe qui est froide: air is made cool by motion, while cold water is made warm thereby.

2 Cf. for this chapter Honorius Aug. I. 37.

3 O. F. text, Ch. VII ².

["fo. 55, vo."]
right excellent pure and net that helle may not endure there, ffor as moche as helle is so horryble, stynkyng, fowl and obscure. Also it is more poysaunt and heuy than ony thyng may be; wherfor it may be clerly * vnder-
standen that helle hath his beyng in the most lowest place, moste derke, and moste vyle of the erthe; and as I haue here sayd to yow the causes why, in tronthe it may not be in thayer and yet lasse in heuen, ffor it is in alle poyntes contrarye to heuen aboue, ffor as moche as thise two ben contrarye one to another. Of whiche places, in that one is founden but alle glorye and consolacion: that is heuen; in that other is nothyng but of alle tribulacion: that is helle. And therfore it is with-
drawn alle vnder fro that other as ferre as it may, and that is in the myddle of therthe.

I saye not that helle is not in none other place where it be, ffor after the deth he hath payne and sorowe that hath deserued it. And whan suche one shal haue his payne aboue, so moche hath he the worse; alle thus as it shold be of somme man that had a grete maladye, so moche that he shold deye, and that he were brought in to a fair place and plesaunt for to hane Joye and solace; of so moche shold he be more heuy & sorowful whan he sawe that he coude ne myght helpe hym self ne take therby noo spoort ne releef. In lyke wyse shal it be of thise vnhappy caytifs that ben by their demerites dampned in helle, wherof we shal now herafter to yow more ample & largely declare ffor to fynysse the bettre our booke.

Now yf ye wille take hede and vnderstonde, we shal deuyse how helle is in the myddle of therthe, and of what nature it is of, and of the inestymable tormentis whiche they haue that ben therin put and condemned. Ye haue wel vnderstanden how by nature the iiiii elementes holde them, that one within that other, so that therthe is in the * myddle and holdeth hym in the myddle of the firmament. Alle in lyke wyse is ther in the myddle of therthe a place whiche is called Abisme or swolowe, and erthe of perdicion. Thus moche saye I to yow of this place, that it is ful of
Of souls in hell.

fyre & of brennyng sulfre. And it is ouer hydows, stynkynge, ful of ordure and of alle euyl aduenture; hit is moche large within, and bynethe it is strayt.

Alle that falleth therin anon the sulphre contynuelly brenneth, destroyeth and consumeth. And that thyng that cometh therin shal neuer fynysshe ne haue ende, but alleway shal brenne without ende. Alle way it brenneth, and alle way reneweth. And alle that come therin may neuer deye, ffor this place is of suche nature that the more it brenneth, the lenger it endureth.

This place of helle hath within hym alle the euylles of his partye. There deth holdeth his standard, whiche sendeth thurgh all the world for to fetche them that ben his, who that hath Joye of heuynesse. Thyder come all euylles and all the euyl apportes. This place is called the erthe of deth, ffor the sowles that ben brought thyder, they abyde and dwelle there without ende. Certaynly they deye lyuyng, and alle way lyue deyeng. The deth is there their lyf and their vyande and mete.

The deth holdeth them there at his commandement. This is the right pytte of fyre that brennyth; & all in lyke wyse as the stone is drowned in the see whan it is thrownen and sonken, and neuer shal be after seen, right so ben the sowles sonken in to the bottom whiche contynuelly brenne & be drowned there. But for al that they dymynysshe not ne haue ende, but in suche myserye abyde their folyes * nyght and day, and so shall endure perpetuelly and without ende. Ffor what someuer thyng that is spyrituell may neuer dye in suche wyse that it be alle deed; but the deth wold they hane and weesshe after it incessantly.

The sowle may neuer deye after that it is out of the body; but whan it is there, it shall alleway languysshe. And euer after that it is in helle, it shal hane nothing but euyll.

1 "who that hath Joye of heuynesse": O.F. text (p. 140): "qui qu'en ait joie ne tristece," whether they await it (death) with joy or sorrow.
2 apportes: O.F. text (p. 140): "viennent a porz," i.e. land.
3 "And euer ... euyl" : Roy. 19 a IX: "Ne jamais de lors
This is the contre & the londe of oblyuion & forgetyng; for alle they that ben there shal be forgotten, lyke as they forgate in this world their maker whiche is ful of pyte & of mysericorde. And therfore he hath leyd them there in forgetyng, where they shal never haue mercy ne pardon. In this londe so tenebrouse, hydouse and ful of alle stench and of sorowes, Jinguysshes, heuynes, hungre and thyrste shal never creature haue gladnesse ne Joye. This ben the terryble stynkynge. And there is the fyre so ouer moche ardau(t, bote & anguysshous that our fyre & the bete is nomore vnto the regard of that fyre of belle than a fyre paynted on a walle is in comparison & to the regard of our fyre.

There ben the flodes peryllous whiche ben of fyre and of yce, so hydows, horryble, full of venyme and of fowle beestes that make so grete noyse and so grete grief, payne and ennoye vnto the dolorouse sowles that ben in the sayd abysme, that ther nys creature that can or may recounte or telle the hondred parte.

In this contre ther is plente of other places whiche ben peryllous and horryble. And of them ben somme in the see as wel as wythin therthe. In many yles that ben by the see is terryble stenche of sulphre ardaunt in grete fyre, whiche is moche paynfull. Ther ben many grete montaynes of sulphre that brenne nyght and daye, where as many sowles ben encombokd and brenne contynuallly for to purge their synnes & inyquytees.

This may theme wel suffysse as touchynge to spake ony more of this materie; for ther is no creature that can telle the grete tormentes and inestymable paynes that a man of euyl lyf receyueth for his demerites whan he is departed fro this world; for he goth euer from euyl to werse.

Here we shal cesse for this present tyme, and now saye nomore herof. And seen that we haue spoken wel a longe of one of the foure Elementes, whiche is therthe,

qu'elle est en enfer n'avra si non tout mal." O.F. text (p. 140): "Ne jamais n'avront se mal non," i.e. Nor will they (souls) ever have anything else but pain.—Caxton translates Roy. 19 A IX., literally.
Water flows through Earth like blood through man's body.

we shall now speke of the seconde, and that is of the water that alway renneth; and after we shall speke of thayer, and after of the fyre, euerych in his right ordre.

How the watre renneth by and thurgh therthe. ca. xix°.1

THE water that is the depe see the whiche enuyronneth and goth round aboute the world; and of this see meuen alle the floses and Ruyers that renne thurgh the erthe. And renne so ferre their cours and that they retorne and come agayn theedyr from whens they departed, and that is the See. And thus gooth the See contynuelly tornyng and makyng his cours that, for so moche as the water is more lyght than the erthe, so moche is it aboue and is most next to therthe. She departeth and deuydeth the contrees, and she spredeth her thrughout alle therthe.

She falleth *agayn in the See, and spredeth agayn by the floses and Ruyers, and goth sourdyng and spryngynge in the erthe from one place to another by vaynes. Alle in lyke wyse as the blood of a man gooth and renneth by the vaynes of the body, and gooth out & yssueth in somme place, alle in lyke wyse renneth the water by the vaynes of therthe and sourdeth and spryngeth out by the fontaynes and welles 2; fro whiche it gooth al aboute that, whan one delueth in therthe depe in medowe or in montaygne or in valeye, men fynde water salte or swete or of somme other maner.

How the water swete or salt, hoot or enuenymed sourdeth out of the erthe. capitulo xx°.3

ALLE watres come of the see; as wel the swete as the salt, what someuer they be, alle come out of the see and theder agayn alle retorne. Wherupon somme may demande: "Syth the see is salt, how is it that somme water is fresshe and swete?" Herto answerth one of thauetours and sayth that the water that hath his cours by the swete erthe is fresshe and swete, and becometh

1 O.F. text: Ch. IX 2.
2 "She falleth . . . welles"; Honorius Aug. I. 5.
3 O.F. text: Ch. X 2.
How fresh water comes from the sea. Of springs.

swete by the sweetnes of therthe whiche taketh a way from it his saltnes and his bytternes by her nature; for the water whiche is salt & bytter, whan it reffeth though the swete erthe, the sweetnes of therthe retayneth his bytternes and saltnes. And thus becometh the water swete and fresshe whiche to fore was salt and byttre.1

Other waters sourden and spryngen bytter & black, whiche somme men drynke * for to be heled of their maladys in stede of poyson; the whiche oftymes make grete purgacions to somme peple. This is a water that spryngeth black and clere, and renneth in therthe whiche is bytter and black; and it is ful of moche fylythe; wherfore men haue grete meruaylle how it may be holsom to the body of a man. In another place sourdeth water whiche is hoot, and that ther myght be scalde therin a pygge or ghoos,2 which ben called bates or haynes naturell.3 Of suche maner bates ben ther in Almayne in the Cyte of Acon,4 and in England at Bathe5; in Lorayne another atte thabbay of Plounners6; and at Ays in Gascoyne another. This procedeth for as moche as within therthe ben many caues whiche ben hoot and breynnynge as fyre. And therthe hath plente of vaynes whiche ben alle ful of sulphre. And ther cometh other while a wynde grete and stronge, the whiche cometh by the water that sourdeth. And that is put forth so strongly that the sulphre catcheth fyre and breynneth, lyke as a fornayce alle breynnynge shold doo. And the water that hath his cours by thysse vaynes become also hoot as fyre. And yf it happed that the water ryght there shold sprynge out of therthe, it sholde yssue sourdyng alle enflamed

1 "Herto answereth ... bytter": Honorius Aug. I. 46.
2 "and that ther ..." to "... ghoos" is not in the O.F. text.
3 "Other waters ... naturell": Honorius Aug. I. 48.
4 Acon: O.F. "Ais la Chapele," "Aachen" in German.
5 The O.F. text does not mention "Bathe in England."
6 "Thabbay of Plounners" ("Plommières" in O.F. text, p. 142) is now "Plombières" in the Département des Vosges. This passage is particularly interesting as it shows Gossouins intimate knowledge of the country round Metz, where the O.F. orginal is supposed to have been written.
and alle boylyng as it were on a fyre.\footnote{This procedeth . . . fyre"; Honorius Aug. 1. 48.} But fro as ferre as his cours renneth fro thens, so moche waxeth it lasse hoot and lasse brennyng; and it may renne so longe \& so ferre that in thende it becometh agayn alle colde, for ther is nothyng so hoot but that it kolyth, sauf only the fyre of helle whiche contynuuely brenneth and shal brenne without ende.

Wythin * therthe is plente of other places whiche ben ful of fowle bestes \& venymous, in suche wyse that the water that renneth therby is alle enfected, and sourdeth in somme places on therthe; but who that drynketh therof secheth his deth.

Of dyuerse fontaynes and welles that sourde on therthe.\footnote{This chapter is translated I. 611 J. B. 85.} capitulo xxi\footnote{O.F. text, Ch. XI 5.}. Ther ben plente of fontaynes in other places, that moche ofte chaunge their colour, and other of whom come myracles; but it is not wel knowen wherof this procedeth.

In the fonde of Samarye is a wel that chaungeth and differenceth his colour four tymes in the yere; hit is first grene, and after it chaungeth in to Sangwynne; and after it becometh trowble, and after alle this it becometh clere, nette and right syne,\footnote{syne; O.F., p. 143. \"fine,\" pure.} in suche wyse that men delyte them in beholdyng of it; but no persone dar drynke of it.

In this partye is yet another fontayne whiche spryngeth thre or four dayes the weke good and holysomme; and the other thre dayes it spryngeth not, but is alle drye.

Ther is also a grete Ryuer that renneth sixe dayes durynge in the weke. And on the sabotte\footnote{sabotte, 2nd ed. \"sabotte.\" O.F. text, p. 143, \"samedi,\" Saturday.} daye it renneth not, for assone as the sabotte day approacheth he rebouteth\footnote{rebouteth; O.F. \"rebouter,\" to push. O.F. text (p. 143) has se rembat, sinks.} and goth in to therthe agayn.

\footnotetext[1]{1} Of fountains and wells of many virtues.
Of glass, of the Red Sea, and further of wells and fountains.

By Acres the Cyte is founden a maner of sande, and there is founden also of the glayre of the see,\(^1\) whiche ben medled to gydre. And of thys two myxtyons is made good glasse and clere.\(^2\)

In Egypte is the Rede See where the chyldren of Israel passed ouer drye foote \(^*\) for to come in to the londe of byheten. This see taketh his name of therthe; for therthe is alle rede in the bottom & on the sydes in suche wyse that the water of this see semeth all reed.

In Perse is a ryuer longe & brood whiche in the nyght is so hard frozen that peple may goo ouer afoot and tranerse it. And on daye tyme it is cleer and rennyng.

Ther is in Espyre a welle of whiche the nature is moche meruayllous, the whiche quencheth brondes of fyre all brennyng, and after it setteth them a fyre agayn.

In Ethiope is another whiche by nyght hath so grete hete that no creature may theune dryuke therof. And all the daye it is so colde that it is fromn alle harde.

In Lorayne, nygh vnto Metz the cyte, is a water that renneth there, the whiche is soden\(^3\) in grete payelles\(^4\) of copper, and it becometh salt fayr and good. And this water furnyssheeth all thecentre of salt. And this water sourdeth of a pitte whiche is called "the pytte of Dauyd."\(^5\)

In this centre ben other fontaynes that ben so hoot that it brenneth all that it toucheth. In the same place sourde and sprynge other that ben as colde as yce. There been baynes wel attemprid and medlid with colde water and hoot. And they that bayne them in thise baynes, their scabbes and soores become all hool. Yet ther be of other fontaynes right black, whiche ben

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\(^1\) glayre of the see: O.F. text, p. 144: "une glaire de mer," gravel. "Glaire" is still used in that sense in some French dialects.

\(^2\) "By Acres... clere": Jacobus, 85, "In Tyrensi autem et Acconensi territorio ex arenulis maris, ex sabulo videlicet et glarea marina subtili artificio vitrum efficitur purissimum."

\(^3\) soden: boiled.


\(^5\) the pytte of Dauyd: O.F., p. 144, "le puis Davi." This place, now Vic in Lorraine, was originally called "Bodasvie"; in Latin "Boda-ius Viques."
Of other fountains with strange virtues.

holden right holsom; and peple drynke of them in stede of medecynes; and they make of tymes grete purgacions, and gretter than of a medecyne or a laxatyf.

Another fontayne ther is to ward the Oryent wherof is made fyre grekyssh with other myxtyons that is put therto. The whiche fyre, when it is taken and light, is so hoot that it can not be quenchid with water, but with aysel,¹ vryne, or with sonde only. The sara-syns selle this water right dere and derrer than they doo good wyne.

Other fontaynes sourse in many other places, that hele sore eyen and many soores and woundes. Other fontaynes ther be that rendre to a man his mynde and memorye. Other make men to forgete; other that refrayne peple fro lecherye; other that meue them therto. Other ther be that make wyynmen to conseyue and bere children; and other that make them baryne and may bere none.

Ther ben somme ryuers that make sheep black, and other that make them whyte as the lylye. On that other syde ther ben many pondes or stagnes in whiche may nothyng swymme, man ne honade ne other beeste, but anon it synketh down to the bottom. Ther ben other in whiche nothing may synke, but contynuelly flote aboue. Ther ben yet other fontaynes hoot that blynde the theues when they forswere them of the trespaas that they haue commysed touchyng their thfte. And yf they be charged & born wrongly on honde without reson and thanne drynke of this water, certaynly they shall haue better sight than to fore. Of all thise thynge can noman rendre the resoun, but that we ought to understonde that alle this procedeth by myracle.

Yet ben ther other fontaynes whiche ben stylle and clere, whiche that, whan men pleye oner them with harpe or other instrumentis that resowne in maner of consolacion by their sowne, the water of those wellis spryngye vp with grete bobles & spryngye oner in the waye. Other fontaynes ben in other places, whiche ben right peryllous.


MIRROR OF THE WORLD.
Of earthquakes.

But for this present * we shall rest herewith all for to telle of this that cometh by the waters whiche holde their cours within therthe and also abone; of whiche it happeth other while so grete a quaeuyng that the erthe meueth so strongly that it behaueth to fall all that whiche is theron, thanne it were a massyue tour.

Wherfor and how the erthe quaueth & trembleth, capitulo xxii".1

Now vnderstande ye thenne what it is of the meuyng of the erthe, and how the erthe quaueth and shaketh, that somme peple calle "an erthe quae" by cause they fele therthe meue and quau under their feet. And oftymes it quaueth so terrybly, and meueth, that somtyme Cytees ben sonken to therthe, thanne it were a massyue tour.

And this cometh of the grete waters that come within therthe, so that by the puttyng out of the grete floodes & waters growe somme tyme cauerne vnder therthe. And the ayer that is shette fast withing, the which is enclosed in grete distresse, yf therthe be there feble so that it may not reteyne it all within, thanne is it constrayned to opene & cleue; fyr the ayer enforceth to yssue out. Wherof it happeth ofte that townes, cytees and castellys ben sonken doun in to the abisme.

And yf therthe be of suche force & strengthe that it openeth not ne cleueth by the shouyng or heuynng of the wyndes that ben within, thanne therthe meueth & quaueth 2 so meruayllously that the grete walles and hye towres that ben theron falle doun so sodenly in therthe that it destroyeth & sleeth the peple that ben therin, whiche * ben not aduyued ne pourued of suche daungers; whiche is a grete sorow for the pour peple that dwelle where suche meschief happeth, thany they be not aduytysed at what tyme such tempestes shal come for teschewe it.3

1 O. F. text, Ch. XII 2.
2 "And this cometh . . . quaueth": Neckare, II. 48; Honorius Aug. I. 41, 42.
3 "which is a grete . . . teschewe it": Caxton paraphrases here an obscure passage of the O.F. text (p. 146), "dont li
How the bitterness of the earth makes the sea salt.

But wyse men that doubt for to deye arme them and make them redy aynest the deth. and gyue alle diligence for to seche to hawe accordaunce vnto the souerayn iuge of their synnes & defaultes after their lawe and byleue that they hawe, as they that hawe none honre ne space to lyue where as they ben hool and weel at ease.

Thus the water and the wynde maken the right meuyng and quauyng by whiche the erthe clueneth and quaueth.

How the water of the see becometh salt. capitulo xxiii¹.

NOW I wyll recounte and telle to yow how the water of the see becometh salt, whiche is so bittre that no persone may drynke, ne the beestis in lyke wyse.

Hit cometh by the sonne on hye; ffor it maketh so grete hete in somme place that the see is chauffed so strongly that therthe, whiche is vnder, draweth to hym a moysture bittre whiche taketh away all his sauour. Ffor in the see ben right grete and hye montaynes and depe valeyes whiche ben ful of bitternesses greuous and infected. And the erthe whiche is in the bottom of thise valeyes scumeth for the heete of the sonne vpward, whiche medleth with the water in the depe in suche wyse that it draweth the saltnes vp by the hete of the sonne, so longe til it be medlyd with that other.² And thus is the water of the see salt with that *other.

Thenne we shall here fynysshe to speke ony more of the watres fressh or salt, and shall recounte to you of the Ayer, whiche is one of the iii Elementis, and of his propretees.

Here foloweth of the Ayer and of his nature. ca. xxxiii².

THE Ayer is sette aboue the water, and is moche more subtyl than the water or the erthe, and enuy-

¹ O. F. text, Ch. XIII².
² "Hit cometh . . . other": *Neckam*, II. 1; *Honborius Aug.*, I. 45; Adelard of Bath, *Quaestiones Naturales* (Louvain, 1480), Quaest. 51.
³ O. F. text, Ch. XIV².
ronneth therthe on alle parties, and domyneth also hye as the clowdes monte. This Ayer whiche enuynonneth vs on alle sydes is moche thycke. But we lyne therby in like wyse as the fysshe lyueth by the water whiche he draweth in, and after casteth it out agayn. In suche maner the ayer prouffyteth to vs, for we drawe it in and after we put it out; and thus it holdeth the lyf within the body. Ffor a man shold sonner deye without Ayer than a fysshe shold doo without water, to whom alleway the lyf is sone fynysshyd whan it is out of the water.

Thayer maynteneth in vs the lyf by the moysture that is in hym. And by the thynknes that is in hym he susteyneth the byrdes fleyng that so playe with their wynges and mene them so moche al aboute therin that they disporte them, ledyng their Joye therin and their deduyt. Thus goon the birdes by thayer fleyng, syngyng and preyseyng their maker & creatour, lyke as the fysshes that goon swymmyng in the water.

And ye may apperceyue in this maner: Take a rodde and mene it in thaj'er; and yf ye mene it fast and roydly,\(^1\) it shal bowe anon. And yf it fonde not thayer thycke, it * shold not bowe ne ploye, but shold holde hym straight and rijjht, how faste someuer ye mevied it.

Of this Ayer the euyl esperites take their habe by their bodyes, whiche in somtyme put them in the semblaunce of somme thinges, as whan they may appere in som place for to deceye som persone, man or woman, or for to make them to yssue out of their mynde, wherof they haue somtyme the myght; or whan by the arte of nygromancye he putteth hym in somme semblaunce or in suche a fygure as he wille.\(^2\) But this is a scyence that, who that genyth hym therto to do euyl, hit gyueth hym the deth; for yf he taked no hede therof, he shal be dampned body & sowle. But we shal enquyre here after what cometh fro thayer in to therthe.

\(^2\) "Of this Ayer . . . wille": Saint Augustin (De Gen. ad Lit. III. ch. x. 14, Patrol. t. 34): "Daemones aeria sunt animalia, quoniam corporum aeriorum natura vigent."
Clouds are the result of the evaporation of water.

How the clowdes and rayn come comynly. ca. xxv°. ¹

NOW we shal speke of the clowdes for to knowe what it is, and of the Rayne also.

The sonne is the foundement of all hete and of alle tyme, all in suche wise as the herte of a man is the foundement, by his valour that is in hym, of all natural hete; ffor by hym he hath lyf, and all lyneth by hym, that growth on therthe as it pleseth to Our Lorde, as here after shal be declared, yf ye wyl here and wel reteyne the mater and substantial of this present booke. Ffor the sonne maketh the clowdes to mounte on hye, and after it maketh the Rayne and to auale doun. And I shal shewe to yow how it is doon, & shortly, by his force. And vnderstande ye in what manere: Whan the sonne spredeth his rayes vpon therthe & vpon * the mareys,² he dreyeth them strongly, and draweth vp the moisture whiche he enhaunseth on hye. But this is a moisture subtyl whiche appereth but lytyl, and is named vapour; and it mounteth vnto the myddle of thayer, and there it assembl eth and cometh to gydre and abydeth there. And lytil & lytil it encreceth, that it cometh thycke and derke in suche wise that it taketh fro vs the sight of the sonne. And this thynge is the clowde. But it hath not so moche obscurete that it taketh fro vs the clerenesse of the day.

And whan it growth oner thycke, it becometh water whiche falleth on the erthe, and the clowde abydeth whyte. Thenne shyneth the sonne, whiche is on hye, thurgh the clowde, yf it be not ouer black, lyke as thurgh a glasse, and also lyke a candel within a laterne, whiche gyneth vs lyght without forth, and yet we see not the candel; thus shyneth the sonne thurgh the clowde which is vnder hym, and rendreth to vs the clerenesse of the day as longe as he maketh his tourne aboue therthe. And the clowde that alwaye so lange abydeth and taketh more moisture so longe after that, it becometh black & moyste. Thenne yssueth out the

¹ O. F. text, Ch. XV².
water whiche cometh to therthe; & thus groweth the rayne.

And whan it is alle fallen to therthe, & the grete moisture is staunched, the clowde hath lost his brown colour that he byfore helde and the derknesse of whiche she empressshid the day. Thenne apperith the cloude clere and whyte whiche thenne is lyght and monuteth on hye somoche that in thende she faylyth and is defeted by the hete of the sonne on hye whiche all dreycyth vp. Thenne thayer wexeth agayn pure & clere, and the heuen as blew as Azure.

Of therthe groweth the rayn and the clowdes also, as of a cloth that is weet and shold be dreyd by the fyre; thenne yssueth therof a moisture like a smoke or fumee, and goth vpward. Who thenne helde his hande over this fumee, he sholde fele a vapour whiche sholde make his honde moyst and weet; yf it dured longe he sholde appertly knowe that his hande were alle weet, and that water shold dropppe and falle thereof.

And thus I saye to yow that in this maner growe ofte the clowdes & raynes. And Our Lord God multe-plieth wel them, when it pleseth hym, for to make the seedes and fruytes growe that ben on therthe.

Of ffrostes and snowes. capitulo xxvi. THE grete snowes & the grete frostes comen by the grete coldes of thayer which is colde in the myddle more than it is on ony other parte, like as ye may see of the montaynes whiche ben in hye place, like as the montaynes of Sauoye, of Pyemont, or in Wales and in thise other montaynes where ther is of custome more snowe than is in places that ben in playn grounde.

1 staunched: O. F. text, p. 149, "restanchier," to dry up.
2 The passage from "the clowde hath" to "the day" is not in O.F. text.
3 Chapters similar to this one are found in Neckam, De Land, IV, 157, 188; Honorius Aug, 1, 61.
4 O. F. text, Ch. XV 2(b).
5 "like as the . . . other montaynes": O.F. text, p. 150: "si comme en ces mont mont de mont Gieu, et en ces autres hautes montaingnes." Roy. 19 A IX.: "Si comme en ces montaignes de Sauoye et de Piaumont, et en ces autres hautes montaignes." "Wales" is added by Caxton himself to the text of Roy. 19 A IX.
Of snow, hail and tempests, and of their causes.

Alle this cometh of the coldnes of thayer whiche hath lasse hethe aboue than bynethe, by cause it is more subtly than that whiche is bynethe. And whan the more subtly is on hye, so moche reteyneth he lasse of hethe. But the more that thayer is thycke, so moche more it chauffeth, and the sonner, where the sonne may come. Of whiche cometh that yron and steel wexe more hoot by the sonne than doth the * stone; ifor of so moche as the thynge is more hard and of more thyck mater, so moche taketh it the fyre more asprely & sonner than they that ben of lasse force.

Thus saye I to yow of thayer that is aboue on hye, whiche is more colde than this is bynethe, ifor as moche as it is not so thycke as that is whiche is nyghe therthe, and for the wynde that ofte groweth, whiche maketh it ofte to be in meuyng; ifor the water that renneth faste eschauffeth lasse than that doth that holdeth hym stylle: so doth thayer whiche is on hye. And therby groweth the colde that freseth this moisture anon as it is goon vp on hye, and falleth down agayn y frorn.1

Of haylle and of tempestes. capitulo xxvii°.2

By this manere comen in the somer the grete haylles and the grete tempestes; ifor in thayer they growe,3 wherof oftyme cometh grete colde, so that the moisture that is in thayer brought vp is drawen to be frorn; and it is in thayer assembled and amassed, ifor the hethe that chaceth after it. And the sonne causeth it to lose and to falle on therthe. But it falleth not so grete to the grounde as it is frorn aboue on hye, ifor it cometh down brekyng and amenuysyng in the fallyng. And this is the tempeste whiche falleth ofte in the somer, the whiche is greuous & ennoyous to many thyngeis.4

1 Caxton distinctly prints "y frorn" in two words; the "y" is evidently here the prefix of the past part. of "fresen."
2 O.F. text, Ch. XV 2 (c).
3 O.F. text, p. 150: "Car en air missent aucun vent ... ." for there arise vtads in the air ... "Wynades growe," instead of "they growe," seems to be the proper reading required by the context.
4 "ifor in thayer ... thyngeis": Neckam, De Land. IV. 188: "Honorius Aug. I. 60."
Of lyghtnynges and of thonders. capitulo xxviii. 1

* In thayer happen many thinges of whiche the peple speke not gladly; ffor they retche not moche of suche thinges of whiche they can not wel come to the knowleche.

This that maketh therthe to quane, and this that maketh the clowdes to thondre, that whiche maketh the erthe to opene, and this that 2 maketh the clowdes to sparklye and lyghtne whan the thondre is herde. Ffor thondres and lyghtnynges ben deboutemens and brekyng out of wyndes that mete abone the clowdes so asprely & sharply that, in their comyng, groweth ofte a grete fyre in thayr and this thondre 3 that falletli in many places, whiche the wyndes constrayneth so terrybly that the clowdes cleue and breke; and maketh to thondre and lyghtne. And falletli dow in so grete rage, by the wynde that destrayneth it so asprely, that it confoundeth alle that it atteyneth in suche wyse that nothyng endureth ayenst it. And it is of so heuy nature that somtyme it perseth therthe vnto the mydylle. And somtyme it quencheth er it cometh to the grounde after that it is of poyse, and that is not of ouer stronge nature. 4

Ffor whan the clowde is moche derke & thyeke, and that ther is grete plente of water, the fyre passeth not so soone, but it is quenched in the clowde by the grete quantyte of the water that is therin before it may perse thurgh, so that it may not approche therthe. But in the straynyng and brekyng that hit maketh thenne in

1 O.F. text, Ch. XV 2 (d).
2 O.F. text, p. 151: “ce qui fait ouvrir la terre, ce fait les nues esparir”: what makes the earth open also makes the clouds produce lightning (i.e. earthquakes and lightning, etc., are all due to the same cause: the rushing of winds). Caxton’s rather obscure sentence becomes clear if we follow the O.F. text and say: “that whiche maketh the erthe to opene, this is that maketh the clowdes to sparklye . . .”
3 O.F. text, p. 151: “Et ce est foudre qui chiet . . .”, and this is the thunderboolt which falls . . .—The correct and more logical reading of the O.F. text would require a full stop after “thayr” and the insertion of “is” between “this” and “thondre”.
4 “after that . . . nature”: i.e. according to its weight (i.e. if it is of a light weight) and provided it is not too dense.
the clowde, groweth a sowne so grete and stronge that it is merueyllous to here. I declare to you for certeyn that this is the thondre whiche is moche to be doubted and drad, in lyke wyse as of an hoot and brennyng yron that is put in a tubbe of water, * therof groweth a noys and a grete sowne, and also whan cooles ben quenchid.¹

But the lyghtnyng of the thondre appereth and is seen er ye here the voys or sowne, ffor as moche as the sight of a man is more subtyl than the heerynge ²; lyke as men see fro ferre ouer a water betuyng of clothes or smytynge of marteaulx ³ or hamers, the strokes ben seen of them that smyte, or ⁴ the soun be herde of the stroke. Alle in lyke wyse may I saye to yow of the thondre, the whiche men see to fore and er they here it. And so moche the ferther it is aboue vs, so moche the ferther is the soun of the lyghtnyng after it is seen, er the soun be herd. And the sonner after the lyghtnyng is seen & the noys herd, somoche is the thondre more nyghe vnto vs.⁵

For to knowe how the wyndes growe and come. ca. xxix ⁶

Of the wyndes may men enquyre reson of them that vse the sees. And the wyndes renne round aboute therthe oftymes, and entrecounte and mete in som place so asprely that they ryse vpon heyght in suche wyse that they lyft vp thayer on lye. And thayer that is so lyft and taken fro his place remeueth other ayer in suche faction that it retorneth as it were afterward, and gooth cryeng and brayeng ⁷ as water rennyng; ffor wynde is none other thyng but ayer that is menyed so longe tyl his force be beten down with the

¹ "This that maketh . . . quenchid": Neckam, De Land. III. 97-118.
² "But the lyghtnyng . . . heerynge": Philosophia Mundi, III. 10.
⁴ or = er, i.e. ere, before.
⁵ "lyke as men . . . vnto vs": Adelard of Bath, Quaest. 68.
⁶ O.F. text, Ch. XVI ².
stroke. Thus come ofte clowdes, raynes, thondres & lyghtnynges and the thinges tofore said.

Thus come ofte clowdes, raynes, thondres & lyghtnynges and the thinges tofore said. And now shal cesse of this mater for to speke of the fyre whiche is abone the ayer on hye.

Of the fyre and of the sterres that sene to falle. Ye ought to knowe that aboue thayer is the fyre. This is an ayer whiche is of moche grete resplendour and shynyng, & of moche grete noblesse; and by his right grete subtylte he hath no moisture in hym. And is moche more clere than the fyre that we vse. & of more subtyl nature, than thayer is ayenst the water or also the water ayenst the erthe.

This ayer in whiche is no maner moisture, it stratcheth vnto the mone. And ther is seen ofte vnder this ayer somme sparkles of fyre, & sene that they were sterres. Of whiche men saye they be sterres whiche goon rennyng, & that they remene fro their places. But they be none; but it is a maner of fyre that groweth in thayer of somme drye vapour which hath no moisture within it, whiche is of therthe; & therof groweth by the somne whiche draweth it vpon hye; & whan it is over hye, it falleth & is sette a fyre like as a candel brennyng as vs semeth; & after falleth in thayer moyste, and there is quenchid by the moistnes of thayer. And whan it is grete & the ayer drye, it cometh al brennyng vnto therthe.

Wherof it happeneth ofte that they that saylle by the see or they that goon by londe haue many tymes founden & seen them al shynyng & brenning falle vnto therthe; & whan they come where it is fallen,

1 "Of the wyndes . . . stroke" : Philosoplia Mundi, III. 15; Neckam I. 18.
3 O.F. text, Ch. XVII 2 (a).
Of the pure air, or ether, which is above the fire.

they finde none other thing but a litil ashes or like thing, *or like som leef of a tree roten, that were weet. Themne apperceyue they weel, and byleue, that it is no sterre; for the sterres may not falle, but they musete alle in their cercle meue ordynatly & contynuelly nyght & day egally.

[O.F. text, Ch. XVII: "Du dragon qui samble cheoir et que ce est." This chapter is missing both in Roy. 19 A IX., and in Caxton. (See Introduction p. xix).]

Of the pure Ayer and how the seuen planetes ben sette. capitulo xxxi.†

The pure ayer is aboue the fyre, whiche pourpriseth and taketh his place vnto the heuen.

In this ayer is no obscurene ne derknes, for it was

made of clene purete. It resplendisheth & shyneth so clerly that it may to nothing be compared.

In this ayer ben vii sterres whiche make their

† O.F. text, Ch. XVIII.
Of the position of the planets.

cours al aboute therthe, the whiche be moche cleene & clere, & be named \textit{vii} planetes; of whome that one is sette above that other, and in suche wyse ordyned that ther is more space fro that one to that other than ther is fro the erthe to the mone\(^1\) which is fyrther fyften\(^2\) tymes than al the the\(^3\) erthe is grete; & euerich renneth by myracle on the firmament and maketh his cercle, that one grete and that other lytil, after that it is and sitteth more lowe. Ffor of somoche that it maketh his cours more nygh therthe, so moche is it more short; and sonner hatli performed his cours than that whiche is ferthest. That is to saye that who that made a poynct in a walle, & with a compaas made dyuerse cercles aboute, alway that one more large than another, that whiche shold be next the poynct shold be lest of the other, and lasse shold be his cours; ffor he shold sonner haue don his cours than the grettest, so that they wente both egally; as ye may see by this figure to fore.\(^4\)

Thus may ye vnderstande of the vii planetes of whiche

I haue spoken that that one is vnder that other, in suche wise that she that is lowest of alle the other is least of alle, & that is the mone. But by cause that it is next to therthe, it semeth grettest & most apparaunt of alle the other\(^5\); & for the approchement of therthe, & by cause it goth so nygh, it hath no pure clerenes that cometh of hym self proprely, by cause therthe is so obscure.

But the clernes & lyght that it rendreth to vs she taketh alway of the sonne, lyke as shold a myrrour whan the rayes of the sonne smyteth therin, & of the reflexion myrrour smyteth on the walle & shyneth theron as longe as the rayes of the sonne endure in the glasse; in lyke maner sheweth & lyghteth to vs the lyght

\(^1\) "The pure . . . mone": \textit{Honorius Aug. I. 67–76.}
\(^3\) "the" is repeated twice.
\(^4\) Cf. \textit{Fig. 27}, p. 123.
\(^5\) "in suche wise . . . of alle the other": \textit{Neckum I. 13}; \textit{Honorius Aug. I. 67–76.}
of the mone; & in the mone is a body polysshed and fair lyke a pommell right wel burnysshed, whiche re-
flambeth and rendrith lyght & clerenes whan the rayes of the sonne smyteth therin.1

The lytil clowdes * or derkenes that is seen therin, 
somme saye that it is therthe that appereth within; and 
that whiche is water appereth whyte. lyke as ayenst a 
myrrour whiche receyueth dyuerse colours, whan she 
is torned therto. Other think otherwyse and saye that hit 
happed and byfelle whan Adam was deceyued by thapple 
that he ete, whiche greued alle humayne ligne, and 
that thenne the mone was empesshed and his clerenesse 
lassed and mynuysshid.2

Of thise vii sterres or planetes that ben there and 
make their cours on the firmament, of whom we haue 
here to fore spoken, ffirst were no moo knowen but 
the tweyne, that is to wete the sonne and the mone; the 
other were not known but by Astronomye. Neuerthe-
les yet shal I name them for as we haue spoken of 
them to yow. Of thyse ther ben 
aboue the mone & byneth 
the sonne, and that one aboue that other, of whom 
eche hath on therth propre vertues. And they be 
named Mercurie and Venus.3

Themne aboue the mone & thise tweyne is the sonne 
whiche is so clere, fayr & pure that it rendreth lyght 
& clerenesse vnto alle the world; and the sonne is sette 
so hye aboue that his cercle is gretter & more spacyouse 
than the cercle of the mone, which maketh his cours 
in xxx dayes, xii sithes somoehe; ff or the sonne, whiche 
goeth more ferther fro the erthe than pe mone, maketh 
his cours hath ecelxv dayes: this is xii tymes somoche 

1 "But the clerenes . . . smyteth therin": Raeda, Elementorum philosophiae II. (Patrol, t. 90, col. 1159-1160): Quamvis corpus 
lunae naturaliter sit obscurum tamen in quibusdam partibus suis 
est tunsun et politum ad modum speculi, in quibusdam scabrosum et 
eptiginosum. Ubi igitur politum est, ex radiis solis splendet; sed ubi scabrosum, naturalem obscuritatem retinet.
2 "The lytil . . . mynuysshid": Neckam, I. 14: "Merito 
enim praevariationis primorum parentum, omnium planetarum et 
stellarum fulgor dispensium claritatis sustinuit. Luna vero, 
quae citima terris est, et aspectibus humanis familiaribus occurens, 
maculam in se retinuit."
3 "Of thise . . . Venus": Neckam, I. 7.
& more ouer, as the calender enseigneth, & yet more the fourth part of a day, that be vii hours. But for this that p° yere hath dyuersly his begynnyng, that one begynmeth on p° daye & another on the nyght, whiche is grete ennoye to moche peple, this *fourth part of a day is sette, by cause alle way in four yere is a daye consumed whiche is aboue in that space; the which yere is named bysexte or lepe yere, whiche in iii yere falleth ones; & so is sette fro four yere to four yere alway more a daye. And thenne is the sonne comen agayn in his first poynt: and that is in myd Marche, whan the newe tyme recomenceth and that alle thynges drawe to loue by the vertue of the retorne of the Sonne. Ffor in this season had the world first his begynnyng; and therfore thenne alle thinge renweeth and cometh in verdure by right nature of the tyme and none otherwyse.

Above the sonne ther be thre sterres clere and shynyng, and one aboue another. That is to wete Mars, Jupiter and Saturnus. Saturne is hyest of the seuen, whiche hath in his cours xxx yere er he hath alle goon his cerkle. & thysse iii sterres retyene theyr vertues in thynges here bynethe; & ye may see, yf ye beholde this figure, how they be in ordre eche aboue other; whiche figure sheweth it well.

How the vii planetes gyue the names to the vii dayes, capitulo xxxii.5

This seuen planetes ben suche that they haue power on thynges that growe on therthe; and habounde their vertues more than alle the other that ben on the firmament, and more appertly werke, lyke as thauncyent sage philosophres haue enscherched by their wittes.

1 "ceclxv . . . hours": O.F. text, p. 157: "ceclxVI jourz. Ce est xii tant plus et "r" jours outre et enquirez avoce le quart d'un jour: ce sont .vi. heures": 366 days. That is to say 12 times more, and five days besides, and moreover the fourth part of a day, that is six hours.

2 "Theene aboue . . . daye": Neckam, I. 7; Honorius Aug. I. 67-76.

3 "Mars . . . cerkle": Neckam, I. 7; Honorius Aug. I. 67-76.

4 Cf. Fig. 28, p. 127.

5 O.F. text, Ch. XIX2 (a).
Of the seven days of the week.

Of thise seven planetes taken the dayes of the weke their names, as ye shall here. The mone hath the Monday, and Mars the Tewesday, Mercurye the Wednesday, Jupiter the Thursday, Venus the Vryday, Saturnus the Saterday; and the holy Sonday hath his name of the Sonne whiche is the most fair. And therfor the Sonday is better than any of the other dayes of the weke, for this day is sette and reserved from alle payne & labour. And on this day shold men doo thyng that shold playse Our Lord.

But syth in this chapitre we haue touched of the firmament, we shal speke after of somme caas that come on the heuen and therthe.

The Sonday is as moche to saye as the daye of pees and of praysynge, for the creatour of alle thynges cessed this day, the whiche made and created all.

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1 "Of this... here": Neckam, I. 10; Honorius Aug. II. 23.
2 "... and the holy... fair": Neckam, I. 10: "... in die Dominica, quam Philosophi dicunt esse diem solis."
Of the meuyng and gooyng aboute of the ffyrmament and of the sterres that ben therin. capitulo xxxiii°.1

A bone Saturne, which is the last planest & hyest from vs of alle the vii planetes, is the heuen that men see so full of sterres as it were sown, whan it is clere tyme and weder. This heuen that is so sterred is the fyrmament whiche meueth and goth round.2 Of whiche meuyng is so grete Joye, so grete melodye and so swete, that *ther is noman that, yf he myght here it, the neuer after shold haue talente ne wylle to do thynge that were contrarye vnto Our Lord in any thynge that myght be, so moche shold he desyre to come theder where he myght alleway here so swete melodyes & be alway wyth them.3

Wherof somme were somtyme that sayde that lytil yonge ehyldren herde this melodye whan they lawghed in their slepe; *for it is sayde that thenne they here the Angels of Our Lord in heueu synge, wherof they haue suche Joye in their slepe.4

But herof knoweth noman the trouthe sauf God that knoweth all, whiche setted the sterres on the heuen and made them to haue suche power. *For ther is nothynge withyn the erthe ne withyn the see, but it is on the heuen fygured and compassed by the sterres, of whiche none knoweth the nombre sauf God only whyche at hys playsir nombreth them & knoweth the name of eueriche of them, as he that alle knoweth & alle created by good reason.5

At the regard of the sterres that may be seen, they may be wel nombred & enqueryed by Astronomye; *but it is a moche maistryse; *for ther ne is sterre so lytil but that it hath in hym hole his vertue, in herbe, in flour

1 O.F. text, Ch. XIX 2 (b).
4 *Wherof somme . . . slepe* : This pretty legend is probably founded on the following passage in Basela, Musica theorica (Patrol., t. 90, col. 911): "Si autem aliquis in altero mundo nascetur (si possibile esset), ut Sanctus Augustinus affirmat, ut in hunc mundum postea venisset, cern sicne ullo impedimento audiret, eique nitra vires placet."5
5 *Ffor ther is . . . reason* : Neckam, I. 7; Honorius Aug. I. 90.
or in fruyt, be it in faction, in colour or otherwyse. Ther is nothing in erthe that ought to be, ne therin hath growyng, but somme sterre hath strengthe and puis-saunce by nature, is it good or otherwyse, suche as God hath gyuen to it.¹

And for the firmament and for the planetes, take this fygure to fore an that other syde,² and ye shal see therin the sytuacion of them.

But syth we haue descriued and spoken of the firmament in this second partye of this volume, we shal speke of somme caases that come and happen on hye and also lowe. And shal speke of the mesure of the firmament for to vnderstande the better the faction, and how it is made and proporsioned, and of that whiche is aboue. And also we shal speke of heuen.

Thus ffynyssheth the second partye of this present volume.

¹ "for ther ne . . . gyuen to it"; Neckam, I. 7; Honorius Aug. I. 90.
² Cf. Fig. 29.
Here begynneth the third parte of this present volume. And declareth first how the day and the nyght come.¹ capitulo p².

In this thirde and last partye of this present booke weshal fyynnshewythe spekynge of the faiete of astronome. And I wyl declare to you first thwᵗʰ the daye cometh and the nyght, and for to make you vnderstande *of the Eclipses, and also for to vnderstande other thinges, the whiche may moche prouffyte to them that wylle doo payne to knowe them, for to gouerne them the better after the disposicion of the tyme.

Here declareth how the daye and nyght comen.

TROUTHE it is that the Sonne maketh this torne & cours aboue therthe in the daye and nyght, and gooth egally euery houre. And also longe as he abydeth aboue therthe, so longe haue we the deduyt of the day; & whan he is vnnder therthe, thenne haue we the nyght; lyke as ye went tornyng a brennyng candell aboue your heed, or as ye shold bere it a lytil ferther of Round aboue an apple, and that the candel were alway brennyng; thenne the partye that were alway ayenst the candel shold alway be lyght, and that other partye that is ferthest fro it shold be obscure and derke. Thus in lyke wise doth the sonne, by his propre nature, for to be day and nyght aboue therthe. He maketh the day to growe byfore hym, and on that other parte the erthe is vmbreusse & derke by hynde hym and where as he may not shyne. And this is the shadowe of the nyght whiche the deduyt of the day taketh away from vs.

But for as moche as the sonne is moche gretter than therthe, the shadowe goth lytil and lytil tyl at thende it cometh to nought, lyke the sown of a clocke endureth after the stroke.⁴

¹ This chapter is based on Philosophia Mundi, I, 27.
² O. F. text, Ch. I ³ (a).
³ thw [sic] = how.
⁴ "But for as moche . . . stroke": Honorius Aug. II. 30. Caxton's simile differs from O. F. text, p. 161: "... a la maniere d'un clochier que l'en fait en ces mostiers": (the shadow becomes more and more slender) like a steeple such as is built on these monasteries.
But yf the sonne and therthe were of one lyke greteness, this shadowe shold haue none ende, but shold be all egal without declynyng. And yf *therthe were gretter than the sonne, thenne the shadowe of þe sonne shold goo enlargyng and be more; as ye may see þe fourme by thise thre fygures folowyng ¹; & also ye may prene it otherwise without fygures: Take somme derke thing that may reteine lyght within it, as of tree or of stone or other thynge what it be that may ² be seen thurgh; thenne sette that to fore your eyen, ayenst *that thing that ye wold see, is it the heuen or erthe or ony other thynge. Yf that thyng that ye holde is more bredder and larger than your two eyen be a sondre, it shal take away the syght ayenst that whiche

¹ Cf. Figs. 30, 31, 32.
² The sense seems to require a negation after "may," i.e. "what it be that may not be seen thurgh." Caxton translates literally the text of MS. Roy. 19 a IX., which has no negation. Cf. O.F. text, p. 161: "qui soit tel que l'en ne puisse veoir parmi."
The stars are not seen by day on account of the sun.

is no bredder. And yf the thynge be alle egale in lengthe as moche as ye may stratche your two eyen, as moche shal it be taken fro you as the thinge shal haue of gretnes, as ye may see by this figure bynethe an that other syde. And yf the thinge haue lasse of gretnes than the lengthe is bytwene your bothe eyen, it shal take fro you lasse for to see, as wel nyghe as ferre, that it is of largenes of that whiche ye wold see. And whan ye put the thynge ferther fro your eyen, so moche the more may ye see of that other part ouer and aboue you, so that ye may se all. In lyke wyse is it of the sonne withoute ony doubtaunce or variacion; ffor it passeth therthe in gretnesse, so that it seeth the heuen al aboute, the sterres, and all that is on the firmament.

Why the sterres ben not seen by day as wel as by nyght. capitulo ii°.¹

THE sterres of the firmament, on whiche the sonne rendreth clernes, make contynuelli nyght and day their tornyng & cours wyth the firmament round aboute aboue as bynethe. But them that ben ouer vs we may not see by daye; ffor the sonne by hys grete clernes and lyght taketh from vs the sight of them,² in lyke wyse as ye shold do of candellis that were ferre breynnyn from yow. And yf ther were a grete fyre breynnyn *bytwene you and the candellis, and had grete flawme & lyght, it shold take away fro you your sight that ye shold not see the candellis. And yf the fyre were take away & put byhynde yow, ye shold incontynent see the candellis to fore you breynnyn. Thus in lyke wyse I saye yow of the sterres that may not be seen by daye as longe as the sonne maketh his torne and cours aboue therthe. And whan the sonne is vnder therthe, the sterres ben seen by vs.

¹ O. F. text, Ch. I ²(b).
² "The sterres . . . sight of them": Honorius Aug. 1. 89.
Why we do not see the sun by night.

nyght, we may not see them on the day; for the sonne that goth round aboute vs taketh fro tho sterres their clernes that ben on þo day tyme where the sonne is, vnto the tyme that he draweth hym vnder.

But alle they be lyght, what someuer part they torne, as wel by day as by nyght, as longe as the sonne goth aboute hye and lowe shynyng, sauf the whiche ben hyd by therthe fro th: for, as longe at the shadowe may comprise it, the sonne may gyue them no light.1 That ye may vnderstande by the figure.

Thus the shadowe discreaceth by the sonne whiche is moche gretter than therthe, and fynysheth in lassyng. And it endureth ferther froot therthe than the mone is hye; but it faylleth aboue the mone.

Wherefor the sonne is not seen by nyght as it is by day. capitulo iii? ²

The erthe is suche that she deffendeth the day whiche the sonne gyueth vs. Yf therthe were so clere that * men myght see thurgh, thenne myght the sonne be seen contynuelly as wel vnder therthe as abone.² But it is so obscure and derke that it taketh away the sight fro vs. And it maketh the shadowe to goo alle alway tornyng after the sonne, whiche maketh as many tornynges aboute therthe as the sonne doth, whiche alle way is ayenst it; for whan the sonne ariseth in the mornyng in the est, the shadowe is in the weest; & whan it is right ouer & aboue vs at myldday, thenne is therthe shadowed vnder her. And whan the sonne goth doun in the west, the shadowe of it is in the eest; and thenne whan the *sonne is vnder, we haue thenne the shadowe ouer vs, which goth drawyng to the west, so longe til the sonne ariseth and shyneth & rendrith to vs the day. And this may ye see by thise two figures to fore an that other syde. ³

1 "as longe at . . . light": as longe as they are within the shadow, the sun cannot give them light.
2 O. F. text, Ch. 1²(c).
3 "The erthe . . . as aboue": Honorius Aug. II. 29.
4 Cf. Figs. 33, 34, p. 133.
How the mone receyueneth dyuersely her lyght and clerenesse.\textsuperscript{1} capitulo iii\textsuperscript{o}.\textsuperscript{2}

Syth that ye haue vnderstandond what it is of the daye and of the nyght, wille ye thenne after see the fait of the mone, and how she receyuyth lyght of the sonne.

She receyueneth lyght in suche maner that she is contynuuelly half full in what someuer place she be. And whan we see her round, thenne we calle her full. But how moche the ferther she is fro the sonne, so moche the more we se of her apparyl; and whan she is right vnder the sonne, thenne she apperithe not to vs; ffor thenne she is bytwene therthe and the sonne, & thenne she shyneth toward the sonne, and toward vs she is alle derke. And therfore we see her not.

But whan she is passed the poyn, and is remeuid fro the sonne, thenne begynneth her clerenesse to appere to vs as she were horned; and so moche as she withdraweth her fro the sonne, somoche more apperith she shynyng; and thenne whan she apperith to be half ful of lyght, thenne hath she gon a quarter of her cercle, whiche is the fourthe parte of her torne and cours that she goeth euyry moneth. And thus alle way her clernesse encreacyng and growyng, she goth til she be alle rounde, fayre and clere, in semblauwce of a rolle: and that we calle the ful mone.

Thenne is *she right vnder the sonne as she may be, right ayenst the sight in suche wyse that alle her lyght is torned toward vs. Thenne is therthe bytwene the sonne & the mone, so that we may not see them bothe vpon therthe, but right litil. But one of them may be seen, ffor then that one goth doun in the west, that other ariseth in the eest; & soo at euyn or morn may bothe be seen, but not longe; ffor that one goth vnder therthe, & that other cometh aboue.

Thenne the mone whiche hath ben opposite of the

\footnotesize{[\textsuperscript{* foil. 7 ]}}

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. for this chapter: Isidore, III. 53; Philosophia Mundi, II. 31; Neckam, I. 13.
\textsuperscript{2} O. F. text, Ch. II \textsuperscript{3}. 
Of the phases of the moon.

sonne, & hath goon half her cours, thenne she goth on that other side approchynge the sonne; & begynneth to lasse her light & mynus she it til it be but half agayn; & thenne hath she gon thre quarters of her cercle, & is thenne as nygh the sonne on that syde as she was at the first quarter on that other syde; & so approcheth ner & ner til she appere horned as to fore;

& thus she goth til she be al failled, that we may see nomore themne of her; ffor thenne is she vnder the sonne, as ye may see by thys present fygure. & I saye nomore herof but that she is themne bytwene pe sonne & therthe.

* How the eclipses of the mone happen. capitulo v°.3

It happeth ofte tymes that the mone muste nedes lose her lyght. And that happeth whan she apperith most full; and she becometh as vanysshed away, and derketli lytil and lytil til she be all faylled.

1 Cf. Fig. 35. 2 Cf. for this chapter: Philosophia Mundi, II. 32; Neckam, I. 13. 3 O. F. text, Ch. III.3.
Of the eclipse of the moon.

Ye haue herd here to fore how the mone taketh lyght of the sonne, that alle way she hath half her lyght hole. But whan it is so that she is in eclipse, thenne hath she no lyght in noo parte. And this happeth neuer but whan she is torned right so that the sonne gyueth her ful lyght; for the mone goth not al way so right at

doeth the Sonne, for somtyme she passeth in her cours by suche a way that therthe shadoweth her all; for therthe is gretter than the mone is, & therfore whan therthe is iuste bytwene the sonne and the mone, thenne she thus shadoweth her. For bytwene the sonne and the mone is a lygne whiche declyneth somoche to the mone, by whiche the sonne Smyteth his Rayes in her as longe as ther is no lettyng by

at: as. Cf. also "as longe at," p. 134.
Of the eclipse of the sun.

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therthe. Ffor the more that therthe is bytwene them, the more is the mone shadowed; and the lasse that it is bytwene, somoche lasse is the shadowe. And the mone leseth the lasse of her lyght that she receyueth of the sonne, whan she is so shadowed.

Thus ye may vnderstonde: yf a lygne passed thurgh therthe by the poyn of the myddle of it, & stretched that one ende vnto the body of the sonne, in suche wyse by right sight that it endured on that other ende vnto the mone which every moneth goth here and there, hyer and lower; yf she were so euene ayenst the sonne, thenne shold she falle euery *moneth in that shadowe whiche on alle partes shold emphesse her lyght whiche thenne myght not come to her therthe in no wise; ffor the further she is fro the right lygne, so moche hath & receyueth she the more of lyght. And whan she is so that therthe is ex opposito bytwene them, than loseth the mone her lyght.

Thus is seen somtyme the mone, in the myddle of his moneth, lose his lyght & derk whan she is most ful, and her lyght torned vnto derkenesse, whiche we calle the eclipse of the mone; as ye may wel see and vnder-stande by this fygure ¹ yf ye beholde it well.

How the Eclypse of the Sonne cometh.² cap° vi°.³

I t happeth somtyme that the sonne leseth his clerenes & the lyght in the playn daye, ffor it goth as to declyne; & is called in latyn eclipse. This eclipse pro-cedeth bicause of defaulte of light; and it happeth in this manere *that, whan the mone which is vnder the sonne cometh right bytwene vs and the sonne, thenne in the right lygne, it behoueth that toward vs the mone taketh and reteygneth the lyght of the sonne on hye, so that it semeth to vs that is defaylled.⁴ Ffor the mone is not so pure that the sonne may shyne ouer her and

² Cf. for this chapter: Philosophia Mundi, II. 30.
³ O.F. text, Ch. IV ².
⁴ "whau the mone . . . defaylled": when the moon is in a straight line between us and the sun, the moon keeps the light of the sun away from us, so that the sun seems to fail.
thurg her as thurg an other sterre: Alle lyke as of a candell whiche is sette ferre fro your sight, and after ye helde your honde right to fore the candell, thenne ye shold not see notherg therof. And the more right ye holde your hand bytwene, the more lasse shold ye see this candele. And somoche ye may sette your hand right to fore your eyen, and so ferre, that ye shold see notherg therof.

In this maner I telle yow of the eclipse, that bytwene the Sonne and the Mone is not one waye comune; but the mone goth an other waye whiche destourneth her a lytil from the Sonne. Wherfore vs byhoueth to vnderstande that the mone goth oftymes, whan she is bytwene vs and the Sonne, somtyme aboue and otherwhyle bynethe, here and there as she riseth and declyneth. But when she passyth in the right lygne euen bytwene vs & the sonne, thenne taketh the mone fro vs the lyght & clerne of the sonne in suche wyse as we may not clerly see her in that paas; ffor thenne shadoweth she therthe, and kepeth the rayes of the sonne that they may not shyne on therthe; & they that ben in this parte haue in their sight þe shadowe behynde them.

But it apperith not comunely to alle men thurg al the world. Ffor the mone is not so grete nowher nygh as all therthe; therfor she shadoweth not all, but only where *she is in the right lygne bytwene therthe and the sonne. And thyder the philosophres were wont to goo where as they knewe it; ffor by their wyt & studye they had lerned for to approue the daye and tyme whan suche thynges shold happe; by whiche they preuyd plente of thynges, wherfore they preyed moche Our Lord.

Thus see we here bynethe the eclipse of the sonne aboue vs, whan the mone is right vnder the sonne, for as moche as she is bynethe the sonne and aboue vs. And thenne the sonne passeth the right lygne and goth departyng and wythdrawyng so moche that she apperith as she dyde afore; and thenne the mone departed is horned thre dayes after this Eclypse. And by this

[* fo. 74]
Of the conjunction of the sun and moon.

fygure\(^1\) ye may understand playnly this that ye haue herd here to fore.

Fig. 37.

Of the eclipse that happed atte deth of Our Lord God. capitulo vii\(^2\).

\(^{\ast t}\) Hus\(^3\) as the mone taketh away fro vs the light of the sonne, so it happeneth oftyme that therthe taketh away the lyght of the mone as to fore is declared. But the Eclipse of the mone may not be in no wise but whan she apperith most full, ne theclypse of the sonne may not be but whan the mone is all waned and faylled, and that we calle the coniuncion, but yf God, whiche may all thinge chaunge and defete at is playsir, make it to come or happene otherwise; lyke as it happed at suche tyme as Our Sauyoor Jhesu Cryste was on the

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\(^1\) Cf. Fig. 37.  
\(^2\) O.F. text, Ch. V\(^3\).  
\(^3\) "Thus": the capital T is here replaced by a small t as initial.
Of the conversion of Dionysius the Areopagite.

crosse, at whiche tyme the lyght & bryghtnesse of the
day faylled fro mydday vnto 7\textdegree ix hour of the day; &
thenne was the mone vnder therthe at the fulle as moche
as she myght be, whiche thenne in no wyse myght
empesse the lyght of the sonne; & the day at that tyme
was as derke and obscure as it had ben propr ye ngyt,
whiche by nature at that tyme shold haue be bryght &
pure.

Ffor whiche cause seynt Dionysse, whiche at this tyme
is shryned in Fraunce, & thenne beyng an estudyant
in Grece, a paynem, like a grete clerke as he was, ffor he
knewe moche of astronomye, whan he apperceyuued this
grete obscure & derknes, he had right grete meruaylle
& fonde by astronomye that this myght not be by
nature ne by reson that the eclipse of the sonne shold
happe & falle in suche season. Thenne saide he a derke
worde in this maner: "Or the god of nature suffreth
grete torment by wronge, or all 7\textdegree world discordeth &
shal desolue & faylle, as it that muste take an ende." &
thought in hym self that he was a grete god that so
suffred, & that he had power & myght aboue all other
goddes, as he that byleuid on many goddes after his
lawe. Thenne this *holy Dionysse made an aultor in his
oratorye, alle aboue the other aulters, and also a parte
where as no persone repayred but he hym self only, by
cause he wold not be reputed in mysbyleue; & when
it was made & he had seen it, he called it "the aultor of
the god vnknowne," & worshipped & adoured hym, and
helde hym for a right dere and grete god.

It was not longe after this, that the holy doctour Seynt
Poul cam to this place where seynt Dionys was, as he
that knewe hym for a right grete clerke. And by
commynycacion and preching of seynt Poul he was
sone convered by the helpe of Our Lord, whiche
wrought so therin that thenne he had very knowleche

\footnote{1 Cf. Introduction, p. xvii.}

\footnote{"Or the god ... ende": Suidas (Life of Dionysius the
Areopagite, Patrologia, Series Graeca, t. 117, col. 1251) mentions
this exclamacion, addressed by Dionysius to his friend Apollon-
planes: "Καὶ τὸ θεῖον πάσας, Καὶ τὸ πασχῶνι συμπάσας." Dionysius
is also mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (xvii. 23-34).}

\footnote{Acts of the Apostles, xvii, 23.}
Eclipses portend great events.

how Our Lord had suffred his passion; ffor they were bothe good clerkes, as is more playnly conteyned in their legendes.

And thus was the noble clerke saynt Dionys bycomen a good and very crysten man, whiche all his lyf to fore had be a paynem; and he so employed his science & his tyme, fro that day forthon, that it auaylled hym gretly to the helthe of his sowle. This eclipse deceyuid hym not ne this that he knewe astronomye; but he bycam after a man of so good and holy lyf that he gate for his reward the blysse of heuen.

Ye haue herd the fayt of eclipses. Yf ye wyl understande them well, and ye shal not fare the worse ne the lasse auaylle you; ffor to knowe it may moche prouffyte to every persone; ffor suche demonstraunces ben signefycacions of grete werkes & thynges that ofte after happen & falle. This fynde wel astronomers by Astronomye, as somtyme scarce and defaulte of goodes, or of a grete derthe or warre, or deth of kynges or prynces that falleth in the *world, as they may enquyre and serche by their science & reson.

This Eclipse that was so grete signefyed the deth of Jhesu Cryst. And it ought wel to come otherwyse for hym than for another; ffor he was and is by right lord and kyngge of alle the world, and may deffete and desolue it, and ordeyne at his good playsyr.

The other eclipses comen by nature, whiche reteyne on therthe their vertues of thinges that ben to come; ffor it byhoneth alle to fynysshe and come to nought, alle that is on therthe, & that shortly.

God made not the firmament ne the sterres for nought whiche, as sayd is, goth tornyng ouer & aboue vs; and gyueth to the sterres names and vertues in heuen and in erthe, eche after his myght, on alle thynges that hath growyng. Ffor ther is nothyng but it hath somme power, for as moche as it hath

1 "Yf ye wyl ... auaylle you": "If you wish to understand them, you will not be any the worse, nor will it be of less advantage to you." We are guided in the punctuation of this passage by the O.F. text (p. 172), which requires a stop after "eclipses" and the omission of "and."
Of the influence of stars upon all things.

growyng, suche as it ought to have by nature and by reson.

We shal now for this present leue for to speke ony more of the eclipses, and shal recompte and declare of the vertue of the firmament and of the sterres; ffor who so wel knewe the vertue of them, he shold knowe the trouthe of alle suche thynge that is bynethe here on therthe by reson of nature, whether the thynge were obscure and derke or not.

Of the vertue of heuen and of the sterres.¹ ca. viii²

Now wylle ye here of the science by the whiche men gete sapience for to knoue and enqyure the thinges that may happen in therthe by the werke of right nature which is figured by the world.

The heunenes and the * sterres ben the very instruments of nature to the world, by whiche she werketh alle, as God wille, as wel nygh as ferre. & who that coude knowe her myght, he had knowlege of alle thyng that sayd is, as wel of the sterres that ben on heuen, whiche hauue vertues on therthe, whiche God hath gyuen and graunted to euerich, and specyally to the sonne and to the mone which gyue lyght vnto the world, & wythout whom nothyng lyuyng may be.³ Ffor by them growe alle thynges that be in this world, and whiche haue ende and begynnyng. This consenteth and permyseth he that is almyghty.

Alle dyuersitees that be in persones, and whiche haue dyuersitees of makyng and of corsage, and alle that happeth by nature, be it in herbes, in plantes or in beestes, this happeth by the vertue celestyal whiche God gaf to the sterres, whan he first created the world, and that he sette them and endowed them wyth suche nature that he ordeyned them to goo round aboute the world ayenst the tornyng of the firmament. And by theyr

¹ Cf. for this chapter Adelard of Bath, Quaest. 74, "Utrum animatae sunt stellae."
² O.F. text, Ch. VI 3.
³ "& who that coude . . . may be.": Neckam, I. 7; De Laud. I.
The will of God is above all things.

tornyng and by their vertue whiche lieth in heuen lyue alle thynge that ben vnder it.

And yf it pleasyd Our Lord that he wold holde the heuen al stytyle in suche wyse that it tormed not abonte, ther is nothyng in alle the worlde that myght meue hym. In hym shold be no vnderstandyng, nomore than in a dede body whiche feleth nothyng ne therin is no wytte, ne vnderstandyng, ne moeuyng, as he that hath no lyf; in suche poynt shal every thynge be whan the heuen shal leue his moeuyng. Alle thus shold they be & neuer moeue tyl that the heuen had agayn his moeuyng. And thenne sholde they be otherwyse.

But who that thenne *myght vse his wytte & see what he shal be, moche myght he see of semblaunces and of dyuerse contenaunces in other men that myght not remeue them; ffor yf ther were no moeuyng on the heuen, ther is nothyng that myght lyue on erthe. Also God wyll that it so be, that all thynge hath establisshid by light. Thus was the wylle of God, in whom alle vertues habounde, for to fourme the worlde; ffor he made ne created neuer thynge, but that he gaf to it suche vertue as it ought to haue. Ellis he had made somthyng for nought and without reson. But he dyde not so; ffor he neuer failled in no thinge.

He made and created all the sterres, and gaf to euerich his vertue. And who that wille not thus byleue, in hym is neyther membre ne reson. Ffor we see openly that the mone taketh lyght whan we see her all full; ffor the man hath thene neyther membre ne vayne but that it is ful, whan it is in the cours, of humours and suche things. And in lyke wise it happeth on alle bestes; ffor they haue thenne their heedes and other membres more garnysshid of margh and of humeurs. And the see also floweth and ebbeth

1 "ffor the man . . . things." O.F. text, p. 174; "car li bons n'a lors ne membre ne vaine qui plus ne soit plaine d'umeurs que quant elle est en decours": for man has then neither limb nor vein which is not fuller of humours than when she (the moon) is decreasing (waning).—Caxton's "whan it is in the cours" is not a correct translation.

2 margh: marrow.

MIRROUR OF THE WORLD.
Of the influence of the moon on the tides. Of seasons.

in his cours euery moneth; wherof it happeth that they that ben nygh the see, whan they knowe that the mone is ful, they wythdrawe them fro the see on hye, and saue them & theyre meynage. And in this poynct they wythdrawe them and holde them in hye places vnto the tyme that the see wythdraweth and lassetagayn. And thus do they euery moneth. But alle this happeth by the mone whiche is one of the seuen planetes.

In lyke wyse is it seen of the sonne that, after the wynter, whan he begynneth to monte, lie causeth *the fruyt to be brought forth of therthe, and apparaileth the trees wyth leues, and alle verdure to come agayn; and the byrdes begynne agayn their songe for the swetenes of the new tyme. And whan he rebasshith and declyneth, he maketh the wynter to bygynne, & causeth flowres and leuys to faylle and falle so longe tyl he begynne to monte agayn, as to fore is said.

Syth that thise two sterres haue suche vertues, and cause suche thynges to be don, the other whiche ben pourtrayed on the heuen were not made to serue of nought. But to eueriche is ordeyned his vertue and his right after his nature, wherfore they make dyuersytees in thynges that ben on therthe, and the moenynges of tyme; of whiche that one cometh soone and that other late; and the fruytes that come on therthe, somme come sone and erly, and the other late, and ben other-while sonner rype in one yere than in an other, and more assured of tempestes and other greuaunces; and thus chaunge in sondry maners. For one somer is softe and moyste, and another is drye and wyndy.

Of the wynter it happeth oftymes that they chaunge, so that one is colde, rayny, and more desplaysaunt that thother; and another shal be more Joyous & lasse damageable. Thus is seen that the one is dere of somme vitaylle or other thynges, and that other shal be plentyuous. And also it is ofte that ther is plente and good chepe in one yere; in an other yere it is had in grete chierte, & is of grete scarsete; this fallyth somtyme and ofte.

Alle thise dyuersytees cause the sterres whiche ben on
Variety in this world due to the stars.

the heuen. But alle this is by the wylle of Our Lord that hath sette euerich in *his propre place where he maketh naturelly his cours, and euerich dyuersly. Ffor yf none other thyng has his yse in tymes sauf the sonne only wythout moo, as he that goth swyftly by the firmament euery yere, and mounteth as moche and as hye in one somer as in an other, and as moche descendeth in one wynter as in another euery day egally til that he come in to his right poynt, and Joyneth that other after hym where he was to fore, this knowe wel Astronomeyers that he gooth euery yere aboute the heuen one torne, and where he is this day, in the same place he shal be this day a yere: ther by is it known that, yf none other had no power, theinne shold euery yere be lyk other; & euery yere alway shold be lyke as the yere to fore was; and euery moneth shold be lyke the same as eueriche shold come, that is to wyte one Janyuer lyke another Janyuer, and Ffeuerer lyke another Feuerer, and in lyke wyse alle the other x moneths; ffor the sonne goth alle lyke in one moneth as he shal the next yere in the same moneth. And this day shold reassamble and be lyke vnto this day a yere in alle maner thynges, that is to wete of het, of colde, of fair wether, of rayne and of other thynges euerich after their comyng all the yere dur- yng. Thenne sholde it falle by right nature that in all the somers and all the wynters that euer haue ben and shal be shold not come no dyuersytees. And all the tymes shold be lyke as they that by the Sonne shold be alway deme- ned, eschaffed and contynuellly governed; ffor he goth egally alway, and endeth his cours euery yere, and holdeth his right way in one estate, as he that goth not out * of his waye.

Thus is he the right veyle and patrone of all the other sterres, ffor it is the most fyn of all the other by the grete clerenesse that is in hym, and in all thynges by hym 1; and he hath on therthe more power on thynges, of whiche may be enquyred of nature reson and right, than all the other sterres. Yet som-

1 "and in all thynges by hym": O.F. text, p. 176, "et toutes choses naissent par lui," and all things come to life through him.
The sun is the most powerful of the stars.

tyme they restrayne his heetes and after they enlarge them, after that they be fer or nygh, as he otherwhile hath nede; lyke vnto a kyng whiche is the gretter lorde and the more myghty in hym self for his hyghnesse than any other of his peple, neuertheles he hath somtyme nede of them for to holpen and seruyd of them; for how moche the nerrer he is to his peple, so moche more is he stronge and puissaunt, and the ferther he wythdraweth fro his folke, so moche the lasse he expoyteth of his werke. In lyke wyse I saye to yow of the sonne whiche is, as ye may vnderstonde, the grettest, the most myghty and the most vertuous; of whiche he hath gretter power in erthe than any other sterre may haue. But the other haue their power eruerich in his degree.

But syth we haue recounted to yow the shortest wyse we may of the vertue of the firmament, we shall declare to you heraftter in short how the world was mesured as wel in heygth as in depnesse, and on alle sides, of lengthe and brede, by them that knewe the resons of the vii scyences. Of whiche Geometrye is one, by whiche the sonne, the mone, therthe and the firmament ben mesured as wel wythin as wythoute, how moche it is of gretenes, and how moche it is fro therthe to the firmament, and alle the gretenes of the sterres; ffor this is preuyd by right byholdyng. And they that fonde this scyence perceyuid that it myght not be knowne truly by astronomye, ne the nature of the sterres withoute knowyng of their mesures. Therfore wolde they mesure them and preue al their gretenesse.

Wherfore and how they mesure the world, ca. ixn.1

Fyrst of alle the auncyent philosophres wolde mesure the gretnes of the world all round aboute therthe tofore any other werke, by whiche they preuyd the heygth of the sterres and the gretnes of the firmament all aboute. And they coude not fynde more greter mesure to be mesure.

And whan they had mesurede therthe how moche it had of largenes all aboute, and how moche it had of

1 O.F. text, Ch. VII 2.
How the stars were measured.

thynknes thorugh, they enqueryd after of the mone, by cause it was leste hye fro therthe & most nyhest therto. And after they enqueryd of the somne how ferre it was fro therthe, and how moche the body therof had of gretnes. And they fonde it moche more than all therthe was.

And whan they had mesured thise thre thynges, the Sonne, the Mone and therthe, they myght lightly after enqnyre of the other sterres, how moche eueric is nygh or ferre, and the gretnes of eueric. Of whiche they fonde none but his body were of more gretnenes than alle therthe is, excepte only thre of the planetes without more, whiche ben Venus, Mercurye & the Mone whiche is the thirde.¹

And every man may enquery this, yf he knowe the seyence of geometrye & the seyence of Astronomye * with all; ffor that muste he knowe first to fore he may fynde and knowe the trouthe. But for as moche as alle be not good clerkis ne maistres of astronomye that may proue this, we wil recounte here after how moche the erthe is longe, and how thycke it is thurgh, and also how moche the mone is aboue therthe, and the somne also whiche is aboue the mone, and how moche eche of them hath of gretenes, lyke as the kynge Tholomeus hath preued; and also we shal speke after that of the sterres and of the firmament: Of alle this we shal saye to you.

But first to fore all I shal recounte² to yow of the faytes and dedes of the kynge Tholomeus whiche knewe so many demonstraunces of apparicions, and so moche loued astronomye that he wolde serche alle thysse thynges. And we shal saye to you of somme thynges whiche ben not contrarye to yow ye wyl wel vnderstande & reteyne them, by whiche ye may lerne som good. And thenne after we shal mesure to you the world the best wyse we may.

Now entende ye of the kynge Tholomeus and of the werkes of somme other philosophres for youre owne prouffyt.

¹ "Of whiche they . . . thirde.": Neveam, I. 8.
² recounte = recounte.
Of clocks, and of the works of Ptolemy.

Of the kyng Tholomeus and of somme other philosophers. capitulo x.¹

Tholomeus was a kyng moche suhtil in Astronye. This Tholomeus was kyng of Egipte, which he helde the contree longe tyme. Ther were somtyme many kynges that were named Tholomeus. But emonge the other this was he that knewe most of Astronye and that most ensorched of the sterres, and more vnderstode of them than the other. Of whiche he composed and made plente of right fair volumes and bookes, and many dyuerse instrumentes by whiche was founde appertly all the gretenes of therthe, and the heyght of the firmament, and how the sterres make their cours bothe by nyght & by daye.

By hym were founden first the oryloges of the chirches, whiche beginne the houres of the dayes & of the nyghtes. The dayes passe fast on; wherfor the chirches haue grete nede to haue good oryloges for to doo therby alway the seruyse of Our Lord at hour com petent and due, as wel by day as by nyght; for God loueth moche for to be adoured and seruyd enterly and ordynately euery day. For the Orysons that ben sayd and recyted euery day in the chirches playse more to Our Lord than do they that ben said in many other places. And therfor the oryloges ben necessarye in euery chirche.

And men serue God the better in due tyme, and fare the better, and lyue the lenger; for yf they ruled soo them self to praye at a certayn hour, and at an other hour in lyke wise to ete, and other things in his right hour, it shold be a lyght thynge to doo and plese God yf men wold applye them as wel to suche thynges as they doo to doo that whiche confoundeth and sleeth them; that is to wete that they be all enelyned to conquere the richeses, of whiche they cesse not nyght ne daye, and wenen to prolonge their lyf therby. But

1 O.F. text, Ch. VIII ².
² See Introduction, p. xix.
³ "The dayes passe fast on": O.F. text (p. 178), "les jours acourcent," i.e. the clocks shorten the days.
Of people who strive after wealth.

Of people vjho strive after vjealth. Ffor by the grete goodes that they assemble on alle sides, they put them in suche thought and payne that they lesse ofte their wytte & vnderstandyng and also their mynde, so that they may not enclyne and thynke on thoo werkes that towche their salvacion as they ought to doo; and by suche werkes shold they be in more ease and lyue lenger and plese better Our Lord, and shold also have more helthe of body and of sowle. But they loue somoche the wynnyng of the goodes of the Avorld that they leue that whiche shold more auayle and prouffyte them.

I wote neuer wherfore they gete this hauoir and good, ffor they lose therby the ease of the worlde: by cause when they wene to sette them in ease and to be in pees, thenne cometh deth and maketh them to dye with right grete sorowe. Ffor the grete conetyse of the good, and the payne that they haue made alle way to gete it without ordynauce and mesure hath moche the more hastelyer brought them to their deth. And so ben many men deed that, yf they had ordeyned their affaires and besynesse as they ought to do at euery hour competently and by ordre, whiche yet had ben a lyue and in good helthe.

And lo, thus ye may see how they abregge their dayes and anaunce their deth; ffor atte longe Nature may not suffre dyuere mayntenes vrresonable ne the sodeyn agrauacions ne griefs of whiche, by theyr folyes, they tranaylle nature; and it displesyth moche vnto God. And also no good may come therof. But glallyer and wyth better wyle they tranaylle, and more dyligently, for to wynne and gete the wordly goodes than the loue of God. And neuer do they thynge by ordre. One day goon they erly to the chirche, and another day late or at suche an hour as they wene that it shall not hurte them to anaunce their gayne and wynnyng. Thus go they neuer to chirche for to pray vnto God vnto the tyme that they

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1 This passage (that is to wete ... pourchasse their deth) is a word for word translation of Ms. Roy. 19 A 1X. This Ms. gives a paraphrase of the corresponding passage in Ms. A.

wene that they shal wynne nomorle wordly goodes. But they wynne the lasse; ffor they serue God in vayn. And God shal rendre to them their reward, and they shal bye right dere that they lene to serue hym, ffor he may rendre to them more meryte in one day than they may gete in a thousand yere.

Suche peple ben folles & euyl aduyysed whan of nought they wene to serue hym that alle knoweth and alle seeth, ye the lest thought that they thynke. Yet ben ther somme, whan they goo to chirche, they goo not in entencion to praye God, but only for to gete the loos and goodes of the world; and praye more for their richesses, that God sholde kepe and multepleye them, than they do for the saluacion of their sowles whiche ben in grete paryll to be perisshed.

And it is a grete meruaylle of suche maner of peple that thynke wel in their hertes and knowe wel that it is euyl that they do, yet for al that they amende them not. Of whiche it is grete pyte when they so folowe the denyll whiche is so feble a thyng fro whom alle euyllis sourden. Truly the deuyl is ful of inyquyte, and withoute power and strengthe ouer ony persone of hym self; ffor he may not vaynquysshe ne ouercome but hym that consenteth to his wyll. For who that wil conduyte and rule hym self well, the inyquytees of hym may not noye ne greue ne in no thyng trauaylle hym of whiche he hath cause to sorowe, fore as longe as he will dispose hym to doo well. Thenne may wel be sayd "fy"; ffor they ben more than faylled when he ouercometh them *so febly, and taketh them in their enyll dedes and synnes, and ledeth them to perdicion, where neuer they shal be without payne ne neuer shal haue Joyce, ne in nowise haue hope of mercy.

Of this purpos we shal saye nomore now, but recounte of kynge Tholomeus the whiche employed his tyme in the werkes of Our Lord God.

Out of his bookes were drawn the nombres of whiche the yeres ben ordeyneil. And of the same is founde the cours of the mone, by whiche is seen whan she is

1 sourden: spring, arise.
Of the Calendar, and of Adam's knowledge.

newe. Of whiche Julius Cezar, whiche of Rome was Emperour, made a booke called the "sommes," the whiche is ful necessarie in holy chirche; and it declareth the golden nombre of the kalender; ffor by the kalender is knowne the cours of the mone and of alle the yere; by whiche is also knownen how we ought to lyue after reson everie daye, that is to wete in etyng and drynyng, and in worshipyng Our Lord on hye dayes and symple, and for to solemnnyse suche dayes as holy chirche hath ordeyned and by blessyd sayntes establyphshed. By the kalender we knowe the holy tymes, as the ymbre dayes, the lente, aduente, and the hye dayes and festes that we ben most bounden to serue God ffor to gete his inestymable Joye and glorye whiche Our Lord hath promysed vnto his good and trewe frendes whiche wyth good herte serue hym.

Alle this lerneth vs the kalender the whiche was drawn out of Astronomye whiche the good kynge Tholomens lonyd so moche; and he knewe more than ony other man sauf Adam whyche was the fyrst man; ffor Adam knewe alle the seuen scyences lyberall entyerly,* without faylling in a worde, as he that the creatour made and fourmed with his propre handes. And so wolde Our Lord haue hym souerayn in beaute, in witte & in strengthe ouer al them that shold be born after hym vnto the comyng of Jhesu Cryste sone of God, the whiche had gyuen to hym suche vertues. Ne neuer after Adam gaf he so moche to one man, ne neuer shall. But anon as he had consented & commysed the synne defended, he lost somoche of his wytte and power that anon he becam a man mortal. And he was suche to fore er he had synned that he shold neuer haue felte deth.

Ne alle we descended of hym shold not haue had lasse meryte than he in Joye, in solaas, and in deduyt of paradys terrestrre, alle to gydre, and born and nourysshed wythout synnes, and after in heuen gloryfyed. But syth they tasted of the fruyt whiche God defended them, his wytte and his entendement were so destroyed and corumped by his synne that alle we
abyde entetched⁴ and foyled ther by; ne ther is nothing vnder the fyrmament but it is worse sythen than to fore, and of lasse valewe; ye the sterres gyue lasse lyght than they dyde to fore.

Thus alle thynges empayred of their goodnes & vertues by the synne of Adam, which God had made for man, as he that wolde make hym maistre of all the goodes that he had made. But anon as he had commysed the synne, he felte hym so bare of his witte & entendement, strength & of his beaute, that hym semed he was al naked, and that he had loste all goodes, as a man put in exyle. But notwythstondyng this, yet abode wyth hym more witte, strengthe and beaute than euer ony man had sythen.

And to the regard of thise thre vertues that Adam had, the kynge Dauid, that was so vertuous and wyse, had ii sones⁵ whiche myght be compared, that one to the beaulte of Adam, and that other to his wyysedom. Absolon myght be compared to his beaulte, and Salomon vnto his witte and wyysedom, and Sampson the forte vnto his strengthe. Thus were thise thre vertues in Adam so parfyghtly that noman syth myght compare wyth hym, ne the ii sones of Dauid, ne Sampson, ne none other. Ffor as it is said tofore, he knewe the vii sciences liberall better than alle the men that ben descended of hym, as he to whom his God and maker had taught them to hym and enseygned. And after that, they were sought by many a man whiche rendred grete payne for to fynde them and to saue them for cause of the flood, knowyng that it sholde come to the world by fyre or by water.

How the scriptures and scyences were saued ayenst the flood.⁶ capitulo xi⁷.

Syth Adam was deed ther were many men whiche lerned the scyences of the vii artes liberall whiche God had sente to them in therthe. Of whome somme

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³ This chapter is mostly taken from Gervase of Tilbury, I. 20.
⁴ O.F. text. Ch. IX ⁵.
⁵ See Introduction, p. xx.
⁶ O.F. text. Ch. IX ⁷.
Of the two pillars on which the vii Arts were engraved.

Of the two pillars on which the vii Arts were engraved.

ther were that wolde enquierre what shold bycome of the world, or euer it shold haue an ende.

And they founde verily that it shold be destroyed and take ende twyes: At the first tyme by the flood of water.

But Our Lord wold not they shold knowe whether it shold be first destroyed by water or by fyre. Thenne had they grete pyte for the scyences * that they had goten, whiche they knewe and so shold perisse but yt it were kept and ordeyned fore by their wysedoms. Thenne they aduyseyd them of a grete wytte and bouute, as they that wel wiste that after the first destruxion of the world ther shold be other peple. Wherfor they dyde do make grete pylers of stone, in suche wyse that they myght portraye and graue in euery stone atte leste one of the vii sciences entierly, in suche wise that they myght be knowne to other.

Of whiche somme saye that one of thise pylers was of a stone as hard as marble, & of suche nature that water myght not empayre it ne deface ne mynuysse it. And they made other in a stronge maner of tyles, all hole, wythoute ony Joyntures, that fyre myght not hurte it in no wyse. In thyse grete colompnes or pylers, as sayd is, were entaylled & grauen the vii scyences in suche wyse that they that shold come after them shold fynde and lerne them.

Of them that fonde the science and the clergye after the flood. capitulo xii".

As ye may vnderstonde, the seuen scyences lyberall were founden by auncyent wyse men, out of whiche all other sciences procede. Thyse were they to whom Our Lorde hath gyuen them and enseygned, doubtyng the deluuye that God sente in to therthe, the whiche drowned alle creatures, reseruyd Noe and them that he toke in to the Arke wyth hym. And after this the world was

1 The passage after "twyes" is incomplete in MSS. A, Roy. 19 A IX., and in Caxton. The correct reading, taken from other MSS., is: "A l'une loiz par feu ardant, a l'autre oiz par le deluge d'yaue": once by burning fire, the other time by the flood.—The words in italics are missing, though quite essential to the sense in the O.F. text (p. 182).

2 O.F. text, Ch. X."
Of the vii. Arts after the deluge, and of the Trinity.

[* fo. 83] 

repeoplyd and made agayn by them that descend of them. For after the tyme of Noe, the peple began to make agayn howses and mansions, and to make redy other werkis. But this was moche rudely, as they that coude but right lytil vnfo the tyme that thise sciences were founden agayn. & thenn coade they better make & doo that was nedeful & propice to them, & fynde remedye for their eyyllis.

The first that applyed hym and entermeted for to enqyure and serche these sciences after the flood was Sem, one of the sones of Noe, whiche had gyuen his correge therto. And in suche wyse he dyde therin suche dyligence and so contynued that, by his wytte, he fonde a parte of Astronomye. After hym was Abraham whiche also founde a grete partye; and after hym were other that vsed theyr lyf the best wyse they myght, so moche that they had the pryncyple and resonz of the seuen scyences.

And after cam Plato the sage and right souerayn in philosophye, and his clerke named Aristotyl the wyse clerke. This Plato was the man aboue all them of the world in clergye the most experete of them that were to fore or after hym. He preuyde first that ther was but one that was only souerayn, whiche all made & of whom alle good thinge cometh; yet his bookes approype hyely that ther ne is but one souerayn good, that is Our Lord God whiche made alle thynges. And in this only veryte he preuyd the right trouthe; ffor he preued his power, his wisdoin and his goodnes. Thise thre bountees reclayme alle crysten men, that is the fader, the sone, and the holy goste. Of the fader he sayde the power and puissaunce; of the sone, the Sapyence; and of the holy gost, the bienueullaunce.

[* fo. 83,vo.] 

And Aristotyl, whiche cam after hym, holdeth plente of thynges nyghe to hym, & knewe the thynges that he had sayd, and ordeyned right wel the science of logyke, ffor he knewe more therof than of other sciences.

Thise two notable clerkes fonde by their wysedom

and connyng thre persones in one essence, and preyde it; but they put it not in latyn, for bothe two were paynems, as they that were more than thre hundred yere to fore the conynge of Our Lord Jhesu Cryste. And alle their bookes were in grekyssh lettres.

After cam Boece whiche was a grete philosophre and right wise clerke, the whiche coude byhelpe hym with dyuerses langages, and lound moche right-wisnes. This Boece translated of their bookes the most partye, and sette them in latyn. But he deyde er he had alle translated them; wherof was grete dommage for vs alle. Syth haue other clerkes translated; but this Boece translated more than ony other, the whiche we haue yet in vsage. And compiled in his lyf plente of fair volumes aourned of hye and noble philosophye, of whiche we haue yet grete nede for tadresse vs toward Our Lord God.

And many other good clerkes haue ben in this world of grete auctoryte whiche haue lerned and studyd alle their tyme vpon the sciences of the vii Artes. Of whiche haue ben somme that in their tyme haue do meruaylles by Astronomye. But above alle them that most antremeted and traneyled vpon the science of Astronomye was Virgyle whiclie comypled many merueyllous werkes. And therfore we shal recounte a lytil here folowyng of the meruaylles he dyde.*

Here folowe in substauuce² of the meruaylles that Virgyle wrought by Astronomye in his tyme by his wytte.³ capitulo xiii".⁴

Virgyle, the wyse philosophre born in Itaile, was to fore the conymg of Our Lord Jhesu Cryst. He sette not lytil by the vii sciences, for he tranaylled and studyd in them the most part of his tyme, somoche that by astronome he made many grete meruaylles.

Ffor he made in Naples a flye of copper whiche, whan he had sette it vp in a place, that flye enchaced and hunted away alle other flyes, so that ther myght abyde none in

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¹ See Introduction, p. xx. ² Substauuce = substantue. ³ See Introduction, p. xx s. ⁴ O. F. text, Ch. XI.
Of the miracles of Virgil.

Of Place ne durste none approche nygh to that flye by the space of two bowe shote round aboute. And yf ony flye passed the bounde that Virgyle had compassed, incontynent it shold deye, and myght no lenger lyue.¹

He made also an hors of brasse, the whiche guarisshed and heled alle horses of all their maladyes and seknesses of whiche they were entechid, also sone as the seke hors loked on the hors of brasse.²

Also he founded a meruaylous cyte vpon an egge by suche force and power that, whan the egge was meuyd, all the cyte quaued and shoke. And the more the egge was meuyd the more the cyte quaued and trembled.³ The cyte in hye and lowe and in playn, the flye of copper and hors of brasse that Virgyle thus made, ben in Naples, and the cage where the egge is in, alle ben there seen. This hath be said to vs of them that be comen fro then and that many tymes haue seen them.

Also he made that in one day alle the fyre thurgh out Rome faylled and was* quenchid, in suche wise that no persone myght haue none but yf he wente and sette it at the nature of a woman with a Candel or otherwyse. And she was doughter of themperour, and a grete lady whiche to fore had don to hym a grete sklaundre and dysplaysir. And all they that had fette fyre at her myght not adresse it to other; but euerych that wolde haue fyre muste nedes go fetche it there as the other had fette it. And thus auenged he hym on her for the displaysir that she had don to hym.⁴

And he made a brygge vpon a water, the grettest that euer was made in the worlde; and is not knownen of what mater it is made, whether it be of stone or of wode. But ther was neuer werkman so subtyl, ne carpenter, ne mason, ne other that coude somoche knowe ne enscher wythin therthe ne wythin the water, that

¹ "Ffor he made ... lyue": Gervase of Tilbury, III. 10.
² "He made ... brasse": Chronica di Parthenope, XX.
³ "Also he founded ... trembled": Chronica di Parthenope, XXXI.
⁴ "Also he made ... to hym": Solinus, Memorabilia (ed. Francfort 1603, p. 143).
they myght knowe and fynde how that brygge was there sette, ne how it was susteyned in no maner, ne atte endes ne in the myddys; and men passed ouer frely and 1 all wythout lettyng.  

He made also a gardyn all aboute round closyd wyth thayer, wythout ony other closure, whiche was as thycke as a clowde. And this gardyn was right hye fro therthe.  

He made also two tapres and a lampe a lyght and brennyng in suche wise that it contynuellly brennyd wythout quenchyng, and mynusshed ne lassed no thyng. Thise thre thinges he enclosed within therthe in suche wyse that noman can fynde it ffour all the craft they can doo.  

Yet made he an heed to speke, which answerd of alle that whiche he was demanded of, and of that whiche shold happen and come in therthe. So on a day he demanded of the heed how he shold* doo in a certayn werke where as he shold goo vnto. But the heed answerd to hym in suche wyse that he understode it not wel; ffour hit sayde that yf he kept wel the heed, he shold come agayn all hole. And with this answere he wente his way wel assured. But the Sonne, whiche that day gaf grete hete, smote hym on the heed and chauffed his brayn, of whiche he toke none hede, that he gate therby a sekenes and maladye wherof he deyde. Ffor whan he had the answere of the heed, he understode not that he spack of his heed, but understode of the heed that spack to hym; but it had be better that he had kept wel his owne heed.  

And whan he felte hym self agreuyd wyth sekenesse, he made hym to be born out of Rome ffour to be beryed

1 and = and.  
2 "And he made . . . lettyng": Neckum, II. 174.  
3 "He made also . . . therthe": Neckam, II. 174; Gerease of Tilbury, III. 13.  
5 "Yet made he . . . heed": Puymaigre (Notice sur l’Image du Monde, Metz, 1854) states, without, however, giving chapter and page, that this story is to be found in the works of Bacon and Albert the Great.
Miracles are works of Nature.

in a castel beyng toward Sezyle, and a myle nyghe to the See. Yet ben there his bones whiche ben better kept than others ben. And when the bones of hym ben remenyd, the See begynneth to encrease and swelle so gretly that it cometh to the castel. And the hyer they be reysed vp, the hyer groweth the See, in suche wyse that the castel shold be drowned yf they were not anon remysed and sette in their place. But thenne when they be sette agayn in their place, anon the see aualeth and gooth a way there as it was to fore.¹ And this hath be ofytmes prawed; and yet endure the vertues of hym, as they saye that haue ben there.

Virgyle was a moche sage and subtyl clerke and ful of grete engyne, fior vnto his power he wold preue all the vsages of clerkes, as moche as was possible for hym to knowe. He was a man of lytil stature; a lytil courbed was he on the back by right nature, and wenete his heede hangyng *doun and beholdyng the ground.

¹To. SS, vo.

Virgyle dye and made many grete meruaylles whiche the herers shold holde for lesynges yf they herde them recounted; fior they wolde not byleue that another coude doo suche thynge as they coude not medle wyth. And whan they here speke of suche maters or of other that they see at their eyen and that they can not vnder-standinge ne knowe not therof, anon they saye that it is by thelpe of the fende that werketh in suche maner, as they that gladly myssaye of peple of recommendacion. And also saye it is good not to conne suche thynge. But yf they knewe the science and manere, they wold holde it for a moche noble and right werke of nature, and without any other espece of euyll. And whan they knowe not ne vnderstondes the thynge, they saye moche more euyl than well.

Certaynly who that knewe well Astronomye, ther is nothyng in the world of whiche he coude enquyre by reson but he shold haue knowleche therof. And many thynge shold he doo that sholde seme myracles to the

¹ "And whau he . . . to fore." This story is to be found in the works of Chancellor Conrad of Querfurt (ed. Borch, Dresden, 1880, p. 10).
peple whiche that knewe nothynge of the science. I saye not but ther myght he wel or done euyl by hym that coude it; ffor ther is none so good science but that myght be entended therin somme malyce, and that he myght use it in euyl that wolde so applye hym therto. God made neuer so good a gospel but somme myghte torne it contrarye to trouthe; & ther is no thyng so true but somme myght so close that it shold be to his damnacion, who that wolde payne hym to do euyl, how wel it is no maystrye to do yll.

Every man hath the power to drawe hym self to do well or to doo euyl, whiche that he wylle, as he that hath fre *liberte of that one and of that other. Yf he gyue hym self to vertues, this goodnes cometh to hym fro Our Lord; and yf he be inclyned to doo euyl, that bryngeth hym at the ende to sorrow and to payne perpetuell. Neuer shal the euyll disposed man saye well of that he can not wel vnderstonde & knowe. Ther is no craft, arte, ne science but it is good to be known, whan a man wyll gyue euyl and applye hym self therto. But late hym do nothyng aynst God by whiche he lese his grace.

Alle thyng is knowne by Astronomye, sauf suche thynges as God wylle that it be not known. And so it is better to leerne that, than to leerne to amasse and gadre to gydre grete tresours. Ffor who that coude Astronomye proprely, he shold haue all that he wold hauie on erthe; ffor hym shold faylle nothyng, what somenuer he wold and yet more. But they had leuer haue the monoye; and they knowe not that it is of Astronomye, ne wherfore monoye was founden, how wel that they applye all their entendement for to have it. But they retche not for to leerne, sauf that whiche they knowe shal redounde to their singuler prouffyt. And yet for alle that we shal not leue but that we shal recyte somme caes for them that haue talente for to leerne. And late hym herkne and take hede that wyll vnderstonde it.
Why money was first invented.

Here it declareth for what cause monoye was first establisshid.\(^1\) capitolo xiii\(^{ii}\).\(^2\)

The monoyes were establisshid first, for as moche as they had not of alle thinges necessarye to gydre.

\(^{[*fo. 86,vo.]}\)

\(^1\) Cf. for this chapter Neckam, II. 52.
\(^2\) O.F. text, Ch. XII\(^3\). 3 behoefful: profitable.
\(^3\) "and that it were . . . enseygne": which should be of some value for buying and exchanging goods by means of a token. (enseygne = O.F. ensaingne, a coin, token.)
\(^4\) te = to.
and pens of siluer so thenne it shold be of lasse weyght and lasse of valewe; and that shold *be better for to bere by the way for poure folke, and better shold be easid for the helpe of their nedes to their luyng. And for none other cause it was ordlyned first; for the monoyes be not preysed but for the gold and syluer that is therin. And they that established it first, made it right lytil and lyght, for the more ease to be born al aboute where men wold goo. Ffor now in late dayes as in the begynnyng of the Regne of kynge Edward, and longe after, was no monoye curraut in Englondd but pens and halfpens and ferthynges. And he ordeyned first the grote and half grote of syluer, and noble, half noble and ferthyng in golde.¹

Here foloweth of phylosophres that wente thurgy the world.² capitulo xv³.

Thus the philosophres, by the moyen of their monoye, wente where they wolde thurgy the world, and the marchantes in their marchandyses, or in pylgremages, or in pourchacyng and enquyryng somme places that they wolde knowe. Of whom ther were many whichere were philosophres and that wolde have experience of alle thinges; and they wente by see and by londe for tenserche the very trouthe of the secrete thinges of heuen and of erthe. They rested them not by the grete fyres ne brassed ¹ not, as som doo now in thyse dayes in the worlde, the whyche gyue them to doo no good ne applye to no vertues but yf it be to hane the los and preysyng of the world. But they wente serchyng by the see and the londe on alle parties * for to knowe the better the good and the yuell, and for to conne discerne that one fro that other; by whiche they endurred many grete tranaylles for to gete the sauyng of

¹ The passage from "Ffor now . . ." to " . . . in golde," is not in the O.F. text.
³ O.F. text, Ch. XIII².
⁴ brassed: O.F. text (p. 188): rostissoient, roasted. This is vidently the sense in which Caxton uses "brassed," which esually means 'to harden by the fire.'
their sowles. And at this day alle men seche to gete Richesses and tresour, and the name to be callyd maistre for to gete louyng and honour of the world whiche so hastely faylleth.

Certaynly an euyl man may not thinke on hye thynges; ffor who that is of erthe, to therthe entendeth, and who pretendeth to God, God attendeth to hym.

Ffor God hym self saith: "Who that is of therthe, speketh of therthe; and who that cometh fro heuen, vnto heuen perteended." He wythout other is lord and sire of and aboue other.

The philosophres, that wel coude vnderstonde this worde, had moche leuer to suttre traualiylles and mesayses for to lerne than tendende, to worldly honours; ffor they helde for more dere and worthy the sciences and the clergyes than alle the seygnouryes of the world.

Plato, whiche was a puissaunt and a recommended maistre of Athenes, lefte his noble estate and his place, by cause he wolde of suche renommee lyue, that he serched many londes and contrees. And had leuer haue payne, mesayse and trauayll for to lerne science, than for to haue seygnourie and domynacion in the world, ne renommee for to be maister; ffor he wold saye nothyng but yf he were certayn therof, ffor ony vayne glorye of the world.

Apolyynes, whiche was so grete a prynce, lefte his empire and his Royamme, and departed aloure and naked for to lerne the scyences. And he was taken and solde oftymes to straunge men. Ne neuer was ther none of them so valyant, of alle them that bought and solde, that he sette ought therby, so that he myght alleway lerne. And more trauaylled on alle partyes for to lerne and knowe God and the world, whiche he loued better than ony other worldly thyng; and he wente so ferre that he fonde syttyng in a Trone of

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1 tendende = entendre, to give attention to.

2 "by cause he wolde .. contrees." This passage seems to mean "for he wished to have the renown of having been through many countries." The O.F. text (p. 188), says: *Car il n'ot cure de tel renonnée; ainz cercha maintes contrees,* i.e. For he did not care about such glory; he would rather travel about many countries.
Travels of Apollonius, Alexander, Virgil and Ptolemy.

Travels of Apollonius, Alexander, Virgil and Ptolemy.

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golde an hye philosopher and of grete renommee, the whiche enseyned and taught his discyplys wythin his trone where he satte, and lerned them of the faytes of nature, of good maners, the cours of the dayes and of the sterres, and the resonne and signenefaunce of thynges touchyng sapynce and wysedom. This philosophre was named Hyaichas.

After, Appolynes serched by many contrees so fere that he fonde the table of fyn golde, whiche was of so grete renommee that it was named the table of the Sonne, wherin alle the world was pourtrayed. Therin saw he and lerned many faytes and many meruaylles whiche he louyd more than ony Royamme. He eyed so fere by strange londes that he passed the flood of Ganges and alle Ynde; and in thende so fere, that he myght fynde nomore waye. And where someuer he cam, he fonde & lerned alleway suche as myght auaylle and prouffyte to hym self and other for taaunace hym tofore God.

Thus the kyunge Alysaundre also suffred trasaylles without nombre for to lerne. But he wente fro place to place in estate ryall, and with puissaunce of peple; wherfor he myght not so wel lerne ne enquyre the trouthe of thynges.

Virgyle also wente thurgh many contrees for to enquyre and serche the trouthe of alle thynges.

Tholomeus, whiche of Egypte was kyunge,* was not all quyte of his parte, but wente by many contrees and Royammes for to lerne, experymente and see all the good clerkes that he myght fynde.

1 aed = and.
2 "was not all quyte of his parte": O.F. text (p. 189): n'en clama pas quite sa partie, i.e. did not consider himself free from this duty.
3 After "Royammes" Caxton has left out several lines of the O.F. text (p. 189): "Ainz ala par maintes contrees, tant qu'il et trouvé maintes merveilles, Saint Pils, qui fu mout proudonne, ala par maintes contres pour plus apprendre et pour voir tous les bons cler que il porroit trouver . . .": but wente by many contrees and Royammes, so much that he discovered many wonders. Saint Paul, who was a very wise man, went through many countries for to lerne, experymente, and see all the good clerkes that he myght fynde.—Caxton's oversight was probably due to the repetition of "ala par maintes contrees."
Saynt Brandon never lefte for to laboure\(^1\) by see and by lande, for only to see and lerne; and he sawe plente of grete мерuaylles, for he cam in to an yle of the see, where he sawe certayn byrdes whiche spack as spyrites, whiche sayde to hym *som thyng whiche he demanded of them the understondyng. And so ferre he erred that he fonde one so perylous a place and so ful of spyrites in so terryble tormentis, that they coude not be nombred ne estemed. Emonge whom he sawe one that answerd to hym and sayde that he was Judas that betrayed Jhesu Cryst, whiche every day was tormented an hundred tymes, and deye he myght not. And plente of other grete мерuaylles he sawe, as alonge is recounted in the legende of his lyf.

Ther were many other philosophres that serched the world, as moche as was possible for them to doo, for to knowe the better the good and the euyll; and spared for nothyng, for they beleuyd not lyghtly a thinge tyl they knewe it wel by experyence, ne alle that they fonde in their bookes to fore they had preuid it, for to knowe God the better and to lune hym. But they serched by see and by lande, tyl they had enserched all; and them after retorned agayn to their studyes alle way for to lerne the vertues & good maners. And thus lounced somoche philosophy for to knowe them self the better in good and inst lyf.

But by cause that many tymes we haue spoken of philosophy, and that somoche good cometh therof that a man may haue thereby understondyng to knowe *and lune God, therfore we shal telle to yow what it signefythe.

What thyng is philosophy, and of thanswer that Plato made therof. capitulo xvi\(^2\).

Veray Philosophy is to haue knowleche of God and fyn lone of sapynce. and to knowe the secretes and ordinaunes of dyuyne thynges and of

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\(^1\) "laboure": O.F. text (p. 189): errer, to roam, to wander about, to travel.

\(^2\) O.F. text, Ch. XIV\(^3\).
Philosophy is the knowledge of God and of self.

humayne fior to knowe God and his power, and what a man ought to be so that he myght conduyte hym that it myght be to God agreeable. Who that wel knewe God and his mysteryes, he shold wel conne entierly philosophye.

Alle they ben good philosophres that of them self haue knowleche. Of whom Plato answerd to somme that demanded hym in commun, and sayd to hym that he had lerned ynowh and needed nomore, fior he had estudyed alle his tyme for to lerne; and it was sayd to hym: "Maystre, it is wel in yow for to saye to vs somme good worde procedyng of hye entendement, as ye haue don other tymes." Thenne Plato, how wel that he was the most experymented of all other, answerd sayeng, as in his herte troubled, that he had nomore lerned sauf as moche as he that felte hym self lyke vnto a vessel that day and nyght is all voyde & empty. Thus moche answerd Plato and nomore, how wel he was at that tyme the most grete clerke that was knowne in alle the world, and of moche perfounde science.

They that on thise dayes wil medle take non hed to answere thus, but make semblau?; to be moche grete clerkis & *experte, for to gete the loos and preysyng of the worl whiche ledeth them to dampnacion and bryngeth theyr folye in to their hedes, so that they entende nomore to vertues than doo beestis. Fior they be not alle clerkes that haue short typettis; fior ther be many that haue the Aray of a clerke, that can not wel vnderstande that he redeth; ne yet somme that be prestis can not wel and truly rede neyther.1 And whan suche knowe ony thynge that them seme be of valewr, themne were they to knowe all. But moche remayneth of their folyssh consayte. They be of the nature of proud foles that ben surquydrous, that seche nothyng but loos and preysyng of the peple, and traueylie them self for to deceyue the world: this shal they abye dere ones.

It were better for them to lerne suche seyence that

1 "Ffor they be . . . " to "... rede neyther" is not in O.F. text.
Of the right and wrong use of money.

should make them to understande tronthe and right, lyke as thyse auncent wyse men dyde, the whiche so lytil preyed the world that alle their tyne they ocuped in lernyng of phylosophye. Thus estudyed auncently the phylosophres to fore their deth for tadresse them and other to their maker and creatour. And in dede traneyllyd moche for tadresse alle peple to vertue.

They ordeyned the monoyes that they bare for to hauve their lyuelode in byeng and payeng, ffor men gyue notallewaye. And for couetyse of the peple that haue fere of their despences, it corumpeth right and nature; ffor by reson and right euerych ought to take his lyuyng. And therfore was monoye establysshid for to susteyne to enriech his lyuyng when they wente by the waye. But they lone their kareynes and bodyes moche more than nedie is, and reteyne and kepe more goodes and richesesses that they nede for their ordynarye, whyche they lethe rote and faylle by them, and see that many poure persone haue grete nede therof. The monoyes were not founde for this cause, but for to hauve their linyng vnto the tyne that deth cometh and taketh alle that he ought to take at the playsyr of God. And thus shold they be more easyd than they now be, and euerych shold hauve that hym lacked, and they shold lene to doo so many synnes.

But they be not so wyse as were they that by their witte fonde agayn Astronomy, of whom Tholomens was one; and tranaylled so moche that he knewe and proved the cours of the sterres that ben on the heuen, and mesured them all on hye; wherof we haue spoken here to fore.

And now we shal recounte from hensforth the gretenes of therthe and of heuene, of the Mone, of the Sonne, of the Sterres and of the planetes, whiche thynges be not comune vnto alle men; lyke as the kyng Tholomens hym self mesured them vnto the abysme, and preuyd by reson in a book that he compyled named

1 kareynes: carrion.
Of the circumference and diameter of the Earth.

Almageste, whiche is as moche to saye as an hye werke. Thenne wyl ye here what he saith herto, whiche many another hath also proued after hym by his booke in whyche he gaf the crafte & scyence to proue and see it by reson.

How moche therthe is of heygth rounde aboute and of thyckenes by the myddle.\(^1\) capitulo xvii.\(^2\)

* The Auncyent philosophres mesured the world on alle parties by their science, Arte and wytte, vnto the sterres all on hye, of whiche they wolde knowe the mesure ffor to knowe the better their nature. But first they wolde mesure therthe and proue his gretenes. And themne, whan they had measured therthe al aboute by a crafte that they knewe, and proued by right reson, they measured it rounde aboute lyke as they shold hane compassed it al aboute wyth a gyrdle, and thenne they stretched out the gyrdle al alonge. And themne that whiche wente out of lengthe of the gyrdle, they fonde it in lengthe xx\(\text{v}^\text{m}\)ccc\(\text{c}\) and xxvii\(\text{m}\) myles\(^3\); of whych euer myle conteyneth a thousand paas, and euer paas fynge foot, and euer fote xiii synches.\(^4\) Somoche hath the erthe in lengthe round a boute.

By this fonde they after how thyeke therthe is in the myddle. And they fonde the thycknes therof, lyke as it shold ben cleft in the myddle fro the hyest to the lowest or fro that one syde to that other, vi\(\text{m}\) and v\(\text{C}\) myles. By this laste mesure, whych is after nature right, they mesured justely the heygth of the firmament; ffor they coude nowther fynde a gretter mesure ffor textende the gretenesse of alle thynges whiche ben enclosed wythin the heuene.


\(^{2}\) O.F. text, Ch. XV.\(^3\)

\(^{3}\) O.F. text, p. 192: "'xxVIII' milles."

\(^{4}\) Both MSS., A and Roy. 19 A IX., give "'xiii pones.' The correct reading, found in other MSS., is "'XII pones.'"
How the Moon and the Sun have eche of them their propre heyght.\footnote{Of Ptolomy, V. 15, 16; Neequa, I. 8.} capitulo xviii.\footnote{O. F. text, Ch. XVI.}

Therthe, as the autyncyent philosophres saye, after they had measured it they measured in sterres, the plan-
etes* and the firmament.

\[\text{\footnote{\text{* fo. 91.}}}\]

And first they measured the mone \& preuyd his gretnesse. And they fonde the body of therthe, without and withinne, that, after their commune mesure, it was more grete than the body of the mone was by xxxix\footnote{O. F. text, p. 198: "XXXix tanz."} tymes and a lytil more. And they fonde that it was in heyght aboue the erthe xxiii\footnote{O. F. text, p. 198: "XXXiii tanz." Most MSS. give "xxiii tanz." The correct reading is found in the Turin MS. of the Image du Monde. The whole number, in the O. F. text, reads "xxxiii tanz et demi que la terre n'a d'espes parmi, et les ier douzaines avoce"; i. e. 34\frac{3}{4} times the "thicknes" of the earth. Caxton has left out the "five twelfths" mentioned in O. F. text.} tymes and an half as moche as therthe hath of thekyes.

Also in lyke wyse preuyd they touchyng the sonne by very demonstraunce and by reson, that the Sonne is gretter than alle therthe is by an hondred syxty and sixe sythes. But they that knowe nothyng hero, vnnethe and wyth grete payne wyl byleue it. And yet it is suffysauntly preuyd as wel by maistryse of scyence as by verray connyng of Geometrye. Of whyche haue ben many, syth the phylosophres that fonde this first, that haue studyed and trauaylleil for to knowe the trouthe, yt if were soo as is sayd or not; somoche that by quyck reson they haue preuyd that thauncyent phylosophres had sayd trouthe as wel of the quantyte of the Sonne as of the heyght. And as to the regard of hym that compiled this werke, he sette all his entente \& tyme, by cause he hadde so grete meruayle therof, tyl he had perceuyd playnly that of whiche he was in doubte; for he sawe appertly that the Sonne was gretter than al therthe wythout ony defaulte by an C\textsuperscript{I}xvi tymes, and thre parties of the xx parte of therthe, with al this that\footnote{O. F. text, p. 198: "les iii parties vintiemes de la terre avoc\, tout ce, si comme li ancien le distrent": and thre parties of the xx parte of therthe with al this, as thauncyent.} thauncyent philosophres sayde. And theane byleuid
he that whiche was gyne hym to vnderstonde. And he had neuer put this in wrytyng, yf he had not certaynly knownen the trouthe & that he playnly had proued * it. And it may wel be knownen that it is of grete quantyte, whan it is so moche ferre fro vs & semeth to vs so lytil. Ne he shal neuer be so ferre aboue vs but in lyke wyse he shal be as ferre whan he is vnder or on that other side of vs. And for trouthe it is fro therthe vnto the Sonne, lyke as the kyng Tholomeus hath proyed it, ffyue hondred lxxx and v tymes as moche as therthe may haue of gretenes and thyckens thurgh.

Here foloweth of the heyght of the sterres and of theyr gretenesse. capitulo xix". 1

Now wyll I recounte to you briefly of the sterres of the firmament, of whiche ther is a right grete nombre; and they ben alle of one lyke heyghte, but they ben not all of one gretenes. And it behoueth ouer longe narracion that of alle them wolde descryue the gretenes. And therfore we passe lyghtly ouer and shortly; how wel I aduertyse you and certebye, that ther is none so lytil of them that ye may see on the firmament but that it is gretter than all therthe is. But ther is none of them so grete ne so shynyng as is the Sonne; ffor he enlumyneth alle the other by his beaulthe which is so moche noble.

Fro therthe vnto the heuen, wherin the sterres ben sette, is a moche grete espace; ffor it is ten thousand and lyve sythes as moche, and more, as is alle therthe of thycknes. And who that coude acompte after the nombre and fourrne, he myght knowe how many ynches it is of the honde of a man, and how many feet, how many myles, and how * many Journeyes it is from hens to the firmament or heuen. Ffor it is as moche way vnto the heuen as yf a may 2 myght goo the right way without lettyng, and that he myght goo euerey day xxv myles of Fraunce, whiche is *: englishh myle, 3 and that he taried not on the waye, yet shold he goo the tyme of seuen *M[i-C]* and

1 O.F. text, Ch. XVII;
2 may: O.F. text, p. 194, "uns hons," a man.
3 "of Fraunce" to "myle" is not in O.F. text.
Distance from Earth to the heavens, and number of stars.

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1: oii: yere and an half er he had geon someche waye as fro hens vnto the heaven where the sterres be inne.

Yf the firste man that God fouernd euer, whiche was Adam, had goon, fro the first day that he was made and created, xxv myles every day, yet shold he not hauve comen theader; but shold hauve yet the space of vii:vi:xxxii: yere to goo, at the tyme whan this volume was per-
formed by the very auctour: And this was atte Epyphanye in the yere of grace i:iii:xxii: and xlvii:.

That tyme shold he hauue had so moche to goo, er he shold comen theader.

Or yf ther were there a grete stone whiche shold falle fro hens vnto therthe, it shold be an hondred yere er it cam to the gronnde. And in the fallyng it shold de-
scende in euery hour, of whiche ther be xxiiii in a day complete, xliii myle and a half. Yet shold it be so longe er it cam to therthe. This thing hath be proved by hym that compiled this present volume, er he cam thus ferre in this werke. This is wel x: tymes more than an hors may goo, whiche alle way shold goo without restynge.

Here foloweth of the nombre of Sterres. capitulo xx:.

To the regard of the Sterres we shal saye to yow the nombre lyke as the noble kynge Tholomeus *nom-
bred them in his Almageste; to whom he gaf the propre names, and sayd that ther were a thousand and xxii, all clere and that myght be all seen, without the vii planetes; and may be wel acompted without ony paryll. In alle ther be i:iii: and xxix: whiche may wel be seen, withoute many other whiche may not wel be seen ne

1 O.F. text, p. 195; "xlv:"
2 O.F. text, p. 195; "lx: milles et xiii: et une demie," i.e., 74\(\frac{1}{2}\) miles.
3 The following passage from O.F. text, p. 195, has been omitted by Caxton at the end of this chapter: "Oie qui veult si puert entendre, s'une pierre poroit descendre en une heure autant comme il pose. Car meilleuer glose n'i sai faire," i.e.: Now who-
ever wishes it can understand this by means of a stone which falls in an hour as fast as is natural to it. I cannot explain it any better.
4 O.F. text, Ch. XVIII.
Of the figures of the stars; also of Heaven.

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espyed. Ther may not wel moo be espyed but so many as sayd is, ne appertly be knownen. Now late hym beholde that wil see it; ffor nomans, transaylle he neuer somoche ne studye, maye fynde nomore. Neverthelies ther is no man lyuyng that may or can compote so moche, or can so hye mounte in ony place, though he be garnysshid of a moche gentil instrument & right subtyl, that shold fynde moo than the kyng Tholomeus fonde, by whiche he knowe & myght nombre them, and where everyche sitteth, & how ferre it is from one to an other, be it of one or other or nygh or ferre, and the knowlege of the ymages of them, the whiche by their semblance fourned them. Ffor the sterres whyche be named ben all fygures on the heuene, and compassed by ymages and that all haue dyuerse beynges. And everych hath his fourme and his name. Of whiche ben knownen pryneyppally xlvii within the firmament. And of them ben taken xii of the most worthy whiche ben called the xii Sygnes. And they make a cercle rounde aboute the vii planettes, where as they make their torne.

We ben moche ferre from heuen merueyllously, Aud late every man knowe that he that deyth in dedly synne shal neuer come theder. And the blessyd sowle whyche is departed fro the body in good estate, not withstanding the longe way, is some *come thether, ye truly in basse than half an hour, & vato the most lyge place to fore the souerayn inge which sitteth on the right syde of God the fader in his blessyd heuene; the whiche is so ful of delytes of alle glorye and of all consolacion that ther is noman in this world lyuyng that may ne can esteme ne thinke the Joye & the glorye where this blessyd sowle entreteth.

And ther is no man that can esteme ne thinke the capacite & retynes of heuene, ne may compare it ne

1 "To the regard . . . espyed": Ptolomy, VIII. 1.
2 "Neverthelies . . . nombre them": C.F. text, p. 195: "Mais nous avons le soleil couvert, l'aut seul monte en haut bien, fous que par cet gentil instrument montant soudain que Tholomeus trouva; par quoi l'en les connoit et conte . . . "; But no man could count them, however high he might ascend, except with the help of an excellent and very ingenious instrument which Ptolomy invented; whereby one can know and count them.
3 "Aud" = and.
Of the immensity of the firmament.

Of the immensity of the firmament, or so moche as may compryse fro therthe to the firmament; for that greteness is inestymable without ende and without mesure. Certes the firmamente on hye is so spacyous, so noble and so large, that of alle his wytte may not a man vnnethe thinke or esteme the nombre of lyke masses as all therthe is that shold fylle it, yf they were alle in one masse. Who is he that coude or myght comprehende or compryse the gretenes of them, whan they alle be assembled, and euerich as grete as all therthe? Neuertheles we shal saye to you therof as moche as we may wel ymagyne.

Of the gretenesse of the firmament, and of the heuen whiche is aboue it, capitulo xxi°.¹

Yf the erthe were so grete and so spacyouse, and so moche more for to resseyue an hondred thousand tymes as moche peple as euer were in this world, & every man of them were so myghty for to engendre another

¹fo. 93, vo.] man every day duryng an hondred thousand yere, and that every man were as grete as a Geaunt, and every man had his hows as grete as euer had ony kynge, & woodes, Ryuers, champaynes, gardyns, medows, pastures and vyneyerdes, euerych aboute his castell or place for to lyue wyth, and that ech had so grete foyson that eueriche myght holde an hondred maynyes for to serue hym, and euerich of this maynee helde xx other, and had therto grete romme and pourpris in their manoyr: alle thysse myght moche plentyously be reseyuyd within the firmament; and yet sholde ther be moche place voyde, more than all they myght pourprise and take for to playe and dysporte them therin yf they wolde.

Thenne ought we wel to knowe that Our Lord God is moche myghty & of a right hye aßayre whan he can make of nought so noble a thyng as the heuene and the Sonne and all the other thynges that ben on the heuene, in thayer, on the erthe and in the See. suche a lord and suche a maistre ought wel to be God, that can make so

¹ O.F. text, Ch. XIX³.
Heaven above has no limits; God alone can fill it. Of evil. 175

noble thynges of whiche we haue very knowleche. And we ought parflyghtly to lone hym.

And well may every man thinke that the thinge that is aboue is moche gentyl and moche noble, whan it that is vnder is so subtyl; ffor that whiche is aboue is more grete an hondred thousand tymes than it whiche is bynethe, and ouer moche more than can be knownen or may be compted by ony nombre, or may be thought; ffor this is a thyng that in no manere shal haue ende ne terme. Therfore I may wel vnderstiende that ther is nothing that may pourprise ne esteme in grete-nes ne otherwyse this whiche is aboue the firmament, where the heuene taketh his place, ne may be replesseshid ne fylled with nothing that may be, but yf it be wyth the goodes of Our Lord God fyllyd. But the right debonayre Lorde is so moche full of all goodes that be fylleth alle other thynges whiche ought to haue parte and meritye in goodes. And the euyll departeth fro the good in suche wyse that it is voyde and disgarnysshed from all goodes what somener it be, and that it shal be lyke as it were nought; wherof is redde herof that synne is nought ffor as moche as it is voyde and disgarnysshed of all goodnes, and reudred the body and sowle so moche fbledd and disgarnysshid of alle goodes, of alle vertnes and of alle graces, that that one is totally destroyed and perissed wyth that other; ffor alle way the euyll cometh to nought, and contrarye the good goth alway growyng and in amendyng. And therfore ther is none euyll but synne, which is nought; ffor ye may vnderstande that it cometh to nought as donge.

Ther is nothing that ought to be made right, but only this that ought to be permanent. And therfor it is good a man to holde hym nyghge the good, ffor the good amendeth allwayes. And who that customly doth gladly the good werkes, they ben the cause to lede hym to heuene, as he that hath none other wythdraughte no other dwellyng place. And therfor he muste enhabite there. Hym behoneth to come in to heuene for to reteye there his place, and also for to fylle it.

1 O.F. text, p. 197: "qu'il aemplist," that he fyleth.
Ther is noman in the worlde that can doo so moche good but that he shal alway fynde his place and his repayre propice after his merytes, ffor as moche as this so moche noble a place is withoute ende and without terme, in suche wyse that no goodes, what someuer they be, shal neuer hane terme ne ende, ne neuer shal hane defaulte. But it is contynuallely ful of alle consolation, of alle delyces, of alle goodes, of alle Joyce and of alle gladnesse, wythout hauyng ony thynge voyde; of whiche they that deserue it of Our Lord shal haue ful possession of alle the inestymable goodes.

Of helle I may frely saye to you that ther is nothynge sauf sorowe and martirdom truly the most anguysshous, the most horryble, and somoche sorowful, that ther is no lyke. And yf so were that the chylde ren synth Adam were all dampned, yet it myght not be fylled by them, though they were twyes so many more. And they that be therin perisshed shal be dampned and perpetuelly tormented; ffor after that they be dampned, they shal abyde euer as longe as God shal be, whiche is wythout begynnyng and wythout endyng. And therre they shal breme in fyre eternal withoute hope of alegeauce, of ony mercy, of ony hope to hane ony better, but alleway werese fro tyme to tyme. As it is so that the saued sowles desire the day of dome and of ingement for to be gloryfye in body and sowle, the dampned sowles redoubte & drede it, thynkynge that after that day they shal be perpetuellly tormented in body and in sowle. And to that dredeful day they be not tormented in the body, but in the sowle.¹

And I hane recyted this thynge shortly to this ende that it may be knowen certaynly that ther is no good deede but it shal be rewarded, ne none euyl dede but that it shal be punysshed. This is the wille of the creatour & maker of all thinges, wythoute whom ther is none that in ony maner hath ony power; and he is somoche a debonayer lorde, ful of sonerayn puissaunce and of grete and of infynytt goodes, that ther

¹ The passage from "And thurre . . ." to "but in the sowle" is not in O.F. text, but only in Roy. 19 A IX.
Of the heaven which encloses the firmament.

is no comparison to hym, as he that all thyngle created, made and establisshid of nought at his playsir and will.

But syth we haue spoken to yow of the inestymable gretenessse of the firmament, wherein the sterres be sette, whiche alle way is in moeuyn, so shal ye ynderstonde that ther is an heuen aboue where they that ben there moeue nothyng, but ben continuellely in one estate; lyke as somme man remeuyd hym from som place to another, the fyrst place menyd hym not. But he that shold goo so al aboute, lyke round aboute a cercle, shold ofte go fro place to place er he come to his place, and so longe he myght goo that he shold come right to the place fro whens he departed first. But that place shold not meue, but holde hym alle way in one poynct.

Now wylle ye thus ynderstonde of this heuen, that ther is no maner place that is remeuyd fro the sterres ne fro the firmament; but they holde them also fermy all as they most maye. This heuen muste be ynderstonde by them whiche ben Astronomyers. This is that gyueth to vs his colour blew, the whiche estendeth aboue thayer, the whiche we see whan thayer is pure and clere alle aboute. And it is of so grete attemperance that it may haue no violence. This is the heuen that encloseth the firmament. Now I shal saye yow all appertely that this that ye may ynderstonde here tofore by heeryng may not be taken, ne knowen, ne be proued yf it be trouthe or non, ne may not be by ony arte of demonstraunce, lyke* as may be seen by eyen; ffor the wytte of a man hath not the power. But nevertheles we shal saye to you this that we truly may yndye by wrytyng in certayn places, lyke as somme Auncyent philosophres haue ymagyned and thought, of whiche they fonde certayn resones.

Here after foloweth of the heuen crystalyn and of the heuene imperyall. capitolo xxii°.1

Above this heuen that we may see blew, as sayd is, after that thauncyent clerkes saye, ther is another heuene alle rounde aboute that aboue and bynethe, lyke

1 O.F. text, Ch. XX°.
as it were of the colour of whyte crystall, clere, pure and moche noble; and is called the heuen crystalyne.

And aboue this heuen crystalyne, alle rounde aboute that, is an other heuen of the colour of purple, lyke as the deynyes saye. And that is called the heuen Imperyal. This heuene is garnysshid and ful of alle beaultees, more than ony of the other that we have named; and there is thayer seuen tymes more fayr and more clere than is the sonne. Ffro this heuen Imperyal fylle the euyl angeles by their pryde, the whiche were disgarnysshid of alle glor3'e and of alle goodes. And ther ben the blessyd Angeles of Our Lord.

Here foloweth of the Celestyal heuene. capitulo xxiii°.

Yff ye wil vnderstande for to knowe of this heuene Celestyal whyche is aboue alle the other, ye shal *vnderstonde that this place is right worthy and blessyd in alle thynges; wherfor ther may nothing growe but all goodnesse and sweetnesse by reson and right. This is the propre place of the holy trynyte, where as God the fader sytteth in his right worthy mageste. But in that place faylleth thentendemt of ony erthely man; ffor ther is nowher so good a clerke that may thynke the tenth parte of the glorye that is there.

And yf Our Lord pourpryseth ony place, hym behoueth to haue& that by right; but he is so comune overall that he seeth every man that hath deseruyd it ayenst hym; and seeth all thynges here and there. He seeth all aboute as he that hath all thynges in his kepyng. Of whiche ye may take ensample by somme, whan ye here them speke, that alle they of whom they here the tale, they here his worde: many men vnderstonde al attones, and in one tyme heere; every man hereth al the worde. In lyke wyse may ye vnderstande that God is overall and regnyng overall in euery place, and is in alle places anon & attones. And the lyght and clerenes that groweth of hym enlumyneth alle thynges bothe here and there, and also soone that one as that other.

1 O.F. text, Ch. XXI 3.
2 al attones: all at once.
Example, yf ye sette aboute many thynges a lyght, also soone shal the resplendour goo on the syde by yonde it as on the syde on this syde it.

When suche thinges haue lyke vertue, ouer moche more ought he to haue, that all thynges made and created, and that alle goodes hath wythin hym; his heuen stretched oueral, as he whiche of all is lord and maistre. In heuen ben alle thaugeles, alle thai’changeles and alle the sayntes whiche synge all to gydre tofor God *glorye and lawde wyth right grete Joye and con-

solacion. Ther is none that may compryse, ne herte of man mortal may vnderstande what thynges is heuene, and how moche grete Joye they haue, to whom he hath gyuen and graunted it.

The best clerk of the world, the most subtyl and the best spekyng wyth all that euer was lyuynge in erthe, or euer shall be in oury tyme of the world, and thaughe he had a thousand tongues spekyng, and euerych of the tongues spack by hym self, and also had a thousand hertes within his body, the most subtyle and the most memoratyf that myght be taken and founden in alle the world, and best chosen to vnderstande & to expermente; and yf this myght be and happe that alle this myght be to gydre in the body of a man; and after myght thanke alway the best wyse that they coude descryue & deuyse thestate of heuuen; and that euery tongue myght saye and declare the intencion of euery herte: yet myght they neuer in no maner of the world saye ne recounte the thousand parte of the grete Joye that the pourest and leest of them that shal be there shal haue.

And foul he be that shal not be there; ffor they that shal be in heuene wold not be alle the dayes of the world lordes and kynges of alle the Monarchye of the worlde erthly, thaughe all their commandements myght be observerd and don, not for to ben one only hour out of heuuen; ffor there is the lyf perdurable, and there is the parfyght and inestymable Joye that euer was and euer shal be. There is euery thyng establisshed and certayn for euer more, without ende and without
begynyng, ne never shal fayle; ne there shal never be
ony doubtaunce *of deth, ne of maladie, of sorow, of
anguyssh, ne of drede, of angre, of trauayll, of payne,
ne of pouerte, of caytyfnes, ne of ony trybulation that

euer may happe in ony manere of the world to hym
that shal haue his mansyon in heuene. But he shal be
contynuelly in Joye, in solace, in alle delices, and in
Recapitulation.

alle goodes perdurable and wythout ende. And he shal haue more consolacion than ony man can thynke ne esteme, thaughe he employe alle his engien for to vnderstonde it.

Now for to knowe what it is of heuene and of helle, after our declaracion to fore sayd, and wyth this the firmamente, the sterres and the seuen planetes, I presente them to you here on that other syde of this leef by a fygure, by whyche ye may moche prouffyte yf ye wille wel applye and employe therto your entendemente.1

* Her foloweth the recapitulacion of the thynge tofore sayd, capitulo xxiii8.2

Wyth this we shal make an ende of our book, the whiche at his begynnynge speketh of Our Lord God, wherfore he fourmed the world, and why he loued man so wel that he fourmed hym to his semblaunce, and gaf hym power to doo wel and euyl. After, why he made hym not suche that he myght not synne dedely, and how first were founden the vii sciences and the artes. Sith it speketh of thre maner of peple that thauneyent philosophres put in the world; how nature werketh, and what she is, & how she dyuersefyeth in euerych of her werkes. Also ye haue herde of the facion of the world and of the dyuysion of the four elementes whiche ben round aboute and holde them on the firmament, and how the erthe holdeth hym within the firmament. Also ye haue herde of the lytilnes of therthe vnto the regard of heuen, and also how the somne maketh his cours al aboute therthe, and the other planettes in lyke wyse; alle this haue ye herd in the first partye.

In the seconde partye is declared to yow whiche

1 Cf. Fig. 38, p. 180.  
2 O.F. text, Ch. XXII.3.

3 Both in Roy. 19 A IX., and in Caxton there is a passage missing between "in the world" and "how nature . . .": O.F. text, p. 292, "Comment clercie est rennc, et comment ele vint en France." This corresponds to Ch. VI, part 1: Of thre maner of peple and how clercy cam first in to the Royamme of France. "Comment ele vint en France. De nature" is also missing in MS. A.
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parte of therthe is inhabyted, & of the dyuysion of mappa mundi. And first it speketh of paradys terrestre and of the contrees & regyons of Ynde, & of the dyuersytees that ben ther; of men, of bestes, of trees, of stones, of byrdes, & of somme fysshes that ben there; and where helle the dolourous place is & stondeth, and of the grete paynes that they endure that ben damned & ben there. After ye haue herd of the second element, that is of the water; of the *flodes & of the fontaynes¹ hoot and colde, holsom & euyll, whiche ben in dyuere contrees, & how the see bicometh salt; how the erthe quaueth & synketh; and after of the Ayer, how hit bloweth & rayneth; of tempestes & of thondres, of ffyre, of layte, & of the sterres whiche seme as they fylle; of pure ayer & of the vii planettes; how the bysexte cometh; of the firmament & of his tornyng, and of the sterres that ben round aboute therin.

In the thirde partye ye haue herde how the day & nyght come; and of the mone & of the sonne, how they rendre their lyght, and how ech of them leseth their clerenes by nyght & by day somtyme, & of the Eclipses that thenne happe, wherby the day bycometh derke; and of the grete eclipse that fylle atte the deth of Our Lord Jhesu Cryste, by whiche saynt Dionys was after ward converted; & of the vertue of the firmament & of the sterres, & how the world was mesured, & the heuen & therthe; of the kynge Tholomeus & of his prudence; of Adam & of somme other; and how clergye & the vii sciences were kepte ayenst the flood, and how all this was fouwden agayn after the flood; and of the merueylles that Virgyle made by his wytte & clergye; and for what cause moneye was so named & establisshed; and of the philosophres that wente thurgh the world for to lerne; what thinge is philosophye & what Plato answerd thereto; how moche pe erthe, the mone & the sonne haue of gretenes, euerych of hym self; & thestages of the sterres, of their nombre, & of their ymages; the heyght & gretenes

¹ fontaynes = fontaynes, fountains.
of the firmament, & of the blew heuen which is aboue that; & of the heuen crystalyn, & of the heuen Imperial.¹

And as ye hane herde in thende of the *heuene celestyal & of his estate, and of God whiche maye be ouerall by his glorye & his bonute, of all thise thinges ye hane herde vs recounts & telle, & rendrid to you many fayr resons briefly; ffor the prynces & other peple ben nothyng curyous to here longe gloses without grete entendement, but loue better shorte thinges, as they that ben not of longe tyme but passe briefly; ffor in a shorte tyme they be fynysshed & ende. And alle we shal come more shortly than we wolde to nought, ffor this world passeth fro tyme to tyme lyke as the wynde, & faylleth fro day to day, & makith to enerych a lytil seiuorne; ffor it is so ful of vanyte that ther nys but lytil trouthe therin. And it happeneth of tymes that he that weneth lengest to seiuorne here is he that leest while abydeth & that sonnest taketh his ende.

And therfor I counseylle every man that eche Payne & travaaylle hym selfe to lyue wel & truly for the litil tyme that he hath for to abyde in this world full of tribulacions & myseries; ffor ther is none that knoweth what hour or tyme pe deth shal come renne on hym. & it ofte happeneth that he or she that weneth yet to lyue & playe in this world vi or viii or x yere, that he deyeth in lasse than fyue dayes & fyndeth hym selfe dampen & cast down in to the brennyng fornays of helle. & thenne is he in a good hour born & wel aduyed, whan at his ende he is taken in the seruyse of Our Lord, & nothyng in the worldly voluptuosites & damnable; & that his maker hath lente to hym to vnderstonde hym, & that he haue tyme & space. Ffor God shal rendre to hym so riche a yefte & so fayr that he shal haue all goodes at his abandon ² wyth the Joye perdurable of heuene; the

¹ The "Recapitulation," in MS. Roy. 19 a IX., stops at "comment clergie est remuée," and only starts again at "Si avez oye en la fin del celestiel paradis" (O.F. text, p. 203): Caxton, fo. 98 "how nature werketh" to fo. 98 vo., "And as ye hane herde in thende of the heuene celestyal . . ."

² "at his abandon": O.F. text (p. 203): a ban don, freely.
Explicit.

[fo. 99, vo.] whiche * to vs be graunted by the creatour & redeemptour of the worlde, in whom alle pyte & mercye haboundeth, & in whom be alle goodes & vertues what sometime haue ben, ben, and shal ben perdurably wythout ende.

Thus fynysshith the boke called thymage or myrrour of the world, the whiche, in spekynge of God & of his werkes inestymable, hath bygonne to entre in mater spekynge of hym & of his hye puissances & domynacions, and taketh here an ende; ffor in alle begynnynge & in all operacions the name of God ought to be called, as on hym without whom alle thinges ben nought. Thenne he so ottroye and graunte to vs so to bygynne, perseuere and fynysshe, that we may be brought & receyuyd in to his blessyd glorye in heuene, vnto the blessyd Trynyte, ffader, Sone, and holy gost, whiche lyueth and regneth without ende in secula seculorum. Amen.

And where it is so that I haue presumed and emprised this forsayd translacion in to our english and maternall tongue in whiche I am not wel parfyght, and yet lasse in frensshe, yet I haue endeuourd me therin, atte request and desyre, coste and dispence of the honourable and worshipful man, Hugh Bryce, Cytezeyn and Alderman of London, whiche hath sayd to me that he entendeth to presente it vnto the puissaunt, noble and vertuous lorde, My lorde Hastynge, Chamberlayn vnto our souerayn lord the kyng, and his lieutenaunt of the toun of Calays & Marches there. In whiche translacion I knowleche my self symple, rude and ygnoraunt, wherfor I humbly byseche my sayd lord Chamberlayn to perdonne me of this rude and symple translacion.

How be it, I leye for myn excuse that I haue to my power folowed my copye and, as nygh as to me is possible, I haue made it so playn that euery man resonable may vnderstonde it yf he aduysedly and ententyfly rede or here it. And yf ther be faulte in mesuryng of the firmament, Sonne, Mone, or of therthe, or in any other meruaylles herin conteyneyd, I beseche you not tarette the defaulthe in me but in hym that made my
Explicit.

Copye; whiche book I began first to translate the second day of January, the yere of Our Lord M.CCCC.lxxx., and fynysshed the viii day of Marche the same yere, and the xxi yere of the Regne of the most Crysten kynge, kynge Edward the fourthe, vnder the Shadowe of whos noble proteccion I haue empryseyd & fynysshed this sayd lytil werke and boke. Besechyng Almyghty God to be his protectour and defendour agayn alle his Enemyes, and gyne hym grace to subdue them, and inespeciall them that haue late enterprysed agayn right and reson to make warre wythin his Royamme; and also to preserue and mayntene hym in longe lyf and prosperous helthe; and after this short & transitorye lyf he brynge hym and vs in to his celestyal blysse in heuene. Amen ¹

¹ 2nd. ed. adds on next line "Caxton me fieri fecit." The end of this work, from "flor in alle begynnynges . . ." to " . . . in heuene. Amen." differs completely from the O.F. text, and from MS. Roy. 19 a IX. It is Caxton's own.
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES AND OF SUBJECTS DEALT WITH IN THE MIRROUR

Absalom, p. 154: Absalom.
Ascon, p. 110: Aix-la-Chapelle (German: Aachen).
Acres, p. 112: Acre in Palestine.
Adam, pp. 64, 90, 125, 153, 154, 172, 182: Adam.
Admont, p. 80: the loadstone.
Afryqye, pp. 67, 93, 94, etc.: Africa.
Allcares, p. 95: Balearic Islands.
Almayn, pp. 92, 110; Allemayne, p. 92; Almaygne, p. 31: Germany.
Alysandre, p. 94: Alexandria (Egypt).

Alysandre, pp. 70, 75, 77, 165: Alexander.
Amazones, p. 84: the Amazons.
Audos, p. 94: Abydos.
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— with two long horns, one of which can be brought forward when fighting, while the other lies back, p. 73.
— very small in size, but feared by all other animals, pp. 75, 76.
Andhyche, p. 83: Antioch.
Ape, p. 101: the ape.
Apolynes, p. 164; Appolynes, p. 165: Apollonius Tyanaeus.
Apples (I) very long, grow in clusters of a hundred or more (bananas), pp. 89, 90.
— (II) which show the mark of a bite, and are called "Adam's apples," p. 90.
— (III) fair to the eye, but full of ashes, p. 90.
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Aristote, pp. 46, 47, 156: Aristotle.
Armenye, p. 85; Hermenye, p. 69: Armenia.
Asia, p. 66: name of a queen.
Asia the grete, p. 66; Asie the grete, p. 67; Asye the grete, p. 94, etc.: Asia.
aspis, p. 79: animal which can only be captured with the help of music.
Assyrie, p. 82: Assyria.
Athenes, pp. 29, 30, 164: Athens.
Auvergne, p. 6: Auvergne.
yer, pp. 105, 115 seq., 123: air.
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Babel, p. 82: the tower of Babel.
Babylone, pp. 82, 90: Babylon.
Bame, p. 90: balm which only Christians can cultivate.
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Barbarye, p. 94: Barbary.
Barbaryns, p. 86: Jacobites.
barnacles, p. 98: birds which grow on trees.
Basse Almayn, p. 93: Lower Germany.
Basyle, p. 92: Bâle.
basylicocks, pp. 79, 101: the basilisk.
Bathe, p. 110: Bath.
Bethée See, p. 96: sea in which Plato's island was situated.
birds with feathers which shine in the night, p. 85.
Bocc, p. 157: Boëthius.
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Brandon (Seynt), pp. 96, 166: Saint Brandon.
breath, p. 105: breath.
Bruggis, pp. 7, 99: Bruges.
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brygge, p. 158: bridge.
Brylaugne, p. 99: Great Britain.
bullys, p. 73: white bulls with horns which can be moved in all directions.

Calais, p. 6; Calays, p. 184: Calais.
Caldeke, p. 82: Chaldean.
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cannel, p. 91: cinnamon.
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Cecyle, p. 93; Secyle, p. 96; Sezyle, p. 160: Sicily.
cedres, p. 91: the cedar.
centlycore, pp. 72, 97: animal with one horn, and body of a lion.
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chove, p. 103: the jackdaw.
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cloves, pp. 117, 118: clouds.
cloves, p. 91: cloves.
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Colchos, p. 94: Colchis.
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cotoun, p. 90: cotton.
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crane, p. 71: the crane.
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crystal, p. 104: crystal.
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dates, p. 89: the fruit of the date-palm.
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daye, p. 130 seq.: day.
Dede See, p. 83: the Dead Sea.
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The Extra Series Texts for 1910 were No. CVI, Lydgate's Troy Book, Part III, containing Books IV and V, completing the text, edited by Hy. Bergen, Ph.D.; and No. CVII, Lydgate's Minor Poems, Part I, Religious Poems, with the Lydgate Canon, edited by H. N. MacCracken, Ph.D.

The Extra Series Texts for 1911 were, No. CVII, Lydgate's Siege of Thèbes, Part I, the text, edited from the MSS. by Dr. A. Erdmann; and No. CIX, Partonope, Part I, edited from its 3 MSS. by Dr. A. T. Baldtterms.

The Extra Series Texts for 1912 were, No. CX, Caxton's Mirror of the World, edited with reproductions of all the woodcuts, by Dr. O. H. Prior, M.A., and No. CXI, Caxton's History of Jason, Part I, the text, edited by Mr. John Munro (both at press).

Future Extra Series Texts will be Lydgate's Minor Poems, Part II, Secular Poems, ed. by Dr. H. N. MacCracken; Lydgate's Troy Book, Part IV, edited by Dr. H. Bergen, De Medicina, re-edited by Prof. DeCurtis; Lovecich's Romance of Merlin, re-edited by Prof. E. A. Kock, Part II; Miss Eleanor Plumer's re-edition of Sir Gower and Sir Percivall; Miss K. B. Lecock's re-edition of Hylton's Ladder of Perfection; Miss Warren's two-text

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Before his death in 1895, Mr. G. N. Currie was preparing an edition of the 15th and 16th century Prose Versions of Guillaume de Déguilleboile’s *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, with the French prose version by Jean Gallopes, from Lord Aldenham’s MS., he having generously promised to pay the extra cost of printing the French text, and engraving one or two of the illuminations in his MS. But Mr. Currie, when on his deathbed, charged a friend to burn all his MSS. which lay in a corner of his room, and unluckily all the E. E. T. S.’s copies of the Déguilleboile prose versions were with them, and were burnt with them, so that the Society will be put to the cost of fresh copies.

Guillaume de Déguilleboile, monk of the Cistercian abbey of Chaalis, in the diocese of Senlis, wrote his first verse *Pelerinaige de l’Homme* in 1330-1 when he was 36. Twenty-five (or six) years after, in 1355, he revised his poem, and issued a second version of it, a revision of which was printed ab. 1500. Of the prose representative of the first version, 1330 1, a prose Englishing, about 1430 A.D., was edited by Mr. Aldis Wright for the Roxburghe Club in 1869, from MS. Fl. 5. 30 in the Cambridge University Library. Other copies of this prose English are in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, Q. 2. 25; Sion College, London; and the Land Collection in the Bodleian, no. 740. A copy in the Northern dialect is MS. G. 21, in St. John’s Coll., Cambridge, and this is the MS. which will be edited for the E. E. T. Soc. The Land MS. 740 was somewhat condensed and modernised, in the 17th century, into MS. Fl. 6. 30, in the Cambridge University Library; *The Pilgrime or the Pilgrimage of Man in this World,* copied by Will. Baspoole, whose copy was verbatim written by Walter Parker, 1645, and from thence transcribed by G. G. 1649; and from thence by W. A. 1655. This last copy may have been read by, or its story reported to, Bunyan, and may have been the groundwork of his *Pilgrim’s Progress.* It will be edited for the E. E. T. Soc., its text running under the earlier English, as in Mr. Herritage’s edition of the *Gesta Romanorum* for the Society. In February 1648 Jean Gallopes—a clerk of Angers, afterwards chaplain to John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France—turned Déguilleboile’s first verse *Pelerinaige* into a prose *Pelerinaige de la vie humaine.* By the kindness of Lord Aldenham, as above mentioned, Gallopes’s French text will be printed opposite the early prose northern Englishing in the Society’s edition.

The Second Version of Déguilleboile’s *Pelerinaige de l’Homme*, a.D. 1355 or -6, was English in verse by Lydgate in 1426, and, thanks to the diligence of the old Elizabethan tailor and manuscript-lover, John Stowe, a complete text of Lydgate’s poem has been edited for the Society by Dr. Furnivall. The British Museum French MSS. (Harleian 4398, and Additional 22,597 and 25,594) are all of the First Version.
Besides his first Pèlerinaige de l'homme in its two versions, Decuville wrote a second, "de l'ame souveraine du corps," and a third, "de nostre seigneur Jesus." Of the second, a prose Englishing of 1413, The Pilgrimage of the Soule (with poems, by Hoeceve, already printed for the Society with that author's Regent propriantus, exists in the Egerton MS. 615, at Uathfield, Cambridge (Univ. Kk. 1, 7, and Cains), Oxford (Univ. Coll. and Corpus), and in Caxton's edition of 1483. This version has 'somewhat of addicions' as Caxton says, and some shortennings from, the maker of both, the first translator, tells us in the MSS. Caxton leaves out the earlier englisher's interesting Epilogue in the Egerton MS. This prose englishing of the Soule has been copied and will be edited for the Society by Mr. Hans Kostner. Of the Pilgrimage of Jesus, no englisning is known.

Members are reminded that fresh Subscribers are always wanted, and that the Committee can at any time, on short notice, send to press an additional Thousand Pounds' worth of work.

The Subscribers to the Original Series must be prepared for the issue of the whole of the Early English Lives of Saints, sooner or later. The Standard Collection of Saints' Lives in the Corpus and Ashmole MSS., the Harleian MS. 2277, &c., will repeat the Land set, our No. 87, with additions, and in right order. (The foundation MS. (Land 108) had to be printed first, to prevent quite unwieldy collations.) The Supplementary Lives from the Vernon and other MSS. will form one or two separate volumes.

Besides the Saints' Lives, Trevisa's englishing of Bartholomewus de Proprietatis Rurum, the medizival Cyclopaedia of Science, &c., will be the Society's next big undertaking. Prof. Napier of Oxford, wishing to have the whole of our MS. Anglo-Saxon in type, and accessible to students, will edit for the Society all the unprinted and other Anglo-Saxon Homilies which are not included in Thorpe's edition of Ælfrie's prose, Dr. Morris's of the Blickling Homilies, and Prof. Skeat's of Ælfrie's Metrical Homilies. The late Prof. Kolding left complete his text, for the Society, of the Avenir Riuile, from the best MS., with collations of the other four, and this will be edited for the Society by Dr. Thümmler. Mr. Harvey means to prepare an edition of the three MSS. of the Earliest English Metrical Psalter, one of which was edited by the late Mr. Stevenson for the Surtees Society.

Members of the Society will learn with pleasure that its example has been followed, not only by the Old French Text Society, which has done such admirable work under its founders Profs. Paul Meyer and Gaston Paris, but also by the Early Russian Text Society, which was set on foot in 1877, and has since issued many excellent editions of old MS. Chronicles, &c.

Members will also note with pleasure the annexation of large tracts of our Early English territory by the important German contingent, the late Professors Zapitza and Köbling, the living Hausknecht, Einenkel, Haenisch, Kuhn, Huh, Adam, Holthausen, Schick, Herzfeld, Brandejs, Sieper, Konrath, Wülfing, &c. Scandinavia has also sent us Prof. Erdmann and Dr. E. A. Kock; Holland, Prof. H. Logeman, who is now working in Belgium; France, Prof. Paul Meyer—with Gaston Paris as adviser (alas, now dead);—Italy, Prof. Lattanzii; Austria, Dr. von Fleischhacker; while America is represented by the late Prof. Child, by Dr. Mary Noyes Colvin, Miss Rickert, Profs. Meal, McKnight, Triggs, Hulme, Bryce, Craig, Drs. Bergen, MacCracken, &c. The sympathy, the ready help, which the Society's work has calld forth from the Continent and the United States, have been among the pleasantest experiences of the Society's life, a real aid and cheer amid all troubles and discouragements. All our Members are grateful for it, and recognisc that the bond their work has woven between them and the lovers of language and antiquity across the seas is one of the most welcome results of the Society's efforts.

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