



offerid to princes and lordes for ther is no thyng rightfully  
be gune vnder god but the Emperour gyfte y<sup>e</sup> to favorable  
accepta<sup>o</sup>n and vnderstandyng. ¶ For y<sup>e</sup> besmyth to  
no man better thynges to kune ne no thynges to knowe  
than it doth a prince whos techyng and doctine waye  
fytte to all his subgett as we shal shew here afterward  
be ensample of Octavian the Emperour and so furthe  
ast of odyre princes that such doctines and techynges  
blythly vnderfouged thus be wyntnes of hene yat reyg-  
ned eloquence & anyons sette spech growed and encreas-  
ed whil it was note enflamed of baldnes. ¶ Thus  
than to folow the ensample of my eld<sup>r</sup> I am compelled  
to write this treatise of chivalrye so mych with the best  
wyll that I know well that see moue & kune of your  
lowly gudnes bet for gyfte defautes of wyrtwyng yan  
any oth<sup>r</sup> yat hath not yat powere nor yat kynyng  
yat see haue in so myche I holde me lytyll lower yat  
oth<sup>r</sup> olde wyrttes yose yat in this lytyll wech nether  
acordance of termes ne be so well wyrttes ys needfull  
but delygent and besy & new labour of such thynges  
that dyuise wyrttes of dedes of armys haue wyrtten  
and taughte in diuise p<sup>r</sup>celles and also coued and hyd  
vnd<sup>r</sup> deake termes aue for the p<sup>r</sup>fitte of Rome in y<sup>e</sup>  
boke thynk mak it open knowen. ¶ And first auec  
thynk appuly to shew the olde custome by certeyne  
degrees and tytes the man of chespyng and the ex<sup>r</sup>ce  
and occupacion of new chosen knyghtes. ¶ Forsoth  
all y<sup>e</sup>s thynges auec vnkno<sup>o</sup>dyu to zoll f<sup>r</sup> Emper

re yat see feely and wyrtfully for the helpe of Comon  
p<sup>r</sup>fitte aueceth well yat in olde tyme the fyfte bolderes  
of the Emperre of Rome kepten y<sup>e</sup> same. ¶ And yet  
fere tho thynges yat in this lytyll boke shuld ben wre-  
ten ben of the grettest ynges and ar<sup>r</sup> more necessarye  
and needfull to hem I knowe the which when thei be  
sought leue well here to fynde hene. ¶

**A**ve only by customeable usage  
of dedes of armes the Romaynes  
had the victorie of all od<sup>r</sup> naci<sup>o</sup>ns  
we see no oth<sup>r</sup> thyng be which  
oure peple of Rome hath so deu-  
ed and made suget all the worlde  
but be ex<sup>r</sup>ceise of armes by doctine and lore of wades  
makinge and vse of chivalrye. Now myght elles the  
lytyll nombre of Romanes haue a wayled a gaynest y<sup>e</sup>  
gret nombre of ffrencheu<sup>n</sup> but be yees menes. ¶  
Now also shuld oure shortnes haue withstoude y<sup>e</sup> hegh  
length of Dochnien but by thees menes fore sayd. Spay-  
nades also that wyth odyuyn dolote both in nombre  
of peple and strenght of bodies of olde tyme haue bene  
oure ouher. ¶ The affrus also to which we haue  
eu zt bene p<sup>r</sup>celles in disseyuable p<sup>r</sup>ces & riches. ¶  
Also by craftes of grekes and wysdom no man douteth  
yat we ne haue bene oure come but a gayns all yees  
thynges what has moste p<sup>r</sup>fitte vs of Rome. Forsoth  
the chespyng of newe knyghts and of p<sup>r</sup>sons yat

can be side stedfast wate And wyse and watchfull on his  
warles and sych on thus chosen to techyn hym the ryght  
and the lawes of armes y strength also his body & his  
hymes in chace and wyse cotidianly. yat is to say day after  
day in dedis of armes to tech heme. ¶ Also in knyng  
walkyng in the felle stonyng or thynkyng studyeng  
how he shall hane forknollyng and wyse in fyghe of  
yres pelles and harmes that lyghtly may be fall in the  
hymes or bateles to tech hym also how he shall shete. wode  
ly or ferly wengyng hym on his ennemys yat dulle  
ben and slowe for the knollyng of the comon pite no  
wyshed hardynes instryng. ¶ For no man dredyth  
to fulfyll in dede yat he trustly treuwyth he hath well  
learned. ¶ For shortly a lytyll tawght unlitund in  
weires & bateles is redy and more worthe to gette  
victorie and oncomyng of ennemys than an vn  
tawght unlitunde yat cur is redy to make styse  
and debate. ¶ De quibz regionibz uirgines eligendi

**W**rite of what wirtues new. ¶ ficut. Ca. 2<sup>o</sup>  
fhyghters shuld be chosen. ¶ The ordre of onre  
wrytyng yat in the fyrste pty of onre boke  
we shew oute of pynnes nacons and wirtues. fclw  
fnyghtes shall be chosyn for. I do zoll to wrytyng that  
in all places yer ben boue both hardy men & colwads  
but for as mych as o peple passeth odyr in uerres and  
the foure ptyes in heue beth mych cause of strength of  
manes hymes and also of hardynes of heate y fore  
whych places ben moste pfitable to sych chesynge after

Wyse men scheryng I wyll not leue to shawe. ¶ The  
nacons and folke that ben negh the soue as tho that dwell  
in the south thei ben wyse and wryth of counsaile for  
thei ben dry of herte of the fyne but for they hane but  
lytyll blude thei be not stedfast ne bold ne hardy to fyghe  
and for they deden woundes harmes and hurtes for they know  
well they hane but lytyll blude. ¶ But tho yat dwell  
in the north few fo herte of the fyne thei be not so wyse  
of counsaile as yo ben that dwellyn in the south but thei  
be more habundant full of blude and y fore thei be more  
hardy and bolder to fyghe & to wate and boldyer dure  
a byr wyndes and strokes. ¶ Where fore uelwe knyght  
shall be chosyn of amene ptye the which hane plenty of  
blude to suffice boldly woundes if need be and also yat hane  
wyse to redyff hem selfe and othir both when thei  
be in y wardes and strengthes. ¶ Vniuersis agris aut  
et uerbis ualentes sint uirtutes. Ca. 2<sup>o</sup>

**W**hether yt be more pfitable yat such bene cho  
sen of felde or of townes. ¶ Zoll in thys  
chapytre we wyll enquire whether it be more  
pfitable to ches new knyghtes of feld or of borowgh or of  
townes. ¶ Here of as I beleue shuld no dout ben that  
most able peple of armes is lustyous and rude peple  
in feld noysshed to laboure and to tynayle sych they may  
well suffice herte of the fyne not rekkyng of shadowe not  
used to strewes ne bathes unkyng of bodely lustes sym  
ple of wyll yat with lytyll can hold yem payed yat hane  
there membes and hys hymes of here body hardid w tynayle

to all maner laboure the which of custurable use cometh be  
seth ben dyke and deffe dyches be and draw draughtes &  
bythens yees bene all to ben chosen knyghtes to armes.  
Then the lese som tyme it be houed and needfull it is that  
there ben chosen knyghtes of Cyties vilages and townes  
¶ But here vnderstandyng well that tho that shulde  
be men of were thei must firste ben used to laboure and  
trayle and ryngyng to fure willfully here of the fume &  
drough of duste and of powdres. ¶ Also thei must be  
used to skarsyte of mete and drynt yat is to sey to shoot  
and scharp melles and to bnfytious metes among. ¶  
Also thei must be used some tyme to dwell and reste wch  
hene and sun tyme in panylous and rentes than mow  
thei be learned and taught to use of armys And yf y  
warney be long tramed or taryed and yet nocht occupied  
in waris than is it needfull to occupy hem i feld warres  
to hold hem fere fro thei lust and lyfing of Cyties &  
townes so that be use of traneyll and bodely laboure y  
lymes mow cache strengthes and stalweethnes in heere  
hartes in wyllis lustes and lyfing to traneyll. ¶  
But in case yat some men wyll say yat yis ordennance  
of chesynge of knyghtes rather of y feld yan of the  
Cite semeth contrarye to y ordennance of the Romaynes  
the which in here firste begynnynge chosen oute there  
were chosen of Cytizens. ¶ Herto may be answer  
made yat in that tyme it was no yest so to chese for  
than in Cyties ne townes were none lustes nor delytes  
by which were chosen wyllis myght be any thyng.

Worth deallyn fro lustyues of Armes ne here bodely lymes  
in no thyng apared i stalweethnes of strenght. ¶ For ye  
myght men see how the salt swote of yonge men that  
with reynyng and rydyng and oyr dedes of armes  
in the feld was gadered in the tyme of Sibre with fuy  
myng was wysshyn a way. ¶ When was also y  
were chosen and the ploughman saue the tokyus of Armes  
changed be kynde yat yis be soth se yow example by  
quyng aucto to whom the lordes of Arme sent the  
office of ditature whill he held the plough yis office  
of ditare was nocht ellis as ysd seyth but tho yat yis were  
chosen were as pures and comandures to y peple of Arme  
And thei were called ditatores a dicendo uel a dicando for by  
spech of many they shewed the peple the lawes that were  
orderyed to be kepte. ¶ And thes aft that yis were chosen  
yei stude to yere in office than consules yat is to sey conuice  
less the which were changed yere by yere. h. ysd. ¶  
Thus ya of knyghtes chosen out of the feld y strenght of  
the ofte pnapally ought to ben fulfilled for y were neuer  
how it myght othre weys be but that he shuld lese dede  
dye in tyme of need yat lest hath asayed of lustys i his lyne  
¶ *¶ Quic iudend est curatus diegendi hinc uerones*  
¶ What age were chosen shuld be chose. ¶ Row wyll we shew at what  
age knyghtes shuld ben chose And yf the aldr  
custume shuld be kepte than shuld they be chosen at yow  
yere of age for wyllis well y is no thyng so swyftly  
learned ne so pftythly taughte as yat lore is taughte children.

In here chuldhood. For no doute is that the bybyng myght  
of knyghthod that is in leppynge and zymmyng in wydyng it  
muske be used and asayed be fore in yowth or the body be made  
slewfull and sluggy by age & clat. For were weel yis y  
is nothyng yat makyth a werreour so doughty as doth ex  
cuse of swyftnes. But as the poete Salustius seyth.  
yonglynges of the age of xxj yere shuld be chosen to knyght  
od. For yices yonglynges and othir yong of xxj yere in  
wardns and strengthes by use of traunyle thei leamed dede  
of armes for bot it is that a yonge thynge weel tauwght &  
used in dedes of armes in his youghth pleyu hyme of vn mygt  
tynes of fyghte by wey of youghth seie to lerne you hath the  
tyme and space all tyme to lerne. For wyrteth wellet y  
craft of armes is nethir bytill ne byght wether yow shall  
tech hyme to be a hors man or a fore man or an archer or by  
that shall were sheld or bere armes for he must be tauwght all  
the nombre of tynne. Also that he forsak not the place  
nor the ward yat he is assigned yat he distooble not that odyr  
of ordenance that he came wyth strong myght shete his  
arrow darte spere or othir shot eue to the mare yat is to  
ysete that he kune also redely led his dych a bouite his stre  
ngthe that he be also wyse in stykyng of palyes & stakes. For  
what he kune warly wame his sheld and in tyme of need  
warly were hym selfe yoronder bendyng a wey fro bofetes  
of spere yat is comyng and that he kune style fle haimes  
and hertes and boldely gyfe wondes & strokes. For so spith  
a new made knyght thus tauwght and leamed in dedes of  
armes shall neu be drede to fyght a zeus no enemye

In no Schemon but it shall be to hyme a lusty bybyng.  
Qua statura iuniores plandi fut. Ca. 11.  
ff. what statur or heygth werreoures shulde  
be sometyne byght or length of stature was byht  
ofte soght in knyghtes and werreoures in so  
myght that yo that shuld be chosen to beu horsmen in the  
weuges of the aste or ellys in the fyrste compaigne of the legy  
on to beu pved thei shuld be wy fete of length or elles so fete  
and y wyth. But thane were more multitude  
of men and mo sovl folowed chenalry & armes ya there  
doth nowe. For zte that tyme ne had noght y conynal  
te of Ceres and contrees broght furth ne floz sthyng. Inuet  
of yonge men. There fore newe dlyth yat in yulle  
that shuld be chosen to armes rote only length but als  
strength and myght of body must bene shechyd & founde  
for wytes of the poete. On that deseyueth noght vs.  
Sidenus yat knyght yat was but bytill man of length  
was strong and myghtyex in fyght yan many othir ya  
many othir yat were leng and grett yan he. Ex  
vltim & postime corpus agnoscit in eligendo a meliores  
possunt esse tuones. Ca. 16.  
Now tho that shall be chosen to werres now ben  
know by shape of body and byght chere. For  
But he that shall chose newe knyghtes to were  
hyme be honyth to take gude hede to y chere and the con  
tenance of visage and pncypally to the yzeu & so to od  
membres & lynes and y by he may deme which bene  
able to fulfyll the offic of a werreour. For no doute



have ben chosen by wysdomes And favour rather than  
be lawe of armes and euen right such knyghtes have more  
harmed the othe y<sup>a</sup> p<sup>r</sup>ted. ¶ And in as much as eu<sup>e</sup> we  
colyth know by use othe open p<sup>r</sup>ue in this haue oure  
emencys most hazue y done vs w<sup>h</sup>it long tyme of pees  
hath made vs to chose w<sup>h</sup>itynghy our knyghtes. ¶ The  
w<sup>h</sup>ile also oure most honest y<sup>s</sup>ons haue ben occupied in  
civyle offic yat is to sey the offic of gouernale of Cities  
townes and Countrees. ¶ Also the w<sup>h</sup>it knyghtes haue  
bene chosen be favoure and grace of here aunc lordes yat  
hath hade hem in p<sup>r</sup>ince for othe such haue ben asoyed in  
fellowshipp to armes the w<sup>h</sup>ich here aunc lordes ne luste  
not to haue in p<sup>r</sup>ince. ther fore of gret men and worthye  
and w<sup>h</sup>it gret delygence and besynes yt be honoyd to ches  
p<sup>r</sup>conable yong men to knyghthode. ¶ *Quando  
uoues sunt signandi. Ca. 8.*

**W**hen armes shall be zene to yonge w<sup>e</sup>ercoores  
¶ Also vnderstandyth w<sup>h</sup>at yat a newe  
chosen knyght ne shall not a none be zene  
armes by the w<sup>h</sup>ich shall be know as by his tobyn but  
he shall first by use of exercise be wel examyned and asend  
that it may be w<sup>h</sup>aly knowen wher he be able to that  
offic or nocht. ¶ And specially he muste be asayed in  
swyftenes of rymnyng in strength of lystyng and wher  
he haue w<sup>h</sup>ite of vnderstandyng to lere the lore of armes  
¶ Also whether he haue gode trestynes in knyghthode  
for many ther bene yose thei be not repneable in y<sup>s</sup>on  
in shape of body. ¶ Ben the les be long p<sup>r</sup>ue of assay

They be founde unworthy than w<sup>h</sup>it such be refused in  
doughter men and more p<sup>r</sup>fitable sent in here stede in  
euy stryfe or were not only gret multitude p<sup>r</sup>fytteth but  
p<sup>r</sup>ncipally strength. ¶ Ther fore aft<sup>r</sup> long exercise day  
by day yonge knyghtes shall be shawed the techyng and  
the lore of armes but long exercise of pees hath w<sup>e</sup>er  
red oute the use of this craft. ¶ Who is he that may  
tech yat hym selfe neu<sup>e</sup> leued oute of the olde storyes  
and boke we ow<sup>e</sup> reherse olde custumes but they yat olde  
boke w<sup>h</sup>iten they w<sup>h</sup>rite nocht elles but the gest and  
haynes that fallen in w<sup>e</sup>erres of here tyme. But this y<sup>e</sup>  
we seken aft<sup>r</sup> how knyght should be chosen how yei should  
be taught dedes of armes ther of speke thei nocht.

The auctor of the contre yat is called *laudemonia*  
and of yo also of *athens* and othe auctorres of gret  
manye thynges w<sup>h</sup>iten of w<sup>e</sup>erres in here boke but  
nocht to oure p<sup>r</sup>oyse. ¶ Ther fore we ne thynke to sech  
oute the auctorres boke yat lere doctine and techyng  
of Chivalry and knyghthode in lernyng to the peple of  
rome the w<sup>h</sup>ich of a tytt contre as it w<sup>e</sup>er of a tytt end  
of Countrees haue spredde a brode here curre that is to  
say haue lordeshyp of here kyngdome to all the regyons  
and countrees of the soue and in to the worldes ende.

¶ Here this nede daryneth me to one tume auctorres  
that is teachers and makers of boke and so w<sup>h</sup>iten in  
this boke trewly and faythfully that Caton hath w<sup>h</sup>iten  
of the lore and techyng of knyghthode and also that  
*Cornelius Selsius* hath w<sup>h</sup>iten that *Julius frontin* w<sup>h</sup>rote

And seyde of the same matre that *Varro*. Also hath  
wrytten yate in this booke of knyghtchode was moste deligete  
and best seker and moste deligent and best sekere & moste ope  
speker. ¶ Also the constitucions and ordenaunce of *Empours*  
*Augustinian*. And *Adrian*. For I tak nye on me no antoy  
te ne maystee of thees maters but the wordes and wry  
tyng of thees that I have reherced the which beue wryde  
yffred a lode and I thynk to sete hem in this booke i couns  
and ordres. ¶ *Quod ad gradum nulli militum et*  
*curia a salu. exendi sunt twones. Ca. 9.*

**H**olwe thei myght beue taught orde in goyng  
And rydyng. ¶ And holwe thei mote be used  
to lepyng and reynyng. ffyrst of all thyng

few chosenu knyghtes shall be taught to kepe well here  
orde of goyng and rydyng. For ther is no thyng that oght  
so well be kepte in joyrneyng of the ote as that knyght  
kepe well here orde of goyng and rydyng. the which may  
neu well be done but if thei haue of longe vse and exace  
lerned now to reune swyftly and now to walk eue pasc.  
For no doute yat the ote that in hyme selfe is denyded or  
departed out of orde in rydyng or goyng is eu more

in yeff to each harme of his enemyes that the wo  
neye of knyghtes in the ote shall be ordened. ¶ yon saunde  
payse in cowces in tyme of somer the full payse of knyght  
yffe they beue hastely hped is xxiiij myle in cowces  
and all yat yow goste on this is called reynyng. thec  
which spax may noght be sete at cetyne. ¶ Also yei  
muste be usede to reynyng that they wold be y more able

with stronge courtes to ou come thei enemyes. And also yat  
thei mowe in tyme of uede each here place in the felde off  
most yffite to here enemyes occupy it. ¶ Also that they  
mowe the blythlyer and the bett wyff go and come when  
they ben send in offic of assyours by boldnes of here swyft  
nes. ¶ Also if they be swyft in reynyng they mow the  
somer ou take here enemyes in here flepyng. So lepyng  
also they must be used that comon dyches & hegges uce  
lete hem noght in tyme of uede. ¶ Also yf he came both  
reune and lepe in tyme of strepe with his enemy. gylf  
he come wyth his speere bothe reynyng and lepyng he  
shall both a blende his enemyes fyght and astonny his  
mynde. And he shall sodanly woude his enemy. shulde  
be ware to defend hyme selfe. ¶ Off the exypte and y  
use of aunces that the grete duke *Doumpens* was  
used to the poete *Salustians* anakyth mynde and seyeth  
whene he fanght with sych a solf were and lufy and  
well wylled to fyght sych he ou come with lychtines of  
lepyng. when he sawe wyth swyft reuneis yit of wse  
he and his were swyfter than they. And with cours off  
reynyng ou come hyme. gylf he sawghst with strong men  
that wolde a byde the brout of the bataylle. w hyme he  
sawghst with heny wepens as mallees of lede hemye bat  
tes heny leneis and heny dyes. And yus wher enye he  
werred he had the victory for it myght not haue bene  
that he and his shuld eu more haue bene euen of myght  
or myghtyer than yulf yat thei streyne with but it shalde  
ben yat he and his knyghtes of long tyme had ben wse



to dedes of Armes and of were. Quod ad vsum natant  
dy exercendi sunt in uis. Ca. 10.

**N**olue they mite be used to swymyng. ¶ **R**elov  
chosen knyghtes in soner sesone schull be taught  
and used to swymme. for they shall all weye  
fynde vedy byrges on ryuers and fludes both they that  
go be fore and they that come aft shall be dreue to swymme  
gyfe the ofte be grete. ¶ **F**for ofte tymes the ofte what  
wryth grete sholures and veyus what wryth grete soddyne  
suolues thesly ryfuges and mace of ryues and fludes  
and confumynges of swymyng. puteth hym selfe  
in grete pelt what of enueys one y<sup>e</sup> syde what of  
pelles of waters on the tothir syde. ¶ **T**her fore y<sup>e</sup>  
old romaynes that by use of batelles and longe petic  
of pavelles haden the craxie and the ordenance of all  
knyghtehode and cheualyrie they ordened the felde of  
cheualyrie and use of armes myght to the ryuer of Tiber  
in which the yong innocet of knyghtes after here la  
bonre and tuel of dedes of armes myght w<sup>th</sup> swymyng  
wasth away the swote and the duste of the powder  
yat they hade caght w<sup>th</sup> ryfuge and rydyng. And  
also that they myght be cours of swymyng a stak y<sup>e</sup>  
fayutes of here traneyle. ¶ **A**nd nocht only y<sup>e</sup> knyght  
shuld be usede to swymme but also the fote men and all  
horsemen and eke the hors men selfe shulden be usede  
to swymme that whene tyme of uede come no thyrug  
shuld late the ofte to passe by watter ne by loade. Quod  
a stria vinnica ad pascos antiqui exabant turones.

**T**we olde werreours were used to Juste w<sup>th</sup>  
vannes and pley wryth the pyle or the  
pale as wece in olde booke fynde wrytten  
in this wyse as I shall shew oure olde anctres used  
to tech here yonge knyghtes dedes of armes. ¶ **F**  
fyfte they shuld haue a sheld made of wygges  
some what rounde in maner of a greore the which  
he shulde aftward use in the felde. And ther wryth  
they shuld haue maces of tre of the doble weghte  
that here swerdes shuld be of. And in this wyse  
now only in the moonyng but also eche the here of  
the day a zeus eue they shuld bene used to fyghte  
wryth palus and stakes and this maner of fyghte w<sup>th</sup>  
pale or stake ne was note only pfitable to knyght  
but also to swerde men that all day were calced  
in the felde for duces iucels and causes and no dout  
there is no felde ne use of were that so well pucth  
a man of armes as dose befy cause of techyng  
to fyghte wryth the pale or the stake. ¶ **E**very  
knyghte shuld haue in the felde of amentures a  
pale or a stake ppyghte in the eath of vyfote hygh  
a boue the eath a gaynes the stake shuld they fyght  
wryth signes and ptes of were as yose it were  
there enemy wryth that forseyt mase of we as w<sup>th</sup>  
a swerd and wryth that sheld of wygges and now  
as to the heed pstryng strokes now to the vesage  
now to the sydes now to the theghes now to the  
handhelys now lepyng oute now lepyng inue to

hymc And in to his enemy as he were y present.  
**T**hus wyth all assayes of were the pale  
or stake shuld day be day be assayed that whene  
they come to were here yonge knyghtes myght be  
more redy fynyng and soth both to fnyte & hurt  
y enemyes and to voyde them selfe fro harme.  
*Ron sem sed puniti ferric docendi sū tirones*  
**A**nd that yonge fygghters *Ca. 12*  
more bene taughte to fnyte and to stoke and  
noghst to fnyte. Forthermore they shuld be  
taught to fyghte noghst with stoke fnytyng. But with  
shaape poynte fonyng. for the Romaynes were couer  
ner a slowd but rather blained and stoned hymc y  
with stoke of swerd fnytyng. pferth to asayle his  
enemy that is sekerly armed. for yose the stoke com  
neū so ferly comonly it stent noghst while the huchly  
members of the body and also the bones bene coued  
and defended with armur. But yf thowe remeste a  
gayns thine enemy with shaape poynte and thow  
happe to perce two ynche it is lightly to gife hyme  
dethes wōnde. **A**nd the lesse mote the huchly mem  
bers of the body bene perced when the poynt of the  
swerde or of the speere is y or the ynches tye in the  
body ther fore be ware of fnytyng. for whan thowe  
fnyrest thy ryght arme and thy ryght syde is as hit  
were naked and one coued and able to each harme.  
But whene thow remest on the poynte fonyng at  
thy enemy thanc goste yow clos in all thy body &

ynrest thy enemy or that he see it. Where fore this man  
of fyghtyng with fonyng and noghst with stoke used  
the Romayns as mooste seker fyght a gayns heme that  
were armed. **A**nd as I seyde be fore the sheld of troyst  
and the maas of tre wyth the which yonge knyghtes  
shuld lerne to fyght wyth a gaynes the pale. **A**nd they  
were ordeyned to be of double weghte and heynnes yat  
his sheld or his swerde shuld be. for thys skyll that when  
he come to his verry sheld and his verry swerde he shulde  
so mych the gladlyer and with bett wyth he shuld fyght  
that he were deluyed of so heny wapen. *Quod ad  
armaturam docendi sū tirones. Ca. 13*  
**A**nd yonge knyghtes mote bene taughte to  
fyght withyne lystes. **A**nd forthermore yonge  
knyghtes onghst to bene taughte and leued  
of heme that bene doctours and teachers of werkes of  
were how they shulde fyght whene they bene full  
armed wyth in lyste for that is called armatura as I  
dure seyth the which vse zit is kepte in party among  
the Romayns and no doute among all de grees of kyn  
des of tho that bene used and leued in armatures are  
bett fygghters thane any other where of me well vnd  
stand in howe mych a knyght wele used in dedes of ar  
mes is better fygghter and more wasy thane any other  
felawes. **A**nd here vnderstand all ye that yis  
boke shall red that the skyll yat I declare noghst more  
appuly this word armature is yis. for there bene  
vny manere of fyghtynges that bene called armatures

Whiche the Romaynes used as ysaie sayth in the iij boke  
of his ethimologens the two and fiftie cap chapitwe  
of the which there is none able ne lawfull to be used  
of none cresten knyght for that forsed armure pat  
is called fighyng with iustice and pat in ryghtfull  
cause for the remenaute of fighynges were founde  
we be feyned and fals vycious and detimes vorous  
Illusyon of develles the which the romaynes worshyp  
ed in fals goddes the which denylls with all here  
myghte wronght to shedyng of manes blide as thyng  
that is to hem moste pleisant. ¶ Where fore as  
these clarkes seye a longtyn nought to cresten werours  
to knowe ne to use the man of fighyng that be foundyn  
we be the denyll and nought be god ne ryghtfull ne  
zell. ¶ Item the lese the use and evase that they had  
den in the unlawfull weeres made here knyghtes the  
more sotyl and shy when they comen to open weeres  
in the feld. ¶ And furthermore as this auctor de  
geaus seyth in this chapitwe the use of evase of lece  
nyng and techyng of dedes of armes was som tyme  
so strately kepte amonge the romaynes that they pat  
were doctoures and teachers of dedes of armes they  
were rewarded with double reward of come for veyl  
les of the holy yere and that is called in this boke  
Annuaire. ¶ What is nought elles to seye as Catholico  
seyth but the reward of weeres veylles is come  
for ye shall vnderstonde that knyghtes that tyme  
refeyned none othir souer for here tynayle but hynelod

of come fore heme and there hors and the styff was  
this. ¶ For that tyme knyghtes were for wyngyng  
of wysshipe for curres of here conynalte and lokede  
none othir reward but here hynelod and in this were  
they more lawfully rewarded that were payntes than  
nowe be oure creste knyghtes that were nought  
fore none of the stylls but for curche of wreche or elles  
for conetise. ¶ And here knyghtes that lityll or nought  
pynted in foreseyd games of armature after the techyng  
that they hadden there othir knyghtes taken whete fore  
here veylles they were constrained to restreyne barley  
fore here yeres reward tyll they coult shew in presence  
of the iustice of the legyon or elles of the iures of the ost  
that he were fitt lemed in all the dedes of armes that  
shuld longe to a knyghte. ¶ There is no thyng so strong  
so wysshypfull as is the curche in which is pleinte of  
welle taught werours fore there is no wythir gaynes  
of garmentes golde ne sylver ne shynnyng of pcyous  
stones pyrepe that makyth oure enemyes suggestes  
ne obedyent vnto vs but only dread of donghynges  
of dedes of armes. ¶ Furthermore as Laton seyth  
in all othir craftes or artes what defaute that be do  
there in it may bene amendyd be the same craft but  
eroures or defaultes that be done in dede of armes  
namely in open batayles they mowe not be amended  
fore why they that in batayle of cowardly othir  
vndyseyh fighyng a none they be losse and slayne or  
elles pite to flyght and neu more estere dare they

make pye wyth heme that on cometh. Heme  
Quod triones excedit sunt ad missilia ut  
aenda. La. u.

**D**we newe knyghtes of overconres  
not be used to castyng of speeres dar  
tes and othe man veyous. Rowe Y.  
tome agayne to tell more clerly of that I be gane  
howe they yat shall be used to fyght wyth the  
pale that we speken of. be fore they must bene  
taught to caste and thowd wyth houre shaftes of double  
weightes that here way speere chaftes shuld bene aft  
waide as I seyde be fore of here sword and here mace  
of tre. And here how they that bene ouisers & teches  
of this take good heed that he yat shall cast y<sup>e</sup> shafte  
to the pale that he caste hym wyth all his myghte  
as he wold to his enemy that he caste hym vount  
and wyndyng that he caste eue in the pale or wygh  
to. For wyth this crafte and use of castyng his armes  
and it be used shall cache grete strength and hyme  
selfe grete wyte in castyng. // Quod triones sunt  
sagittis diligent induendi. Capitulum. 14.

**N**owe the chosen fyghters myght be taught  
to shete. // Forthermore the thurd or the  
fourte parte of yonge innocentes that  
moste able mooue be founde ther to shull be taughte  
to shete in bowes of tre and pleyuge arrows. And  
in this crafte here maysters more take good heed that  
they hold there bolde comyngly & beude hym strongly

that the lesse houre be stedfast that the myghte  
houde be led resonably euen to that at shall be saynt  
// So where he be on hors or on fote he mooue be  
taught to shete eue the which crafte of shetyng we  
dyth to haue wyse techyng and lerneynge day be  
day besyde wyng how profitable y<sup>e</sup> crafte of chetyng  
is to overconres. Eaton in his booke that he makyth  
of the lore of knyghtshode he sheweth appuly & Craud.

The crafte by helpe of his archers hadde the my  
twe of an enemy that wyth the which be fore he  
myght use make pye. // Also. Sappo of assake  
whene he was sente be the Romayns to chastyse  
the. Remnatin // that rebelled a zeus Rome  
he wolded uoghte to haue had the victory of hem  
but in asmyche as he hade pite in euy awarde of his  
ofte chosen archers of pryce. Quod ad iactandos  
sagittis fundis excedit sunt triones. La. 16.

**N**owe they mote bene used to slyng and  
to caste stones to thowynge of stones both  
both wyth houre and eke wyth slynges.  
yonge overconres must bene used the use of slyng  
was foundyn wyth fyfte be heme that dwellyn in y<sup>e</sup>  
lunde of Balyare the which men ben so sottyll  
and so mych use hath of slyngyng that the moderas  
ne wyll note no day gise here yonge sdues here dyn  
tyll they haue wyth there slynges slonge there to  
lyte it. For ofte it happeth to were upon enemyes  
that so strongly bene armed in helmes platus halubrons

of yren and stele that so myghtely bene man that byght  
ly with egge tock ne wyll not bene pecced yat happy  
it ofte that a gude stroke of a stone out of a hand syng  
or a staffe syng giffeth his enemy his dethe woude  
and sleeth hyme wath out eny shedyng of blude  
Also amonge olde weareours tho that were künig  
to syng were chosen to the byght hode where fore  
tho that shall bene weareours by honeth to leue  
the waste of the syng for two shyles ou is for  
it is byghter wepen and bett and byghter to caste  
thane othe wepens bene Also it happeth some tyme  
that oftes meten to gedre vp on stony lond wher y  
stone casters and syngers moue frute defence att  
redy Also if it haue yat ene ofte on a hylle  
or on a donne be sete or be assailed of here enemy  
conyng fro the wayle upwarde thane stone castyng  
or syngyng is nedefull to dryue the donne and  
pfitable defence to lette here conyng vp For  
thermor gife castyll or walled towne by be segged  
with enemyes than castyng and syngyng is  
nedefull to dryue hem fere fro the walles for yre  
shyles and moe odre that nedeth uow to be wate  
rene. Nedefull it is that yong weareours ben taught  
gite and learned the stone castyng both wth honde  
and with syng. Quod ad vsu plubataru opedi  
**N**owe they hunt twones. Ca. 11  
must bene used to caste the lede shaft  
or spere. There is also another man

of byght that romaynes used long tyme. And grete  
distonifitures wden there wath that is wath dartes  
and speres leded a bone the hede and that lede was  
of certeyne weghte chex the porporadon of y shafte  
And that shote what fore strength of shote of the  
caster what for peys of the lede ther was no arumre  
that myght wath stonde the stroke and this man of  
fghte and wepen was founde vp in ylleryke wher  
there were two legions. the which eny of heme  
had wj of knyghtes the which were all wonderely  
and künig in this man fghte And by the legions  
longe tyme the weares of Rome were myghtely ma  
nured and strengthed in so mych that when Dio  
chian Maximian were made Emperours they  
chelen to heme this two legions as for the soueyn  
est fghters And they pite hem in reuenus and worship  
a bone all othe knyghtes and for here pryce wdes  
they chaunged here names of her goddys and called  
heme. Iouman. after Iouis. and herculian. after  
hercule. Myne such spere or dartes at the left  
ene of heme used to bore the which and they were  
künigly caste they passed the shote of the bowe in  
so myche as comly it slowze bove man where fore  
this man of fghte ought to bene taughte too yong  
weareours that they mow bene in all maner off  
fghtes used and learned to defence of there comm  
nelle. Quomodo ad ascendentes equos ex  
cercendi sunt twones. L'apitalium. 19.

**D**ive they must ben used to styre and to  
lyte on hire hors on both sydes. **¶** Ro-  
ghte only of yonge chosen men to weare  
But also of knyghtes that receyve wronge wyse le-  
pyng to hors oweth strictly to be kepte the which  
use zit in to this age is cosede to use of rydyng yong  
knyghtes owen to be taughte fyrste singly un armed  
afterwarde armed And on all thyng here techers  
mote take gude heed that they knowe lightly with  
oute taryenge lepe to hors both single and armed  
And that they can take ther hors as welle on the  
left side as on the ryght side also that they can  
lepe on hors with swerde diall and with othir shap  
wepen with out hurtyng of hym selfe or of hire  
hors this use the olde weareours of Rome And ther  
fore when ther was any noyse made of chasyng and  
pursyng of hire enemyes they came lightlyer  
than any othir for the use  
that they haden of rydyng in tyme of pees. **¶** Quod  
ad portandū pondera excendi sūt tirones. **¶** Ca. 10<sup>m</sup>  
**D**ive nelle chosen weareours mote be chose  
and used to lyte and to bere grete and heavy  
byrthen. **¶** Also yonge weareours mot  
be used and used be constrained to bere byrthen of  
seyn pounde weght and zit not withstondyng here  
byrthen to gone the full pase that longeth to the dayes  
journeye of the oste that is xx<sup>m</sup> or xxv<sup>m</sup> myle.  
**¶** For if there were a sodayn strate journeye

we muste demer heme to bere both here betayle & here  
armure. **¶** And no man wolde that this shulde be  
of grete deffaulte to be done yf they haue use in  
youth for there is no thyng so streyte as of so grete dyf-  
faulte that use may make it easy and lighte as it  
semethe welle be olde weareours that thies dedes dyd  
en lightly. And also it were with out taryenge for the  
use that they haden ther of in youth as this. **¶** Doct.  
Virgile. of heme wyrteth and seyth. **¶** The olde Ro-  
maynes fere and feare in armure of journeye by coun-  
treys full ofte vnder any byrthen hath take his wey  
But he hath be founde in the wardes of the oste abydyng  
his enemye to dyffere feelye Iuelvgh fore all his labo-  
res and taryng. **¶** Quod armoz gene vsi sūt antiq. **¶** Ca. 20<sup>m</sup>

**D**ive olde men are used to bere armed and in  
what man. In this place we thynke to shew  
in what man kynde of armure yonge weare-  
ours shuld be armed in to defence of hym selfe a zens  
here enemyes is almoste for done for you amoge. **¶** Dotus  
and Alanus and humus. horsemen used use to be  
armed. **¶** For the les here for men ben as naked and un-  
armed. **¶** But fro the tyme that ourte of Rome was  
fyrste belde in to the supourcs tyme. **¶** Gratian. all the  
fote men of ourte olde bene armed with haberon bestre  
plate and helme on here heede but after tyme that the  
felde of chace of turmentes and dedes of armes thers  
neglygence and slewfulnes for saken than be gune men  
to wey wey and heavy of armure or the defaunte of use

In so myche as whene they shulde wende wythe the  
Empoure. Graau to weve a zens the Gots. they  
were fayne to pray the Empoure that they myt  
yelde up there breste plates and here helmes and so  
with naked breste and open hede they wende to weve  
a zens the Gots. And with shot of here archers as  
naked men nere honde all they were dystroide and so  
fore all thies a harmes and many othwe was there  
none sych that wold ordeyne oure fote men here breste  
plates and here helmes a zens. ¶ And y fore it is y  
they that cometh naked to weve they putteye heme  
selfe in pef of wondes and rather shapeth to fle than  
to fyghte. ¶ fore I prey the sey me howe shall a fote  
archer defende heme selfe that mote occupye his bowe  
if he be wyth oute breste plate & helme. ¶ Als how  
shall the banere ben defended with oute breste plate  
and helme that muste all wey with his lefte honde  
holde his lordes baner and with his ryght honde fyght  
if it uede be. ¶ But sothely the habarion semeth  
full hely to hyme that selde useth hyme there as he  
that day be day hath use there of is no thyng gacnos  
ne hely. ¶ Forsoth they that fleyth or fore saketh  
cotydyall laboure and wyll not use hyme to bece hely  
annure in here youth when they come naked to weve  
where they muste suffre in happe dely wondes or elles  
to more myshape fle out of the oste whene they hade  
moste uede. ¶ And so for defaute of use of armes it  
happeth heme alwey shaufully to bece slayne lyke

bestes. ¶ In olde tyme off weves the oste of fote me  
was callede the walf of the oste for then were they co  
ned and armed with breste plates and helmes thynnyng  
and here archers were made use slensys of staff. ¶ For  
thermore the fote men that were rancers on here brest  
plates and here helmes they hadden hoses of stalle on  
here ryght legges. ¶ Thus were they warded and  
armed in olde tyme and thane were they kepte fro har  
mes and hurtes that they uolue all day zymethe in  
¶ Als vnderstonde that the oste of fote men were  
depaated in thre. ¶ The fyrste were cleped pynces  
nought of diguite but fore they were fyrste fore goers y  
secunde warde were called shaste men for they shotten  
wyth arrowes spere and dart. The thyrde warde were  
called. Banaris. for they were the thyrde ordre of the  
fote mene and thyes. Banaris. weren and useden  
this man of fyghtyng they stode nought up ryght on  
there fete for drede of shot but they kneled on here knees  
and coned there selfe vnder there payyses both to reste  
heme and to make heme selfe freest to fyghte and als  
to make here ennemys spend there shot in waste. ¶  
ofre tyme it happed that when here felawes were on  
come or slayne than os freest rested men salde here  
ennemys and haden the victory of the batyle. ¶ Als  
in the olde weves of Rome there were ordeyned of fote  
men a certeyne multitude the which were called  
Lancers or weuges. And thies were sete on the sides  
of the oste of fote men and if any of the farthest were

herte or slayne they shulde hitte in to his place and  
occupye his place that were voyede And thoes were chosyn  
out of the swyffeste and beste leuende fyghters that myght  
be founde in the oste that yf uede were that myght be  
redy to stape the sheedes yf any were made in y fryste  
foute of the batayle so that be here helpe the sheeteon  
shulde en more stoude hole. ¶ That tyme also knyghtes  
wofde pylhous made of skynes nestly and stuffure of hea  
helmes on here hede it shuld noght seme to seme greuous  
ne heuy for nestly stuffure that was nexte the hede. ¶  
All the castyngs shote fore oure fotenue used in warres  
was called. *Pila*. And nowwe it is called a spere other  
a darte this was noght elles but a longe shafte with  
a fotell hede of yren and stelf wofely made thre egged  
the wofely spere and he were myghtly shote in to a shilde  
he myght not lightly be pulled oute And if he were  
shote a zens a haberon he brake the male lightly  
sleugh the spere eyther greuously herte hym. ¶  
This man of shote wofen they of. *Barbarus*. And they  
beruen en more twayn or thre on honde. ¶ And yf stoude  
forthermore that when thou shalt shote with spere  
or darte thou muste sette thy lefte fote a fore than shalt  
thy shote feathere be carryed and sadex stoude byde but  
when thou shalt fyghte hound at honde than must y  
sete thy lyfite fote be fore and wofely keu thy fydes  
from thy enemy that he fynde no naked place to herte  
the. ¶ Thus nedeth wofeoures to be larned. ¶ All  
to be armed and namely the hede and the breste for there

by the ynapparyte of manes lyue. ¶ For no doute  
he is sharpere and boldere to fyghte that wote hy selfe  
well arayed on hede and on breste thane he that is so  
he were nakede in os mych os he dreedeth hyme noght  
in thylk two places of no dethes woude. ¶ De uniaone  
¶ Dwe the wardyng. ¶ *Castroiu*. ¶ Ca. 21  
and closoure shall be made a boue an oste  
whene he restyth in open felde. Here wote  
we shawe how wardyng of the oste shall be ordenned  
there the oste shall reste for there is no thyng so nedefull  
to be done as how wardes shall be sete and strengthede a  
boue. ¶ For yf the wardyng of the oste be redely made  
thane mowe the knyghtes and the peple of the oste all  
sewerly reste here both be day and eke be nyghte in  
tentis and pavelous ze yofe here enemyes besege hem  
as yofe they be wofed with thene a walled cete. But  
trawly the stycur and künge of ordeuance of wardes  
is but wonderly be nedhygent sleuth on slippede. ¶  
For nowwe is none that wofe a boue here tentis and  
pavelous dych none dyches ne pych none stakes ne  
make none hegges. ¶ And there fore oste it hapeth  
that be sodeyn comyng up on enemyes both be day  
and eke be nyghte they be wofely rebuked and  
oste tyme lightly harmed. ¶ And more on i defaute  
of strength makyng of wardes when it myshapeth  
that the chekone is broken thane hane they none  
repite to come to. And so be they slayne os bestes by  
pursewyng of enemyes as longe os hve enemyes



ofte to see or to p[er]sewe. ¶ In quib[us] locis castru[m]da  
sunt castra. *Artilium. 22<sup>m</sup>*

¶ What place an ofte shall p[er]ch his tentes to make  
his warde. ¶ The strength of the warde that the  
ofte shall be reserued. ¶ Iune gyf euenys be oughte  
negh must be sete in seker place there os wode and wa  
ter and hors mete ys wygh. ¶ And if the ofte shall  
longe dwelt thanc it is nedefull to chese a place of hole  
som eyre. They mote also be ware that there be no hylle  
negh the place where the warde is made the whiche  
may lightly be take of euenys for then may there  
euenys fro the hylle caste of stone and also wythe  
shote dystroye the ofte in here owen warde. ¶ Also  
it nedeth to take hede in a warde settinge that the  
reines that bene negh ben not wounte to on flouwe so  
dankly lest sodeyne strome stormes that falles by  
wyghte fyll the reines and on flouwe the felde. And so  
daync the ofte to fle and voyed here warde. ¶ Also  
they muste take hede to multitude of the ofte and of  
that make here wardes owtir longer or shorter wyd  
der or narowder for yf the ofte be grete multitude yā  
muste the warde be the wydere that the ofte be next  
to strately thyrst to gedyre us to strately loggede  
And yf the ofte be lytell of multitude thanc mote  
the wardes take the lese space that the ofte be note  
to wyde p[er]ed ne t[er]myned. *Quasi sic castra delu  
nenda sunt. Ca<sup>m</sup> 22<sup>m</sup>*

¶ What man shape tentes shulde be p[er]gite to make

the warde

the warde seker. ¶ Howe wyll we shewe of whate  
shape the wardes shall be that the ofte shall reste. ¶ Iune  
Some tyme they muste be foure square some tyme thre  
nerde some tyme halfe rounde et[er] the shape of the place  
and also uer of the peple. ¶ They entrees & yssues  
they mote be made as it were two gates the one in the  
ofte warde a garys the some ryng. owtir takes  
elles on that syde that the euenys ly byfore or of that  
syde of the ward there the ofte thynketh to wend oute  
whene they remenyth wuth in that gate fyrst of all the  
haues and p[er]ueners and the conyng the ofte shall p[er]ch  
here tentes and here pavelons. ¶ Another gate there  
in the weste or all be hynde the fyrst gate thall which  
they that wepasyth in the ofte shullen be lede to here  
leues. *Quod gene munda sunt castra. La. 22<sup>m</sup>*

¶ Dwe ther is the man of making of wardes  
and which is the thre man degrees of making  
of wardes. ¶ The fyrste gyf euenys be not  
wygh thenc moue they wuth the more layse wyche  
¶ Thanc shall they done in this man. fyrste yā  
shall dygge ny turves all a bonte the warde and w  
tho turves they shull make a wall a bonte the warde  
of thre or foure fote of heghst a bout the erth and be fore  
that wall a dych of y fote of brede and wy fote depe.  
¶ And if there be conyng grete strength & powere  
of euenys thanc mote the dych be made of xij fote  
brede and wy of depe. But on that wall so made w  
troves of erth muste be caste on to the heyre of foure

other of my fete so that the wale In all be yfote of  
bode and twelfe fete depe and thew mote be pyghte  
grote stakes of the gretest that men myght bere And  
here to it nedyth eu more in the ofte spades and showles  
and pelfeys and rakes and axes and othe mane  
toyell that conenable is for syche werkes. *Quē ad  
mūdū mūdā sūt castra cū hostis mūnet. Ca. 21<sup>m</sup>*

**N**ow thou shalt se engh thy warde when  
thy enemyes negh the. ¶ Here it nedyth  
to wyte what ordennance shall be made when  
enemyes come sodauly or hastily on the ofte or here.  
wardes bene full made for when enemyes be fare  
and they haue gude leyser to wyrtch thane it is no  
maysteyre to make here wardes stronge. ¶ There  
fore yf it so haue that enemyes com so wygh to lere be  
of here warde than mote the reuelers of the ofte ordey  
all the horsemen and halfe the fote men to defende  
parte of the enemyes whyll the remenant of the  
oste dychey and deluey and makey the strength of the  
warde and by the ayoure of the ofte it shall be warned  
what the fyrste hundredyth and what the secounde and  
what the thyrde shall wyrtche tyll all the warde be  
wrought and be the centurues of the ofte the dyches  
owen to be enserchede gyfe they haue y full brede and  
depey And if they fynde any notable defaute hene  
that the defaute is yue to chaustise hene est here de  
faute and here nedly grace. ¶ Thus thane shall  
shalde a werreoure be taughte that he cowth os wof

of the and delfe in tyme of need as fyghte in tyme of need  
*Ad nomodo treones docendi sunt ut manent ut  
nulla custodiant. Capitulum 26<sup>m</sup>*

**N**owe fyghters mote bene taught to kepe well  
here spaces in goryge and stouyng and  
rydyng when the sheltren is sete hit be  
houcht to them that be reuelers of the ofte to take  
goode hede that they the which bene sete in the sheltren  
of the batayle kepe so well the orde that they be sete  
yune and the space of goryng and stouyng that y  
enemyes ne fynde no wyde place to entre yune by  
hynde ne be fore. ¶ For there is no thyng more  
pylytable in warre than yat goode orde be kepede  
and space in the cheltren And that they prese note  
oute fore no couetyse of wyrtmyng but there os it may  
be done pylytably and seurely And also that the shel  
tron be noght to nye theyste to gedye ne to theyne  
departed or twymed. ¶ For yf the cheltren be to  
nye theyste to gedye then shall enye lere othyr to  
fyghte. And yf they bene to theyne sete thane hatts  
there enemyes space to breke yune be hynde y bakkes  
of hene that fyghte the remenant astounded for dede  
mote nece be the hightyer on come. ¶ There fore  
newe werreoures ought to bene taught day be day in  
the felde of a werreures and in tyme of pesse how they  
shuld in tyme of werre sete here sheltren i ordennance  
And est the orde that they bene rollede so by name  
they shull be called furth and sete in the sheltren fyfte

single estward double. ¶ The thyrd tyme they shall  
be commaunded to make there sheltren square ¶ The  
fourte tyme to maken it thre cornerde and so after  
that hyme lyfte to change the shap of her sheltren  
¶ They mote also be taught that they kune sodaly  
turne there sheltren in maner of a rounde sekerle seade  
that gyfte there enemyes brake of thym by any mys  
happe than mowe they be depe han rounde about  
And so wyth myght and strenght dystroye here enemyes  
thoes sleghtes and they bene in youth of yonge were  
onces larned and used they mowe the hyshtelher ben  
kepte in tyme of weere when nede is

¶ **N**owe ofte in a moneth shullen knyghtes be  
lade oute to disporte. And what disporte  
they shullen haue. ¶ Forthermore as  
the olde custome zit used techeth use and also the kny  
gtes constitucion. ¶ *Adrian* commaundyng the same  
that thays in the moneth both horsmen and fotemen  
shuld be lade out of the walke and to ryde v. myle of  
paas they shull be streuned to ryde and also to go round  
wyth all maner of wepen that they owe to fyght wyth  
the horsmen shull be departed in companyes. ¶ Armed  
in all maner degrees so many paas & myles they shalle  
be constreued to ryde nowe be fore the fotemen nowe  
folowynge after nowe prykeyn agayn ward wyth  
swyfte course. ¶ And noghte only this shuld be used  
in playne felde but also they shuld be used both herse

men and fotemen to carye on hygh clens and rolles  
that in tyme of need there yme cease and use a welk  
taughte knyght shuld drede no poff on hors ne fote.

*De ad hortatoris rei militaris ratione p. 28*  
¶ **T**his is a plesant recomendacion vnto the  
knyght and a end of the fyrste boke.

¶ **T**his mates of knyghtes wyth deuote plesance  
haue soughte of diuers olde auctours the which wryteth  
of chivalry. And as the kernell is pyked out of the note  
for dehyt of his swetes so haue I pyked out of the note  
the moste lusty maters and moste nedefull to oure coralte  
And here I haue sete hem to godys in this boke that who  
slyste eue to lerne howe knyghtes and chivalry shall  
be chosene and cheysshed or noysshed here in this boke  
ze may fynde it sete and wrytten that he knyghte elles  
sech wyth grete laborwe and tyeit in diuers bookes and  
auctours. ¶ And there fore who wyll besely take heed  
to the olde use of chivalry he may lightly lerne how  
he shall strenght his oste. zit that is noghte the herte of  
stryfe & debate coled in mens hertes as it semeth welk  
in the. *lacademus atheneusis faucum*. ¶ And  
polynus. that were the fore fathers of the knyghtes.  
¶ *Re were not some tyme y. maadynas*. ¶ the. *Dauid*  
were so grete wereowes pat here gestours souge in  
fable and seyde that the grete god of batelyes. *Maad*  
was gotten and borne emonge heme longe it were  
of knyghtes to rebrye be name all pnyces and cotes  
namly sythen they be vnder your dominacon dominou

And lordeshippe of Rome. ¶ But forsoth longe seer-  
ues of pees hath made oure weveroues to geue hem  
to delites and slouggynes and slewth. And some to gou-  
naysle and office in Ceteres and tolynes os fore more est  
that the cure and exerce of knyghthod first by neclige-  
ce be wysfull with drawyng and at the laste be full  
foregettenes fully for done out of all use And no wounde  
here ofi yose in oure eldres dayes sich myshape fell  
for by then the fyrste weveres of the pynys. And the  
seconde that was twenty yere and odd the Romaynes  
weve in so grette pees and reche as victoures and lordes  
of all othre nacions aboute heme that they toke no  
heed of use of armes in so mych that in the secunde  
weve tyme that Hannibal that was duke of Carthage  
by gaue up on y Romaynes for defaulte of use of armes  
the Romaynes were un myghty to w stonde he And in  
y batayle Hannibal slewe so many knyghtes of the  
Romaynes that he sente home to Carthage. In bushels  
of golde rynges of knyghtes fyngers that were slayne  
on the Romaynes hyde. ¶ Thus than est this grette  
lose that the Romaynes haden of dukes of Selles of  
Genatoures of knyghtes and shatech of all here ofe  
¶ Than fyrste be gaue they to wey strengthe myghty  
oue conuers of here enemyes whene they drew them  
to use and exerce of armes here by wolle we welle  
see that yuoge strength ought to be chosen and wse  
in dede of armes. ¶ For it is more wysedome and  
also more zphytable to make up on thy owen weveres

And knyghtes thane to here othre to soude strawng men  
in tyme of neede. *Explicit liber primus et incipit  
liber secundus. Prologus.*  
¶ Nyte is well knowyn to us all y Enpoune  
that ye haue with holde in your hygh wite  
and wysedome fully all the status soldees  
and ordenannces of weveres and of armes and yat  
is apply shewed be the wysshypfull victoures and  
ou conyuges day be day ze haue of your enemyes  
¶ For there is no bett preue that a man can wele  
his crafte thene to seu hym wyrtch in dede that to his  
crafte longeth. ¶ Sothely y Enpoune your softe  
peshble study of an hygher counceyle than earthly manes  
mynde may conseve desyretch olde thynges of dede of  
armes to bene gettyd out of olde poetes bukcs uoglyte  
noght with oute grette wouderynge of me and manye  
othre that ze wolle desyre to knowe of olde dedes of  
armes fechly renewed day be day surmountey and oue  
passeth any olde dede of armes that men wolde fynde  
wytan. ¶ Where fore wolen ze byde me by your  
hye commaundement to gedye and wite in booke to yo  
hygh maeste oute of olde auctoures not only thylle  
thynges that uerifull bene to be leamed of new yonge  
un taught weveroues. But also sich thynges fore  
defaulte of use of armes bene fore gete of olde weveres  
and uerifull to be know a qee than weve in nyne in  
wite a grette streyfe be ttwene devoute and pleasaunte  
bypounces that olde to your maeste on y tona hyde

And shame on my selfe on that othe side. ¶ What  
ys more shame to me than that I so simple and unkinde  
doeste be holde any thyng: to wyte to tell or to speke  
of rose or techyng: of dedes of armes and so hys a lorde  
and prince of mankynde chaster and tamer of the wyld  
peple of Barbarye. ¶ But hade ze þe Empoure comā  
dyde me to haue wrytten your soeyn dedes of armes  
that ze haue done your selfe than hade I bene seker to  
haue disseued thanke there os nolwe I dreid me to disseue  
manys greye. On the tothe side yose I were noghte found  
by myn and obedyent: to so hygh a prince comāduēt  
thane putte I me in pass of my lyfe os an vnbeynne  
surfetoure owtther breker of the hygh holy lawe and  
there fore be twene thes two pelles of boldnes & shame  
I haue leuere be found an bolde by myn Jangelere my  
lege lordes comāduēt fulfyllinge: than one bolde  
and by myn shawfull his heste denyng. ¶ And to  
this boldnes herter me your foreuenes that ye soo  
goodly with out any blamyng: of defautes receuede  
the boke that I brought to you of cheryng of knyghtes  
and wereoures. ¶ Where fore I drede me the lasse to  
be gyne syth my simple wyllfull weake full of defautes  
is so gudely wud fonge of yowe yu pmystheide or blan  
ede. ¶ Nowe In quot gena dūditur res mili  
tans. ¶ *Daptilium primum.*

**N**owe all man of wereres or it is loud were  
¶ The dede that is called chenalys as  
wyttessey a grete auctor of the. Latin. In

45  
the begynnyng of his salves is grounded In theyn  
thynges in armes and in strengthe of bodyly myghte  
And yres theynne bene departed in thre in horsmen  
fotemen and ship were horsmen bene called the weng  
of the othe for os wereges bene sete on eyn syde of y  
lyde so they be in eyn syde of the cheltron in defence  
of the othe and thes be called. bancers. for they be  
baners and pynons. ¶ There bene othe horsmen  
that bene called. legonarius. for they can ioyne  
to the legous in defence of heme and custumple of heme  
And in eustumple were horsmen with legge harneys  
ordyned. ¶ Also fore wereres on the see ther be two  
kyndes on is wyth swyfe. Galys a nothe wyth shipes  
of were horsmen bene spedfull and pfitable for the  
felde. Shyppes and galeys for the see and for the water.  
¶ But fotemen bene pfitable for all man stedes fore  
downes and dales fore hyles and playnes fore townes  
and feldes als for cheryng on cleue or staves. here  
by men may see and wuderstonde that fotemen bene  
moste pfitable for the comynalte. ¶ fore they moly  
pfit in all places both on loude and on water. And  
als more multitude of wereoures well used to dede  
of armes may with lese coste be may be worshipped  
nowyshed than of eyn othe de gre. du othe ys noghte  
alles ppyly but a unittud of wereoures well usede  
to dedes of armes and this name in latyne tonge was  
gyfe to heme that they shulde noghte for gate the dede  
that the name was gyfe fore. ¶ fore more fotmen

Were departed in two maner of parties of the which the  
one was called helpers the other legions helpers. Some  
time they were close out of the same fellowship some time  
they were sent of other nations in helpynge of Romayns  
warres but the chiefe strength & myght of the Romaynes  
funde eu more principally in legions. ¶ For this name  
legio in latyne is so myche to say in englysh as cheffynge  
so that a legion is so mych to sey in englysh as a cheffynge  
multitude of warreours. And in this cheffynge there  
longeth gret faithfulness and hyshe trust of theym  
that be chofen that they ches wyde men and wyrtuous  
And noghte be fauoure. ¶ For in hene that  
shall be helpers to the legions nedeth not so grette  
helpynge ne so grette soubre as in hene that shall  
be chofene to legions. *Quod ut auxilia legio-  
nes inter sit. Sapientium.*

**W**hate deferens is be twene legions & helpers  
the pepyle of magdony. magdonye. and  
of grece. and of dardyn. they wsen in  
here othes grette companyes and in eue companye  
vii thousand men of armes they of fraunce and of  
other nations of *Barbarye.* wsen in here othes  
grette routes and in eue route vii. aij. men of armes  
and moe. ¶ For what dyffere is there betwix  
legions and helpers shortly I shall shewe. ¶ Hel-  
pers whene they bene brought to batel they come  
oute of dynes places and dynes nations. And they  
haue noghte ylore nor the use of warres that they

Come to and as they be dynes of nacion and of place  
so be they dynes of wyll and of ordenaunce. And  
wede mote they lette bynge victory that contracteth &  
distordeth in hene selfe or they be gyune to fyghte. ¶  
And sythe it is spedefull that knyghtes and warreours  
haue knowynge and tokyng and the comandmentes  
of here souerayn thane moche they noghte fulfill there  
souerayns wylls eu lyke some that of newe tyme othre  
elles late bene comyn in to the othe. And there fore it  
pyscheth hyshe to newe comen men to haue use day  
be day of dedes of armes. ¶ For thys helpers ne be  
noghte jounyd to the legions and principally souerayn  
of the chiftehon yf uer warre. ¶ For the legions of some  
in hene selfe deposed and ordyned with here arches  
alabastres and syngers and wyth hys chofen horshe  
rolled in the constable wacteloge were eue more myghty  
ynowgh to kepe here warres to strength hys chiftehon  
to be the byrthen and the fronte of the batayle in  
eue syde myghtely enowgh wath oute any othre single  
helpe wath oute forth and that pnyth weth the mul-  
titude of Romayns that eu yet with here legions haue  
warred and on come as many enemyes as he luste  
othre elles os bynde of manes myght wolde suffre.

*Que causa exhaurivit legiones. Sa.*  
**W**e and by what causes the name of  
legion be loste. ¶ This name legion yette  
dweth in the othe of Romaynes but thowde  
negligence and deserte of tymes that bene passed ye

**S**trength of legyons is fondely feynted & broken.  
fore syth that proude desyre of wysshyp hath bene  
medyd and rewarded with the reward of vertu was  
wound to restreyne. ¶ And also syth that fauoure &  
grace hath chosen and promoted oure knyghtes that were  
wout to be chosen by wysshypfull and tuelous dedes  
of armes. ¶ Also syth that souldours the which  
hath fulfilled here termes and be wytyues of lone of  
here souerayns bene disinuytted and hath lone to gone  
whethir they wollet or elles when that souldours  
or knyghtes dyeth in the Othe and none othre bene  
chofyn a gayne and sete in the steid the causes maketh  
that the myghte and the strength of oure legyons  
ne is nocht so wysshypfull as it was. ¶ For but the  
legyons be eue moneth or eue yere restored & stuffed w  
newe weucoms in here steid that bene passede elles  
myghte the othe be he neu so plentous ryght souerayns  
thyne and starse. ¶ Another cause ther ys y maketh  
oure legyons nu myghtyer than they were wout to be  
for emonge legyons grete labour nor tuel heuyere  
armure more greuous byrthen and freyter chastyfyge  
than emonge heme that bene helpers to legyons. And  
there fore to voyed and fle tuel and fore more ese eue  
man wyll uegh rather desyret to be chofyn & nombred  
emonge helpers ya in the pncypall legyons for emoge  
the helpers is last swete & rypper reward than in the  
legyons. ¶ And ther fore the wysshypfull were  
oure the Cale of Othe. *Latou* was of a wond

to ky that he wouled tha it shulde hely pfitte the conalte  
gyfe dedes of armes were wytyen in booke. And his style  
was this fore myghty dedes of armes be they neu so wys  
shypfully do they dureth but on age of hem yat dothe  
heme or of that sethe hame done but they be wytyen  
in open boke than bene they os it were eu lastyng.  
¶ And this vnderstand ouer. *Julie fronty*. What  
wrote to y Empoure. *Troyan*. A boke of olde dedes of  
armes be they neu so wysshypfully where fore takyng  
custumple of hym as trewly as steptely as y came or  
why thenke to wyte this boke that y haue in honde  
to your hye maeste p Empoure. ¶ And syth it is so  
that an vn ordeyned and a nechygent Othe qrey as  
grete expens and costes as a deligent and a wele ordey  
ned othe it is full podesfull nowght only of the worlde  
yat nowe is but also for the worlde that is couyng  
And there be sich pueruance made be a wysement of  
your hygh maeste p Empoure that the stronge ordena  
ce of dedes of armes nowe bene reuened a zene and the  
nechygent dysuse of oure fore faders mow pshytablye  
amend it. ¶ *Quod demas legiones antiqui ad bellu*  
**N**owe manye *ducent* *Ca*  
legyons olde weucoms lade wythe theyme  
to batyle as we fynde in olde auctoures w  
ten oure pnces and dukes of olde tyme only wyth two  
legyons and the helpers that to heme longeth tokene  
batylt a gayus grete and stronge powers. And that  
thought heme mych y uegh a geyus grete multitude

of other people. ¶ Wherefore they be here to expound  
the ordenance of the olde legyone the which distynge  
of ordenance though it seme some what harde to heme  
shull it rede ne blame they noghte me y of. bot wyte they  
it the hardnes of the mat. ¶ And there fore I counsell  
heme ofte to rede it once for by ofte redyng they molde  
each both mynde and vnderstandyng. For that counsaile  
is uen lychly to be on come with cunseys. ¶ Ther  
as the Emperour or prince what so he be is kynnyng in  
knyghtshode and also is myghty to make owtis of weare  
owres as many as hyme libeth. ¶ *Quem admodum  
legio constituitur* ¶ *Capitulum 4<sup>m</sup>*

**A**lwe a legion shall be sete in batayle after the  
tyme of yonge myghty psons strengthe of body  
wylful and hardy of herte bene delegantly  
chosen to weere and in pise day be day and evyng of dedes  
of armes at the leste a moneth to gedye than by the  
wisement of the hie prince the legion shall be shapen  
ordynede in this wyse. ¶ Fyrste ther shall be made  
a rolle of pechmen owtis elles tables in which wythe  
penne or with poyntell shall bene entrede the names  
and also the othes that knyghtes shall make whene  
they be newe chosen the which othes bene callede the  
sacramentes of knyghtshode. The which sacramentes  
oughte to be done to the Emperour in feythfull & devote  
pise as to bodely god. ¶ For be he knyght or what  
so eue he elles be that feythfully seruey the Emperour  
he pucth god in as mych as he feythfully loneth hyme

that reyngethe be goddes ordenance. ¶ Thus thare is  
the hie othe that knyghtes maketh to the Emperour they  
swerey be crist be god and by the holy goste and by the  
hie maeste of the Emperour the which wudye god is to  
be worshipped and of all man kynde that he shall neu  
for dede of deth ne fore none othir bodely pelt for sake  
his knyghtshode ne no dedes of armes the which his Em  
perour wyll comand hyme to done in fortheryng of the  
comon pfitte of Rome what hinc and strength of body  
in hyme laster. ¶ *Quot choortes in una sunt legio  
ue et quot milites in una choorte* ¶ *Lay<sup>m</sup> 6<sup>m</sup>*

**I**n owe many sortes or copanyes bene in a legyon  
And how many knyghtes in a sorte. Here vnder  
stoude that in eny legyon shull bene x wardes  
of knyghtes but the fyrste ward shall pase any othir both  
in nombre of knyghtes and in worthy psons for that  
warder ayeth for to haue chosen psons both of blude and  
of office and also kynnyng and lettyrde. For this warder  
bereth the baner of the Egle the which emonge all the  
banes is the pnapall signe and token of all the othe of  
the Romaynes and also the pnapall token of the legyons.  
¶ All this warder hath with hyme the ymages of  
the Emperour the which bene to worshyping as the  
pssence of goodnes. ¶ This warder hath of fote men  
a thousande a hundred and x. Off horsme w haberyons  
a. c. xx and xix. And this warder is called the warder  
of knyghtes and the hede warder of the legyon. ¶ And  
this is the fyrste warder that is ordyned as hede of all the



legyon whane the batayll shall be gyune. **T**he seide  
warde is called of the legyon the warde of *v* hundred and *v*  
and fifti foremen and he hath sepe and sexti horsmen  
and it is called *Chors idem q' munitio*. That is os  
mych to sey as a warde. **T**he thirde warde hath also  
*v* hundred and fyne *v* fifti foremen and septi and sepe  
horsmen. But it nedyth hylie to preue well the psons  
that shall be in this thirde warde that they be both myghty  
and knyngte in werre for they bene in myddes of the  
scheyrou. **T**he fourte warde hath *v* hundred and  
fifty foremen and septi horsmen. **T**he fyste warde  
hath also *v* hundred and *v* fifti foremen and sepe *v*  
sexti horsmen. **T** And this warde ryght as the thirde  
warde is the myddes of the ryght syde of the scheyrou.  
And ryght as it fareth by thes *v* wardes both in nombre  
of fyghters and also in setting of ordre. **T** So fareth it  
by the othre *v* wardes the which maketh *v* wardes in  
legyon. **T** Upon the which *v* wardes all the legyon  
is founde the which legyon holdes in the hole nombre  
of *v* and *d* C. of foremen and *v* C. *xxv* of horsme  
lese nombre may nocht a legyon be made be no  
wey but more some tyme it may be by the srombe that  
longeth to o warde in case they be comanded by the Em  
oure to take to heme a warde more in strenghtunge of  
the wenges of the legyon. **T** *Don et gdnus pncipal legio*  
hych bene y names. **T** *ms. Capitulu A*  
of the pncipall officers of the legyons. **T** In y  
ny chaptyle ne is but lityll feuyte of gode ordena

and grete

and grete difficulte to ynglych the names of officers  
there fore I pase one the lychtlyer. But for there bene  
some officers that be nedfull to be named. **T** There  
fore of heme we wyll tewe of the which there bene  
some that be cleped. **T** *Suburus*. And he tho that  
hath the reuelynge of a thousande knyghtes of the  
which the more trybune was chosen by his traynel  
there bene othre that bene called. **T** *Quinarius*. fore  
they bene leders of the oste in the fronte of the batayle.  
**T** *Alsi Egliberarius*. They bene called that  
bene the baner of the Egle. **T** *ymagerus*. They bene  
called that beven the ymages of the Emoure. **T** *Bot*  
*cu berus*. Or elles baneras they bene called yat be  
baners of othre tokyus in the batayle. **T** *Thesary*  
They bene called that bene messagers fro warde to  
warde or elles fro pson to pson of the Emoures wyll  
or elles of the dukes comandment of the oste fore  
**T** *Bessara*. is as mych for to say os a heste or a comand  
ment. **T** *Lampyrus*. be called that hath the reue  
lyng of the felde in tyme of turmentes. **T** *Iustus*  
*ayfurus*. They bene called that goth be fore the  
oste and chelyth the felde that the oste shall acste yme  
And mesureth to eue the space of *v* londe on which he  
shall ppeche his tente or his panylon. **T** *libarius*. ya  
bene called that beven the rowelles that knyghtes  
names of here dedes of armes bene written yme  
**T** Othre names y bene the which shall be reherfed  
here after. **T** *v* fore I pase on the lychtlyer. **T** *Lap. 8*

**T**he names of heme that bene leders of  
the olde orde of olde custome was some  
tyme that the Centurie of the first  
hane shuld be ordeyned and putte in office by orde-  
nauunce and avysement of the principall prince of y  
legions & pres<sup>t</sup> Centurie had gouernayle and  
revelynge not only of the baner of the Egle but  
also of the foure hundredth of the knyghtes in the  
firste shelteron of this Centurie. As he that was  
hede of the legion receyved greter medes & rewardes  
ya y othre Centurins. **A**lso the firste  
banere in the secound shelteron hay twyn  
that is two hundredth men to revele. **A**lso the  
also of the firste warde hath vnder his revele aue  
hundredth men of armes and a halfe and to hyme long  
eth all the ordenaunce of the legion. **A**lso the  
secound baner hath a hundredth men and a halfe  
to revele. **A**lso the Baner yat is the thyrde  
Banere of the firste shelteron he hath a hundredth  
men and a halfe vnder his revele and so the ten  
Centurins. **O**f the firste warde bene goynede  
revelled with v. ordynaries. So the which ordy-  
naries there were grete medes & hugge rewardes  
ordeyned to our olde anncters. **A**lso for as mych as  
yonge knyghtes serunge the worshippes and the grete  
rewardes that they haue shulde with all hie myght  
travyle in worshipfull dedes of armes that thei  
myght bene chose to such worshippes as they nowe

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**A**lso they were centurins the which euy  
of heme hade a hundredth men of armes vnder there  
revelynge. **T**here were also othre revelers vnder y  
centurins the which were called *Decuriones*  
for euy such hade ten knyghtes vnder here revelynge  
and so all the ten wardes of the legion euy of the hade  
fyve centurins so that in all the hole legion there were  
fyrty centurins. *De officio prefecti legionis.*  
**W**hat is the office of the prefecte of  
the legion. **B**ut neu the lesse the Emperour  
legattes that were sente in message to the  
ofte they were chose counyly of tho that were called  
consules consaloures. And to heme both the legions and  
all othre oweth to be byowen both in ordenaunce of peese  
and also of warre. And in here stede now bene othre  
worshipfull psones chosen to haue the maystrey & the  
revelle of knyghtes vnder the which not only the  
legions but mo thane two or thre bene goynede & revelled.  
**T**he moste ppe justice and iuge of the legion is  
the prefecte yat is mayre of the legion the which hath y  
principall dignite of the firste orde of the legione. This  
prefecte in absence of the Emperours legat hath holy the  
Emperours powere as is wyfere his hestes oweue to  
kyng of the tribunis. And certains and all of knyght  
both in makinge of here waches in remembrance of  
the ofte in message sendynge fro warde to warde of  
fro pson to pson. **A**lso if any knyght haue gylte  
owthre trespased a gayne the lawe why that he shuld

be punished thane by the heste of the pfecte he shulde  
be sente to the tribune of the legion to bene chastised

**A**lso the armore the horseryge the clothyng the  
fowle and the rewarde of knyghte longeth to the aue  
and the onseyunge of th' pfecte **A**lso the freyt  
coase and vs of armes both of fote men and also of  
horsemen nedyrth by his comandment euy day to be  
on seyne **A** he hyme selfe also nedyrth to bene a  
wise and a solde man deligente and besy in rewechynge  
of the legion that he is maist' of that they be welk  
occupied in dedes of armes and wele enformed and  
taught in bygonn obedience and othre vertues wryt  
ing hyme well that it ys a hygh comendacion and  
pseyunge to the maist' of the rewele whene the soget  
bene found' vntions

**W**hat is the office of the pfecte **A** *Ca. 10*  
of the wardes **A** There is anoth' pfecte  
that is called or the meyre of the loggyuge  
or of the warde or the tentes and the paynyous shull  
be pyght whene the oste shal' reste in the felde **A**  
And this pfecte yose he be lase of dignite thene the  
pfecte of the legion' at nen the lase his office is of grete  
occupacion and besynes **A** fore he muste ordeyn  
be wise fore castryng and a wise ment fro the place  
in the felde thare the tentes of the oste shull be pyght  
and ordeyned **A** he mote also ordeyne and assigne  
euy man his loggyuge place with hime the tentes  
af' his de gre and also his estate hassethe **A** he

mote also ordeyne for men that bene seke or hurte in y<sup>e</sup>  
oste and fore hve leches and fore here medecyns also y<sup>e</sup>  
comon expens of the oste muste be rewarded by his  
wysedome **A** he muste also ordeyne for cariage to  
the oste of charyett' cartes and waynes for sho and  
uayle for toyle Also spades shouels mattoles and pyly  
ses that nedyrth to dybenge of dyches and mynyng  
of wallis for tymbyre Also that nedyrth to makynge  
of engynnes wetheres sowes and othre gymmes to  
assayle walled towues and castelles **A** all  
this and mych odyre thyng more mut be ordeyned  
be this pfectes wyte and wysedom **A** And there  
fore he that shal' be chosen to this office he mote be  
a quide pson both in knyghthode and eke in wyse orde  
nancia that he mote redely teach othre that helpe  
selfe hath wysely wrought be fore **De officio pre  
fecti fabricorum. Capitulu. ii.**

**W**hat is the office of hyme that is pfecte of  
the craftes **A** The oste hay also w<sup>th</sup> hime  
in euy legion men of craft as carpenters  
tylers ferowes and othre smythes & paynters and  
othre men of othre craftes to beldyng of here wynter  
howshuge to makynge also of hve engynnes  
and othre instrument' of tymbyre werke and of  
wren as towes of tymbyre and othre man' gymmes  
of werre by which towes and towues of here enemye  
mote aghtlyer be wonne and hve owen defended  
**A** Also they hane othre men of craft as charyttes

carvers whele makers & bynders that both kene make  
newe here charres cartes and wayns and also amed  
the olde when they bene apared and also dryue he  
and reuellet he when it is nede. They haden also in  
the ofte huches tylls and cofres and conynges fore  
sheldes for haberions for bowes and arrowes for helms  
es and basenettes in which all fysh armur shete &  
Septe June.

**U**hit was a grete besynes to heme y  
woere reuelers in the ofte that it were found zedy at  
the tyme of nede in so much that they hade en more  
wouth heme appoures to vnder myne the walles of  
townes and towres so that when the foundmentes  
woere vnder myned thane myght they take the  
towne or the towere when heme luste and the pu  
cipall hede of the reueler of this maner was the  
pfecte or the mayre of the captiue.

**U**hit was the office of the tribune of knyghtes  
as we haue tolde be fore euery legyon is  
of x wardes emonge the which the firste  
is called mysharie warde in the which warde the  
knyghtes that bene y June they bene moste worship  
full of all othe both in ryches in gentry of bloode  
in brynnyng of lacture in beante of bodely shape &  
in myghte & strength. The pnapall reuellet of this  
compayne was the thime of the same warde the  
which was in armes in brynnyng in bodely stur  
in honeste maner moste worshipfull and woorthye

the othe wardes were reuelled by fysh soueyns as  
the pnce luste for to ordeyne hym. **U**hit tyme  
amonge the romayns there was fysh besynes to hold  
here knyghtes in exyse and vse of dedes of armes  
yat here thunes and here pfectes shulde euery day ou  
so the knyghtes yat were by take hem to kepnyng &  
reuelnyng and make heme euery day to iuste or shete  
or some othe dede. **U**hit nought only shulde the  
knyghtes bene thus oue sey of here soueyns he selfe  
as the tribunes and the pfectes they shulde euery day  
in syghte of here knyghtes iuste or tomye or some  
poynte of armes shewe in leuynge and techyng of  
heme that newe were takyn in to hure warde and wthe  
myshyre and shawynge shulde be made be fore the  
pnces and dukes of the ofte or elles be fore the Empe  
Shan was it a hie worship comited to thylle yat  
were soueyns and reuelers of wardes or compaynes  
when yat here wardes or here compaynes conyue  
to the shewynge worshipfully clothede bryght shynnyng  
armed and in dedes of armes well vside & leued.

**U**hit was the office of the tribune of knyghtes  
as we haue tolde be fore euery legyon is  
of x wardes emonge the which the firste  
is called mysharie warde in the which warde the  
knyghtes that bene y June they bene moste worship  
full of all othe both in ryches in gentry of bloode  
in brynnyng of lacture in beante of bodely shape &  
in myghte & strength. The pnapall reuellet of this  
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full of all othe both in ryches in gentry of bloode  
in brynnyng of lacture in beante of bodely shape &  
in myghte & strength. The pnapall reuellet of this  
compayne was the thime of the same warde the  
which was in armes in brynnyng in bodely stur  
in honeste maner moste worshipfull and woorthye

Also moche as in olde tyme there grei fell grete pessi  
in the oste for defaute of multiplyeng of signes and  
tokens by which that knyghtes and othir souldiers  
in case that they were by mishap skated oute of here  
wardes and depte oute of here compaynes or here  
ban bove downe the which they shulde be reweled.  
by y fore the olde wysdome of Rome ordeyne  
any centur of Rome a dynes baie of his office in  
his name and the nombur of the warde that  
he was centur of wreten there on that the  
knyghtes of here wardes pose they were departede  
fro here wardene or fro here warde yet myght they  
be wytyng on here baie tuene a gayn in to here  
warde and to here ban. ¶ And on this it was  
ordenyd that pfectes centurys and othir cheue  
tens shuld haue crestes on thair hys helmes of diuers  
signes and tokens that in case hys ban of here  
warde with any myshap were voyded or vasede  
or fell downe oute of here syghte of here soueryns  
crestes they myght retorne a gayn to here soueryns  
and to here wardes. ¶ Forthemore the soueryns  
of the hundrydes the which we callen senturys  
shaden be maundmentes and bestes of here soueryns  
that they shulde besely on loke the wardes of here  
hundrydes that there yett were none armes nor  
defaute founde and that they shuld sych armes  
make in here banes and sych tokens and signes in  
here crestes that y ower hundryth & none of myght

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folowe here alle reuelours by here banes. And here  
crestes and none othir. ¶ Forthemore yett were  
the hundrythes deprede in compaynes by x in on  
compayny and x in a noy and in ordendunte of log  
gynge y were logged in o panylon and y in a op  
and y in the thurde tyll the hundrede were logged  
and ene more the worthiest yson in the compa  
ny of y was made soueryn and reueloure of the  
y and called deen of the compayne. ¶ Forthemore  
more ryghte os emonge fite men the legion was de  
partede in hundrythes compaynes and hondesfulles  
ryghte so the legion of horsemen were so departede in  
rottes and to euy rotte longede xxxij horsemen &  
here cheuetayne was called. Adcaurie. What is  
as mych to sey os he that is of courte or elles os he  
that hath the courte or the keynge of y fore xxxij  
is departed in x & x and y. ¶ And ryghte os the  
hundrythes of fite men bene goincede and reuelde  
vndyr on centurie and vndyr one baie ryghte so y  
rotte of horsemen that is xxxij bene reweled vndyr  
on deaurie and vndyr o bannere. ¶ For y more  
ryghte os he that shall be acentur is chosen be lengh  
and strength of body be kynnyng and wysdome of dedes  
of armes that can be wachfull and solce and lyght  
to reune and also to ryde that reuer is to done in  
dede that is comanded hym of his soueryns than  
to byde or comand othir that cane wysely reuel  
his fellowshepe that is vndyr his rule and holde y

In use of dedes of armes that came also one lobe  
hese clothynge and here armure that they beu cleue  
clothed cleue hofede and shode boyghly armede syche  
one shulde be chosene a centurie ryghte so sychon shulde  
be chosene dearye to be pynapatt and reueloune on y  
vorte of horsemen that came wysely reuellet his capa  
ny that in strength and length of body passyth all oþ  
that wysely and sodanly can tak his hors & swyftly  
ryde that can wysely stete and throlve that came  
also wysely tech his felashipe that is vnder his reuellet  
all thyng that longeth to weare on horselak that can  
and may strength hene to kepe here armure bryghte &  
cleue shynnyng for no doute bryghte shynnyng armure  
is grete affey to enemyes. ¶ Who shall tolve that  
ylke knyghte is a noble werreoure whos armure is dury  
& rusty. ¶ And note only it nedeth the horseme to  
beu occupyed but also it nedeth that the horseme in  
tyme of pces beu tuelled & rydyn & tamed & tanght woth  
to stonde nowe to venne aft the tyme and nedeth aske  
And all this besynes both of meue and of hors longeth  
to beu on seye of hyne that is diarye. ¶ Qualiter  
acies legionū instruantur. Capitulum. 10.

**D**ow the sheltre of the legions shall be  
lerned and tanght. ¶ Nowe wyl we  
shewe howe the sheltre of the legions  
shullen be tanght to sete heme selfe in ordenance in  
case that enemyes beu negh and this may be shewed  
by sittyng of on legion and aft that if uede be of mo

the horsemen en more shullen be sete in the corners.  
The sheltre of fote me of the fyrste cohorte shall be  
sete in the ryghte corner and write thow well y a cohorte  
is noghte ellis bute the nombere of fofy hundreth  
knyghtes and euy legion hath x cohortes. ¶ The  
os seyde be fore the sheltre of fote me of the fyrste co  
horte shall be sete in the fyrste cornere of the sheltre  
and to heme the secund cohorte shall be genued y thyrde  
cohorte shall holde the mydes of the sheltre & to hy  
the fouete shall be knyte. ¶ The fyfte cohorte shall  
holde the lesse corner of the sheltre. And yllke that fofy  
moste beu in fyghte beu called pncas and othre beu  
calde pncapals. ¶ His ordenance was called the grete  
armature the which had helmes habecious & beste  
playtes leggharues sheldes grete swerdes yat men do  
callen spatys and also bytt swerdes that were called  
spatus. They had also shafes loded at the ende w  
at the lesse the which were caste woth grete myghte.  
¶ Also they had duble dartes one of the more asse  
a othre of the lesse the more had an hede of fene thre  
square the weghte of 10 ounce and the shafte of 10  
foze and a halfe the which nowe is called a pylle &  
to the use of this shote the knyghtes were moste vsede  
the which shote and it were castely & myghtly thow  
it perished shelde and habecious and horsemen often  
tyme distreude. ¶ Awoy laste darte they had y which  
had a hede of fene thre square of 10 ounce y weght  
the shafte of thre foze and an halfe the which nowe is

¶ And  
the cohorts

¶ vñ de pnc  
aps.

calde a broche and some tyme it was calde a bytyll broch  
¶ The fyrste sheltron is of pines the seconde of shaft  
men yat wyth justyng speeres castyng speeres and  
dartes bene taughte and leuene to fyghte. After hem  
were sete lyght armed men wath sheldes coued the  
wchich fyght wath battes of lede wath sweides and  
wyth shote of honde ¶ After heme come bowe me  
armed wath basenete and bresteplate garde w sweides  
and arrowes. After heme were sete houndshynges and  
stafe shynges the wchich wath slenges castyn stoncs ¶  
After heme were sete arblasters and bowes the wchich  
shote arrows and quarches wath arblasters & bowes  
of brake ¶ The secunde sheltron in the same wyse  
was armed in wchich were sete knyghtes of the spee  
But in the secunde sheltron the seve cohort of knyghtes  
heldene the ryght corner and to heme was joyne y  
wchich what a cohorte is I have shewed be fore the wyth  
the w cohorte helden en more the wydes of y sheltron  
¶ The y in the secunde sheltron helde en more the  
left corner. ¶ *Quedam tary & centuriones ay*

**N**owe the tarius ¶ *ment Ca 11*  
and the centius shulde ben armed.  
After all the chelrons the reuentante  
of fyghters the wchich nombre was uoght euell  
to make a legyon they were sete be fore all y shel  
trons armed well wath helmes breste plates legge  
harnes and sheldes wath sweides wath lede battes  
and doble shote of dartes of this nombre were.

chofen oute the beste fyghters to the nombre of my  
or w hundredth and thes hade chesaynes and 200  
elers that were called triarius a triarye is he yat  
hath in knyghtes to his ban wath the compaigne  
that to heme longeth. ¶ Thees were ordeyned

as wyges to the fyrste sheltron and to the secunde  
and if any of heme twayn by burthe of bateyle  
were broken or dystursted than shuld a compa  
nye of thees fyghters fall in to the shede of y broke  
sheltron and make it hole a gayne tyll that thilke  
that were brokene out myghte velen to here wardes  
a gayne. ¶ And also all baners and penners of  
they were fotemen yat hade theyngle habernys &  
helmes hilled wath bere skynnes i feroyng of the  
enemys. ¶ But on all this the centius haden

breste plates and sheldes and helmes of Iren bute  
on that thwarte here helms they haden crestes fyl  
ed fore they shulde the hightyer knowe here knyght  
tes. ¶ *Coniisa pugna gne armatura stare p uuro*

**N**ow the bateylles encountrey ¶ *Ca 10*  
or swyrteth to gedye than mote the grette  
armature stoude in stede of a walle. ¶ This  
also mote be welle vnderstoude that whene y bateyle  
be gynneth the fyrste sheltron and the secunde mote  
stoude still clos to gedye the tarius also shullen  
stoude clos in eyther hyde as wenges. ¶ Also  
y that occupy shote or bowe men arblasters & bowes  
of brake and shynges wath honde shynges & stafeshynges

Whiche ben callede the lyght armur. yees shallen  
so be fore the shektrous and terrey the ememyss  
shote and caste of stones and yf they be myghtye  
enough to pite the ememyss to flyghte than shall  
they folowe the chase so that the ordenaunce of the  
shektrous shall noghte be mowede. ¶ And if it so be  
yat thies archers be noghte myghty to stoufite y  
ememyss ne pite heme to flyghte. Then shall ye  
with drawe heme be hynd the grete shektrous. yene  
note the grete armur yat is the shektrous wyth  
here ordenaunce take the bronte of the bateyle and  
foude clos os a wall of yew and noght only w  
shote of spere and darte but also with swerde & hond  
battes of lede fyghte honde at honde. ¶ And if it  
hape that they pite the ememyss to flyghte they  
shall holde theme clos and noghte folowe the chase  
lese they departe and stater the ordenaunce of here  
shektrous and so myghte they hape to bene stoufitede  
or they myght come a gayne to the ordenaunce but  
the lyghte armature that bene the bowemen &  
alllastures & slyngers thies shall pisewe the chase

¶ Thus with this ordenaunce y disposed y legys  
of romaynes or they hade the victory of here eme  
mys or they kepede hem selfe saue with oute grete  
harmes and perelles. for ordenaunce of the legion  
is sich that he may not hghly fle ne hghly folowe  
he ¶ Quod uoia militū + gō cor + sant  
names of knyghtes ¶ Causo sū st'ocuda' Ca. 11

And here de grece dwythy to be wyte ou thwarte  
the shelde. ¶ Butte for as mych as in a sodeyne  
noyse of callynge no mane shulde venne oureward  
butte eny man shulde knowe vnd what baner he  
were assignede it was ordeyned that eny senatour  
and eny ynnapall of eny collete shuld hane on here  
sheldes and on here baners dries tokyms perynted  
by which they myghte be knowe of here knyghtes.  
¶ And also eny knyghte hade his owene name  
wreten ou thwarte his shelde and also the name and  
the nombre of centurie that he was longynge to and  
thus in a sodeyne affrey or callynge. eny lorde knewe  
his soiuers and they here lordes which they shulde  
folowe. ¶ Here by it semeth welk that a legion  
welk ordeynede and disposed is a welk wardede and  
wallede cete the which is able if uede be in the wylde  
felde to dych and pale his wardes a boutte yofe eme  
mys be wygh hyn haueynge with yune hunc of all  
de grece knyghtes and werreours and all man ray  
of armure. ¶ Where fore ho so desyret h be open waxe  
to oue come the peple of Barbarye loke he desyre w  
all his myghte of the Empo that his legyous molke  
bene ordeyned and chosen knyghtes welk usede and  
quede in werres. ¶ Butte yonze he hane in his  
legyous younge fygsters if they bene delegendly usede  
day be day to dedes of armes noght only in the more  
nyuge butte also after noue they shall bene with yue  
alytiff which euene peres with olde knyghtes the





In countrees fore it seemed to heme unsyttyng that he  
that shuld receyve of the Emperour leveray & clothyng  
and sowe shulde be occupied in any othir office but in the  
Emperours werres for the lese the same knyghtes shuld  
bene put to all maner of offices and labores that here  
cheuctayns wolde byd heme do with in the oste as  
welle as any othir as to here birtheus of wode and  
hyere of strawe of wat dych to pale in tyme of nede

¶ For there were othir ordeyned to thes warres  
the which were hyed y<sup>e</sup> to and there fore they were  
called hred men

¶ Quod diuidia ytem donatu  
apud hana unius scipuaru facunda. Ca. 15

**A**bsendell the pfitis of the knyghtes sowe  
shulde be kepte vnder the pncypall ban

¶ It was ordeyned of olde tyme by  
ordenance of god as welle os manes that halfendell  
pfitis of the yfices and the sowe that knyghtes &  
sionnes receyved for here tynple it shulde ben sekerly  
sequestrede and loken up vnder the pncypall standaw  
and there it shulde be trewly sete and kepte to there  
nede that owyth it

¶ And this was done for  
two skylles fyrste for they shulde note spend here nowy  
in waste costes as it happeth ofte that pore men

whill they ought hane in here honde ben largere of  
spendynge that thul that bene rych

¶ A nothir  
skylle why that thes godes were kepte vnder the banes  
ward was this for as mych as they shulde be more  
redy manfuller to fyghte in mayntenance of here banes

In as myche as they fanght not only for the comyn ryghte  
but fore here owen yfous pfitis as fore kepynge of here  
owne godes

¶ And to kepynge of thes goodes that  
were ordeyned ten sakers in euery cohorte and on sacker in  
the which thes goodes were putte June. And on thes  
x sakers were ordeyned the xi sacker the which was cal  
led the almys sacker to the which euery knyght and sionne  
gafe a certeyne porcion for his sowe to bevyenge of his  
felawes if any were slayne in the oste and the sake ryght  
os the othir was kepte of the banes wher fore it neded  
that the baners were only twelve men & feytherfull  
butt also letterd to wyte trewly euery manes parte & his  
name and his receytes and his expens

¶ It was

**B**y whos counseyll legions were ordeyned  
Roght only by manes counseyll but also it  
seemeth by godes ordenance legions were orde

ordeyned a mouge the Romayns in the which legions  
the x cohortes bene in wytt and in dede as it were in  
body kynte to gedere in ou and as it happeth hymne in  
the legion to succepe in ven so they eucessen in worship  
so that it happeth ofte that some for here wyte and here  
worthy dedys bene chosun to dignites and worshipes  
hyer and here fro warde to warde tyll they hane be  
secke round passed all the x wardes that bene callede  
and at the laste it happeth that they bene chosun a zene  
in to here fyrste warde that they come fro and made  
the pncypall pices or dukes of the legion and so ofte they

Some a game to the warde in which they be game with  
more wysshipe and more wyunnyng for en as they  
successe with wysshipe they successe wyunnyng

Also such a corde of goode wyle there was amonge hene  
pat not withstandyng that horsemen & foie men byddy  
contaryeth and distordeth in condiaous & maner zt  
amonge hene was such a corde that eu of hene  
loued and wysshpede othre as broy and brother  
and this a corde of loue helde en the legion stronge  
threys pees

**W**hat defence is betwene trompes clarions  
and hornblowers. **A**lso with wysse  
a wisement ther was ordeyned in the ofte  
trompes & hornblowers the which in dimes tymes  
shulde wame the ofte what were to doynge. But  
thes two mynstrells had tweyne dimes seruyces.  
**T**he trompes shulde blowe when the warde  
shulde be mostred and knyghtes called to batayle.  
The horns serued to blow when the baners and y  
baners shulde meue forth by fore the ofte but wite  
any knyghtes shulde meue to batayle or to any o  
laboure thare shulde the trompes blowe.  
**A**lso to shettynge or iustynge or bydyng and to all  
othre laboures tranelles or waches pat knyghtes  
shulde done both to here begynnyng and also to  
here cessyng trompes shulde blowe. **B**ut at  
the suppones comynge or when any of the ofte  
were for nged for his trespass than shulde bothe

trompes and hornes blowe to geore and this ordeuac  
at eyes and that was called **C**larionys. **C**larionys  
**A**lso what the fyghtyng dweth betwene the  
partyes both trompes and hornes shul clarion to geore  
and this ordeuance of trompes and reuelynge of the  
ofte was ordeyned of manes voys ne may nocht so soue  
ne so fare be harde as may trompes & hornes.

**T**we knyghtes shul eue day be occupied in  
the folde. **R**owe we hane shewed which  
is the ordeuance and the away of the legion  
Rowe torne we agayne to shewe the besynes & occupa  
con that fyghters and knyghtes mote hane yf they  
shulde be knynges in dedes of armes. **W**here  
witer wel that in olde tyme the yonge iument and  
the uelle made knyghtes they were occupied in y  
olde mannynges and agayns the elyunnyng in all  
man kynde of dedes of armes. **A**nd also the olde leued  
knyghtes though they were neu so well leued & armes  
yt were they ou in the day occupied in the same wise.  
**F**or no doute that longe age and olde peeres ne  
make nocht a knyght a good werreow but long yse  
and occupaon in dedes of armes. **A**lso fore as  
moch as ydelnes the which is a steydam to all vices  
in all stiences and craftes maketh thynges for gete  
that well were leuede & lured be fore. **W**here fore  
it is nedefull that olde knyghtes bene occupied in dedes  
of armes as wel as yonge for forzetyng. **A**lso

throw rose and case of kynnyge and fightryng euy  
with other in game the hynes of the body waxen  
fayrie and hyste they leue also y by howe and wher  
and where he shall fynde his enemy. Also howe  
he shall bepe by selfe for his enemy and for harme  
they were also taughte to knowe abett hie ban that  
they lese note there warde ne ther ban threly and hys  
in pres. ¶ Soothermor it is needfull that they  
bene beseth occupied in shetyng and castyng at the  
pale or the stake of the which is spoken in the xx  
chapyre of the fyrste boke. Also hyme nedyth to be  
taughte yat whene he will hurte his enemy in  
the hys or in the body with swerde or with othre  
egge toyle than mote he fynde fornyng. When he de  
sireth to hurte the hede the arme or the legges ya  
mot he fynde carenyng. ¶ They mote also now  
be lerneyd now to lepe in on his enemy with his  
froke and now to fle bakeward fro his enemy  
froke. They must also bene used with darts and  
speres to caste at the stake that standyth for a tye  
as it were a enemy shetters and arblasters. Shyngers  
mote make heme markes to shete and to shyng shettes  
of pycobbes or of steele so that here markes be sete  
fro heme when they castay or shete sixty fete  
at the laste and sych cosage they mote hane of castyng  
and shetyng to yllke ayeres tyll they be costonably  
at eny shote and caste hit the marke. And than shul  
they done the same when they bene sete in the shettron.

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a ren here enemyes that they dyden in the felde to hane mikes  
¶ Also the shyngers mote be advised that they dyne ther  
shyng with here stone ons a boure here hede rounde or  
they caste. ¶ Also all othre shyngers and swordsmen  
mote be lerneyd to caste stones with here handes without  
shyng for that vse is hyshter to hane and redyex at neede  
But for as much as in wynter tyme the vsage and cosage  
of armes ne shuld not be leta by reyne ne othre stormes y  
fore where en the ofte wynters they belde theme laggys  
for heme and there hors and pynapally they belde heme  
a wyde howse and a longe to hyde and to reyne to hyshter  
and to shete June which hors they hane here cosage of dedes  
of armes when hemy wedynges lered them out of the  
felde the which howsinge was coned and hylled othre  
with toyle stone othre with thach of recede castay. ¶  
Othre wynter days when the wedyr was meye tha  
plyed they thre games in the felde. Thus wynter  
and somer they were occupied in dedes of armes yat  
dysos and zeste shuld not felle here bodys ne here hu  
nyng. ¶ Soothermor they were usede day by day to  
hemyng of woodes beynyng of byrthens to lopyng on  
dyches to fymme in the see or in fleshy wades to go to  
reune full pass armed with byrthens on here bakes so  
that labour and tynce in tyme of pees made heme  
the more able to tynce in tyme of werre. wher fore  
I holde a wysdom that weareours ben occupied beseth in  
tyme of pees as of weare. For vyght as a well teavelde  
buyght that is wise in werres coucty or willety to hane

threw rose and exase of kynnyge and fighyng euy  
with other in game the hynes of the body wapon  
furye and hyste they leue also y by howe & wher  
and where he shall fuyte his enemy. Also howe  
he shall bepe by selfe foo his enemy and fo harmes  
they were also taughte to knowe what he can that  
they lase note there warde ne ther ban thow medys  
in pte. ¶ ffothermor it is uedefull that they  
bene beseth occupied in shetyng and castyng at the  
pale or the stake of the which is spoken in the 201  
chapere of the fyfte boke. Also hyme uedyth to be  
taughte yat whene he will hurte his enemy in  
the hyde or in the body with swerde or with othw  
egge toyle than mote he fuyte feryng. when he de  
fyrth to hurte the hede the arme or the legges ya  
mot he fuyte careyng. ¶ They mote also now  
be leueryd now to lye in on his enemy with his  
sworde and now to fle bakeward fro his enemy  
sworde. They must also bene used with darts and  
spores to caste at the stake that fonyth for a cyle  
as it were a enemy shetters and arblasters. shynge  
mote make heme markes to shot & to syngre shettes  
of schobbes or of swalwe so that here markes be set  
fro heme when they castay or shete forty fete  
at the leste and sych cosage they mote hane of castyng  
and shetyng to yllke eyekes tyll they kn costonably  
at eny shot and caste hit the marke. And than shuff  
they done the same when they bene set in the shetton.

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a ren her enemy that they dyden in the felde to here nikes  
¶ Also the syngers mote be avised that they dyne ther  
syngre with here stone ons a bonte here hede vounde or  
they caste. ¶ Also all othw knyghtes and souldours  
not be lerned to caste stones with here handes without  
syngre for that use is hyshter to bme and redyex at uede  
But for as much os in wynter tyme the vsage and cosse  
of armes ne shall not be lere by reyne ne othw stormes y  
fwe where en the ofte wynters they belde theme leggyng  
for hem and there hors and pncypally they belde heme  
a wyde hows and a longe to hyde and to reuue to hyshter  
and to shere iune which hors they hade here cosse of dedes  
of armes when they wedynges lered them out of the  
felde the which howsyngre was coned and hylled othw  
with toyle stone othw with thach of weede castay. ¶  
Othw wynter days when the wedyngre was mery tha  
played thay thre games in the felde. Thus wynter  
and somer they were occupied in dedes of armes yat  
dys and zeste shuld not felle here bodies ne here bu  
nyngre. ¶ ffothermor they were usede day be day to  
heryngre of woodes berryng of byrthens to lepyngre ou  
dyches to swyne in the see or in flesch renes to go & to  
reune full paas armed with byrthens on here bakis so  
that labour and tynce in tyme of pees made heme  
the more able to tynce in tyme of werre. wher fore  
I holde it wisdom that weryngre ben occupied beseth in  
tyme of pees as of weare. ffor vyght as a well tynced  
knyght that is wise in werres couctay or willeth to hane

...so a vntangyre knyghte is a lord of fygthynge  
¶ Here fore write thou well that vse of armes  
is more worthy than strength or myght of body for  
vse leuerynge of dedes of armes were lesse than  
were there no defoientie ne knowynge be thene a  
knyght and a paynyer.

**N**ere he hearyth the vsage of cheualre by  
examples of othre craftes. ¶ Syth it is  
so that the champion the swoge wrytel  
the charioter and the carter for hyrre hire yat  
they reseyne or forgaue or forgaue of the pepyl  
be holde theym besely they studye howe they craft  
mowe bene hyde and knowe. nych more oweth a  
knyght to study besely how the craft of cheualre  
may encrese and also he oweth besely to kepe the good  
vsages of dedes of armes and namly sey he shall re  
seyne the greater waggis than any othre craftyman  
and also by ordur of knyghthode and by the vnyuers  
a vaucement he is ordeyned to greter ryches and  
hyer dignite of office and estate than any othre man  
of craft the which mainteyneth and encreaseth here  
craftes for here owne singulere pffites or elles for  
thanne or prayssynge of the pepyl. ¶ But a knyght  
that is chosyn by sacrament of oth and sworne too  
knyghthode he ne oweth noght yonge ne old to forsake  
dedes of armes what he may traueyle wyttynge  
welle yat he fygthes a not only for his owne helth but

Also fore the libertie and freedom of his conuincie  
where fore hyme nedeth to be vside in dedes of armes  
for as men seyne in olde sawes selden is the craft se  
gore yat othre is thoght on and vside.

**W**hat diuers toole and instrumentes bene  
longynge to the legyon. ¶ Also write  
welle that a legyon ne stondrth not only  
in the nombre of knyghtes but also in nombre of  
instrumentes and diuers tole to wyrtch wyrtch. And  
also diuers wepons to fyghte with a mouge which  
for hem nedeth to haue grete shotte that nowher  
haberon ne shelde mowe wyrtch stonde as spingolis  
pegettes bowes of brake archlastrys band wnt wnt  
Esces mowe be caried with the othre in carres and  
waynes wyrtch drawght of mules wyrtch asses upon  
so that in any certoure they mowe bene of thys car  
and waynes armed with such shotte. ¶ And  
to any wayne or carte vj men assigned and ordeyned  
to kepe the shotte to benede it or to shete it when  
tyme is beste. ¶ For this maner of shotte the  
suggere and greter it is the farther a hardar it shete  
and swyrtch. And there fore it is not nedfull in defence  
of Castelles and citadels. ¶ But also in any felde it is  
nedfull in defence of the shelten for the strength and  
myght of the shotte may no thynge with stonde no  
thre hors ne with plates haberious ne fore man  
with paves and shelde. ¶ Forthwith in any wayne

And centurie and choote were ordeyned cartes and  
chares ychon to draibe wyth xiiij asses and also  
weyns drawyne with oxen the which caried meues  
and castyng stones that if the enemyes wold assaile  
the pale of here wardyng they shulde be put of both  
wyth arrows and eke with stones. ¶ They haden  
also wyth heme staphes lyttle botes as it were fyfthe  
trowes made holde of on tree and also longe stapes  
and shymes of yren that whene they come to the  
reeves or othir waters that had no brygges ne also  
wyght uoghte be on swome ne on ryde than wyth  
thulle ropes and chymes they were yllle lottes to gade  
and ualed on thwarre heme brode bordes in longe  
thor on they caried on the wates the ofte with all  
here cartage wyth out yll or lose. ¶ Also they  
had wyth heme all maner men of warre with all maner  
toole they hade hokes and crokes of yren to draibe  
trublyre and stone to draibe up watter of wellles and  
dyles to drawe downe horses and oxelles they hade  
skyllles and fythes to ryppen corne to moile hie gade  
¶ Also they hade toole to dyle and daine with as  
pylles spades and shoucles stokes and vales lobettes  
males and payles panyers and bastettes to bere and were  
eith when it was dyged. ¶ They hade also duble  
egged axes shappinge axes brode axes fore howyng  
and trublyre and sawes also. ¶ They hade also all  
maner gyynes and gages that needful is takyng or  
segyng of castell or of Cete as shaylles pat was not

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alles but horse panyers and targettes wyth the which  
men when they foughten were hilled frome shotte and castyng  
as the shayle is in his hous yfore they called hym shalles  
¶ They hade also pylles and mattoles  
¶ Also they were that is uoghte  
alles but a pet bene of syluer tymbre shode at the ende  
wyth a grette pace of yren the which bene when the  
dyches were fylled that me uoghte come to the wall  
of the castell or of the towne that were be segged than  
shulde that bene be hanged up on the trees wyth ropes  
made the fore and the ende shode with yren shulde  
be to the wall wande so that he uoghte towch ywarre  
but if it were a fore or tymbre. ¶ Johan shulde  
men with ropes tyed to the tymbre of the bene drawe y  
bene bakawarde and lere hyme fle sodanly a zeus y warre  
and wath in a fetre draughtes and strokes he shall make  
a hole thwre the wall men forto entre but if the wall  
were the stronger yane it muste haue the lenger tyme  
yus gyne for it brotred and busthyde a zeus the wall  
os doth a wey a zeus a nothir wath his hede there  
fore it is called a wethir. ¶ They had also towres  
of tymbre goyng on wheles pat we callen bastell  
or smax castell and shortly all thynges that needful  
was in any maner bynde of warres the legion hade it  
with heme caried so pat in what place they myght or  
sette here a bydyngge it was os well os a armed  
Cete. ¶ Explicit liber secundus  
Incipit liber tertius

**E**che ynneth the thyrde boke of this treatise  
in which xxxij chapters & a plonge the  
which plonge the auctor sheweth & seyth  
that y lordes of athenes and the lacedemones & all  
the maydones pat bene the atces of grece grete and  
worthy by language and use of weeres gotten grete  
reuerence and also riches. ¶ But they of athenes  
were nocht only warcours but also wys and fayne  
in dyligence & sciens for ther was flour of phi  
losophy vniuersite and skole of all the seven artes but  
the lacedemones were principally used and campied  
in weeres but they of athenes of hapys & menture  
of weeres the which they hade nocht only had but  
also sey and guede in dede they wyten ther of bokes  
and reuelles and commaundid the maistres of here  
younge chenalry to tech and to rede thise bokes to the  
younge weereours. ¶ O hye be the men worthy  
to bene worshipped yet wolde nocht only lerne but  
also aduise that craft to ben taughte whiche wyl  
out which no craft may longe endure ne last. ¶  
Thus also the romayns takinge cunsauple of theces  
of athenes they haue nocht only wyl holde with  
heme the vsage of armes. But also they haue wyte  
in bokes the lawes hopes & aduancys of dedes of  
armes. ¶ But for there bene many & diuers of yow  
bokes that wolde not come to the houndes ne to the  
syghte of men that haue nede of hem. ¶ Therfore  
our worshipfull Emperour hath commaundyde me

to gedyze spaciely in to this lytel tracte the fente of  
othre auctorites and of here boles that no man shulde  
sade ne weye weye of redyngs of this boke for it is shewe  
and also they shulde luste to geue feyth truste and credite  
to that is wyitten there in as much as it is drawe  
oute of othe auctorites that wytte the dedes of armes  
that they hade seye and guede. ¶ But if we wyll  
wyte howe much buyngs lere and vsage of dedes of armes  
pfitte to the lacedemones passyng all othe conveys  
it may be shewed by cunsauple of a weereour of that  
countree that was named. **C**aulchippus. ¶ His fore  
his wite and wisdom that he hade in dedes of armes  
he was wagged with the acte of Cartage a gayne the  
romayns and he with wite and craft of armes hee  
destroyed a bytill byng of Rome that was called. **A**nul  
and all the grece othe of Rome with a smale compaigne  
so that in o batayle he made a ende of weeres by wite  
rome and cartage for a longe tyme aft more by craft  
thane by strength. ¶ **H**anyball also after this was  
duke of Cartage and he hade with hym a weereour  
of lacedemoyne to ben techour and reuelour of his  
weeres and by his craft and counseyle he destroyed in  
o day all the strength and chenalry of Rome in so much  
that he sente heme to Cartage in tokeuyng of victoie  
the bushelles of golde bynges that were take of the  
fingers of grece and nobyll me as pnces dukes Calles  
Barons that were slayne of the romaynes in batayle  
¶ Therfore ho so desyret hys a ray hyme to weere



And who so coney victory leue weft his knyghtes  
to dedes of armes. And ho so wylney worshipfull  
happes loke he fyghte by craft of knyghtes and uoght  
by happes for there is no wyse man that wyll take  
schou to fyghte with hyr the which he wote weft  
wyll on come hyme and they fyght to gedre

**U**nde modus debet esse eximius. **U**nde modus  
hate is an ofte ppealy. **U**nde the fyfte boke  
of this tretys sheweth the man of chesnyng  
of weverours and fyghters and the chasoun

comparacion that haue nedyrth to haue in dedes of armes  
**U**nde the seauende boke folowynge teacheth the ordynance  
and the scynge of a legion and the lore and the techynge  
of knyghtchode. **U**nde Rowte this thurde boke sheweth

and teacheth the craft of weveres on the see to y which  
lougeth shippes and shipe craft. And y fore this two  
fyfte boke that spekyth and trectyth of weveres upon  
the londe bene put be fore this boke pat trecteth of weveres  
of wat. **U**nde for a be honer that knyghtes and fyghters  
be lorned in londe weveres howe they shall defend he  
in wat weveres. for wat weveres in os mych os there  
is lese helpe and socour on wat than of londe. **U**nde

Shaw fore to shewe what is an ofte. **U**nde wele it is  
noght elles but a multitud of weverours ordyned to  
fyghte some on hors and some one fote but for an ofte  
of to grete a multitud is more noyense thane pfallle  
in as mych as they may noght ne wyll noght be go  
uned ne reuelede. **U**nde to hyll a multitud is pphous fore

of more dede  
pat pa londe  
ces

they be not able ofte to wythstand here enemyes.

**U**nde fore a ofte of resonable multitud noght to grete  
ne to hyll is able to weveres. **U**nde the grete multi  
tud of payple in an ofte is more pphous thane pphytale  
sheweth wel the gestes of wyse A danc metedant  
that wever grete knyghtes and grete oftes leden the  
which losen mo of here oftes for desante of reuel. **U**nde  
of vetayles than by sward of enemyes for they were  
on grete multitud to be wel reuelede or vetaylede

**U**nde what polles and desese that happen an ofte of  
grete multitud I shall shewe fyfte the mo they be the  
shorter jorneyes they shall make and the slowere. **U**nde

also the mo they bene the more spase of contrey they  
taken in length or in bred so that if these enemyes  
come sodanly upon heme be fore or be syde yere may  
mych payple of heme be slayne or they shall be sete in  
there orde of sheldon. And if here enemyes make any  
banchement on the zere warde many wold be slay  
or they shulde any helpe hane in the wald ward  
or the mydelwarde. Also in freyte places as in narrow  
weyes and at narrow byrgges on watters the greter  
ofte the more pat. **U**nde also the greter ofte the more

vetayles heme nedyrth both for hors and men thane  
so grete may the ofte be that the vetayles pat bene  
ordyned fore the hole yere wylt noght laste di y yere  
for vetayles the wyder they bene departed the lesse  
while they lasten. **U**nde also it happen ofte pat an ofte  
teaneyley in drye contrey the water is scarce so that

the water wyle not suffice to man And to bestes in  
a grete oste in such places is more harmefull to heme  
selfe than profitable. ¶ Also if it happed the shechion  
of a grete oste turned the bafe to flee neede more  
many faule and be sleyn. ¶ Wherefore our  
olde weawomes the which of aemes that they calght  
hyme selfe learned remedies and helpes a gayne the  
same harmes they see nocht there oste in grete nombre  
of pepyl but in a mesurable multitude of wyse And  
weld taught weawomes wherefore in hysht a small  
weeres hyme thought it was enougth to sende oute  
a legion with the helpers to heme. What is to sey w  
fote men and y a horsmen the which power was lade  
with small chenceryns. But if there were gatt nombre  
of enemyes thane two. ¶ Also with y a fote me and  
ny a horseme were sent oute. ¶ And if so were y  
a multitude that myght note hyshtly be nombred of  
myty enemyes a vyng of the tynayns thane  
sende per oute two dukes with two ostes And a  
were grete uode and elles nocht And thulke dukes shuld  
hane a comandment of the hys power that they no  
thyng be gyne ne ordeyne a gayne the comon pfit  
¶ And for as mych of the pepyl of tyme as it were  
were by yee hade to done with weeres with dices coneyt  
there for they made many knyghtes in grete plente  
for heme thought it more wysedome to make manye  
ostes and conenable nombre that on or threyn grete  
ostes of vn reweled multitude takyng eu more grede hede

Thym selfe were in the double Rome. ¶ And zeus all  
other mayons that were with heme as helpers  
¶ *Anem aduo sanctas erat gubernat. Sa. 2<sup>m</sup>*  
**N**owe the helth of the oste may be kepte  
¶ Nowe shall we shewe howe the  
oste may leugeste be kepte in bodeh helth  
and this may be shewede by holsonnes of v thyng  
by holesom place holesom wates holesom medycyn  
and by laboure and traneyll. ¶ Offeste the helth  
of the oste may be kepte by holesom place and ther  
fore the leaders of the oste must take goode heede  
that they pyche nochte here tentes ne make nocht  
longe a byndyng ne dwelllyng in no rotten place  
of pestelene as wyre synkyng mores ne in no halles  
ne dey downes that be playne with oute shadowyng  
of trees ne that they dwell nochte in sou tyme in  
the hete of the day out of tentes and panylons or  
bothes made of bewes to shadew the soue ne that  
they be nochte to hyshtly feynted with traneyll of  
weeres or journeyng of weys in the hete of the  
day. But rather in somextyn shape they so here  
journeys that they molde reste in the grete hete  
of the day fro vndryn to myd on the none and so  
be hysht of day come they y they shall reste all  
nyght. ¶ Also lobe they ordeyne that the oste  
tremyle nochte in wynt tyme in snolwe ne June  
hayle by nyghte but that they reste in hysht place  
that they molde hane grete plente of wode to

make heme fyre And that thei have no defaute  
of clothynge to kepe heme fro colde. ¶ For yet  
knyght is not profitable to the oste that may not  
handyff ne holde his spere ne his swerde in tyme  
of uede for quakynge and for colde. ¶ Also loke  
welle that they drynke not of none unholysome  
wates as of unwey dyches ne of styngyng wates  
that lightly dryneth a man in to pestilence cnyse  
and seknes. ¶ Forthermore they that ben seke  
in the oste they mote bene fede with holsom metes  
and drynkes and also holpen & helehed w leches  
and medecyns. ¶ Here to mote the pnces & the  
thyns take goode hede and pncypally the este of  
the company that the seke men be in fore wo  
is hyme that is be sete with seknes on the to syde  
and wawe on the op syde. ¶ But once olde  
wyse overcomis wonden that w sage exose & befy  
oampayon in dedes of armes psey more to p  
kepyng of bodely helth of here knyghtes thane  
leches or medecyns And there fore they wse to  
oatunp there foteme in dedes of armes in the felde  
in mery wedyre and wudyre wose in howfyng  
made there fore in stormes and in foule wedyre  
And eyghthe so hie horsme wex oacupied in wydyng  
to tech here hors to ryne to sepe on dyches to  
ryde on rokes and starys and in steyt & narrow  
patthes that in tyme of uede they shulde not  
bene a ferde to ryde nor to go where the lystre

For the w sage that they had be fore. ¶ Here by we  
may wnderstonde howe profitable is labour waucle  
and exose in dedes of armes the which not only be  
wryth men in bodely helth But also in tyme of wryth  
wryge it gettey victory and on comynge of enuemyes  
¶ Also be they were that shulde be leders of ostes  
that they wste not longe in o place in hote soutryne  
for wse sheweth and pweeth wwell the hete of the  
sone and drynes of the erth enchansey & makyth hote  
the watters unawly stonyng watters and also it  
gendryth and bredeth and bryngyng forth & noyseth  
venemous wormes be the which the wates bene  
enwened and it may not be but sych wates shuld  
be un holysom and caus of grete syknes both to ma  
and eke to bestes gyse they be longe wse. ¶ Also  
coruption of wauys donge and bestes maketh ma  
lyth styngyng saunores and swelles of which sa  
nores me kachen lyghter syknes in hote somer  
than in wynter wher fore it nedeth to the oste long  
to wste in o place for to change in to places of  
more holysome eyre for drede of seknes of man and  
best. ¶ *Quantum cura prudentia sit agri sua  
da pabula vel frumenta* ¶ *Ca. 3. m.*  
**N**owe thou muste make ordenance of  
wrytyles both for man and hors. ¶  
The ordyng of this trecte asketh to trecte  
or wee go farther of ordenance of wrytyles for ma  
and bestes howe it shall be gotten and howe it shall

be gotten and howe it shall be kepte ¶ For after is a  
ofte destroyed wth starfte of veytales than wth fyght  
and rather wth hynge than wth swerde ¶ For  
a yens all othw myshappes there may be made some  
remedy or helpe but a yens lake of veytales & hasty  
uede is none helpe ¶ These fore wthen thou shalt  
make any journey to werce lobe thou ordeyn so that  
thowe haue plente of veytales and thy enemy starfte  
and defaute zif he come wpon the ¶ This may not be  
done but if thou make p̄uenance and store be fore of  
whete ryze and otes plenteously and more thane y  
uedyth and p̄ute it in strengthes as castelles & walled  
townes that if thyn enemy come he fyndes noght to  
helpyng of hym and harmyng of the ¶ Ther  
fore or thone be gyne thy journey gedre wpon by trewe  
officers the trebuttes and taskes or taxys & tallages  
townes be bounde to pay to the werces both in golde  
and in corne lay it wpon in sekere ward tyll thou haue  
uede thereto And if the t̄bute or taxys of townes faile  
or elles they suffice uote to the plente of veytales that  
nedyth to the than muste thou p̄uence the and be  
the veytales what the nedyth more and in all wise  
lobe thou make the more p̄uenance p̄uenance of veytales  
thau the nedyth for the journey that thou thynkest  
to make for it may haue the to be seged and the sege  
may dure leng than th̄ store of veytales will laste  
And if thy enemy a spy the starfte & y defaute of  
veytales that thou haste yose he shalde suffice grete

hunge he wold not go the sege tyll he haue the and  
thy strenght ¶ And though he a spy not thy uede  
and thy defaute of veytales zt and he by longe thou  
muste uede yelce the for defaute of veytales there fore  
a bone all thyng lobe that thou haue store of veytales  
rather more than the nedyth than lesse than the nedyth  
¶ Also a yens the tyme of werces be gyne lobe y  
contrey be warded and comandyd be op̄n eye made  
that all hys bestes hys corne here here and all o  
goodes that enemyys myght be holpyn by gyse it  
were founde oute of strenght that it be deawden to  
strengthes as to castelles and walled townes that  
they moode in tyme of uede be holpe of hys alme  
gaude ¶ Also repacon and mendyng of walles ma  
kyng & a mendyng of cugynes of trepettes aduance  
of stonnes to defend thy walles or to assaile thy enne  
mys walles yse uede be ¶ Take yens thynges be  
ordeyned or thou haue uede fore and thy enemyys  
come on the or this away be made defaute of thy seler  
nes shall asray and make the peppit aserit and y  
shall noght both fyghte and worch at ones ¶ Also  
yf thy enemyys come sodanly upon the or thy orde  
nance of stryng of veytales be made they shall  
stape all thy wayes by which thou shulde make and  
beyng thy p̄uenance to thy strenght or to thy ote  
¶ But secesull kepynge of thy tresoure and trewe  
and wyse dependynge in tyme is ofte tyme as moch  
woorth as plente nably and p̄uenance be made in

the begynnynge of the journey for it is to late y<sup>e</sup>war  
 than to be strate of w<sup>e</sup>tayles w<sup>h</sup>en they be g<sup>r</sup>une  
 to fayle. ¶ There fore our olde w<sup>e</sup>arours in  
 sweyte journeyes they dolede the yeres w<sup>e</sup>tayles by  
 the stromby of w<sup>e</sup>tayles heddes and nocht be digutes  
 ne by offyce namly w<sup>h</sup>en w<sup>e</sup>tayles w<sup>e</sup>erde stas so  
 that every man had than after his neede and nocht  
 after his state. ¶ In wynter tyme that the ofte  
 lake us w<sup>e</sup>re to breche ne in somer no w<sup>e</sup>re to drynke  
 but of w<sup>e</sup>hete and wyne & w<sup>e</sup>nege and sake tyme y<sup>e</sup>  
 haue plante all tymes of the yere that thy chylde  
 and thy walled towne be well stuffed here w<sup>h</sup>yth  
 and ynte sych knyghtes to kepe us that be not able  
 to oppn fyght in felde and w<sup>h</sup>ich they bene shall be  
 shewed in the nexte chapitre folowynge. ¶ And of  
 a thynge be well w<sup>e</sup>are that thy comon peple be  
 not distaned w<sup>h</sup>yth fals othis that enemyes make  
 in tyme of w<sup>e</sup>re takynge for use tyme by p<sup>e</sup>ces ta  
 kyng and chandys makynge they that be in holdes  
 and strengthes take les heed of their warde keepynge  
 and the ofte w<sup>h</sup>yth oute departeth out of y<sup>e</sup> c<sup>o</sup>ntrees  
 and thane if enemyes breke y<sup>e</sup> tw<sup>e</sup>yth than be they  
 dysceyned. ¶ Quemadmodū quartet p<sup>o</sup>nderi  
 ne sedicōne multes faciunt. Capitulum. 5.



**N**ede it mote be ordeyned that the knyght  
 make no slaughter ne debate emonge  
 heme selfe. ¶ Some tyme it happey  
 that an ofte is g<sup>e</sup>end of d<sup>i</sup>nes nacous & w<sup>e</sup>arours

And londes and as they bene of d<sup>i</sup>nes londes so y<sup>e</sup>  
 bene of d<sup>i</sup>nes maners & d<sup>i</sup>nes condicions. And of  
 d<sup>i</sup>nes w<sup>e</sup>ylles and sych bene more able to make stryfe  
 debate & slaughter on men in here compounes that  
 they be g<sup>r</sup>une than to nocht sech or kepe lone or p<sup>e</sup>ces.  
 ¶ There fore it nedyth to dukes and ledes offi  
 cers to sece good assyes and good sechynge on sych  
 men and to sece theyme in sych g<sup>e</sup>denance that y<sup>e</sup>  
 make no debate ne stryfe for some sych there bene that  
 y<sup>e</sup>se they haue no w<sup>e</sup>ll to fyghte y<sup>e</sup> they feyne heme  
 as yough they were wroth that they be not occupped  
 and they bene sych that come fastly oute of w<sup>e</sup>ste and  
 esse and hath not bene mych in tranayle of w<sup>e</sup>ares  
 but luffed in h<sup>e</sup>re luffes. ¶ And y<sup>e</sup>se they feyne  
 heme to be wroth for they be not brought to fyghte  
 w<sup>h</sup>yth thou w<sup>e</sup>ll that is nocht h<sup>e</sup>re caus bute fore  
 they w<sup>e</sup>ll be w<sup>e</sup>ded or condoyed w<sup>h</sup>yth here w<sup>e</sup>ll  
 for the laboures and t<sup>e</sup>nylles of dyng & delynge  
 and beynge and byfynge and oth<sup>e</sup>r tranayles of y<sup>e</sup>  
 w<sup>h</sup>ich we haue spoke afore to w<sup>h</sup>ich t<sup>e</sup>nylles y<sup>e</sup>  
 haue nocht bene used but to ese and reste and y<sup>e</sup>  
 fore sych t<sup>e</sup>nylles bene to h<sup>e</sup>re g<sup>e</sup>renous. ¶ One of  
 p<sup>e</sup>re caus w<sup>h</sup>yth that such men make stryfe and debate  
 and h<sup>e</sup>re compounes is y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>h</sup>en they h<sup>e</sup>re of g<sup>e</sup>re  
 multitude of enemyes comynge than w<sup>h</sup>yth they  
 aserde to fyghte as men that be not used to dedes  
 of armes and they k<sup>e</sup>me not feyne heme no resonable  
 caus to w<sup>e</sup>rd w<sup>h</sup>yth w<sup>e</sup>ll th<sup>e</sup>re fore they be g<sup>r</sup>une

wyth bate and stryfe amonge here companyes for the  
wolde be voyded and condeyde by commaundment of y  
cheuetayns and so haue leue to rownd out of the ofte  
**T**he remedy and amende ment of this hazme  
must be made by the wysdom of these cheuetayns y  
note be assyred wysely woth that they beue that wylt  
make goochyng in companyes and they mote be put in  
strayte occupacion of labour and trauncyle of dychyng  
and deluyng of wode heluyng and buythys bezyng  
**A**lso in dedes of armes as in shetyng and wyng  
in ymyng in castyng of stoues both wyth y honde  
and also wyth the syng that they be not suffred to  
be ydell but that they be occupyd till they swete for  
theyr self and so be vsage of dedes of armes when they  
com thew they shull fygite they shull be bolded to fygite  
for vsage that they haue had of dedes of armes in yme  
of reste and also to gete theyr selfe a name of wy  
shype for they seldom thynk on stryfe making that  
hyr selfe seke is both in luyng and crasyng off  
dedes of armes and also myghty in strength. **T**he  
duke or he that is pnapall leder of the ofte hy nedyth  
to sete good ward and good assyes thers all the  
ofte to wyte if there be any stryfe or makere of debate  
or any bysers of companyes a yens here cheuetayns  
or any slogges or sleepers or any that more loneth  
ydelnes thane good occupacion And if any syche  
be founde be twelw inches uskyng and trew men  
payng and nocht be enyous taylles feyned be

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enmyte thane mote that leder of the ofte wyth wyse  
conseyle gedre all sich to gedre and depart them fro  
the wardes that they bene iune and put hem in some  
occupacion of werkes or besynes that hem lystyth glad  
ly to do yf any sych werke may be found or elles put  
hyr to wardyng and lepyng of castles or walledde  
towres and othe strengthes And this mote be so puelly  
and so softly done that they pcyue not here refusyng  
but that they trow they be chose to more wyshype  
**F**for it is not comonly sey that a comualle zeyse  
any goochyng or any grete wordes mayn a yens here  
soeyus but be stryng of a fewe prowd men of y  
same companye the which roweth the latt to bene  
assyred or callght in here defaulte that many cryen  
to gedre and not on or tveyne. **A**nd if it nedely  
mote bene so that sich zymo and denesyon made in  
comualle may no op wyse be sefled ne stryted but  
by iugement or doue of the swerde bett it is that y  
that be begynners of sich decession and debate beue  
punyshed and chasted as the lawe hasbeth than all  
the ofte courious and rebel to here soeyus. **B**ut  
it bene thilke dukes and the cheuetayns more too  
pyk that came wyth softenes and loue make here  
bynghtes and here ofte to done here hestes and here  
byddynges than yllke cheuetayns or leders y capley  
neth or dyrneth here folowers or here soionres to fulfill  
here hestes byddynges fore dread of pyues or punysh  
ment. **¶** *Quanta sunt gna signoz militariū Sa. h<sup>m</sup>*

20 de th  
Genibz

**N**ow many man of tobyus of armes there  
bene. Many thynges there bene that  
medyth to be seide and also to be kepte off  
weveoures for nechygnce and recheles ne may not  
haue foryewens the men wevyrth for helth. **¶** And  
emong all of thynges that nedefull bene to weveous  
there is no thyng more apphicable ne spedefull to the  
victory of enemyes than to be wyse & kynyng in  
knowyng of signes tokens & markers that be made  
and ordeyned by the soueyns and chevetans of the  
oste. And also to be burome and obedient to y<sup>e</sup> war  
nynges that be made be such signes tobyus & markes  
whene they be apynly shewed. **¶** And for as mych  
as intyme of fygthynge there is so mych noyse that  
a multitude may not be rebeld be cryeng of mans  
voys ne spech of manes mouth y<sup>e</sup> fore the wysdom  
of olde weveoures hath ordeyned how the ordina  
and the comandmentes of the ledez of the oste may  
be apynly know to all the oste be signes tobyus &  
markes. **¶** Why well that y<sup>e</sup> be thre dynes ky  
des of tobyus. Some be made with manes voys cry  
eng or spechynge some with manes mouth or breath  
blastynge in instrument of myrth blowing as blow  
yngs in tympes clarions and hornes some be called  
doubte tobyus for they be shewed with oute noyse  
or sounde of voys as rasynge & displayenge of  
banners & apynuous frynges of behmes & fyeth  
mo othyr. **¶** The fyrste two man of tobyus

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**J**erinen to the heeryng of the ee the thyrd Jeweth  
to the eygh the fyrste man of tobyus & signes bene  
wach wordes that be yoden to ylle that shullen  
wach as victorie the palme. **¶** God with vs. **¶** Or  
what othyr wordes the pyncypall wyll ordeyne and  
thys wordes be signes and tobyus evy to know his  
felawe frowe a enemy for ho so comyth in the oste  
wach tyme and caue not answer to the wach word  
take hyme as a enemy. And thys tobyu nedeth to be  
chamged eue day new that it come not euy day new  
thraw moth vsage to knowyng of here enemyes for  
dede of spyng of the oste by here owne wachword.  
**¶** The secund man of tobyus and markes bene man  
with manes breath blowing as blowing of tympes  
clarions and hornes. **¶** Tympes bene tho instrument  
that be made of golde or syluer or bras four fote or  
more of length holoth threlw oute brod and rounde  
at the feather ende. **¶** Clarion. The clarion is  
in all thynges as a trompe saue y<sup>e</sup> the trompe is  
euen forth vyght of shap the clarion is bowed and  
croked bakwarde to the vesage of hyme that bloweth  
and some be torued and retourned as double croked  
foran. The horne is tobyne of the eye or of the  
bugle the whych Arayed be wafre be wafre off  
hornes and blowed with the blaste of manes  
mouth maketh a fare herde sounde. **¶** By thys  
the man of blowing the ost shall know whene  
they shulde weude out when they shalde stoude

style whene they shall fyght when they shall ase  
when they shall pursue the chase and howe fare  
whene they shall torne a gayn many oþ thing  
thyes blessinges be to hymeth. ¶ The thepde  
maner of tolyns bene called domb tokens for they  
make no noise ne sounde for they sue not to the  
ere but to the eygh And yres bene banners gyuous  
pousyllis dragons in which bene deperuted dyues  
Armes of dyues shap and dyues coloures the which  
when they be displayed and shewed abode appny  
it be to hymeth that wher they wende the oft mot  
folow after ⁊ needfull it is that euy man knowe  
the signes and tolyns of his ward y bene oþre  
tolyns ⁊ markes both in hors in clothyng ⁊ coloures  
of armes by the which after the ordenance of the  
leder of the batayle the enemy may be knowe for  
thy fend. ¶ Also to bere some thyng in here houndes  
as a whype or a storge as they of barbaz ysen  
or in chaungyng of garments is a grete tokyng  
the which tolyns and signes nedey to bene well  
knowe and welte vnderstond of the knyghtes and  
all oþre folowers of the ofte both in tyme of rest  
And also in tyme of goyngyng for custunable  
use is needfull in tyme of pesse of all sath thyng  
as is needfull in tyme of were. ¶ Also whene  
the oft is in tydyng if per bene afore heare or be  
hynde heme or on any side moch duste reysede  
as it were a cloude that tokyngthy conyng of

ememy. ¶ Also whene compaynes bene de  
partede thane be flames of fyre be nyghte and be  
smoke by day they sheweth to hwe felawes too  
kenyng where they bene. ¶ Also they that  
bene in castylles towres and walled townes y  
kyngge up a beme and some tyme they drawe  
it hyere and some tyme they late it lower And y  
by they shewe tokyng to hwe felawes ⁊ oute  
how it is with theyme with June. ¶ Quanta  
ut seruanda cautela cu viuis hostibz mouet qrat. La. 6.  
¶ Des the ofte shall be kepte when the  
ememy be neze and they jorney by  
the way they that moste studiously  
haue leened of dedes of Armes they seyn that  
many moos pelles falleth and mych more harme  
an oft catcheth in iorneyng be weys and cotrees  
than in oþyn chetren of batayle for in iorneyng  
be cotrees the ofte is lyghter armed and more  
vn wysed than when they be sete to fyghte in  
batayle And y fore sodayn fallyng on of enemy  
in tyme of iorneyng is gretely harmful to euy  
ofte. ¶ Wher fore euy wyse duke or leder offi  
ostes nedeth to be well aware in jorney making  
that his ofte be so rewelede and goined that if  
any sodayn assaunte of enemy be made y  
he be myghty enowgh to put hewe a balle.  
hows yis may beste be ordeyned we shall shew  
hat be houeth that euy duke or leder of batayles



hane redely and feythfully write In booke the  
goynys of myles the length and the bred and the  
pylles of the ways and the by pathes and the  
townynge weys the hilt and the reuers that  
be in the contre or londes thers the which he  
thynketh to passe in so mych that only it nedeth  
not to haue such thynges writ but it nedeth for  
more sekures that he haue the pelles & the pnt  
of all the weys in which the oft shuld wende  
portored or payated in a boke that he myght see  
wryth his eye where the yelo were as olde dukes  
did some tyme. ¶ Thies thynges mote be leued  
of olde men wyse and wyrschypfull of tranyle y  
hauen that hath tneylled in dynes coutres and  
londes of heme may the trewth be know of this  
in eny thyng as it nedeth. ¶ Also it nedeth a duk  
in stronge coutres to haue two leders to teach y ways  
and they mote be chosyn of the same contrey that  
the oft traneleth qune and they mot be such that be  
wyse slye and well knothynge the weys and feyth  
full to tyste for ryght as they mow mych pnt  
and they be trusty so they do mych heme and ya  
be contyesty or on trels where fore it nedeth that  
such way leders be put vnder goynayle of leues  
and payne and mote be hote to theyn as y deds  
¶ And in all wyse lode well that y way leders  
be kynyng and knoedynge the weys that they  
shullen lode lest the foly exoure of tweyn or the

be cans of lesyns of all othwe some tyme on wyse  
instensnes be hotted many thynges that he may  
not fulfill and troweth that he lene that he neu  
wonth. ¶ But he that is hede and ledere hyme nedeth  
to be wyse and pney of his comysst so that the  
ofte ne wyte note wher they shuld wende for than  
is the roney most seker when that feld of a mltand  
wyte what is to done y fore in olde tyme a bestie  
that is called aymotaurus was deparated in el  
baner and borne be fore the pnce of the batayle  
aymotaurus as y hore scatt is a bestie of shape half  
mane half boke the which bestie for he is seldon sey  
in kynde poyettes sayne that he is hid pncely in  
the ymmezeste pty of the vncouth place of hmyte  
the which is called the laberynye. ¶ This laberynye  
is a place that dedalus made in the yle of cete y  
which place was forwondyrfully caste and made be  
crafte that what man wthya bestie that entede  
the yate or walkyde theyn any whill he shulde  
neu fynde the yate a gayne that he com in by  
there was in the place so many wondyrful to  
wynnes and wendynnes and there fore it was  
called. ¶ Laberyntus quasi labens in tus  
an mslupe for a man myght slupe or slyde in so  
fore he shulde neu come oute a gayn the slyt pa  
whye y bestie was borne be fore the pnce of the  
batell was this for he shulde vnderstand that yst  
as this bestie ye aymotanz is so pncely hid i hmyde

that no man byme knowyth so shulde y'consell  
of a p'p'uce or duke in tyme of w're be hyde  
yune the yuneste p'ty of his w'rites yat is des  
g'oon that no man shulde know his hole wyte  
but be byme selfe. ¶ For douteles thane is  
the w'ney most sek' when the ost so p'nylye  
passith that here enemy's know not of here  
consell. ¶ But for as mych as it ofte happen  
that assyres ben sende of both sydes that dis  
neth and telleth the ordenance of the oste and  
some tyme the ordenance is distour'd betwix  
that fle onto the enemy's on both sydes y'  
fore it nedyth a wyse duke to haue well horsed  
men chosyn for the same skyll most feythfull  
and feyest fore castyng of the pelles and this  
mote beue forgoones afore the oste to a spy and  
m'ch'ly m'ch'ly the wayes on eue side be fore  
be hynd that no embushtmentes be layd by the  
way And s'ch assyres wyrtyn s'w'cher and  
sek'her be wyght thane be day for he is in  
m'ch'ly his owne traitoure or his owne distour'  
whos a spy is tak'n of enemy's. ¶ Forste  
thane shall hors men beue sete in h'we wyte  
aft' h'we fote men than the lettynge as f'imes  
and berres of woode & tynlyx and waynes &  
cates and oth're charges all thies shall be  
sete in the wydes so that aft' this shall be sete  
the spedyste part of fote men & horsemen shall

folow' h'e

73  
folow' hem for ofte it happeneth that an ost in goyng  
is assayed in the foreward some tyme in the hyndere  
ward some tyme in the sydes therefore the sydes  
of the oste wyth to bene as well closed wyth myghty  
ordenance as the foreward or the hynder ward some tyme  
in the sydes therefore the sydes of the oste wyth to be  
as well closed wyth myghty ordenance as the fore  
ward or as the hynder ward for ofte tymes by the  
ment' byken on the syde as well as on y' fronte  
or on the tayle. ¶ y'fore this wyth to be knowde  
for a reule that wher en they trowen that the horse shall  
ben assayed that th'ke p'ty be well stufed w' chosyn men  
fotemen and archers. ¶ And yf it soo be that the oste be  
all aboute assayed. alabone they mote be well warded &  
for as moche as sodeyne assautes assayeth soue countres  
heres therfore they muste ben ofte warn'd that they be  
e'more redy armed and here w'pen in here honde or  
myght here honde for sodeyne happen ofte assayeth me  
but of good ansent is no drede. ¶ Therfore olde wise  
w'rtyn besid' were ware before that for here knyght  
we schulde not ben affrayed thozow no sodeyne are ma  
de of tynbre berrers or souer leders in cas they were  
hurte in tyme of fightunge. ¶ Also lese the oste were to  
w'ide sprad or to fey or th'ffer th'w'p to gedir than it  
neded and soo they might be cause of greet harme to the  
self and yst here enemies. Therfore the lettynge of the  
oste as the forsyde carages at the ensample of knyghtes  
were ordeynod vnder signes and tokens to ben sette and

Kepte soo that of the tymbre bezers and helme bezers  
were chosen oute of the compaigne the wisest and addest  
men and to hem were assigned two hundred childer of  
the souner folowers and to hem were yeven certeyn ba  
ners and pennons w<sup>th</sup> tokenes made thereon wherby they  
myght knowe wherby they schulde go dre aft her carage  
whiche the othe fought. ¶ Also the fore fightez had a  
large space betwene hem and the carage deptyng for  
they schulde nought be letted when they nedid to fight  
Also in iourneyng of the othe as the places varied &  
chaunged so chaunged the maner of the fightinge and  
the defence for in open and playne felde they foughte  
more w<sup>th</sup> horse men than foot men. ¶ But amonge wodes  
hilles and mores or maris. foot me be more speedifull  
than horse me and more to drede. ¶ Therefore it is ned  
full to be ware that the scheltron of the othe be nought  
broke nor deptyd thozow slow surtyng of the folowers  
ne that it be nought to narrow thurst bi to haste p<sup>er</sup>syng  
of the folowers for ofte enemyes entre there they fynde  
space open. ¶ Therefore it nedeth that they be ordeyned  
wise outseers to aryve and areste and ayen holde the  
hastif forerenners and riders and also to haste aft the  
slow folowers that taryeth and trefeth behynde. ¶ For  
ofte tyme the forwarde happerth to beu distromfited and  
oucome w<sup>th</sup> enemyes for defaute that the undwarde and  
the reuelwarde beu to fer behynde and in the same maner  
the reuelwarde fro the undwarde and the forewarde haue  
beu to fer before for ofte tyme they that haue hyed faste

before han bedrene to turne abak other to flee for defaute  
of helpe to fer behynde and they that haue be hynder  
must haue be slayne and taken for defaute of helpe of  
hem that haue beu to fer before. ¶ Also it is to be knowe  
that enemyes ofte tyme setteth here buschementes and her  
pne ordenaunce in suche places as is to hem most visshof  
som to make open a sante or pne whether hem luste. ¶ Ther  
fore it nedeth the dukes wisdom to be wel ware that he  
haue trewe and wise assoures to assue redily that p<sup>er</sup>ny  
harmes ne noye nought to sodenly the oost ne that  
open harmes be not to moche to dredyng. ¶ For yf pne  
enduschement beu wisely assued and p<sup>er</sup>stably besuyed  
aboute they schul entre or suffre more harme than they  
ordeynid haue done harme. ¶ Yf open strengthe of ene  
myes is ordeyned ayens the take thou the hilles and the  
hyghst places sette thi wardes that when thine enemy  
cometh and sette the abone and him directhe he schal  
drede to meete w<sup>th</sup> the when he seeth the bothe before & aft  
abone his heed strengthe of armes. ¶ Furthermore vnder  
stoude well that bett it is to make thi iourney in sure and  
siker weyes thouz they be narrow and streyt. than in  
open and brood weyes that beu yldous and visshere  
for bett it is yf ned be that thou make thi weyes lar  
ge and brood in siker contrey with laboure of manes  
honde. than make thi iourney by open contrey the which  
is ful of peles. ¶ Also it nedeth to knowe the customes  
and the vsages of the enemyes that we warre w<sup>th</sup> as yf  
they be wome to assaile or falle open bi nyghte or in

the morninge or at mete tyme or in respyge tyme for all  
weyes the nedeth to shome and voyde that thine enemye  
vseth of custome. ¶ Also take good hede whether thine ene-  
myes fyghten betwixt w<sup>th</sup> foot me<sup>n</sup> other w<sup>th</sup> horsemen whether  
with sharpe shaftes as speeres and other sharpe pointed  
weppyn or with schot of arrowes and quaretes. Also whether  
they truste more of grete nombre and multytude or to myght  
and wel warded men of armes. All this nedeth to be  
knowe for herbi thou muste ordeyne and araye that is  
pfitable to the and noyous and harmefull to hem. ¶ But  
nedeth also to tete wisely before whether it is bett<sup>r</sup> bygynne  
thi iorneye by nyghte or by daye. Also how moche space  
and how many miles is to the place that thou thyngest  
to wende to. Also whether it is wet contrie or drie that  
water fayle not to man and bestes yf it is drye some-  
we that grete riuers and watres lene nought the 7 thine  
ofte yf it is wynter. ¶ And right as it is nedful to voyde  
all these harmes wisely aft<sup>r</sup> that tyme and nede apert  
right so it is manhede nought algate to spare these har-  
mes and namely yf thou fyndest thine enemyes oute of  
araye and oute of ordinaunce. ¶ Also apper thou besyde the  
traytoires and the disleers that stin fro thine enemyes  
to the for drede of here trespass and of hem mayste thou  
lezue what thine enemyes ordeyne and cast<sup>e</sup> ayens the  
And loke thou haue light armed men bothe horse men  
and foot men to disceyne and to affraye hire fozeynous  
when they ben oute for vntayles. ¶ *¶ Homodo flumina  
que maiora trausantur Capitu A.*

75  
**N**ow thou mayste beste passe the grete ryuers  
In passage of ryuers and grete watres ofte  
fallerth grete pecc to hem that ben negligent  
and vnbare of suche pelles for and the watres be depe  
and sharpe of cours in reynyng lightly the cariages  
and children that foloweth the cariages and also right  
worshypfull fyghteres for vnknowyng of the watres  
happeth to ben adraynte. ¶ Therefore it nedeth to aser-  
the and asaye the fordes bi suche as knowe the watres  
and the contrey. than nedeth to ordeyne two schectrons  
of horse men the whiche soune wel swymme bothe  
they and here hors and yf the watre is able to ben wa-  
did ouer with man and hors afore than sette the oo-  
schectron of horse men aft<sup>r</sup> bifoze to breke the streame  
of the ryuer bifoze the foot men and the cariages and  
aft<sup>r</sup> the foot men and the cariages lene rde in the se-  
cunde schectron of chosen horse men w<sup>th</sup> a good space be-  
twixt hem and the cariages that gooth bifoze that  
yf any of the for es be in poynt of drenchyng. pey-  
molwe bi hem be retend and holpen. ¶ But and that  
ryuer be soo depe that it may nought be ougon on  
hors ne on fote than yf ther be playne feldes aboute  
fite oute other digge deep ditches and longe 7 brode  
wyth to the pncypall ryuer and lene oute the water  
vnto thilke ditches till the ryuer be abatid and made  
able to be ouriden and goon. ¶ Other ryuers ther  
ben and watres that molwe nought ben oupassed  
but with bores troues and brigges made of lycht

the morninge or at mete tyme or in refryge tyme for all  
weyes the nedeth to shone and voyde that thine enemye  
vseth of custome. ¶ Also take good hede whether thine ene-  
myes fyghten betwixt w<sup>o</sup> foot me<sup>n</sup> other w<sup>o</sup> horsemen whether  
with sharpe shaftes as speeres and other sharpe pointed  
wepyu or with shot of arrowes and quareles. Also whether  
they truste more of gret nombre and multitude or to myght  
n and wel warded men of armes all this nedeth to be  
knowe for herbi thou muste ordeyne and araye that is  
pfitable to the and noyous and harmefull to hem. ¶ It  
nedeth also to tere wisely before whether it is bett<sup>r</sup> bygynne  
thi jorneye by nyghte or by daye. Also how moche space  
and how many miles is to the place that thou thyngest  
to wende to. Also whether it is wet contrie or drie that  
water fayle not to man and bestes yf it is drye somer-  
ne that gret riuers and watres lene nought the f<sup>r</sup> thine  
ofte yf it is wynter. ¶ And right as it is nedful to voyde  
all these harmes wisely aft<sup>r</sup> that tyme and nede apert  
right so it is manshede nought algate to spare these har-  
mes and namely yf thou fyndest thine enemyes oute of  
araye and oute of ordinaunce. ¶ Also aspre thou besith the  
traytours and the outleers that flen fro thine enemyes  
to the for drede of here trespass and of hem mayste thou  
seue what thine enemyes ordeyne and cast<sup>e</sup> ayens the  
And loke thou haue light armed men bothe horse men  
and foot men to disceyne and to affraye here foreynours  
when they ben oute for vntayles. ¶ *Quomodo flumina  
que maiora transantur Capitu A*

75  
**N**ow thou mayste beste passe the grette ryuers  
In passage of ryuers and grette watres ofte  
fallerth gret peck to hem that ben negligent  
and vnbare of suche pelles for and the watres be depe  
and sharpe of cours in reuynge lightly the cariage  
and children that foloweth the cariages and also right  
worschypfull fyghteres for vnknowynge of the watres  
happeth to ben adraynte. ¶ Therefore it nedeth to aser-  
ue and asaye the fordes bi suche as knowe the watres  
and the contrey than nedeth to ordeyne two schectrons  
of horse men the whiche soune wet swymme bothe  
they and here horse and yf the watre is able to ben wa-  
did ouer with man and horse afore than sette the oo-  
schectron of horse men all bifoze to breke the streme  
of the ryuer bifoze the foot men and the cariages and  
aft<sup>r</sup> the foot men and the cariages lene ride in the se-  
cunde schectron of chosen horse men w<sup>o</sup> a good space be-  
twixt hem and the cariages that gooth bifoze that  
yf any of the fordes be in poynt of drenchynge. yep  
molwe bi hem be refend and holpen. ¶ But and that  
ryuer be soo depe that it may nought be ouer on  
horse ne on foze than yf ther be playne feldes aboute  
futte oute other digge deep ditches and longe f<sup>r</sup> brode  
nyght to the p<sup>r</sup>ncypall ryuer and lene oute the water  
vnto thilke ditches till the ryuer be abatid and made  
able to be oueriden and goon. ¶ Other ryuers ther  
ben and watres that molwe nought ben ouerpassed  
but with bores trouces and brigges made of syght

tymbre and tables or bordes sage naped or bounde p upon  
and therefore the oost mote cumore hane with him caried  
botes and troves made of tymbre and light bordes also  
and tables of popeler: Withi and other light wode & car  
tes and waynes the oost mote hane caried with hem y<sup>e</sup>  
they mowe when they nede make in stede of stoue  
briggys briggys of tre ¶ Also they that hane well  
swymyng hors they mow mowe hem self schenes  
or fagetes or knyghtes or swathes swathed to gedir of drye  
reedes and therupon lye here hre armoure and so draw  
on lycht carnage tyed to here hors tayls ¶ Also ofte it  
happeth that at suche passages of watres enemyes lepe  
embushement or elles sodeynly fallen on hem that pas  
sen on therfore it nedeth to hane sette in eyther banke  
defensable refyne bi ordenaunce of armys that they ben  
depyd bi grede of the riv fro helpe of here felawes ne be  
nought appressed and borne downe of here enemyes.

¶ In this case the moste shyre ordenaunce is to picke in  
eyther side of the riv stakes and postes sharped other  
elles yf the brigge that is made is nought only ordey  
ned for sodeyne passage on of the oost but also for co  
myng and goyng of the oost as longe as hem nedey  
than mote at eyther ende of the brigge be vp caste  
grete and brode dikes with hre bankes and tho mo  
te ben defendid with worthy knyghtes and werreours  
as longe as hem nedeth the brigge to ben occupied

**C**onradus admodum castra debent muniri Capitulum  
XIII Octavium

76  
**H**ow an hooft schaff be warded and how he schaff  
chese his felde ¶ Also weyes and passages of  
londe and watres ben descreued and ordeyned to  
ueniable it is in this chapytre folowynge to schewe the sti  
les of ordenaunce and of settinge of wardes and chesynge  
of place in the felde there the oost muste reste and dwelle  
for walled townes and castles be not en redy open to  
resteyne the oost be the wey and ofte hre perils & harmes  
befalleth in restinge of an oost unwarded. For ofte wise  
knyghtes and other also ben occupied to ete and drynke &  
some dyspeled and depyed in other besynesses that whyle  
sightly embushement breketh and maketh grete discom  
fytur ¶ Also derke nyghtes nede of slepe and schateringe  
of hors in pastures is ofte tyme harmful in sodeyne un  
comynge of enemyes Therfore in mesuryng of place  
for dwellinge and restinge of an oost it is nought ynolue  
to chese a good place but it nedeth to chese the beste place  
that may be founde on that felde that thou thyngest is  
reste thine oost lese thine enemy when he cometh take  
and occupye the better place to thine harme and to his  
pfit ¶ And all gates be wel ware there thou thyngest  
to reste thine oost that halson watres yf it is somer  
be not to ferre fro the ne roten watres ne stynkyng  
be nought to nygh the and yf it is wynter lode thou  
lakke non hors mete ne no wode that thi place be  
nought able to be overflowed with watres that it be  
nought ful of strayte and wraunge weyes that thou  
be nought letted of entre and issue to goo ynn & oute

fresh thowse enemyes come vp on the. And that the place  
be set nyrre nor hye clynes ne hilles fro the which the  
enemyes maye case or shere dolvne on thine oste. Thus  
aft' good assent of all these forseyde pcces as the space  
in lengthe and brede wylt yow oute in the place that yow  
have chosen so muste thou sette the castell wardes other  
four square other all rounde other thre cornered other  
enclonge. For wnt thou wylt hit is no pndice ne  
no force what man schappe the castell wardes haue. nei  
theles the sayrest man of settyng is that the wardes ha  
ue thre so moche space of lengthe as it hath in brede.  
Thus than be the londe meters the felde mote be me  
sured and spaced oute by foot mesure to euery compaigne  
that to hym nedeth so that the oost be nought to yve  
ne to narrow thruste to gedir ne to wide sprad abroad  
for right as the narrow space letteth the fighters right  
so to wide space yenech they of entre to the enemyes.  
Thre diuerse maner of ditchyng ther is to close in  
the castell of an oste that resteth in open felde on is of  
the royny and the besynesse of so nyghtes occupacion pat  
lightly may be made. This closure mote be made thus  
an hye wal and a thikke mote be reed of turues longe  
and brode and thikke euery turfe of thynnes mote be half  
foot thikke so foot of brede and so foot and an half in  
lengthe these turues thus digged wylt bounde to gedir  
with rotes of growyng herbes muste ben leyde as  
men leggeth wass stou euery vp on other and so made  
an hye banke a stoute as me maketh the banke of a

castell wall and aboue this banke mote be pyre pales  
or stakes wylt scharped and nyght set to gedir wylt & sadly  
framed and pyrmed to gedir with crafte of carpenters.  
The turues that thus schal be digged mote be wylt  
bounde to gedir with rotes of herbes that groweth ther  
on. But and the erthe other the londe that this ditch  
mote be made on be so brotch and so loos that it wylt  
nought holde to gedir to make no turues therof. than  
mote the ditch be made all aboute the oste wylt labour &  
trawyle of manes hondes fyne foot of brede and thre  
foot depe and wylt a banke of erthe vp case of good heyr  
te that the oste maye sekurly reste thereynne wylt oute drede  
other for here enemyes. But whether it be souer  
other wynter and the enemyes be nyght dwellynge other  
abidynge than mote this ditchyng and closyng aboute  
the oste be made with more besynesse & trawyle for at  
the desynance of the pnces and felde rewlere there  
mote be deliuid to euery centener a terrene mesure of  
feet in lengthe and brede as moche as wylt suffice his  
warde and soo with here scheldes and here burthens  
or charges rounde leyde aboute with here swerdes gyn  
mote digge and wylt crafte the ditch euery man in lengthe  
of his warde the which ditch mote be in brede wylt foot  
other xij. other and ther be greet drede of greet strengthe  
of enemyes than mote the brede be xxij. or xij. foot  
for odde foot is the man to be kepte in ditchyng. On  
the yner side of the ditch mote be made stronge heg  
gyng of stakes and bowes of trees to holde in the

lose erthe of banke on the whiche wel beten to godd mot  
be made as it were embaterynge of defence as it were  
on a towne or a castel wall ¶ In this labour of dychi  
ge bi the senteners mote be deyd to eny that is ordey  
ned to diche ten foot to worche so that on haue not  
to moche traunple a norther to strett and whilse this  
werk is at doyng the senteners mote besli ride and  
godd aboute to see and enserche that eny man doo trew  
ly his taske and thilke that ben worthie or worchship  
fult moche nought wende away til all thinge be p  
fithly ended ¶ In leste eny unshap of soden andur  
come to the labozers whilse they worchey it nedeth p  
all the horse men and oo pte of the foot men the whi  
che worcheth nought for pnteges of here dignitees ben  
sette before the worchers all ome rounde aboute the  
diche armed and ordeyued to put of the enemyes yf  
any come to fraye other lette the dichees of here worke  
¶ When this is thus ordeyued first of all the pncipal  
tokens and signes firste schul be sette in here place for  
ther is no thinge more worchshipfult to knyghtes than  
the maicste of thilke ¶ Than to the duke or pnce yf  
is pncipall of all the oste to him mote be made a pre  
toze a place of pncipal digunte for him and for his  
erles To the thunes mot be made tabernacles or tent  
and bothe these and also the pncipal duke and all his  
companye mot be fued of wode and water and also  
of pvedere bi hem that ben ordeyued to serue for him  
¶ Than mote pambous and tentes be pyghte and

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ordeyued for the legions and for here heepes bothe  
of horse me and eek of foot men aft the degre & digunte  
that they ben of ¶ And ome of eny sentorye mote be  
ordeyued foure horse men and foure foot men for the  
outwache by nyghte for it is nought possible algate  
to haue hie garettes or towres or hie places for wache  
men Therfore it nedeth to haue outwache the whiche  
mot ben deyd in foure quarters of the nyght the whi  
che quarters mot ben pted bi the orloges that sepen  
the orloges soo that it nedeth nought aman to wache  
but thre oures of the nyghte and at the blobyuge of  
the troupe the wache me schulde wende oute to here  
wache and at the blobyuge of the home they schul  
turne to here strengthe ayen ¶ The tribunes olweth  
to chese pfitable and wel pnced psones that mot ride  
oute to aspie and enserche the wache me that ther be  
no defaute founde in the wache and yf ther be any  
defaute they olweth bi here othe to telle trewly to the  
thunes where and in whom the defaute lieth ¶ These  
wache sechers ben cleped cerkelers other roudelers of  
compassoures for they ride rounde as a cerle copassige  
aboute the wache and writeth wel that nyght wac  
che mote be made woute the wardes of the oste and  
the day wache win the oste some in the morninge  
and some in the yndurycle tyme for trauchunge and  
fightyng of men and hors that traunpleth i felde  
werk ¶ Amonge other pncipal thinges that it  
nedeth a duke to knowe it nedeth to haue hie conyge



and goynge to the pasture of his bestes ¶ Also that his  
whete and other cornes bynyngunge Waterynge Woodynge  
And pncendrynge that all this be seker fro harmynge of  
enemyes but this may nought other way be sanely kept  
but with seker wardes of walled castels other trees set and  
ordened in the weyes there these thynges schul goo & come

¶ But and ther be no strengthes ne wardes of olde tyme  
set bi the weyes in whiche these forseyde vytayles not be  
cared than not ther be made stronge wardes of somer  
casteles baptes and piles w<sup>t</sup> depe ditches caste vp & digged  
w<sup>t</sup> mēces howdes for of grete wardes that ben clepid cas  
trus these wardes ben clepid castels these wardes thus  
ordened and sette bi the weyes and stuffed with a fewe  
horsemē and footmē and vytayles maketh all the way  
seker to comers and goers and all cariages hit is nought  
light for enemyes to neize or to come nyze the place ther  
as they knoweth here aduysances dwelle dothe behinde and  
before

*Quo et quanta consideranda sunt ut intelligatur  
viri fuerint; et in his aut publico debeat  
in arte confingi Capitulum 3.*

**I**t nedeth hy kynnyng to knowe when the ope  
shal fight openly and when pnych ¶ Who  
so eu wilfully desireth to rede these bookes of  
warre craue the whiche ben bestly gedred other shorthy  
abregged oute of antoures aprened most pncypally he  
coneyneth and desireth to here the reson and the hertes  
how a batayle may be ordene ¶ But for eu open  
warre other contente whi two howes or thre knyng

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it is ended and fynished and than the hope and trste of  
victorye of thulle ptye that is oncome holly is oustlyped and  
asslaked Therfor it nedeth that all thyng that may har  
me other ptye be thought before and wrought before and  
ordened and assayed or the laste ende befall of unshape

¶ For good leders and wise chenteynes ne fighteth nouit  
blychly w<sup>t</sup> open batayle and in open felde yf ther be ope  
drede of pte but with pnc assantes of embushementes be  
pyng hool here peple they dystroye here enemyes w<sup>t</sup> sotel  
slyghtes and herro make suche man werre openly knowe  
to pols ¶ Wol here write and disaue the nedful thynges  
that I fynde wreten of olde ordennance

¶ The pncypall  
and hyst and the moste behoffom craft that longeth to a  
duke is this that he clepe to him the wisest and the konigest  
men of werre of all his ope and wome eu fernyng or  
flaxie glosynge he more ofte trete and counseyle w<sup>t</sup> he  
bothe of the plente and multitude of his owen ope and also  
of his enemyes whether he or his enemyes haue more no  
bre of fightynge me ¶ Also whether of here they otes is  
better warded and better armed and whether of hem hath  
better used and lenger in warres and whether of here  
otes hath strengest polber at tyme of nede ¶ Also it ne  
deth to enquire and to aspie whiche pnc haue best horse  
men and whiche the better foot men and whether the  
strengthe of the otes stonde bi foot men other bi horse  
men ¶ Also it nedeth to aspie whiche of the otes hath  
most spres w<sup>t</sup> most archeres whiche hath most ha  
berions whiche hath beste horsynge ¶ Af<sup>r</sup> all this it

nedeth to write in what place we schal fighte yne whether  
the place be profitabill to vs and noyous to oure enemyes or  
elles noyous to vs and profitabill to hem for yf us lyste  
better to fighte on hors than on fote than us nedeth to  
haue open felde and playne grounde And eno and yf it  
lyste vs to fighte on fote than in this place that is hilly and  
strayte and moze and set other growen with shrubbes or  
trees is better than playne felde And it nedeth to aske whi  
ther whether thine enemyes haue plenty or starue of victu  
les for as it is ofte seyd and seye hunger fighteth harder  
whi than enemyes swerde wounde and offence is thing  
cause of victorie than the sharpe of yren And it nedeth  
to wete before with thi counseyle whether it be bett to raze  
the batayle or hastily to falle on and fighte for som tyme  
the enemye or the aduisarie wenech and hopech that the is  
ney of the batayle schal sone be ended and yf it is taried  
longe or for starue of victuyles or for desire homwarde or  
for longe liggynge and litle worschip byynge he is dreue  
bi dyspayre and wanhope to breke vp and gon away and so  
what for noyance and greif of grete tranayle and litle  
pfit many forsaken here ouer felesthipe some disten the  
counseyl some yelden here seff for feynte is felde founde  
in mishappes and so ofte it happeth that the enemy that  
cometh to batayle riche and pleruous wendeth his wey  
naked and nedid by tarynge and delay of tyme And it  
nedeth to knowe which the pncypal aduisarie is i condia  
ons and maner and also which is erles and barons and  
his cheneynes bethe of condiaons and of maner wher

they ben hasty assaylers other slye bolde and hardy other  
dredful kynnige and craftie in weyrynge or elles fighters  
of vsage what ben the condiaons of the folke that they  
brynge with them whether they be stronge or feble hardy  
or cowardes And it nedeth to write in thine owne ofte  
whether the straungers that cometh to the of vnkowthe  
loude to be helpeys in thine ofte whether they ben feythe  
ful and truste of what strengthe they ben and of what  
wille what copie they ben in nombre to hepyng of the  
ofte which yne of thine ofte most behothech the victorie  
for bi such maner of forethoughtes strengthe encreseth or  
breketh And wete thou wel in certeyne that good & herty  
comforte of the duke leder or cheneyme encreseth hardy  
nesse and boldenes in hem that ben in wanhope and yf  
he be founde bolde and nought aferde than wepeth and  
groweth wille and hardines and boldenes in the heres  
of the fighters And yf it hadde any thynge noughtful  
to be done by endurment or any other wise bi which thi  
ne enemyes hadde any thynge the worse be hit in takyng  
of smale and lowe degre or of thulke that ben sengl ar  
med in all this is comforte to thine and discomfort to  
thine aduisaries and an oncomynge and on all wise be  
ware that thou brynge not non ferdful ne dredful ofte  
to non oym fighte And take thou nought chynore  
hede to the nombre and grete multitude of thi peple but  
to the wisdom strengthe wiffidnes and pncypally to the  
longe vsage for it is nought greth to charge whether  
thi knyghtes be yonge or olde of age but whether they

haue longe be in rest and pees or late occupied & wez  
res for a newe chosen werre and a longe distre  
knyght is aff on at uede for that on is newe to ser  
uunge that he can nought and the tother hath foryete  
that he counte. ¶ Also when legions other helpes other  
horse men of diuisiounes ben comen to gedir a wise  
duke bi the onsighte of his tounes the whiche he know  
eth for wise and witte ower to putte chy nombre by  
him self to vse and exaste of all maner dedes of armes  
and afurwarde gedre hem alle in to oo place and with  
his peple assaye hem as though he wolde oucome hem  
with fighte and soo he may wite what craft of werre  
they konneth in defendyng of hem like ayens here ene  
myes. ¶ He mor also ofte assaye whether thilke that  
newe ben come soune acorde to gedir whome hem selfe  
whether they tokyu the markes and the tokenes of the  
ofte and the warnynges that ben made bi trompes & hoer  
whether they ben diligent and redie to keeke comande  
tes and heeres and yf they erre or be vnkonyng in eny  
thinge lette hem haue vs and techyng til they be full  
pfit in all poyntes and yf they be founde full pfit in  
felde ptyf in schetyng in spere castyng in ordennance  
of here schetyn than boldely they may be brought in  
to open sighte and batayle yf tyme it be and nede but  
firste lette hem be wel serued in lict werres. ¶ Thus it  
lougeth to a duke to ben watcheful sober and shy and  
algate best with wise counsell to case the pyles and the  
pfit the copie and the nombre of his owen ofte and also

of his

of his aduysar and that as feweli as though he schulde deme  
a anyl cause betwix two ptes and yf he fynde him selfe &  
his compaigne on the herre side as the stronger pte than le  
ne it nought bi no wey. but boldely amitte he him to fighte  
but and he fynde his aduysar stronger of all suche ordennan  
ce than he is. than voyde he in all wise open fyghtyng  
for ofte suche tynes vnder good duke and leders power of  
littl nombre and of smal myghte haue with soderne as  
santes and pte cubussemetes ofte geten the victorie of  
grette powers. ¶ *Quid oportet fieri si quis diffidit ad  
ingui eorum habere. Capitulum 10.*

**W**hat thou muste done and thou haue an ofte that  
is distrest. ¶ All artes and craftes and werkes day  
be day used of longe continuance pfiteth and en  
creseth and yf this reule is sothe in lict thinges moche  
more it is senech to ben kepte in grette causes. ¶ Who is  
he that douteth that craft of werre ne is worthiest abone  
all craftes. as thilke bi whiche freedom is whorde worthi  
nes is onte sprad or wide sprad in pntes and londes &  
the empire is kepte and warded. ¶ This craft in tyme  
the lacedemones and aft that the romaynes worshyded  
senge all other lozes and craftes. this craft alone all  
barbaue in this day troueth most worthi to ben kepte &  
all other nacions in troueth and trusteth that in this  
craft stouderth all pfit. and bi this craft they trusteth to  
gete all that hem nedeth. ¶ Therefore a duke to whom is  
yene soo grette reastres of polter to whose feyth and ven  
possessions of fortune wardyng of citces heath of buyght

and gladness and blisse of all the communitie is taken & granted he more be best both in thought and eke in dede & now only for all the othe but also for euy yfone of all the felaw schipe for yf harme or mishap fall to euy of hem in batayle it is nought only accounted a comyn wronge but also a greet blame and fame in the duke ¶ Therefore a duke that ledeth an othe of newe chosen fighters or of longe disused veteraures loke he wayte besyde the maides and customes the strengthe and the wylles of euy legion and of here helpere and of here baniers ¶ Also loke he know his chieftaynes by name in as moche as he may and who is erle and who is baron and who is counte and who is tribune and who is of honoure and who is of felethype ¶ Also loke he take up on him hys auctorite and sternesse greet and that he chastise and awreke hys all gyltes and trespasses of his knyghtes bi lawe of armes and that he be nought seye to spare ne foryene ne trespass ne errour that is done withinne the othe and loke that he in diverse places and diverse causes and occasions and haue apert proof of all thinges ¶ Than these thinges thus spode and ordeyned thou that arte duke or leader of the othe loke thou haue redy and siker assyes. When thine enemyes haue euy meyne oute tofore the vntayles or to praye makinge of besyes than stude thou oute wel yued horstme & also footme with other newe chosen fighters the whiche moche sodeynly and vnbare falle vpon the enemyes while they be deyd and dysheled fro here othe And there moche thi newe fighters serue wisdom of werre and wepe ther

by bolde and hardy ¶ At passages of riuers and waies at narrow weyes betwene hilles at streyte turnynges betwene wodes at narrow weyes in mores and marshes loke thou haue sodeyne embusshmentes so pryncy ordeyned yf non other be ware therof soo that they moche be enmore redy to falle on here enemyes soune tyme while they are soune tyme while they slepe soune tyme while they bene ydell and vnarmed and here hors awaye and as it were siker me and dradde nought than is tyme to falle on hem soo that thi peple moche bi suche sotte freynes & knok knynges serue wite of werre and cacche boldenes to fighte ¶ For suche as neuyn me wounded or slayne or suche as of longe tyme haue nought seye meynes blood shedde at the firste beholdyng they weperth agrye and a ferde and rather studieth and thinketh how they moche fle than how they schal fighte ¶ Also yf thine adversaryes haue tranayled a ferre iorney of longe wey than loke thine embusshment be redy to falle on hem that yndozest and wepest asynted or elles or hem that be ferre from here felethype for forrayng of vntayles or pray of best vpon hem yf thine embusshment sodeynly falle they moche take hem and all here praye therfore all suche thinges turneth to moche profite ¶ Also it longeth to a wise duke to fynde causes to make his adversaryes at debate and at strif winne hem self for ther is non so sotte nation ne peple in the worlde that may be destroyed with euy enemyes but they stryue and debate withinne hem self for stryf and debate in a communitie is to here

enemies an haste hedyngge and to hem selfe a sodeyne  
dystroyngge. But on thynge is to be wise and forseyde in this  
werke that all that hath be done in dedes of armes here  
byfore it may be doo here aft. ¶ But thou that arte cu  
rious of questyones. thou seest that many yeres & dayes  
ben passed sith no mā hath vfed to close the open sig  
gynge of an oste in open felde with wallynge of erthe  
bankes ne diggynge of ditches as olde werreours did in  
tyme to this may be answered. that if this hadde be a  
carnelle or a sleghthe sodeyne on fallynge of enemies bi  
daye or bi nyghte ne schynde neu haue noyed ne dysfid  
non ooste. ¶ They of the londe of yse folowynge the  
vsage of romaynes wallerth and warderth here osten with  
bankes and ditches in soo moche. that for here grounde is  
soudie they filleth empty sakes. full of soude and leggerth  
sack vp on sack in fode of a banke aboue the ditch that is  
diggid aboue the oste and so they make here warde sicker  
¶ Also all the folke of barbarie vsen warde here osten  
and to make hem sicker fro here enemies with here way  
nes cartes and chares and charrettes in rounde compass  
sette abouthe the oste and so they make hem sicker nyght  
tes reste. ¶ But we schamech that we mote serue of  
other that haue serued of vse. for no mā secheth to kine  
that hath ben longe vnysted and when pees is plete  
than dedes of warre is no deynne. ¶ But for it is not  
impossible to kine bi vse that is forgyeten bi dysuse or  
for defaunte of vsage we mow schelbe ensamples how  
oure oolde fadres that bi reste in tyme of pees hadde

forgyeten dedes of armes they come therto open bi bokes  
that were wreten of werres and confermed bi dukes &  
prynces. ¶ The duke of affrike Scipio ofte vnder dinst em  
poures oncome grete oostes of spayne and took hem as  
prouers and sette hem to clensynge and diggynge of di  
ches with this repuable stoune ye ben worthi he seyde  
to ben blottid and sportid and fouled and defouled with  
fenne and with drit of water and of blood that tyme  
of werre ne were nought ne wolde nought be sprayned  
ne be wat with enemies blood. ¶ Also the summatour  
he took and breuned here cite and so cleue dystroyed he  
that non of hem assaped. ¶ Metellus also vnder the Em  
poure albyu sante and vnderyoked the grete ooste of af  
frike the which he tauzte and serued so wel the olde  
ordenaunces of werres that they were bolde to take hem  
prouers of the which they had betake before. ¶ In the  
se ensamples and moos other ye mowe wel knowe that it  
is lasse mayntre to tache vni and wisdom to hem that  
ben newe to leryngge than to hem that haue loste vni  
and wisdom of olde forgyetunge. ¶ *Que ue die paranda  
sit qua publica committit pugna. Capitu u.*

**W**hat ordenaunce mote be made that day that  
the batayle schal be. ¶ This chapitre schew  
eth what ordenaunce nedeth to be made that  
day that the ooste schal openly fighte for in happe and  
ancuntre of open fighte sith the plente of victorie and  
oucomynge. ¶ Therefore it nedeth to eny wise duke & leader  
to beu that tyme most besy and beste amised in which

time most worshippe may be wonne of good Austyn  
other moſte part byſalle of unſauſurrit. ¶ Therfore wi  
teſſ wel that the olde worlde uſed. that thiſke day that  
the ofte ſchulde. ¶ they ſchulde come in to the felde  
nought ſayinge but with a uſurable mele for they  
ſchulde be the bolde and the hardier to fighte and the  
leuger endure wome feynge or hunger. ¶ Furthermore  
be ware that yf thine enemyes ben in the oz ſigge  
byfore the and thou and thi peple with in walled  
towne oz caſtell bi no wey come nought oute of thi  
ſtrengthe but thou haue large time and ſpace to take  
the felde and to ſette thine ordinaunce of thine ofte. for  
at narrow and ſtrayte passages of narrow pates oz brig  
ges oz cauſes thi peple mighte caſſe gret harue. ther  
fore yf thou ſchaſt fighte in open felde wende oute  
of thi ſtrengthe and take thi felde oz thine enemy be  
nye. ¶ And yf thou mayſte nought wende oute of  
thi ſtrengthe for thine enemyes liggeth byfore the. than  
holde the ſulle in thi ſtrengthe til thou ſee that they  
with drawe hem to gon a weywarde than ſende oute  
the beſt p̄ces and fightes that thou haſte at the tayle  
of hem and than mayſte thou wyne on hem bothe p  
ſite and worſthipe. ¶ But en be ware that thou  
ſende nought oute to ſuche open fighte nother hoz  
ne man that is feyned oz lberied with tranayle before  
¶ for what ſchal he p̄ſite that meeteth with an ofte  
oz with a freſſhe fighte and is him ſelf brethelies  
this folle all olde werreoures voyded. for no doute

hit is a ſynple machynge betwene a feyne fighte and  
a freſſhe betwix a ſwete and him that hath reſt betwix  
a reuice and a ſtonde. theſe ytes ben nought able to ben  
mached to god in fightinge. ¶ *Quando inſigaudi*  
*et quid ſeuant milites pugnauerunt Capitulum 12*

**N**ow thou muſte aſſue how the willes ſtoderth  
of thi fightes. ¶ This chapitre telleth how  
thou ſchaſt know the hertes of thi knyghtes  
whether they ben in wille to fighte oz to flee. ¶ Therfore  
that day that thi knyghtes ſchal fighte take hem before  
the and aſke of hem openly here willes and w̄ oute eny  
doute thou ſchaſt ſome p̄ſume and aſſue other bi her cher  
other bi her wordes oz bi her ſwifte and haſte gonyge  
oz here ſlow menyge and rarynge whiche ben bolde whi  
che ben a ferde. ¶ And bi no wey triſte not to moche to  
the boldeneſſe of thi uelbe choſen fightes for they that  
haue but ſuff harue hent in werres and feire p̄ſeles  
aſſayed to ſuche fightinge is ſwete and liſte but ſuche as  
knoweth of longe vſage the p̄ſis of werres they dredeth  
fightinge the more. ¶ But neithelies yf the duke of the  
ofte is bolde and hardie and wiſſeth to werre his good che  
re and his comfortable wordes may make v̄n ſtrengthe  
boldenes and hardineſſe to enareſe in his ofte nameſy  
yf he can ſchewe eny reſonable ſkiff bi whiche he may  
put hem in triſte hope oz comforte to haue the victorie  
¶ Therfore in this caſe it nedeth that the duke cōforte  
his peple with good chere and bolde wordes and gret  
biſhepes reherſunge to the falſehod of his enemyes q̄rett

and the right of his owen cause ¶ Also how feynt hernd  
thei bein and light to oncome namelich yf they haue be  
oncome of hem byfore wke that it be rehersid ¶ Also app  
thou that arte duke that thou reherse all suche matters  
that may make thi fightens to haue hate wrath indigna  
cion and dedecyue of here enemyes for hit is wel nye byn  
dely eny mā to tremble and quake whan he cometh to  
fryne and fighte with his enemyes ¶ But this feere &  
drede may be remedied and holpen. yf thou that arte duke  
sette thi peple or thou begyne to fighte in sure place and  
sther fro the whiche place they may see and knowe the  
disposicion and ordenance and the aray of here enemyes  
¶ Also it is good that thei here auouge hem som wte  
n cometh wher bi they may other see here enemyes or  
sone put hem to flight hit is nedful also that thei knowe  
the maner the armes and the horsynge of here enemyes  
for tho thinges that ben knowe of vsage ben nought to  
dredynge. ¶ *De admodū pōne locis eligat ad pugnam*

**H**ow thou schalt chese thi place ¶ *Ca. 17.*  
to fighte me ¶ This chaptre telleth & techech  
how thou schalt chese thi place in the felde  
there thou schalt fighte hit longeth to eny duke to knowe  
and to wite that a wel chosen place to fighte me is a  
gret cause of vitoune. therefore when thou schalt chese thi  
place like as moche as thou mayste that thou be on the  
hit side for wite thou wel the hyer that thou stondest  
aboue thine enemye whan thou schalt fighte the more  
auantage thou haste of thine enemye for all man schot

other castynge or foynynge or strol snytynge hit is myghti  
ter and leuer fallynge downwarde than upwarde ¶ But  
yf thou haste more nombre of footme than horsmen  
and thine enemyes ben stronger of horse me than foot me  
than chese the a place that be hilly and fitt of dales & dal  
les and vneue for that man place is harmful for horsme  
and not mocheles harmful for foot me ¶ But yf  
thou arte stronger of horsme than foot me and conetep  
to dystroye thine enemyes foot me. than holde the in  
playne place and in ene felde. the whiche is open and  
nought combred ne lered with schrobbes ne wodes ne  
that is nought mozy but playne and sadde grounde

¶ *De admodū aces d; ordinar vt i qstū mta. Ca. 18.*  
¶ What ordre thou schalt sette thi schetron whan thou  
schalt fighte ¶ This chaptre scheweth how a schetron schal  
be sette and ordene to haue the vitoune of his enemyes  
¶ Who so wist wel ordene a schetron he more be wel  
ware of thre thinges. that he haue the soune the wynde  
and the dufe that is reysid of the pondre of erthe be bi  
hynde his bak whan he schal fighte and nought in his  
visage. or in his face ¶ For yf the soune or the dufe of  
pondre of the erthe is in his ye that schal fighte and  
binemeth him his lokynge and stoppeth his sighte and  
yf the wynde is in his face ayens him that is helpyge  
to his enemyes shot and letynge to his shot therefore  
thes letynge eny man voydeth in as moche as he may  
at the tyme of fightynge ¶ But a wise leder more be  
ware of harmes that fallen af as of yedis that fallen

bifore Therefore thou that schalt be ledex of an oost lode  
thou sette thi schekron in so large place that thou molde  
meue and turne all tymes of the day with the sonne and  
haue the sonne and the wynde at thi bak and in thine  
enemyes visage. ¶ A schekron is nought elles but an  
oost wel serued and taught to fighte. The fronte of the  
oost that stant eue ayen thine enemyes yf that he be  
wel ordeyned and sette he yffitteth morthe and yf he be  
vntwisely ordeyned though the fighters be neu so good  
the enite ordenaunce may dystroye the schekron. ¶ Ther  
fore we wil schewe what ordenaunce in settinge a sch  
ekron mot haue. yf thou haue peple y now thou mayste  
make fyve ordres or fyve rainges euy behinde other. so y  
in the fyrste rainge be sette the eldest and the boldest &  
the wisest werreours that beste kenne fighte and best  
dare abide. ¶ In the secunde ordre or rainge the romay  
nes used to sette chosen knyghtes with speeres or spar  
thes and with hem chosen archers or arblasters grete  
plated. ¶ But the space of grounde that euy man  
mote haue that fighteth a fore is this he mote haue  
thre foot large fro elbow to elbowe in lengthe of all  
the rainge and fyve foot bifore him and fyve behinde  
him in brede fro rainge to rainge so that the fyrste  
rainge mot stonde fyve foot from the secunde rainge  
that is behinde him and the secunde fyve foot from the  
thridde and soo euy rainge fyve foot from other in brede  
of all the oost and soo behinde and eek before thei mot  
haue space y now to handif hire weppyn and to be

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seue hem in here harneys for write thou wel that schor &  
cappinge of all man wepyn is harder and sharper reynge  
than stonunge stike and therefore schekers and casters mot  
haue large space. ¶ herbi thou mayste see that in the  
lengthe of a thousande pace thou mayste sette a rainge  
of fyve hundred fyve and six foot me. euy man to haue  
thre foot of grounde and bi thi nombre and space thou  
mayste caste a gret nombre and space. ¶ The thridde and  
the fourthe rainge or schekron was sette and ordeyned  
of light and yonge me good schekers and casters and light  
armed. and they were ordeyned to issu oute and to rese  
oute on the enemyes whiche the fyrste schekron and the  
seconde stood host and yf they myghte put the enemyes  
at flighte than schulde they with the horse me pursue  
the chace and yf they were put a bak of the enemyes they  
schulde they esli withdrawe hem and ben scoured and  
defendid of the fyrste schekron and the secunde and thozow  
hem crepe in to here oiben rainges. ¶ And right as the  
fyrste and the secunde schekron weren at the fronte and the  
burthen of the batayle and therefore thuse that in tho  
were set were chosen werreours and sadde right so the  
fyfthe schekron and the fyve chosen werreours were  
sette in of olde age of gret wite and wisdom kynnunge and  
longe used in all dedes of armes that yf the fyrste warde  
and the muddis warde bi euy myght were distourfired  
or oucome. This warde schulde be restous scoure & defence  
to all the oost and cause of restorynge ayen of alle that  
were take or hurte. ¶ *Quantu spaciu i acie i longitudine*



**W**hat space euy man mote kepe in leugthe & brede in his ordre of the scheetron. ¶ This chapitre sheweth what mesure of space euy scheetron mote haue and how moche euy range mote be deyd fro other wherfore wite thou well that in the leugthe of a thousande paas thou mayste sette a scheetron of fyve hundred syxti and sy foot men and euy schal occupie thre foot of space in leugthe of the range man bi man. ¶ But yf thou wite sette fyve scheetrons in a thousande paas of felde nyne thousande nyne hundred and nynti and syve foot ben needfull. And yf thou wite depte this nombre in tweyne hit wol occupie two thousande paas in leugthe but bett it is to make many scheetrons than to sprede thi knyghtes to wide abrode. ¶ And loke that euy scheetron haue fyve feet of brede bishynde hem so that yf thou haue fyve scheetrons in thine ofte of ten thousande me thise fyve scheetrons wil occupie but a thousande paas in leugthe and two and fourti foot in brede of the felde. ¶ Bi this thou mayste wite what space of felde wyl sue thine ofte haue thou gretter ofte haue thou smaller so that thou y arte ledez mayste not ben desteynd whan thou woste what space of grounde wol receyue thine ofte. ¶ And yf thi place is drit and narow that thou schalt fighte on and thi peple grete and moche of that nombre that thou woldest make of fyve scheetrons in a large place make nyne i a narow place for it is more speedfull that thou ben sette somewhat nye to godir than to wide deytid for

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yf a scheetron is to thine sette he may the lightest be broken of the enemyes. And yf he be broken in this case that is ther no remedie ne hecpe. ¶ Whiche nombre schal be sette on the right corner and whiche on the left corner and whiche in the midwarde that mote ben ordeynd othir aft the worthines of dignities and estates of the werreours or this aft the feblinesse or the strengthe of the enemyes.

**N**ow thou schalt ordeyne and sette thine horsemen in the scheetron. ¶ In this chapitre the auctor sheweth aft the ordenances and the settinge of the scheetron of foot me how thou schalt sette and ordeyne the horseme. wherfore wite thou well that yf thi pynyal scheetron be sette of foot me than muste thou sette thi hors me as wynges to the foot me half on the right side half on the left side and thine archers that ben not armed loke they be sette wel at here large. ¶ And the strongest and the heaviest armed hors me. loke they ben sette side beside to the scheetron of foot me to defende hem at neede and the swiftest riders and the lightest armed ordeyne hem with the archers to pryke in and oute on the enemyes to assaile hem in to affraie here corners and here wynges. ¶ But zit it nedeth that duke or ledez be warned how he marcheth his horseme and the enemyes horseme to godir whether stronge ayens stronge othir feble ayens feble for ofte it is seye but bi what reson or skill no ma wor but god that stronge werreours and myghti the whiche haue oncome as stronge and stronger.

than they were hem selfe. thilke same haue be oncome  
of simple and feble fighters when they truste to here  
owen strengthe. ¶ But yf thine horsemen be fewer and  
lasse of nombre than thine enemyes. than loke thou sette  
briue two horsemen a goot foot man that kan wel ride  
and wel handit a spere and a swerde or axe and  
no doute thou shalt haue the victorie of thine enemyes  
horsemen be they neu so stronge for they mow not seked  
defende hem selfe bothe from horsemen and foot men atowen

¶ This sonete of armes olde dukes and princes founde  
up for a soueraine socour and helpe in tyme of nede.

*De subsidijs que post aacm colliguntur. Capitu m.*

**I**f the helpers that seneth behinde the schektron  
wherof they sueth. ¶ In this chapitre the  
auctor telleth of wise ordenaunce that is needful  
in eny batayle for it helpeth a man to haue the victorie  
and the ordenaunce is this ¶ Thou that shalt lede an  
oste whan thou haste sette thine oste and ordeyned thi  
schektrons to fighte loke in all wise that thou haue the  
good cheneceynes or dederes and with eny of hem a thref  
n companie of fighters bothe horse men and foot men also  
sen oute of the beste that mow ben spared oute of the  
pynapall oste and loke thou sette ou of these companies  
behinde the right wyng and the thurde behinde the  
midwarde of the oste. that these mow awayte & assue  
where they finde eny gappe or breche in eny parte of  
thine oste that they mow be redi to falle in here frede  
that ben slayne or hurte or voyded and this schaff.

high encrese boldnesse and hardnesse amonge thine olde  
peple and greth distourforre and abastie thine enemyes  
¶ A better disposed ordenaunce may not be case ne or  
deyned in comforte and refrechinge of an oste for an oste  
sette and ordeyned in schektrons may nought ellis doo but  
put of his enemyes or fulli distroye hem they mow nougt  
depre here schektrons w<sup>t</sup> oute harmyngre gret of hem selfe  
neither haue put here enemyes virtuti to flighte for and  
he that is sette in a schektron breke oute of his place or  
the enemyes be put to flighte. he frayeth and dysbarreth  
all the ordre and good ordenaunce of the oste ¶ Therfore  
yf any suche companie be ordeyned of the enemyes ayens  
eny schektron or wyng of thine oste but thou haue a no  
ther suche companie ordeyned ayens hem thou arte begi  
led. for and thou take oute eny fighters foot men or horse  
men oute of thi schektron thou distroyest thine ordenaunce  
and while thou weneest to defende on side thou puttest  
a nother side in more perill ¶ But and thou haue not  
good plente of fighters than is it bett<sup>r</sup> to make schorter  
and narrower schektrons and kepe large plente and mult  
tude to make suche side companies ofte in helpe & socour  
of the hool oste. than to make wide and longe schektrons  
and lakke suche soueraine helpers at nede. ¶ Therfore ke  
pe wel the ordenaunce of these side helpers & loke they wal  
ke at large for with hem thou mayste bothe stoppe the  
breche and gappes of thi schektrons and assaule the wynges  
of thine enemyes as I haue seide before.

*In quo loco p*

**I**n what place of the schektron the firste duke schal stonde  
and where the scorde and where the thirde. ¶ This cha  
pitre telleth where euy duke and cheueteyne schal stonde  
and in what place of the schektron. ¶ The principall duke  
oz ledez of the oste what so eu he be that hathe the chief  
powre he schal stonde in the right side of the hole schel  
tron in the middes betwixe the horse me and the footme  
for that is the chief place of gouing and reuolunge of all  
the schektron. ¶ Therefore he is sette in the miduarde bi  
twixe bothe that bi his counsell and his biddinge bothe  
horseme and foot me schal be reuold in here fightinge.

¶ This duke for his stoundinge is eu ayens the liste wi  
ge of the enemyes therfore to him longeth with the ouer  
nombere of helpes that ben assigne to him bothe of horse  
me and foot me to assaile and to make stryf with the liste  
wyng of the enemyes and that behinde here bakkes.

¶ The scorde duke oz ledez schal stonde in the middes of  
the schektron of the foot me to counseile and to reuole hem  
and he schal haue aboune hi a good route of thurke ouer  
of me of armes archeres the whiche ben leste oute of no  
bre of the grete oost to ben helpes to all other that he  
may with hem make a strengthe to breke the schektron of  
the enemyes. Or yf the enemyes make euy suche counte  
warde ayen hi. he may be redy with the same strengthe  
ayens hem. ¶ The thirde duke oz ledez mote stonde in  
the liste wyng of the oste to counseile and to reuole hem  
and this mote haue a stronge compaigne of thurke voyde  
of nombere of horseme and foot me to strengthe hem selfe

with and to assaile his enemyes. Wome brekyng of his  
wyng. ¶ Take also that thou teche thi peple that they  
make non oite crye on here enemyes while the otes ben  
deyrd and thymned. But when thei ben full come to ge  
de and fighten hande at hande. than be thou and thine  
oste firste cryes on the enemyes rather than the enemyes  
of the. for that maner crye affrayeth thine enemye & nony  
the cry that many maken a non as thei seeke here ene  
myes as vnbise and vnkunynge werreours vseth. ¶ To  
be also that thou be cunore redie of all thine ordenaunce  
and not to sechinge when thou comest to the poynte for  
than thou mayste doo what the semeth is beste whiche  
is non that vnkunyngeth and than thou cchest and encre  
set good trufe and hope amoung thine owen folke & wan  
hope and fermyse to thine enemyes for cunore that side  
is holde the strengre pte that sounest is redie to fighte.

¶ And than begyneth the enemyes to drede when  
they seeke schektrons wel and wisch arayed ayens hem  
and no doute he hathe a greet anauantage that is redie  
to falle on his enemy while he is oute of a ray and or  
denaunce for it is a greet pte of getyng of victorie to fraie  
thine enemy with worde or chere or countenaunce or thou  
begynne to fighte. ¶ *Quibus remedijs virtuti vel docto  
hostium resistatur. Capitulum 10.*

**W**hat man remedies mow ben ordeyned ayens  
unghte or disseyres of enemyes. ¶ This cha  
pitre telleth what remedie or helpe ther may  
be founde to with stonde the strengthe or the discretes of

the enemyes ¶ Excepte or outtake sodeyne cubusshemēt  
or haste and vniware assantes of the whiche euy wise le  
dez is enmore wel ware ther is no bett metyng with  
enemyes than when they ben feyrted and Wered of lon  
ge iorney that they haue made. or when they ben at passa  
ge of riues and watres and some ben on the one side and  
some on the other side Or when they ben besit occupied  
aboute they mayng or otes reppng for than ben they  
vnamed some or alle Or when they traunte on the hilles  
tappes. Or when they ben in playne felde dispersed and  
shattered abroad Or when they ben in here loggnges faste  
on theye as it were all sber and no thng to dredyng

In all these tynes is pfitable metyng with thine ene  
myes. for and thou fynde hem thus occupied thou mayste  
se hem or dystroye hem or they mow araye hem to fighte  
¶ But and thine enemyes ben so meuy and also so wel  
aused enmore that sodeyne cubusshemēt ne pue orde  
nauce may nought auayle ayens hem but that thou  
muste uede fighte with hem hande of hande. than is  
non helpe but that thine ote be mighti bolde and hard  
and pncypally wel lerned and longe vsed in dedes of  
arnes ¶ But amonge all pels be wel ware that noy  
thi ltre wyng ne thi right wyng be bilypid aboute  
with the multitude of the straiours of the enemyes. the  
whiche ben clepid helpars for and this pelt happe the  
ther is but on helpe the whiche is this. yf thi wyng  
is bilypid aboute to the sodeyn the one ende of the wyng  
to the. other so that the one half stonde bak to bak or

rigge to rigge and euy of hem defende other but loke that  
thou sette stronge fighters in the corners or the angul of  
thine tomyng for ther is counel made gret assaylunge ¶ Al  
so be thou wel ware that thou make no chaungyng of the  
ordres of ordnauce that haste made nauit in the fightyng  
tyme for yf thou change in that tyme euy company fro  
so place to a nother than useth runis and noyse and  
gruachyng amonge thi peple and the enemy schal haue  
the lighte entee to hem that ben vnstete and vnstabled

*Quot genib; pugna publica quantatur et quo qui in  
frons est minus et virib; valeat optine victoria. Ca. 20.*

**N**ow he that is febler of strengthe and also of  
nombre 3r may he haue the victorie ¶ This  
chapitre tellet how many man of fightynges  
they ben and how many man wise thou mayste encounte  
or assaye thine enemy when thine ote is sette and or  
deyned ¶ The firste man of countyge or ensaylunge is  
with a longe forwarde or fore fronte and a foure square  
ooste as the comy man is of countryge or assaylunge. but  
wise werreours schulde nought doo so for this is the  
beste man of assaylunge for the felde that thou schalt  
fighte the is nought onialt like wide and brood and tha  
yf thi schetrou is longe in the fronte and thi space of  
thi felde widder or narower in one side than in a nother  
Thine ooste schal not longe sepe hem self in hie firste  
ordnauce of settinge for or they schulde sprede hem self  
widder or thinner and so lightly make gappes and scheldes  
in the middes or in the sides of the schetrou and thane

may thine enemy lightely entre or ther schul be to myght  
thruste to gedir and than schal euery of hem sette other to  
fichte ¶ Also yf thine enemy haue more peple than thou  
he may chuse the in other on the right side or on the left  
side and than arte thou in greet pecc but thou haue stroge  
on nombre of fighters with which thou mayste withste  
the strengthe of thine enemy ¶ Therefore this maner of  
fichtinge with foure square ope ne is sber but for him yf  
is stronger and myghter of nombre of peple than is his  
enemy that he mow with strengthe of peple chuse his ene-  
mies ope with in his and close him as in his bosom

¶ The secunde maner of countrege or assaylinge is moche bet-  
ter than the firste in which though thou haue lasse peple  
and lasse strengthe than thine enemy so that thei bene  
goode and bolde fighters and doughti werreours thou schalt  
not fayle of the victorie ¶ The maner of this assaylinge  
is made thus. When thine enemyes schetron and thine  
schul ensemble or come to gedir to fichte. Loke thou set one  
thi left wyng so fer fro the right wyng of thine enemy  
that no caste ne schot may reche to hem and than assaile  
thou his left wyng with thi right wyng and loke that  
thi right wyng be wel stuffed with wel assayed horsemen  
and eke foot me and soo vp on his left wyng bigine  
thi batayle so that thou sette all the broute and all the  
strengthe of thi right wyng with the helpe of the middel  
warde on the on the left wyng of thine enemy and thou  
haue broke his wyng and behynd him on the bakside  
and than no doute thou haue the victorie and it haue

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thou thi left wyng hool in his strengthe ¶ But and thi  
ne enemy make the same ordeuance ayens the than loke  
thou haue a stronge compaigne both of horsemen & footmen  
of the on nombre of fighters the which ben ordeuined to  
ben helpers and stiffe thi left wyng with hem so that  
thou haue the doubte strengthe ayens his right wyng  
and so thou schalt haue the maistrie bi strengthe that yf  
mayste not haue bi sleight ¶ The thirde maner of dis-  
countrege or assaylinge or oncountrege is like to the secunde  
sane it is worse than the secunde maner in as moche as thou  
begynest with thi left wyng to fichte ayens his right  
wyng the which is as a fichte with on honde & hold  
this maner of assaylinge may beste be done | wol open  
schewe ¶ When thou haue thi left wyng moche stronger  
than thi right wyng or than the right wyng of thine  
enemy than stiffe well thi left wyng with a stronge  
compaigne of horsemen and footmen of thi side helpers and  
than nime or sette thi left wyng to his right wyng and  
with all thi myght strike with him till thou mow com-  
pas him and come behinde him on the bakside and no  
doute than haue thou wonne the victorie but in all the  
time while thou fichtest thus loke that the felder parte  
of thine ope in which thou knowest feblest fighters be so  
ferre deytid and sette a come from the unwarde and the  
left wyng of thine enemy that no caste ne schot mow  
a reche to harme or hurte hem with sberde or spere ¶ And  
also be well ware that no compaigne of fresche fighters  
falle on thine ope behinde ne before while this strydureth

and than maynt thou in this man ome thine enemy  
yf thine enemy haue a felle right wyng and the lyste wyng  
be doubtfull prouge ayens hi. ¶ The fourth man of ome  
is this whan thou haue thine hool schetron full arayed  
four hundred paas or fyne hundred or thou come nye thine  
enemy than pdeuill or he be ware sette bothe thi wynges  
on bothe his wynges or cornes at ones and no doute thou  
shalt make hem turne the bak and thou shalt hafu  
haue the victorie. ¶ But yt though this man of fight  
ge be speedfull to haue sone the victorie yf thou haue  
wise and wisfull warreours yt it is ydus and dred  
full. ¶ For in this man of fightinge thou openest and  
makest bare the middes of thi schetron and nedest thou  
deprest thine ofte in two and so yf thine enemy be not  
dismayed or ome in the firste assaite or assaunge  
thou yuest him wey and space to entre with ine bothe  
on thi cornes that be deprest and on thi midschetron  
that is vnbarded. ¶ The fift man of assaunge is  
like to the fourth man it hath more ordinaunce in as  
moche as he hath before the pncipall schetron a myghty  
compayne of light armed me with archers goode in  
defence of the schetron that it be not broke and so w  
his right corn he assaileth the lyste corn of his ene  
mye and with his lyste corn his enemies right corn  
with the whiche sleight he may light put his enemy  
to flighte and though he may not yt stouderth the  
middes of his schetron hole vnbarded and lyste tra  
uayle hath for he is defendid with the archers of

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the light armure. ¶ The fyre man of assaunge or  
ome is the best of alle and moche like to the sec  
de and in this maner fighte thei that be in dispeire  
and wanhope and lyste truste haue eyther of nombre or  
vnt of here peple and yt and this maner of assaunge  
be wet ordeyned though thei haue right felle folke  
in nombre eunge it hath the victorie and the fighte  
be wel lered in dedes of armes. ¶ The whiche ma  
ner of ordinaunce is thus when thou comest ayen thine  
enemy with a wel taughte ofte though thei be lyste  
of nombre sette thi right wyng of thi schetron vp  
on the lyste wyng of thine enemy and with myght  
and wel pned horseme and swyre foorme beginne thi  
batayle on the lyste wyng of thine enemy and sette the  
remenant of thine oost ferre on lengthe fro the schetron  
of thine enemy in the man of a longe broche so that  
no cast ne shot of thine enemies may touche the  
middes ne the ende of thine oost and so with oute eny  
fayle thou shalt put thine enemy to flighte for he  
may nouthur with his right wyng ne with his mid  
schetron helpe the lyste wyng the whiche hath all  
the traunce of the batell and also for thi schetron  
is so schort to gedir in lengthe like to the longe lettri  
re of the a. b. c. the whiche is clepid J and so ferre  
trayned and deprest fro thine enemies that no thige  
may haue the ne thine so that thou be stronge y  
nowe in the right wyng. ¶ No gener in time  
thus configitur / Caplin 21.

**N**ow thou mayste assayle thine enemy and thou  
mete him sodenly bi the wey and nought in  
open felde. ¶ This chapitre telleth how thou  
mayste assayle thine enemy yf thou mete him in iorney  
bi the wey and nought in open felde. ¶ The seventh  
man of assaylinge is yf thou mete with thine enemy  
in suche place in whiche thou mayste haue som socoure  
to the and thine ope. as yf thou hadde on thine oo side  
hilt or see or riuer or lake or cre or more or more or chyn  
ged or clouen weyes. All suche thinges helpeth the and  
detech thine enemy to come ny the. and though thou be  
lasse than he bothe of nombre of folke and eke of streng  
the 3<sup>r</sup> and thou haue eny suche socoure thou mayste the  
bolder abide thine enemy soo that thou sette the reme  
nant of thine oost in an ene strengthe schektron. ¶ But  
of that side of the wey that hath no wardynge ne soun  
dole thou sette all thi horsmen and archers and thā make  
thou schek were with thine enemy at thine owen list  
when bynde warderth the on that on side and wate on  
the other side. ¶ But on reule lobe thou take hede of  
that whether thou fighte with thi right wyng or with  
thi left wyng or with thi middel schektron there the  
brunte and burthe of the batayle schal be most strengest  
there sette the strengest and mightiest and wisest fighters  
that thou haue bothe horsmen footmen and archers for  
victorie and oncomynge of batayle is not i gret unlikeli  
de but in a fewe stronge and wise and wel willed wer  
reoures the whiche muste ben sette to most anauantage

after the ordinaunce and ausent of him that is chef duke  
and ledez. ¶ *Quoadmodum via abscedendo hostibus et danda  
ut debeantur factus fugientes. Capitulum 22.*

**N**ow it is more profitable to yeue thine enemy  
wey to flee than to close him the that he may  
not fle. ¶ This chapitre scheweth bi reson  
that it is more wisdom to yeue thine enemy space & wey  
to fle yf he wil than to close him the with strengthe that  
he may not fle. ¶ For thei that ben vnkynge of knyght  
hode and of dedes of armes thei wenech and troweth to  
haue full the victorie of here enemies yf thei may bi  
multitude of men of armes or bi straitnes of place so clo  
se nime here enemies that thei may no wey flee. ¶ But  
schek were enyoure this holde i no wisdom. for ofte it is  
seene there as hope is turned in to wanhope and dispeire  
there drede and feze dothe that hope is nought hardi to doo  
and thei diech the wishfuler that thei troweth nought  
for to scape. ¶ Therefore sayn his sentence and skil was  
preysed. there he seyde that eny wise werreoure schulde  
soo close in his enemies that he leue som corner or gape  
open bi whiche thei may fle yf hem list. for yf enemye  
that ben enclosed seue eny open space laste bi whiche thei  
may in eny maner wise voyde what for drede of scyn  
ge and for hope of scapynge thei ben the more wishful  
to flee and in here scynge thou mayste doo with hem as  
with bestes flee or take whether en thou wite there as  
yf thou close hem straitly with the thine oost though  
thei be fewer than thine i nombre and nought so mighti

in strengthe 7r happly drede and wanhope may make  
hem victoris to worshype of hem and schame of the ther  
fore in this cas holde that reule that is skez and leue that  
is vnstex. *Quodamodum ab hostibus recedat si constiterit  
pugna discessit. Capitulum 23.*

**N**ow thou mayste with fayre colour withdraw  
the yf thou luste nought to fighte. **T**his  
chapitre sheweth and teacheth how that thou  
that arte ledez of an oost mayste safely withdrawe the  
batayle yf thou arte nought stronge y now to fighte w  
thine enemy. **F**or as wise herroures bi eusamyle  
sheweth ther is no greter yeff to a ledez of bataile than  
for to vnkyngech or hasten withdrawe his peple yf he  
wil nought fighte. **F**or he that first forsaketh the  
felde he feareth and feyneth his owen menes hertis and  
boldeth and hegeth his enemyes and 7r for it is needful  
som tyme to beu done therfore it nedeth to be schawed how  
it may moste sekely be done. **F**irste loke thou be ware  
that yf thou wilt withdrawe thi selfe and thi peple fro  
the felde loke thou doo so wisely that thi peple beue that  
it be for to sette hem in a bettir place there ther moue  
hane more auantage of here enemyes for no doute that  
oost is ful able to flee that sette here ledez in dispeyre  
**A**lso be wel ware that thine enemyes fele nought  
that thou wilt withdrawe the leste ther falle sodenly  
on thi peple. therfore som ledez vsen in this cas to  
sette the horsmen bifoze the footme for the enemyes ne  
schul nought see when the footme beu with drawe

**A**nd thou with drawe the firste schektron of footme  
and do eny schektron after other while the remenant  
stondeth stille in here degre and than asurwarde a linc  
and a linc drawe the remenant away and ioyne or  
bunte hem to here fetawes. **S**ome ledez vsen to sen  
de bifoze appies to make the wey skez and than withdrawe  
hem bi nighte that the enemyes wate nought when it  
is day whether the oost is gone. **S**ome ledez vsen  
when the withdrawe hem binghte to leue behinde he  
at narrow weyes and straye passages a nūbre of light  
armed me that yf the oost be pursued with enemyes  
ther may falle on hem and flee and take of the enemyes  
as of me oute of ordonaunce for ther is no greter yeff  
than to folow to hasten an oost that flethe. **F**or ther  
that foloweth renneth and rideth oute of aray and yf  
ther that fleeth hane eny woodes or brigges or streete  
weies in whiche ther may sette skez cubuscheines ther  
may flee and take many of here enemyes or ther schull  
sette hem self in eny ordonaunce. *Quod tempus est  
quo oportuno collocantur insidie. Capitulum 24.*

**W**hen it is beste tyme to legge cubuscheines  
**T**his chapitre telleth and sheweth when  
it is moste conuenable tyme to legge cubusche  
meint bothe for him that fleeth and also for he that  
foloweth for nedeth the gretter that the severte or sikr  
ness is the more greuous is the harme that falleth  
therbi. **T**herfore when me beu oute of aray and or  
denaunce or when ther beu at mete or at super or when



thei ben feynte or weye of tranayle and resteth bi the wey  
or when here hors bayneth or pastureth here bestes and  
no pecc supposeth. than enemyes fallen on most sodeynly  
**W**herfore these pelles muste be voyded on oure side bi  
wardinge and keepinge of vs seyne ayens oure enemyes  
and as sleightes and cartels or wiles thei muste bene  
vsed in harmyng of oure enemyes when time of uode as  
beth it for in this maner cas nother strengthe ne unfortu  
de may anayle hem that ben oppressed or ouer. Sothen he  
that in open schectron is ouercome bi fighte in batayle  
though that it be done bi craft or strengthe yet he may  
acounte it to mishappe and here on honde it is defaute  
of fortune. **B**ut he that is of sette with sodeyne on  
comynge of enemyes or bifoze his oost or behinde. he may  
be no wey excuse his folk. for he mighte haue appied  
his enemyes ordenance longe bifoze bi sendinge oute of  
trewe assoures that mighte haue warned him of his  
harmes or thei hadde ben false. **W**hen batayles de  
peth or elles the oo pnc withdraweth him fro other  
this maner deserte or gyle is vsed to be done. he that is  
pursuwer after hem that voydeth or fleeth he sendeth  
oute aft hem that fleeth a selve horsene to folow the  
taylor and to biker with hem to tari here iouney that  
thei voyde nought to bliue away and thilke while  
he sendeth a strengthe of horsene bi pnc weyes before  
hem that fleeth to mete with hem in the fronte. and bi  
the time that he hopeth thei be nyze the place thei thei  
shal mete hem that fleeth he that is pursuwer maketh

his horsene that foloweth the taylor to make sodeynly a  
saunt as though thei wolde thozow ride hem that fleeth  
and when thei cometh ny hem that sodeynly thei voydeth  
and rideth away fro hem as though thei durste nought  
or wolde nought dele with hem. than thei that were  
pursuwer demeth that aft pelis of here pursuwyng  
is passed and beth the more negligent and vnarmed of  
here owen goynayle and soo while thei ben oute of  
araye and ordenance. thilke power that was sette bi p  
ne weyes metheth with hem in the beude and thā be  
thei dystroyd and begiled. **W**herfore some werreou  
res vsen when thei wolde with draw hem from here  
enemyes to sende bifoze wise pncers with stronge honde  
to kepe the gappes and the weyes there here enemyes  
mighte in any wise doo hem harme or greuaunce. and  
yf here weyes ben thozow wodes thei helpe downe  
trees and stoppe the weyes in lettynge of here enemyes  
yf thei pursue or folow after hem. **A**nd cometh  
both the withdrawer and eke the folower fardeth  
harmes and mishappes like. for he that gothe bifoze  
he leueth behinde him embuschmentes in valies or  
in wodis hilles or in other conuenable places that yf  
his enemyes folow aft him he shal fynde with stou  
ders tiff he that is passid now turne ayen. **H**elpeth he  
and soo ofte thei dystroye here enemyes that folow he  
**A**lso thei that foloweth and pursuwer hem that  
fleeth and som time in fore side or foreheed sit time on  
the oo side and som time behinde oppresseth and dystroyeth

hem that stech before. Also whiche the pines slepeth or  
resteth bi nighte he that is before may turne ayen or  
he that is behinde may ouercome or oueride bi dissepte  
or gile him that is before. Also at passages of watres  
and briggys he that is firste on. bereth downe in all that  
he may hem that firste cometh on after him. Whiche her  
felawes and they ben twynned and deyd and then that  
folow suche passages hiech in all wise to dystroye hem  
that ben nought full passed. *De Camelis et Cara  
fractis equis. Capitulum 26.*

**C**amelis and trapped hors and wherof thei  
serueth. This chapre sheweth wherof  
Camelis and trapped hors sueth in batayle.  
Camelis as the auctor seyth som nacions of olde  
time used in here batayles as the Ciracians in affric  
and yet this day soo dothe the amazer. But this man  
beste wherof he sueth in batayle the auctor seyth. he  
wot neu saue that he is stronge of burthen and longe  
may suffre furste and tranayle with oute water or drinke.  
Also he hath a gret mynde of that he hath betaynt  
before. as yf a camel hath ones goon i a wey. though  
that wey be asfuarde feuerd or helid with wynde blow  
yuge of duste or powder or snow yett will he goo that  
wey redill y nolbe with oute ey ledex or techer. To  
eny other helpe of batayles. I holde this beste vnabte sane  
he is ninyclons and woundifull in sighte of hem that  
neu sje no suche beste before. Also hors that ben trap  
ped in mayle or plates they ben the sberer fro hurtyng

and harmynge of woundes but for heuynesse of burthe  
of the armure that he bereth on him self and on his mayf  
te. he is the slower of foote and the slower he may be of  
take. Saue suche hors ben goode to pursuwe foot men  
that ben to skatred oute of ordenaunce. Also they ben  
goode when oofes fighte honde at honde for with streng  
the of hem me breketh the schelous in bothe sides.  
*Quo quadrigis fascano vel elefantis in acie possit ob  
stari. Capitulum 26.*

**W**hat ordenaunce of defence thou mayste make  
yrened chares and ayens olifauntes. This  
chapre tellet how thou might withpoude  
and dystroye yrened cheynes chares and olifauntes. The  
gret kynge Artocse and asd metdat used in here  
werres gret multitude of chares enarmed with sharpe  
sutes. the whiche at the firste sighte were dresfuit to  
mere. but when they were assied and knowe than all  
me scorned hem that used suche chares for they were mo  
ze harmifull to the vsers than to here enemyes for si  
che chares muste enuore hane playne grounde and not  
hulle ne stome. for they wolent be sone stopped of here  
cours with smil lettynge and it is harde enuore to syn  
de playne felde and eni grounde to ride up on or to  
zeune. Also yf on hors of the trays be hurte or won  
ded all the chare is deceyued. These man chares were  
ofte times dystroyed and spiled bi waste and kuygtho  
de of the romaynes for when the romaynes schulde  
fighte with eny suche in playne felde they ordeyned

caltrayes of yren the which thei threw and caste vnder  
the wheles of the chares and yf the wheles stoumbid ayen  
cuy of hem or the chare schude oitthrowe or elles fike  
falle ¶ A Caltraye is an ordenaunce made of yren and  
steell to hurte bothe manes feet and horse feet yf they  
trede thereon This hath four tyndes or prikkes scharped  
kene and how eu this yren be caste thre pikes or tyndes  
stoude on the grounde and the fourth pike stant vpright  
and yf any man or beste trede thereon he is adoyed or  
maymed and yf any carnage stoumbeth thereon it falketh  
faste or oitthroweth with this gun the romaynes ofte  
time destroyed these stithed chares ¶ Olfanttes also in  
werres what for greynesse of hire bodies what for bray  
unge of here horrible voyce what for newe wondrynge  
of the vnkouth bestes schap thei made bothe me and  
horse aserde at here firste conyng ¶ The firste that  
broughte these Olfanttes ayens the oste of romaynes  
was kynge pyrros in litynye aft' him the duke ham  
balk in affris and kynge antioche in the oost ayens the  
se bestes ¶ Wylde defence and withstoung was or  
deynde of armes some smote of the snoutes or the wro  
tes of the olfanttes with sverdes and soo did a centurie  
of rome in the werres of litynye ¶ Some ordeyned  
cunozes ayens on Olfant two me myght and wel  
armed eyther on a good horse wel trapped with plates  
with longe schafes and scharpe moche leuger and greet  
than speeres with brode hedes and kene and thei that  
were in the toure that the Olfant bare myghte with

no schot harme these men ne here horse bothe for they  
were soo wel warded and hiled in yren and steell and also  
for thei myght ride in and oute at here owne anawntage  
there as the Olfant myght holde eu oo cours ¶ Some  
ordeyned ayens these bestes footme wel helid aboue with  
plates hangge on here schuldres and on here helmes schar  
pe prikkes as it were schote daggers that yf the Olfant  
wolde onghte kente or carthe hem the prikkes schude  
sette him ¶ Also youge lustie me that wel couthe caste  
suerde spere and darte thei with brode heded speeres and  
dartes on horse bak moche distruction dede to these bestes  
and eu the hardier me weped the bolder thei were to sette  
on these bestes and with dylle castyng and schenunge wou  
ded hem and slow hem ¶ But the greetest and sikkest  
defence ayens these bestes were hondlyngers and staffly  
ngers with stones for thei not onli beten and broseden &  
brayned these olfanttes but also they slow and maymed  
the me that were in the towres on these bestes bakkes and  
settel ayens these man bestes was not demer diffens soude  
afore that time ¶ A nothir sleghere was used of the ro  
maynes ayens these bestes when thei feled hem self stro  
ge y nowe of peple then wolde thei suffre these bestes  
to breke here schetrou and sodeynly depte here oost i two  
pites and suffre these bestes to come in to the muddes of  
the oste and than the romaynes bidypte hem abonte and  
took bothe man and beste vnsurte ¶ Also thei hadde  
greet boltes of brase and spingoldes wounde and sende  
with vice with huge schafes made ther aft' w' brode

and large heedes of fete and yren to make grete and large  
Woundes in the bodies of the grete bestes. This grete shot  
was caryed in chares and carres made therfore. These we  
re sette before the schektron that as sone as these bestes  
cam with the this shot they were slayne and destroyed  
longe or thei come wy to the schektron of the romaynes

¶ Thus here haue we shewed and rehersid many stes  
tes and diuise ordnances in defence ayens offsautes. y<sup>t</sup>  
When time and uede affecth a wise duke may chese the  
beste. ¶ *And sicu debeat si pars exatus fugit vel to  
tus exatus. Capitulu 21.*

**N**ow thou shalt doo and haue thine oost fle  
and haue abide. ¶ This chapre telleth how  
a duke or a leder shal gouerne him self & also  
his peple in caas that of his oost some fleeth and some  
abideth and haneth the victorie. and how also he may  
helpe him self yf all his oost fleeth at once. ¶ yf it  
so is that a part of his oost hath the victorie and a  
parte fleeth it is nought to dredynge grend for yf the  
duke or the leder of the oost abitte his stedfaste and his  
bolde abidynge may resonabeli challenge the victorie of  
the hole for it hath happid so in batayles many woute  
nombri and cunqre thei haue ben bolde victors and on  
the heyer side. that leste haue drad hem of pehis beaue  
ne tweyne fringes or wraffelers he is holde the fren  
gez that is nought broken ne sone oncome with no  
harde plukkes ne pulles. ¶ When yf thou wolte be  
foude victor holti in this caas lobe thou be the firste.

that gader to the the pray of thine enemyes that ben  
taken and slayne rather than thei of the blowe vp w<sup>t</sup>  
troupe and charous and sette a schorte on thine ene  
mye rather than he on the here with thou shalt affray  
thine enemy. and bolde thine owen meyne and wende  
away one of the felde with bolde chere as thou were  
victor in all sides. ¶ But and it haue that all thi  
schektron fle at once that is a deoth peff neitheles in  
this caas hap of fortune hath holpen many and to  
restoringe of suche an harue it nedeth to seche mediane  
¶ Therfore a wel auised duke when euy suche sodeme  
unshap faileth bi change a butte of werres or diuerse  
condicou of me with oute grenous harmyge he may  
deuise hem that ben oncome with this sleghite yf he  
may cacche euy hie downe or euy warde behinde his  
bak or yf the strengest of his fighters stonde wel to ge  
dir and withstonde the enemyes in all these wyse  
may ligge helpe to kepe bothe him and his. ¶ For  
ofte it is seye that thei that ben put to flighte cacche  
herte to hem bi good comfortinge of here duke and so  
deynli turneth the heed on hem that folowen and be  
putt oute of ordnauce and fleeth and taketh hem that  
put hem to flighte before. ¶ For heyer mischef may  
not falle to hem that ben victors than when here  
ioyfull hertes ben sodeynd made a gaste. ¶ Therfore  
though thi peple fle drede the nought to sore but as  
sone as thou mayste gedir thi folke to gedir and coforte  
hem wel with good ensamples and seye sodeme

embushmentes there thine enemyes schul come. for write  
thou wel. the hyer and the prouder that here heres be  
aft a ioyfull ioyney the more vnbissh thei goiue he  
self in ordenaunce and rideth seugle and deytid as men  
that haue no drede. than and thou so deynst falle on he  
thou mayste haue hem as thei hadde the. ¶ The hap  
wel nye and eudes of all batayles is this that tho that  
in the begynnyge haue ben victors and outcomers in the  
ende thei haue be outcome hem self. *Regula bello  
rum genzans. Capitulu. 29.*

**N**ere ben the geniall rules of werres. ¶ Here  
ben put the geniall rebles of werres of the  
whiche this is on that all that is profitable  
to the is noyous and vnyprofitable to thine aduisari and  
all that is helph to him is vnhelph to the. Therefore  
doo no thunge that him suscth to doo. ne leue no thunge  
vndoo that he wolde were vndoo. but all that the  
thynketh profitable loke that be done. for all that he  
ordeyneth for his profite. yf thou dedest it hit is ayens  
thy profite. and all that thou doste for thy profit. hit is a  
yens him holl. yf he dooth it. ¶ In all batayles he  
that most waketh and labozeth or tranapleth his knygh  
tes in felde werkes other other tranaples that lougeth  
to werres he schall lese drede yest in tyme of nede. 22e  
nyr sette thou oute no werreoure ne non of thy knygh  
tes in open schektron but thou haue firste assayed him  
bi open preef in on of thre thinges in longe sufferan  
ce of neddy pouert or in dedes of armes ayens so deyne

on couynge of enemyes or in bolde chere in tyme of  
drede. ¶ In suche batayles there fortune is more myghti  
than vtiou. it is better to tame thine enemy bi hon  
ger than bi fightunge. ¶ There beeth no counstiles  
better than thilke of whiche thine enemy hath no know  
yngt till thei ben done in dede. ¶ Occasion or so deyne  
happe in batayle helpeth more som tyme than vti or  
strengthe. ¶ Yf eny of thine enemyes side fleeth to the  
for drewe and he yelde him to the feyrtfull. coke y  
resteyne him for the fears that fleeth from thine ene  
mye to the is more harmful to him than thilke that  
thou haste slayne of his. ¶ Hit is better to make a na  
row schektron and kepe many side wardes behinde the  
schektron than to spede to wide thi werreoures. ¶ He  
is with gret diffianke outcome that can trewhly nge or  
deme bothe of his owen copie or unskatude and eke of  
his aduisaries. ¶ Ofter helpeth in werres vertu then  
multitude of peple. ¶ Ofter helpeth a wel chosen place  
than vertu or strengthe. ¶ Nature or kynde bryngeth  
forthe feire stronge me. but wel auised ordenaunce bryn  
geth forthe many. ¶ Gny oost with tranaple and la  
boue profitech and sotletch but with idelnesse he dulltch  
¶ 22en brynge oute thi knyght to open batayle but  
thou see that he hope to haue the victorie. ¶ So deyne  
dedes of werre affrayeth the enemyes. therof used de  
des beeth strit tolde of. ¶ Hee that with his peple dis  
pnted and schateyd pursueth his enemy at his fle  
yngt he yenech ofte his enemy the victorie that he bi

foze hadde gotten. ¶ He that ne ordeyneth wonght bise  
ze his iorney all vntayle that nedfult is for man & for  
best. he is wth oute swerde slayne when he wency lesse  
¶ He that hath moze peple and strengier is than his  
aduisarie like he sette his schectrou fowre square & felle  
when he schal fighte and this is the firste man of assay  
linge. ¶ He that is febler than his foo of power and  
of mighte. like he sette his right wyngge ayens his ene  
myes lyfte wyngge when he begyneth to fighte and this  
is the secunde man of assaylinge. ¶ Who so feleth him  
self strengest in the lyfte wyngge like he assayle goldeh  
the right wyngge of his enemy and this is the thirde  
maner. ¶ Who so hath in bothe wynges wel used  
me in werres bolde and stronge of boues begyne he  
his batayle goldeh wth bothe wynges at ones and  
this is the fourthe man. ¶ Who so beste trusteth on  
his light armure and most strengthe hath of hem like  
he sette all his arillers in foze fronte and his enemy  
on bothe wynges like that he assayle and of the vic  
tozie of the felde forsothe he schal not fayle and this  
is the fyfthe maner. ¶ He nother trusteth i myghte  
ne strengthe of his owen peple ne i multitude yf he  
more uede fighte. like he assayle wth his right wige  
his enemyes lyfte wyngge and like he sette the reme  
nant of his ofte in lengthe like to a broche all awa  
ynte of the case and schot of his enemyes and this is  
the sixte maner. ¶ He that hath moche lasse peple  
of fightez than his enemy him nedeth to haue on

his oo side or hiff or cite or see or riuer or som other hel  
pe or socoure and this is the seventh man. ¶ Hee that  
trusteth better to his hors me than to his foot me like  
he ordeyne that his felde be playne and that the burthe  
of the batayle be moze rewhid bi horsme than bi footme  
¶ yf thou moze here or wite that thine enemyes aspie  
in thine oost walkyngge comaunde that euy man be w  
th his owen loggynge be light of day and soo schalt  
thou knowe whiche is thine aspie. ¶ When thou wost  
that thi counseyle is disturbed to thine enemye than is  
it nedfult that thou change thine ordenaunce. ¶ Gre  
te thou wth thine hool counseyle or wth the mozte  
pte of thi counseyle what may be done or what oib  
erth to be done or what is beste to be done touchynge  
euy ordenaunce. but what schal be done what thou  
wite doo ther to kepe that counseyle to thi self or w  
felle of the trustid of thi counseyle. ¶ Feyne and dre  
de chausteth werreoures fro slayter and fightynge amo  
ge hem self but hope and mede maketh good knyghtes  
in tyme of batayle. ¶ Good dukes ne fighteth neir  
opnly in felde but ther ben drme therto bi sodeyne  
happe or gret uede. ¶ hit is a gret ordenaunce and  
a wise that oucometh his enemyes rather wth hunge  
than wth swerde. ¶ Of ridynge ther ben manye  
reules hepes and ordenaunces but for as moche as ri  
dyngge and prykyngge that longeth to me of armes  
pfecteth and encreseth moze bi vsage and exerce and bi  
good and noble horsynge than bi euy other reules

that we may make therof. Therefore it needeth nought  
to geve more reules oute of booke as for that ordinaunce  
for these present tyme sufficeth. ¶ The laste reule &  
the beste is this loke thine enemy knowe nought with  
what ordinaunce thou comest ne how thou thinkest to  
assayle him lest he make ordinaunce to withstande other  
to disprove all that thou hast ordeyned. ¶ The small ex-  
plication of the thirde booke. Capitulo 29.

**G**od youre excellent wisdom firste enpoune not  
is full tolde oute and shewed all that olde  
amoures haneth seie done in dede and lefte  
behinde hem wreten in booke firste of wise techynge and  
teachinge the whiche wisdom I you all peere wondrest  
also of wise ridynge and fayre styngge on hors bak  
whiche all herowde and all alwayme desireth to be like  
you. but thei moue nought in stynges of reynge in  
whiche neyther Sarazen ne man of ynde may be eue  
with you. ¶ Also of vsage and course of dedes of armes  
in the whiche youre ensamples bene suche that alle p  
ben leders or chenteynes to reynge of here peple &  
of here folde. thei ben fayue to lerne hem to forme he  
and to vse hem to all this in the ende of this thirde  
booke is added to and ioyned all the craft of fighthe  
and of oncomynge so that bothe in vniuers gouernaynt  
of thi commalte thou mayste be fonde a riach empour  
and in thi unicytes or wondrousfull werres. a myghty  
kyngh. ¶ The prologe of the fourth booke.

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**N**ere begyneth the fourth booke of dedes of armes  
of whiche the prologe or the fore spekyng chapte  
in this wise begyneth. ¶ The vntoled and vn-  
taughte boysons lynnage that wisde me lynn in the  
worldes begynnyng was lutt bettir than the lynnage of  
wilde bestes till bildynge of cities and towncs were up  
foundede firste bi whiche me ben disseid and deyd fro  
bestes and lynn to geve in commalte and in wille and  
dede worteth all that is to comy pfit. ¶ Therefore  
myght naciours or contrees and also sacro pnces i olde  
tyme thought no thynge more wortshippfull ne more  
blissfull than to belde newe cities or elles olde offallen  
cities to belde hem newe ayen and to make he larger  
wydder and strenger and then to sette therto her name  
¶ And in this maner riachte thi wortshines hie pte  
bereth aboue othir that han bene before thi dayes for  
bi tranayle and hie coste of thine hie pte cities and  
walled towncs with oute nombre bene made & belde  
so solemne and so grete that thei semeth bett wer-  
kes of ordinaunce of goodes than wrought bi wit of ma-  
¶ All other empoures thine hie wisdom of good am-  
sent passeth and excelleth. in blissfulness i mesurableness  
in chastite in ensample of foryuenes in loue of studi-  
ous science. ¶ We seen with oure eyen the goodes of  
thine hie wille and of thi kyngdome and we haneth &  
holdeth in honde that oure olde fadres and our ances-  
tres desired hily to haue seyne and the yonge age that  
is to comynge hopeth and desireth here aft to haue for

en. the which he thinges we iopen hit that they bene  
 leued or laue to all the world in oure dayes ye also  
 moche as māns wille may aske or grace of god owen  
 to vne. ¶ And how moche yowre hie nūtilnes and  
 best coſt hath profited to all the conuante of yowre  
 enyure in makinge of walles and cloſyng of ctes to  
 me may telle and teche the which bi the ſtrengthe of  
 captole ſo kept and defendid his ctyens & his kyngdom  
 aft that the reuenant was destroyed. that with hem  
 that ther were ſaued ſome was aſarwarde gloriouſly  
 made victor and conqueroure of all the worlde. ¶ Thus  
 in the endyng of this werke that I haue take on honde  
 at the heſte and biddinge of yowre hie maieſte I ſhal  
 ſchewe to yow how yowre ctes now ben defendid &  
 kept fro aſſautes and aſſaynges of enemyes. & alſo  
 how yowre enemyes ctes and caſtelles now ben dis  
 troyed bi yowre wit and wiſdom. And this ſhall I  
 ſchewe bi diſſe auctors Writyng depard in chapitres  
 bi ordre & that tranayle is nought to me greuous  
 the which I beleue is to all me profitable. ¶ *Quod*  
*mutatis et caſella aut natura aut arte aut vitio*  
*modo debent muniti. Caplin p̄m*

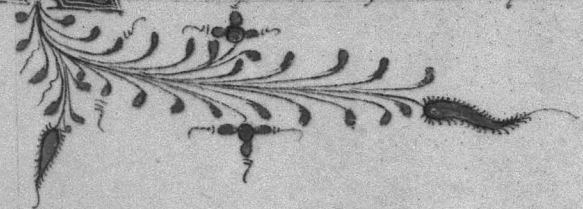


**N**ow all towres and caſtelles bech warded  
 or with fynde or with craſte or with  
 bothe. ¶ All ctes and caſtelles they  
 mote ben warded either be fynde or  
 bi craſte of mānes honde or bi bothe  
 and this I holde moſt ſkeret. ¶ Bi fynde as yf a

cte be ſette on an hie hill or on forcorner ſbarres or in  
 place there the ſee ebbeth and floweth all a bonte or in a  
 unne or more ſiſe or there that freſſhe riner may vne  
 all a bonte all theſe ben wardes of fynde. ¶ Wardes made  
 with māns honde ben digged diſhes and ſtone walles  
 yf thou be deſt cte or caſtel there as fynde is thi warde  
 make. ther nedeth nought els but wiſe counſell in the fiſt  
 cheſuge. ¶ But yf thou be de in playne place there thou  
 haſt no helpe of fynde ther is neede bothe of counſell and  
 craſte. ¶ For we ſee oft in playne felde ctes be de that  
 haue non helpe of hill ne riner ne ſee ne moze and yet  
 ben thei bi craſte ſo ſtronge wrought that thei mote not  
 bene destroyed. ¶ *Quod non durtos et anguloſos muros*  
*faciendos. Ca. 2.*

**N**ow a walles of a cte or  
 a caſtel ſhal be ſhape. ¶ Olde werrours  
 in olde tyme wolde not make here walles of  
 here ctes ne of here caſtelis eue forthe right ne here tow  
 res ſoure ſquare but thei vſed to make here towres rōnde  
 to voyde the ſtrok of the rain and here towres were ſette  
 but they ſpere lengthe a tyme and the walles betwene  
 the towres were made rōnde ſwarde and holdy oute  
 warde that yf any ſcales or ladders were ſette to the wal  
 les not ouer aſore in the fronte but alſo in eue ſide  
 and eke behinde forthe thei ſhulde ben aſſayled and clo  
 ſed as in a boſom. ¶ *Quod muros et terra munit*  
*Magratis Ca. 3.*

**N**ow the erthen wall ſhal be  
 made betwene two ſton walles. ¶ yf thou  
 wilt make a wall that neſ may be destroyed





With no gyues of werre make thou him in this wise  
**M**ake first wone a good wall and a stronge of a good  
comy thikke the whiche wall not respyne thi toures and  
bere the cubatunctes outwarde Thanne winne that wall  
in towarde the cite make a nother wall not so stronge  
ne so thikke but of comy assise and betwene thulke twey  
walles leue y<sup>e</sup> foot space of voyde londe and in the ma  
kyng of these walles fille up that voyde space that is  
betwene hem with the erthe of the oute castyng of ditches  
and lode it be wel beten and rained with betels and tre  
dyng of meues feet and eu in the makinge of thine  
inew wall at euy fourn or fifti foot of lengthe en gre  
snynges fro the playne grounde of the cite vp to the wal  
les and no dome this man wallyng is nought able to  
be broken with no frob of no gine of werre and though  
it happe that the kernelles or the cubatuncte be bere a  
downe or the viter wall with euy strengthe be destroyed  
yet the erthen wall withine is able to defende all the  
cite

**O**f the portolis for breynge of pe  
vates **T**his chaptre telleth how thou shalt  
kepe thi vates that they be nought fired ne  
breumed **L**oke thou ordeyne that the lences of the vates  
be keried and helde with rats hives or spynnes & above  
that wel plaid with yren but the beste ordenaunce of  
all othir is that olde werreours han ordeyned before  
oure dayes that is to make at euy vate double defence  
with double arches of ston wel wallid and cubatunctid

aboute and on the viter arche a stronge portolis haugige  
with neu ringes and stronge ropes or cheynes of yren that  
yf the enemyes entre to fore the inew vates lere falle the  
portolis and all that be withinne moly be take or slayne  
**L**oke also that the wall of the arche on the inew vate  
be machekolud or so p<sup>er</sup>sed and holed that thou moly her  
de a downe water to quenale the fire yf nede be or hoot  
meatunge seed on hem that stouderh vnder **O**f fossis  
maendit. Capitulu. 6.

**N**ow thou shalt make thi ditches **B**rood di  
ches and also deepe nedeth to ben made aboute  
walles of cites and castelles so brood that  
thulke that busegeth hem ne moly nought lightli fille pe  
ditches and also lode they ben digged so deepe that they  
moly holde good deepnes of water othir of welde spri  
nges of here owen or of rui reynge in to hem for suche  
water ditches ben grete letters to mynoures **O**f sa  
gittis aduisaroz hoies sedant in mure. Capitulu. 7.

**N**ow thou must ordeyne that thi me at the  
walles be not hurte with schot **F**or drede  
that unlitraude of arrows and schot of ene  
myes with oute the cite in tyme of bishyng ne fere not  
the defenders of the walles and drine hem fro the kepy  
ge of here kernelles and so with scales and ladders take  
the cite for defaunte of defence of the walles. Therfore it  
nedeth that they be good plaine of tergates pannes and  
schildes in the cite to ben and to hest or stoppe the gappes  
of the cubatunctid of the walles fro schot or ellis double

sages of here haugid before the open bateylunge to schake  
of the sthof fro the walles for that harmeth any sthof that  
towcheth on a thynge that moueth and stiteth. ¶ And as  
for starynge of walles this remedie is fonde to make tra  
dikes or grediles of tymbre and fille hem with heupe  
stones and hange euuozz brenne tweyne keruels suche  
a cradell with so stit gynneth that yf any stafe or ladder  
were sente to the wall and this cradell with any thynge  
were towchid all schulde falle on here hedes that good  
ther vnder. ¶ *Quib; modis puidendu sit ne fame*

*vacantur inchoit. caplin a.*  
**N**ow thou muste ordeyne that thi me be not  
ensamned though thei ben besieged. ¶ Many  
dise kyndes bothe of defendige and also of  
assaylunge we haue schewed in dise places of this booke  
but in this place we wylt beknowe that thei ben the  
man yells that a cite or a strengthe may light be dis  
troyed bi. yf it be besieged. ¶ The on yell is yf he that  
besiegeth the strengthe may turne a wey here water fro  
hem. the of yell is yf he may stoppe here weyes bi whi  
che here vntayles cometh to hem. In these two weyes he  
that steth aboute the sege may pleye and reue hem and  
dryne hem that ben with me with surse and hungre  
to yelde up here strengthe with oute strok. ¶ Therfore  
and thou wylt kepe a cite or a strengthe and thou haue  
neil so stit supposunge or trowynge that any sege schul  
de be leyde aboute thi strengthe loke or thine enemye  
come. that thou drawe in to the all the vntayles for

man and for hors that is in the countre aboute thy  
strengthe that thou mayst haue plente with me the  
and thine aduysarie stafe when he cometh. for ther  
is no thynge that may so sone sette the leggyng of a  
sege as stafe of vntayles. ¶ Next shepe and swine is  
nede to be slayne to larder for the moze plente thou  
hast of flesche the lasse the neede to spende of breed  
all foules that light with ben kepte of here owen  
kynde and tranayle as capon chicken and all poylde  
is good to ben drawe in. for thise ben needful bothe to  
seeke me and to hole. ¶ Also puerdre for hors loke  
thou drawe in as moche as thou mayst and what  
that may not be caryed in loke thou brene it with  
vinegre sither apples pees and all that may yfite  
to thine use loke it be gederid in that thine enemy  
when he cometh fynde no thynge oute that may y  
fite him to man other best. ¶ Also loke thi gardines  
and orchardes and herbers with me the cite be wel ri  
led as wel for yfite and nede as for honest disporte  
and yf thou haue plente of vntayles with me the stit  
loke thou dispende hem and depre hem wisely wout  
wastynge for it yfitech stit to godir moche plente  
to godir in the begynne. but it be bi wise officers de  
led and depreid. for wnt thou wel thise werreours we  
re neu ensamned ne in yell of hunger. the whiche  
in tyme of plente kyne use honest stafe. ¶ Also in  
tyme of werre me vseth to put oute of wallid streng  
thes all olde and feble me woune and yonge childre.

for drede of denouryng and dystouryng of vitayles. ye  
whiche me of armes muste lyue bi in defendyng of  
the holde or the strengthe. *De hinc paraunde sin  
pro defenacione muroz. Caplin 8.*

**W**hat ordenaunce thou muste make for defence  
of thi walles. This chapitre scheweth and  
tellerh what thinges thou schalt ordeyne to  
defende thi walles yf thou be assayled loke thou haue  
redi plentye of botym of brymston of pik and tartre of  
tallow grece and oyle that me clepe the tewardre. all  
this thou muste haue redi to brene and to fire yf neede  
be the gynnec and the ordenaunce of thine advisare.

Loke also that thou haue redi yren and steell of di  
uerse tempur bothe harde and neshie for to make w  
armure and all egge toot wode cole and see cole dre  
tymbre also and aght of aspe and hynde. for spere  
schafes and arowes of popeler and wythe for tergan  
panses and scheldes of asche also for helmyge of axes  
sparthes and also of worchyng toole. Loke thou  
haue also plentye of harde ragge stoncs and rounde pu  
bit stoncs of reuer small grett and all ther grettst  
sual pebit to case with honde and w stafflyng  
grett for the case of the wilde asse that we clepe an  
engyne. and all ther grettst pubit stoncs of manes  
sire or moze to ben lyfte or moze to ben leyde on the  
walles the whiche when they bene schone oute on  
the walles. all ordenaunce and also men that stoudey  
vndir they may se or breke. Loke also that thou

haue gret

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haue gret whelles made and framed of grene tymbre or el  
se grece and huge peeces wel rounded of tre that me clepeth  
rollers the whiche and they beu sodern lette slupe or slide  
they feteth and frayerh bothe horse and man. Also loke  
thou haue redi bothe venes and gistes swallex and grett  
tables and bordes thikker and thiner ynes of tre and  
nayles of yren more or lasse of all man sorte and schape  
to make gynnec when thou wille to dystroye the gynnec of  
thine enemyes. and also thou muste haue all siche thi  
ges redi to make siche werkes with me thi self. as yf thi  
ne enemyes sette to thi walles a somerapett or her a bas  
tle that be moche here than the walles. than but thou  
haue all thinge wim the wth whiche thou mayste  
make a strengthe as hie as that is. this may he take  
thi towne or thi castell at his owen wille. *De hinc  
faciendū est si necesse desit copia. Caplin 9.*

**N**ow thou muste haue plentye of synelwes &  
hoxs here for strynges. Hit needeth to the  
to haue wim thi strengthe gret plentye of ze  
nelwes for gret engynes gret arblasters and gret bowes  
of brake and also arblastes that bene woude w  
with  
vix. ne may not be bende to be schote woute cordes  
and strynges made of zeneives heer and also of hoxs  
tayles and of hoxs manes is good for strynges to ar  
blastes. And no doute woma heer is right good to  
make strynges of as it was wel schewid and pved i  
rome when here gynnec and here schetunge gere with  
longe beseyng of the capiton was forwered and

Wasted than the worſchippfull matrones or ladies & woꝝ  
thi wyues and other womē of rome when thei herde  
telle that here husbondes lacked heer and zeweltes to ma  
ke struges for hire ſhor. Thei kute of here tressis and  
heer of here heedes and broughte to the fightez with  
whiche they reuiced and arayed ayen here ſchenge gear  
and hadde the victorie of here enemyes. Lempr thei had  
to hie with here husbondes in freedom with here heedes  
a linc while defaced than longe time vnder enemyes  
thraldom & ſince in bondage with bright beute and  
fayrenes. **H**ornes also and raw ſpines ben yſtable  
to be gedered to ken and to hele paines ſchildes and  
othir defensible gynes of werre. *Quid faciendū in*

*Aque topā panant obſeſſi. Caplū 10.*  
**N**ow thou muſt kepe wellles and wyndes  
that thou fayle no wat. **G**reat profite it  
is to a cite that hath ſpring well with die  
the walles cloſed the whiche yf thei moue not be gete  
of kynde ſprynge reynge zt mayſte thou digge in  
make deep draughte water in benches. **B**ut yf thi  
ſtrengthe ſtoudeth on an hie hill or in a drie place  
but w̄dite vnder the walles he hath veynes of ſpr  
ynge wellle water than muſte thou kepe thi water  
feather and defende him with ſhor and with caſte whi  
le thei ſeche thi water. But and thi wellle and thi wa  
ter be oute of ſhor or caſte than it nedeth to make a  
linc caſt or toure that mē clepeth a borow betwene  
thi ſtrengthe and the wellle to defende thi water fro

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enemyes. **A**lſo in all the gret beldynges and alſo þne  
beldynges of cite or caſtelle it nedeth to haue aſternes and  
digged receytes to reſteyne the raine water that fallith  
of rones of houſes and of goters. **S**elde it is ſeyd that  
good werconnes yelde vp here ſtrengthe for fiſte while  
thei haue eny water that wol be dronke. *Quid fa*

*ciendū ſi ſalis defuerit copia. Caplū 11.*  
**N**ow thou ſhalt doo and the ſal ſalte. **I**f  
thi cite or thi ſtrengthe that thou ſhalt kepe  
ſtonde bi the ſee ſide and thou ſal ſalte gete  
the in of the ſal water of the ſee and ſette it in goters  
or othir open veſſeles in the ſonne and the here of the  
ſonne ſhall harde the water in to ſal. **B**ut and it  
ſo be that thine enemyes ſette the that thou moue  
nought come to water of the ſee zt geder the of the  
ſee graueſt that is dried and dryue vp w̄ the wynde  
and ſette that with freſſhe water and ſette that wat  
in the hoot ſonne and it ſhal turne to ſal. *Quid*

*faciendū in pino impetu vent ad murō dā 12.*  
**N**ow thou ſhalt w̄ſtonde the fiſte aſſante at  
thi walles. **W**hen a violent or a ſtronge  
aſſante is ſchape to be yene to caſtelle or to  
cite moſte peſt is on bothe ſides but moſt on he that  
ben w̄dite for here harmes hangeth on here heed.  
**R**euerſeles thilke enemyes that fro w̄dite makech  
aſſante thei cometh and ſetteth on with all the dredfull  
aray that thei k̄ne oz demie w̄ noyſe of trompes &  
clarions with ſcholwpyng and holwange zellinge and

crunge of me and aft to make hem astrayed and aferde þ  
ben within the holde. wherfore and it soo happe that  
thei win the holde be soo a ferde that they voyde or flee fro  
the keepinge of the walles no doute with scales & ladders  
the towne or strengthe is taken. ¶ But yf ther be wite  
with verroures and goode knyghtes that mow put of  
the enemyes at the firste broute than weye thei wime  
hardi and bolde and than thei fighte manli bi myghte  
and bi craft.

**W**ith what gyne walles schal be assayed. ¶ The  
re ben rehersed the maneres of gyines and of  
devaunces that a cite or a castell may ben en  
sayled with the cyy side that is to say snayles rames si  
thes or hokes. vniet' plic' or rollers musketes & trones  
of cyy of these bi him self I schal schewe how he is framed  
and made whi he is thus clepid how thou schalt fighte  
therw' and how thou schalt defende the fro hem I schal  
schewe the and teche.

**T**he gyne that is clepid the snayle what  
it is. ¶ The gyne that is clepid the snayle  
or the weik is a frame made of good tybre  
schape square kened and heled aft aboute with ralle si  
des or with velles and heyres for drede of breynge  
¶ This gyne hath win him a gret beem menabli  
hanged bi ropes the whiche beem may w' drawyng  
of men wime be drawe a bakwarde and lere fle w' his  
olven peyse forwarde to the walf and soo astone and  
schake the walf and make the stones lose. the forende

of this beem is soum tme schod with a gret crok of yren  
to pulle oute the stones of the walf and than is this  
gyne clepid the sike or the siket or the hokid snayle.

**S**oum tme the forehed of this beem is schod with  
yren square and than is he clepid the ram or the rope  
for right as the raam rēnch bakwarde to feche the  
strenger strok with his heed ayent hi that w'poundeth  
him so fechech this beem his strok ayent the walf that  
standeth before him and therefore he is clepid the ram  
or the rope. ¶ This gyne also is clepid the snayle for  
right as the snayle hath his hous on him wherthir  
he walke or repte and oute of his hous he scheteth his  
heed when he wolk and draweth him i ayen soo doop  
this gyne and therefore he is clepid the snayle.

**T**he gyne that is clepid the vniet is a gyne  
of werre framed of light tymbre viij foot  
of brede and viij foot of heigthe and xvij foot  
of leugthe the roof of this gyne is double heled with  
tables and with hurdeles woude. the sides betw woude  
w' twiggis to kepe the men that betw wime fro schot  
and castre kened and heled woude with raw hides and  
wete heyres and feltes for drede of fryngge. ¶ These  
gynes when thei ben many to geder set ayent the wal  
les of a strengthe thei kepe the me that ben vnder he  
fro harmyngge while thei pike oute the stones and myne  
thorow the walf. ¶ The plic is a gyne of defence  
made like to the side of an hous w' a groundesett & too

standynge postes and a cros been foded and wounde  
with ruygges heled woune with rawe hudes and in pe  
groundes. *ii. trokettes or whelles to reue vpon.* This  
gynce kepeth and defendeth as a payys the syngers &  
the schetters that ben ordeyned to fere and to skere away  
the kepers of the walles. **A**gger is a tote hit made  
of longe poles pyght vp right and wounde aboune with  
ruygges or yerdes as an hegge and fylde vp with crthe  
and stoues on whiche me now stonde and schere and  
caste to the walles. *De munitionibus Capitulum 10.*

**I**f the stut gynces that ben clepid muskels  
muskels ben clepid stut gynces of werre  
that defendeth the fightez and the werrecon  
res in bryngynge of stoues fagotes tymbre and crthe  
while thei fillen vp the ditches and also rāneth the  
dos crthe to make sad grounde and eue wey for reuynge  
and rollynge of the sower castles to the walles woune  
lettyng. **A**nd these smale gynces ben clepid muskels  
for as moche as the see muskels thowgh thei ben stut  
ze dooth thei gret esent ofte to the gret baleyne or wha  
le for the whale respecteth him glada on the unskilbed  
right so these smale gynces maketh sekur wey and sad  
for the gret rollynge toures to reue on and to reue

*De turribus ambulatoriis Capitulum 11.*  
**I**f the sower castles how thei schul be made  
A sower castel or a rollynge toure is a gynce  
of werre moche and large and of gret coste  
hit is made square as a toure of stou of gret benes

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and plausheys nayled and pynd and framed to gedir  
and for it schulde not be lightly brende ne fired with  
eneymes it is helid woune with rawe hudes and were  
seyres and felles. **T**hese toures are here heytres  
they hauen here brede some ben .xxx. some .xl. some  
fyrft foot square of brede. The heyte of hem is as the  
hiest toures of the walles that thei schul be set to or  
hyer. these toures more haue crthe whelles made to  
trulle hem light to the walles. **A**nd no doute it is  
gret pytt to that cite or strengthe that suche toures be  
sette too for he hath many stages and many maner  
wise he harnech and assayleth he hath in the nep  
flox heled his unuoures to digge and mine the walf  
he hath there also the gynce that is clepid the ram w  
strokes to stome the walf. **I**n the mid stage he hath  
a foldynge brigg to lere falle sodeynly vp on the top  
of the walf and soo to renue in to the cite w<sup>th</sup> me of  
armes and take the cite at his wille. **I**n the ouer  
stage he hath schetters casters syngers and all man  
defence the whiche for thei ben on the hedes of hem  
that ben on the walles with all man egge wol na  
men w<sup>th</sup> gret stoues. thei fleeth or beteth alwey fro  
the walles aft that stondech vnder hem. **W**hat  
hope is therof helpe or socoure when thulke that set  
aft here hope on here he walles senche moche hyer  
walles on here hedes. but how this he harme may  
be holpe with wise foresight. we woff schewe in the  
chaptre that is nexte folowynge. *De admodu*

*curris deambulatores possit incendi. Capitulum 18.*

**N**ow that the power castell may be fired. This  
the harue that we speke of bifoze in iust ma  
ries may be stoppd first in this wise. yf ther  
is bolde and nughty chivalrie and kyngthode in the cite  
oz strengthe ther suche a toure is set that bolde dare  
issue oute on a freysche oz on a clustre to gedir & make  
hem stey wey to this toure and rase and reude doibne  
the sides and heyres and fettes that it is held with &  
throwe thereon wilde fire and soo brene it. this were a  
kyngth dede and thus haue kyngthes don oz this tyme

**B**ut and the soudeours that ben in the holde  
ne doze nought wende oute than with shot of wilde  
fire shot w<sup>t</sup> gret arblastes and spingoles the which  
shot and it fastene in eny tymber oz tre it tendeth &  
brenneth. A nother sleighte is to lere a downe of the  
walles with ropes me<sup>t</sup> with lanternes light and w<sup>t</sup>  
gret ballis of herdes dypid in oyle and frewed well  
with brynstou and whate the enemyes fire these ballis  
and throw hem in to the gyues and drawe vp the me<sup>t</sup>  
ayen. *Quoadmodum altitudo muris addat. Ca. 19.*

**N**ow thou shalt encrese thi walles sodeyn  
ffurthermore that side of the wall that this  
gyne schal be set too lobe it be enhammed oz  
made hiez with stou and morter oz with brende tile  
oz with erthen wall and embateyld abone with corde  
so that the wall be as hie as the gyne when he come  
oz moche hiez that he ne brose nor downe the wall

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keperis for no doute yf the gyne be lower than the wall  
of the holde he schal not harue the walles. Therfor  
ayen this sleighte of hyunge of the walles thei that  
use suche toures thei make a lasse toure in the grete  
and when the gret toure cometh to the wall though  
he be lower than the bateinge of the wall thanne  
drawe thei and wyndeth vp the lasse toure w<sup>t</sup> ropes  
and trobles and me<sup>t</sup> armed therme abone eny walles  
height that is made and soo take thei the cite. *no*

*modo sub fossa terra machina nichil nocere poterit*

**N**ow thou shalt dystrope oz lere  
the power castell. *Ca. 20.* Ayen this ther is a  
gette that helpeth to kepe this towre from  
the walles as yf ther be ordened longe benes of tre  
wel platid with yren and leyde oute on the wall  
and the endes forwarde thei schal lere the gyne to tou  
che the wall bi all the lengthe of the benes. A nother  
sleighte I hie doone at the sege of the cite of arabie per  
was suche a gret toure ordened and the nughte bifoze  
that he was rolled to the wall the keper of the cite lere  
vndurme the wall w<sup>t</sup>ine and he holowed vndir erthe  
all the place that the toure schulde rene on a xij foot.  
fro the wall and when the toure was rolled to the wall  
warde and cam on thulke holow grounde w<sup>t</sup> enemyes  
of his othen burthe the erthe deaf and the gyne sauke  
doibne. soo was the cite deliued and the gyne forsake  
and the enemyes deceyud. *De scalis sambuca et*  
*tolluone. Capitulum 21.*

**I**f thre diuerse gyues that me skales walle w<sup>t</sup>  
when these forseyde toures ben sette apens  
the walles than all that betw<sup>e</sup> winne and app<sup>e</sup>  
w<sup>o</sup>nt the toure assayleth the wall at ones bothe w<sup>it</sup>  
caste and w<sup>it</sup> shot to make voyde and reuene fro  
the walles that kepeth the cite or the holde winne and  
yf thei voyde then sette the scales and ladders to the  
walles and taken the cite. ¶ But thei that vsen to  
take cites w<sup>it</sup> scales and ladders thei ben ofte i gret  
p<sup>e</sup>ss as was he that first fonde up scales and ladde  
res for walles the whiche was clepid Capaneus this  
was w<sup>it</sup> so nught a frok slayne of thebanus that  
his peple had wende he had be slayne w<sup>it</sup> a frok of  
seyre. ¶ Therfore the secrest chynnyng to walles is bi  
the saubuke and bi the exostre and bi the draunte beam.  
¶ The saubuke is the wyndunge toure that is w<sup>it</sup>  
the gret toure the whiche may be w<sup>o</sup>nde up & do<sup>u</sup>ne  
hyer and lower aft<sup>r</sup> the heyghte of the walles. ¶ The  
exostre is the forseyde brigge of the muddif stage of  
the toure the draunt beam made as a gibet that me  
drawe water w<sup>it</sup> the whiche hath at the ou ende a gret  
rope or a cheyne and at the o<sup>o</sup> ende a gyne made of  
boordes and hurdeles so that ten men or twelue me  
of armes mow be therin than w<sup>it</sup> that rope or  
cheyne the ou ende is drawe do<sup>u</sup>ne and the tother  
ende w<sup>it</sup> the me of armes gooth vp to the wall  
and so thei ben sette in to the walle. ¶ *Capitulum 22<sup>m</sup>*  
*de t<sup>u</sup> r<sup>u</sup> m<sup>u</sup> r<sup>u</sup> p<sup>u</sup> que defendit mur<sup>u</sup>*

**I**f arblastes and other gyues for defence of  
walles. ¶ Apens these forseyde gyues they  
that ben bisegrid defendeth hem selfe w<sup>it</sup>  
spingoles w<sup>it</sup> gret engines w<sup>it</sup> stoppions w<sup>it</sup> arblast  
bende w<sup>it</sup> vice the whiche the longer armes he hath  
the gretter taketh and the further he scheteth. and yf  
he be k<sup>u</sup>nyngd rew<sup>o</sup>rd ther may no thynge w<sup>it</sup> stan  
de the shot of him. Also that case of the gret engyn  
shal dystroye any gyne that manes w<sup>it</sup> can ordeyne  
¶ Also gret gyues that schere w<sup>it</sup> a dayes stoues  
of so gret peys that no wall may w<sup>it</sup> stonde he as hay  
ben wel schewed bothe in the north<sup>e</sup> countrey and  
eke in the werres of wales. Suche gyues ben ungh<sup>u</sup>  
y noltze to dystroye any ordenance of tymber suche  
as son castels betw<sup>e</sup> and other of whiche we haue  
spoke bifore. ¶ *Quod contra aristas p<sup>u</sup>nt c<sup>u</sup>st<sup>u</sup>re*  
*liqua l<sup>u</sup> p<sup>u</sup> col<sup>u</sup> p<sup>u</sup>ne. Capitulum 23<sup>m</sup>*  
¶ **I**f thre man sleighes bi whiche the myzte  
of the raam is dystroyed. ¶ Apens the  
gyne that is clepid the raam many reue  
dies and helpes ther ben ordeyned and fonde. some  
taken feltes and quites and bolstres w<sup>it</sup> fetteres stop  
p<sup>u</sup>d. some gret sakkis full of gret chaf and hange w<sup>it</sup>  
ropes apens the wall w<sup>it</sup> bute there the frok of the  
raam shal smite and so thei stoppe the frok of the  
raam and saue the wall fro harme. Some maketh  
as it were a greu of ropes w<sup>it</sup> a ridunge knot and  
the counyge of the frok thei catcheth the hed of the



raam in thikke suze and pulseth a staff aside and so  
leteth him of his frok and som tyme they pulseth w  
suche a wille that all the gyne outthroweth and breketh  
him self. ¶ Some hath an yren made as a peyre of  
tonges gyncwed as tonges in the moides and cyther  
blade scharpe tothid as a saive but the tette be moche  
lenger and stronger. cyther blade of this tonges is ridged  
and in euy ringe a rope. this yren is sette downe of  
the wall ayens the place ther the raam shal fynde bi  
twene the twey blades then in the comyng of the ram  
thei cacche the hed betwene these blades and for the  
teey ben scharpe thei holdeth that thei cacchey and or  
thei outthroweth all the gyne or thei leteth the ram  
of his frok. so that he harmeth not the wall this gy  
is clepid the woffe and that he caccheh he may not  
lyghtly lette it go. ¶ Some in the comyng of the frok  
of the ram rolleth oute an heuy pile of marbitt the  
whiche ouercroseth the heed of the raam in his fallyng  
and breketh the ropes that he hangeth bi and so dis  
troyed him. ¶ But and the raam haue suche manere  
that he yse the wall. than is ther but on helpe to  
drawe downe an hous or tweyne or as many as ne  
deth and w<sup>t</sup> the wallon and the tymbre make up  
a wall win and stop up the gape ayen that yf the  
enemyes wylt aft gate entre thei mow be yssid betwix  
two walles. ¶ *Et amicus per quos aut murus  
defoditur aut antas penetrat. Capitulum 24.*

**I**f the mynes and minours that ben clepid  
here conees. ¶ A nother maner of takyng of  
treces and strengthes is bi vndermyng of pe  
walles and so to entre in to the cite vnder certie pri  
uety vndermyng to hem that betwix win and som tyme  
thei that this myne etherteth bi myghte thozow pe  
myne in to the cite and open the yates win and lette  
in the oste and thus thei take the cite. ¶ Som tyme  
thei vndersterteth the wall that is vndermynd w<sup>th</sup>  
drie postes and tymber and sette amonge drie fagot  
and strawe and suche thynge that wol lightly brene  
and when thei ben all redie to make a saute thei sette  
here myne postes on fire and when the tymbre is  
brend vnder the wall the wall deneth and fallerth  
downe and than haue the enemyes open entre to ta  
ke the cite or the strengthe. ¶ *Quid facere debent  
indiani si hostes irrepunt ciuitate. Ca. 25.*

**N**ow the keepers of the strengthe shul put of  
the enemyes that ben broke in. ¶ Bi ma  
ny ensamples we fyndeth schrybed that  
enemyes that taketh treces and strengthes betwix slayne  
downe right when thei weneh that the cite be wdone  
¶ This hapeth when thei that ben win on the  
walles and on the towres and soles hve lofres and  
gotres. oute of all these places thei that ben winne  
and as it were aboue here enemyes heedes thei mow  
see of hem as thei goon in the stretes many one.  
¶ And therefore thei that take treces or strengthes.

for drede of this harme thei sette open the pates of pe  
ate to peue hem wey to fle that were dwellinge thei  
difoze for somen dyspeyre is a vni in nede for ofte tyme  
me fighten and haue the bett of here enemyes for  
thei mow nought fle that hadde leuer fle than fighte  
and thei might fle. ¶ Therfore in this case the besse  
hepe that is to hem that ben w<sup>m</sup> the horde be it bi  
dave be it bi nyghte that enemyes cutteth loke thei  
howe hem on the walles. on toures solaces do  
tes and gores and se hem that goo vnder hem bi  
weyes and stretes. ¶ *Que sit adhibenda cautela ne  
hostes firmiter occupent munit. Capitulu 26.*

**W**hat warde thou muste make that thine  
enemyes fle nought on the walles. ¶ Ofte  
enemyes wynter cress w<sup>m</sup> sleighte & treson  
that thei mow nought doo w<sup>m</sup> strengthe. Therfore thei  
that bisegeth cress thei withdrawe hem alwey fro the  
sege as though thei were in dyspeyre or wanhope of  
the wyngunge and than it happeth that thei that ben  
withine wenech it be sicker y nolwe and draweth hem  
fro the walles hoom to here reste and when thei ben  
at here reste cometh the enemyes apen and scaleth  
the walles and taketh the cite. ¶ Therfore when  
thine enemy w<sup>m</sup> draweth him of his owen ordeuance  
than make thou best wache on the walles & make  
up on the walles pentises & stuyres and in the  
toures vfoxes and rones in whiche thei wardoyres  
and the wache me mow be heid fro wynde and

rayne and soune and make hem fire in wynter tyme  
¶ Also loke thou haue bene houndes that kinne wel  
berke and bite and smelle enemyes and straungeres  
Ganders also ben nedful to be nye the walles for  
bi nyghte thei wol sighte are yf en thynge mene  
oz here beside hem this was wel schewed at rome  
when that rome was taken w<sup>m</sup> freuschemē p<sup>m</sup>ly  
bi nyghte and so had the captoise also had not  
ben the are of a gander the whiche w<sup>m</sup> his are awo  
ke the wache me of the captoise. ¶ Wondirfull  
thynge it is to be tolde. that a bird thulke me fro har  
me of here lines kepod. the whiche brought aftwar  
de all the worlde vnder here tribute and suage.

*Quando opidano inferant insidie. Ca. 27.*  
**W**hat a waytinge thou muste haue on hem  
that ben in the holde. ¶ In all maner  
werres it is nedful to aspie the customes  
and the vsages of thine enemyes nameli of beseynge.  
Thou schalt neu conuasi ue redit leye thine endus  
sient oz thine awaytinge in haruynge of thine ene  
mye but thou know what tyme and when he wen  
deth oz leueth his werke. ¶ Do when he wendeth  
fro the walles oz fro his waches thei done som tyme  
at nudday som tyme at enclouge tyme som tyme at  
nyghte. som tyme to mete and to sope. som tyme to dis  
pore and refreshinge of here bodies som tyme to  
reste and to slepe. ¶ In suche tymes the enemyes  
that ben w<sup>m</sup>te dothe the same and withdrawe he

self. for to make hem that ben winne the more negligent  
of here wardyng of here walles and when thei that be  
winne wenech beste that the enemyes w<sup>t</sup> oute be at her  
mere or at here repte as thei ben winne than fallerth the  
enemyes to the walles w<sup>t</sup> scales and ladders and taken  
the cite or the holde. ¶ Therfore it is needfull that thei  
be cunoure in the carnelles of the walles grete stoncs  
of pebles and othir harde rag that yf a sodeyne assaite  
be made on this wise thei that reue to the walles mow  
fynde redie diffrence and wepen to rolle doune vp on  
here hodes that ben chynbyngge wywarde. ¶ *Quid fa  
ciant obsidentes ne ab epulis sua pacant. Ca. 29.*

**W**hat thou be nought deceyvd w<sup>t</sup> thine owe  
sleyghte. ¶ Yf thei that he wome be nechi  
gent and unsaunged of here gouynayle bi the  
same sleightes ben thei deceyvd of hem winne in soo  
moche that sou time thei that ben besieged breken oute  
sodeynli on here enemyes and whil thei ben occupyed  
in ctyngge or drynkyngge or eny othir ydylnes thei faller  
on hem sodeynli and vnbare and sleeth hem & breuench  
and breken here gyues that thei had orderyed ayens  
hem. ¶ Therfore for drede of this peff he that wil  
securi legge a sige he more warde his peple all aboute  
with a deep dyche wel banked and wel heggged or paced  
aboute. and also well sette aboute with carres & waynes  
and chariotes of his cariage and this werke is callid a  
littel bridell for as a bridel aresteth and draweth an  
hors a bak wher he is most fers & cunyngge so this werke

that is

that is clepid the litle bridel w<sup>t</sup> standeth the sodeyne ren  
nyngge of enemyes. ¶ *Quo genere tormento auras defen*

**W**ith what maner gyues the cite shall be defendid. ¶ Also vnderstode w<sup>t</sup>el  
that all maner case and schot that cometh  
from a boue dounewarde and also all maner thynge of  
heny peys that fallerth doune from the place it suyt soze  
and yenech a sadder strok than that. that is case or schote  
wywarde or forth right. and therfore from the hie  
place that the case or the schot fallerth the harder it suyt  
¶ And the spryngoles and arblastes that ben bende w<sup>t</sup>  
vice and also the grete engyne that is clepid the wilde  
asse. these ben the beste and the slekest gyues that mow  
ben orderyed to defence of a cite or elles to wyne with a  
cite. for and thei be wel temped and kynyge they pas  
sers all othir thynge. for ther is no defence that may  
w<sup>t</sup>onde it. for all that it suyt. it sleeth dissoluerth breky  
doune or dystroyeth. ¶ *Quodmodu mensura colligitur  
ad scalas vel machinas faciendas. Ca. 30.*

**W**hat thou muste take the mesure of heyght of  
walles. ¶ Scales ladders and somertoures and  
all suche gyues that ben orderyed to chynbe  
vp walles and toures thei bech nought worthe but thei  
ben as hie or hieer than the walles or the toures that  
thei schyn serue to and yf thei ben made longe & hie  
y nolize thei ben thei right yfitable. ¶ Therfore to  
take the redie mesure or met of heyghtes of walles & toures  
ther ben twey reules or twey maneres. on is w<sup>t</sup> a longe line.

oz a thred but to the ende of an arois and schote vp to  
the top oz the crepe of the wall oz of the toure and bi the  
lengthe of the lyne oz thred thou mayst take the heyrte  
of the walles. ¶ Also bi the shadow that the soune ma  
keth whan he stymeth on the toure oz on the wall a side  
half and not forth right and the shadow toucheth pe  
erthe than vnbeyuge the aduisaries. mesure and mete  
thou redy thise shadow that toucheth the erthe and  
thou shalt haue the heyrte of the wall. ¶ Also with  
the mesure of ten foot no dome thou mayst take the  
met of heyghte of the citee for suche as is the heyrte fuste  
shadow it maketh in lengthe. ¶ These thinges & many  
other writ of werreours hauech fonde vp bothe i takege  
of citees and also in defendyng of citees woute other  
fontees and sleghthes. that newe wites fyndeth up eny  
day to enuesuge of the couny pte. ¶ But in all wise  
loke thou that shalt bepe a strengthe that the lak no  
mete ne drynke for the and thi peple that ben whine  
but that thou haue all plente of vneyd win thi holde  
for all the tyme that thou trouest that the sege schal  
dure. ¶ *Que sunt precepta belli naualis. Capitulum 22.*

**W**hiche bech the lawes oz hepes of schipwerre  
¶ Now we haue five Eypoure at the hepe  
of powre he manere schewed and writt all  
skiles and resoues that touchen londe werres & batay  
les. Now it nedeth to write and to schelbe the skiles &  
resoues that now ben fonde vp of water werres and  
schipwarre of the whiche vs nedeth to write and sey

so moche the lasse that we haue the see in pees and all  
oure werres. Beth londe werres and not water werres  
with barbare and other nations. ¶ The peple of roume  
ne hath ne host no nancey for no drede of no contrey  
that werreth ayens hem but for hire owen dignite &  
worthines and also hem thinketh that it is moze wisdom  
to ben redie of all ordenaunce oz thei haue nede. than  
whan nede dryneth to be to sechunge for ther is no na  
cion that wol gladi debate oz werre w<sup>th</sup> him the whiche  
thei were weel is en redie arayed to w<sup>th</sup>stoude and to veuge  
him of his enemyes. ¶ Reitheles the romaynes hath  
en redie two legions w<sup>th</sup> two grete nancesyngge pe  
on at ayesseue the tother at rauenne. the whiche places  
ne beth not fer fro Rome yf the cite hath out to done  
with hem and yf thei schal seyle oute to eny contrey  
fro that places thei may seyle in to eny pte of the  
worlde w<sup>th</sup>oute taryngge. ¶ For oute of the porte of  
ayssuaunce a nancey may sayle w<sup>th</sup>oute gret let in to fraun  
ce to spayne to maybrtayne to Affrik to Egipte to Sar  
dine and to Sicile to all these that port of ayssuaunce  
hath eni cours of saylunge. ¶ Furthermore that nancey  
that lieth at rauenne hath eni saylunge to Egipte to  
ayacedoyne to achaiie to pouste to purpouste to Oriente  
to Crete to Cypr and to all other side londes and all  
this is eni more ordymed redie for hastie fyede i iorney  
is ofte moze nedful and spedful to werreours than  
vni oz myghte. ¶ *Que sunt nomina iudicium que pre  
erant class. Capitulum 23.*

**T**he names of the officers of the nauey of Rome  
The pfecte of ansuance was cheef officer  
of the nauey or the flete of Galys. that stood  
in his haueu and the pfecte of Raude was cheef & pua  
pall of all the flete of his haueu and cheif of these twey  
pfectes had vnder him ten thynnes or chiefteynes as the  
nombur of choortes or companies that they had of me of  
armes. And cheif galey had oo pua pall patron the  
whiche was as pua pall and cheef reuler hed and gouer  
noure aboue all other maystres fuyghres and rolwers  
and at his biddinge all thinge was done wim the ves  
sell. *Unde appellatur Liburne. Capitulum 22.*

**I**uerse pynnes and conrees that ben mighti  
and stronge on the see haueu dulse kyndes  
and dulse schap of schyppes. but for as moche  
as at the batayle on the see the whiche was betwene  
the Euyoure and Antonie that rebelled and made were  
ayen Rome. Liburnes that ben Galees in englyshe were  
foude there the beste vessels to were w<sup>t</sup> for bi the hel  
pe of Galees the Euyoure hadde the victorye and the  
oucomynge of Anthoine and all his nauey. Therefore eu  
sthe ye pures of Rome hath used Liburnes that beeth  
Galees bothe for werres and also for here marchaundise  
The skiff whi that Galees ben clepid Liburnes is  
for in the cite of Liburne they were firste made & as  
thylke that were made there all the Galees that haue  
be made sthe they haue be clepid Liburnes. *Qua dili  
genaa fabricentur Liburne. Capitulum 23.*

**E**uy wise man cheseth his stoncs and his tiber  
to make with his hous. Moche moze wis  
dom it nedeth to cheseth and to ordeyne all  
thinges redi that a schip schal be made of for it is mo  
che moze dredfull yf a schip is misframed than yf an  
hous be misframed. Therefore write thou well that of  
Cyres and of vire and of pine tre bothe wilde and tame  
thou mayste make thi galees but the nayles of thi schip  
is better to ben of bras than of yren though it be moze  
costons or moze dexe for nayles of bras schul not rote  
ne ruste in water but kepe here owen kynde. there as  
yren rusteth and roreth. Wherfore though nayles of bras  
be derrer they ben be all the coste bett<sup>r</sup> than yren. *Qua  
obseruacoe cedenda sit materies. Capitulum 24.*

**M**ake wel that thi trees of whiche thou schalt  
make thi Galees ben heve doibne i concuable  
time that is fro the .xv. day of the mone to  
the .xxij. day of the age of the mone. in these vij. dayes  
heve doibne thi trees that schull sene to thi schip. for  
we beth lerned and taught bothe bi craft of carpentrie  
and also bi custom and vsage ofre pned. that tymber  
that is heve doibne in these dayes of the mone schall  
eu kepe him self fro dotynge and rotynge. *Quo me  
se cedende sut trabes. Capitulum 25.*

**T**he beste time of the yere to heve tymber as  
grete beues for schipwerke is from the begyn  
nyng of the monthe of Iune in to newe  
yeres day for in thylke monthes the moysture of trees

is most dried vp and then is tymbre strengest when it is  
dried. ¶ But of on thynge be ware that thou hit not  
to thi strayte mesure thi tymbre and as it is greue  
falle but loke that ship tymbre haue the doubtfull time  
to drye and to chynge than any other tymbre hath. ¶ Also  
be wel ware that thou frame nought thi ship ne ioyne  
nought thi tymbre to gedir till thou be sber that thi  
tymbre and thi bozde be drie y noltze lest the ioyntes  
grene and gape and the bozdes cleue and stende when  
the ship is made and than is ther no helpe for ther is  
no greater peck in shipcraft than when the greue ty  
ber maketh the ship to grene and to gape. ¶ *¶ E mo  
do liburnarum. Capitulu. 31.*

**W**he thou west that ther be foure degrees of  
Galies cny greter than other of the which  
the leste hath 7 cyther side of hi a raunge  
of oozes. ¶ The secnde hath two raunges. the thirde  
thre raunges. the fourthe foure or som tyme fure ran  
ges of oozes in cyther side. ¶ And no wonder for at ye  
batayle of the see brawenc the Emperour and Antoyne  
of the which we haue spoke bfore. Ther were galies  
soo grete and soo huge that ther had fixe raunges of  
oozes and rolvers and moo. ¶ Scassus also bene  
nedfull on the see for tyme of werre for ther be lasse  
than galies or other schyppes. ther ben of tweint oozes  
and for ther mow light and swyft and pueli goo  
and come ther ben cleud assoures for with hem me  
may assue where the enemyes liggeth what ordennat

ther maketh and all here comest they mow bryng  
neshynges. ¶ But lest the vesselles that best ordeynd  
to be assoures ben to soue awayed loke that the ves  
sel be w<sup>t</sup> oute a sayle and the mienes clothyng be colou  
red w<sup>t</sup> vyner coloure that is water coloure like to the  
waues of the see. then mow ther pueli goo wher yei  
wol be night and day vnassued. ¶ *¶ E mo  
do liburnarum. Capitulu. 32.*

**W**ho soo wilt lede bi the see an ¶ *¶ Ca. 33.*  
oost or a nauey. him nedeth to haue sber  
knowynge of the wyndes that bloweth 7  
waues and tempestes and also wherlyng wyndes  
that all day riseth on the see for the Galies and all  
other vesselles that sayleth bi the see ben ofter greued  
and pshed with grete waues than w<sup>t</sup> entaynes. ¶ *¶*  
fore naturell philosophie that is kyndell wisdom is  
nedfull to schynne and to alle that schyn seyle bi the  
see for the ship is goined and rebled bi heuelli resous  
that is bi skiles of the planetes of the skies of the ster  
res of the wyndes and of the firmament. ¶ Therfore  
the signes and the tokenes of these muste be wel knowe  
and knowe. for right as wit and wisdom kepeth and  
saucth from harmes and tempestes of the see hem y<sup>t</sup>  
ben wise and redie and wel auised bfore right usages  
and manseruent spillet psheth and leseth hem y<sup>t</sup>  
ben vnknowynge in gouernaynt and reblyng. ¶ Ther  
fore firste it nedeth to knowe what wyndes bloweth  
on the skies and what names beth of hem. ¶ Ther  
ben foure pncypall wyndes aft the foure quarters.



even of so lengthe than bi night and polber and also  
bynde of that ferre wepeth wyndes repues Wet we  
dr and wynter blastes and bitter tempestes. so that  
all octobere 22ouebre and decembre is dredfull & doubt  
for euery schip to sayle but fro the xiij day of decembre  
in to the x. day of the month of marche or mars  
so longe the see is y luke and stur up for all that  
time it is pilous and dredfull to lede euery flote or na  
uey bi the see and no wonder for than is the see wa  
ter wood. ¶ Than is the day light stark and stoure  
the nyght longe and colde the cloudes thick the ayer  
derke the wyndes stiff colde and sharpe the scholkes  
ben meddled with snolwe and hayle and me ben a com  
bred and dinned w<sup>th</sup> colde all these thinges letteth &  
stoppeth not onli schip saylinge on the see but also  
thei letteth many iouneys of ridunge and goyunge  
bi londe. ¶ Soo shortly to sthewe not onli in these  
times bifoze rekend but also in to the middes of may  
it is pilous and vnsiker to repte or to assaye the see  
not for bolde auenture of marchandise that may  
be caried in grete vesselles made for the nones. as ka  
rkes deomonides heavy hulkes grete cogges & schip  
pes of toure. all these w<sup>th</sup> good goynayle and rewe  
molwe as wel or bett<sup>r</sup> passe to the see in wynter pa  
in somer for thei mot haue stiff wynde & deep see  
¶ But for a werreoure that mot lede an oost bi  
water in snale and light vesselles as galies barges  
flynnis and balingers the whiche muste haue

Wynde mesurable and est see for suche vesselles in wynt  
time the see is forboden as we haue sthewid bifoze.

*Quadragesima tempestati obsequenda sunt signa ca. 23.*

**H**ithermore other steres ther ben the whi  
che in here risinge and here goyunge dobtue  
thei moneth and bech cause of grete tepestes  
amonge the whiche though they be certeyne dayes as  
sigued bi antoures witnessyuge the whiche bech tepest  
ous it happeth som time that thulke dayes bech as  
fayre as other. wherfore it semeth well and sooth it is  
that no man hath the full knowyuge of heuch causes

¶ Wherfore the antoures that writeth of signes and  
tokenes that longeth to schipcraft the assigneth pre  
man of tokenes that longeth to schipcraft the whiche  
ben writen w<sup>th</sup> wordes of grete or greke. & to expou  
ne and declare hem it were more traneyloue than  
profitable wherfore of these we passeth ouer esly.

*De pronosticis. Capitu. 24.*

**A**ny tokenes and signes ther ben bi whiche  
a wise man may knolwe bifoze when he  
shall haue cleer weathir and when he shall  
haue tempeste the whiche tokenes bech seye & sthew  
ed in roundes of the moue as it were in a mirroure  
¶ When the moue is red of coloure in schynnyng  
it betokeneth wyndes when he stheweth waterie pale  
coloure he betokeneth grete rayne. When sche is med  
led w<sup>th</sup> bothe coloures than sche betokeneth grete tem  
pest on the see comyuge of wyndes and waues to god.



When the mone schyneth clere and bryt than he be  
hoterh the schynne men wedir and clere right as he  
scheweth in his chere and nameli yf she be nought pe  
fourthe wyrt aft' she is newe bryght schynnyge w' blou  
horne ne dym and duske as watery moyste. but clere  
schynnyge w' sharpe hornes. than no doute thou schalt  
hane meye wederynge. ¶ The soune also in his ri  
sunge hath certyne tokenes of wederynges chaungyge  
for som tyme in his rysunge he spredeth oute his beues  
even like som tyme a cloude forstoppeth him and partey  
his beues doue aboue hi some bryghte hum. ¶ Som  
tyme he riseth clere and bryt as he is of kynde but  
than cometh a rowbynge wynde ayens him that ma  
keth the bryt coloure as red as fire som tyme a watie  
cloude maketh him pale som tyme a rayne maketh hi  
spome. ¶ The eyre the see the gretues and the coloure  
of cloudes techeth ofte schynne that besteth hem self to  
serne moche wit and kownyng. ¶ Tokenes also ben  
made of briddes some of fische of the whiche tokenes  
virgill in his booke and farro in his booke of schypparfe  
writen writen. ¶ All these thynges tokenes and signes  
goynours and maystres of schyppes knoweth & koweth  
as thei seyne but that kownyng that thei hane of pis  
is moze of longe vsage of the crafte than of doctrine or  
lernyng of booke. ¶ *De ostuarijs + h' est de reuincatua*

**T**he elemt of the see is ve pryd. ¶ *Cap. 21*  
prie of the world the whiche elemt of his owne  
kynde swelleth vp weyeth and encreseth vp bi

side all wyndes blastes that ofte maketh him to swelle and  
to weye vp bi wey of tempestes. the whiche elemt is clepid  
the see certyne oures in the day and also bi nyghte flow  
eth up to the loude and ebbeth ayen in to his owne dep  
ness the whiche ebbunge and flowyng som tyme it  
furthereth and pfiteth schyppes and som tyme it hyndereth  
and harineth hem. ¶ Therefore he that is a werreoure  
on the see. he mot be of ebbunge and flowyng tyme be  
bothe wise and ware for this ebbunge and flowyng yf  
is clepid the rebune of the see may not be maystrid ne  
oucome w' rowars ores for the wyndes som tyme ben  
w' the waves. ¶ And for as moche as the mone wey  
eth nought and waneh in all regions and contrees at  
on tyme but he varyeth his chaungyng dures. Therefore  
the see that foloweth the cours of the mone ne ebbeth  
nought and floweth in all places at on tyme but at di  
uerse tymes aft' cours of the mone. Wherfore it nedeth  
him that fighteth on the see that he knowe the kynde  
and the costom and the maners bothe of the see that  
he schalt fighte in. and ces of the contrey and the place  
that the see is of. ¶ *De locoz uonaa sine remigibz*

**I**t longeth to the wise besties. ¶ *Cap. 22*  
of hem that ben maystres and rulers of  
schyppes to knowe the groundes and the places  
and the weyes of the see that thei sayle in also all ha  
nues and portes in whiche they schul ryne or reste in  
hem nedeth also to knowe and to be wel ware of all  
pelles and daungers that ben aboue the wat' or bneye

as robbers and souldes. ¶ And write thou wel the deper  
that the see is the skizer is the saylinge. The cheef pa  
trones of the schip disiget and beset the maystres more  
be wise and write the robbers more be stronge & mighti  
and for as moche as schip fightinge affecth to have a  
softe see and nought rowze see. for the strengthe of row  
ers dryneth the gales on the see and maketh hem w<sup>t</sup>  
here fore frontes on here biles to smyte euy on other  
more w<sup>t</sup> strengthe of rowyng than w<sup>t</sup> wyndes blow  
yng. therfore it is that in the strengthe of the robbers  
armes and in the maystres gouernance of the helme  
the victorie of the batayle.

**A**ny wise kynges of *¶ p. mirabilis. ca. 22.*  
defensible wepnes the werres of londe aske  
but schip werre on the see affecth to have  
the same that longeth to towres and walles & many  
moos. ¶ What fighte is more anett than the fighte  
of the see ther me both slayne bothe w<sup>t</sup> fire & water.  
Therfore it nedeth hem that schilde fighte in schip  
to ben as skulh armed in helme and haberon & bro  
te plates and in all other armys as he schilde on ye  
londe ne he may not playne him of heue armure  
that stant in schip to fighte. hem nedeth also in schip  
panses and scheldes greter piker and bredder than  
up on the londe for castyng of grete stoncs & stables  
of yren and hem nedeth to be bradder than londe shel  
des or panses ben. for it stouderh in stede of a wally  
ge. ¶ Also all man of fightyng bothe of schoryng

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and castyng and all man of wepen that we haue re  
herid bifoze in this booke the whiche londe werres use  
the same is used in schipfightyng & furthermore that  
most greuous is. thei that trusten on here strengthe pe  
schitteth here schyppes to gedir and casteth onte planks  
or briggcs and cutteth euy in otheres schip & fighteth  
hande at hande. ¶ Also in grete gallees and other  
grete schyppes of werre thei haneth forecastell & hynder  
castell and topcastell and castell at the midnaste onte  
of the whiche w<sup>t</sup> castell and shot thei woundeth and  
sleeth hem that be binethe. ¶ Also thei that use  
oyle and brynstou and botyn wrapped and rolled in  
galles of herdes this thei fireth and throweth in to  
here vesselles. Also thei schitteth w<sup>t</sup> arblates grete qua  
relles with fire bringe hedes to the boukes of the  
schyppes. the whiche for thei ben grend w<sup>t</sup> tagow pich  
and tarre thei brenth wout quenchyng. ¶ Thus  
some ben slayne w<sup>t</sup> yren some w<sup>t</sup> stoncs. some ben  
brende in middes of wat and that most sorowful  
of alle the bodies vbered ben onte cast on the bo  
de and there thei ben etc of fischcs. ¶ *¶ Et admodum  
nauali bello colluctantur insidie. Caplin. ch.*  
**R**ight as in the londe werres enemyes faller  
euy up on o<sup>r</sup> sodeynh and euy leyeth en  
gushemetes for o<sup>r</sup>. ¶ Right soo in werre  
on the see euy partie leyeth a waytyng on o<sup>r</sup> or in  
bayes or in strayte passages betwix narrow ites and  
all this doth they to catche here enemyes whate thei

beth oute of aray and oute of ordinaunce ¶ If thou  
hast fauoure of fortune that is yf all thinge falley  
wel with the and frowardeli w<sup>t</sup> thine enemy as yf  
his rowers be feyne and were of rowyng or yf y<sup>e</sup>  
hast the wynde with the and ayen h<sup>t</sup>. yf the flood  
is with the and ayen h<sup>t</sup>. or yf he and his sepeth  
and thou comest on him vnbare and his place that  
he lieth the hath non oute goyng. in all these thin  
ges thou art at the bet<sup>t</sup> and thine enemy at the  
wese there falle on him golde and thou schalt ha  
ue the victorie. ¶ But and then be ware of the t<sup>r</sup> voy  
de all these yelles so that thou muste uede fighte in  
open see. loke thou make thi scheitron of thi shippes  
not forthe right in lengthe as thou doste in ye felde  
but sette hem half rounde like the mone. so that yf  
thine enemy will yse on the thou mayste close him  
win thi cornes as in a bosom or a pyrfolde but loke  
than that thi cornes be made of thi strengest schip  
pes and thi myghtiest knyghtes and fighters.

*fiat in ap<sup>o</sup> mare bellu nauale committ. Ca. 66.*  
**E**nthermore loke thou kepe thi nancy at  
fre see or at brood see as moche as thou  
mayste. dryue thine enemyes nancy to  
londe for no doute he that is drine to londe he lesey  
his myght of fightinge. ¶ In this man<sup>r</sup> fightinge  
thre man<sup>r</sup> of wepe b<sup>i</sup> sides alle o<sup>r</sup> that ben rekened  
bifore ben nedfult. The firste is a longe beem of tre  
somewhat longer and grete than the sayle yerde schod

on eyther

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on eyther ende w<sup>t</sup> yren this beem drawe vp bi the mast  
and hanged outwart. the schip hath the same office in  
schipwre that hath the beem that is clepid the ram i  
londe were for as he w<sup>t</sup> his b<sup>i</sup>shinge p<sup>l</sup>ets or bozeth  
thozow stoune walles and toures soo this beem broseth  
and b<sup>e</sup>zeth dolne and sleeth or throweth on the boorde  
man and all that he meeteth w<sup>t</sup> and yf he hit a schip  
on the side he p<sup>l</sup>eth him thozow. ¶ The secunde wep<sup>r</sup>  
or gyne nedfult for schipwre is the st<sup>r</sup>ke or the st<sup>r</sup>  
kett the whiche is nought elles but a sharpe gronde  
yren croked as a z<sup>r</sup>ett sette on a longe schafte or pole  
and sueth to for<sup>r</sup>ut the ropes that the sayle yerde  
hangeth bi so that when the sayle is fall the schip  
is the feble and the more vnystable. ¶ The thrid  
wep<sup>r</sup> is a doubul sparte w<sup>t</sup> brood but t<sup>r</sup> sharpe  
on bothe sides w<sup>t</sup> the whiche bothe mayners t<sup>r</sup> knygh  
tes sepeth here eche dayes oute waaches. ¶ Here I  
trowe is time to t<sup>r</sup>se of o<sup>r</sup>th<sup>r</sup> thinges for custurable  
vsage of werres on see and eek on londe contriucth  
or f<sup>r</sup>ut vp more nebe crafte of werres on see and eek  
on londe. than eny olde doctur and loze in bokes hath  
shewed.

*Explicit liber quartus et vltimus.*  
**E**re endeth the booke that clerkes sepeth in  
latyne Vegesius de re militari. The booke of  
Vegesius of dedes of knyghthode the whiche booke  
was translated and turned fro latyn in to Englishish  
at the ordinaunce and biddinge of the worthi and  
worshipful lord. sire Thomas of Berkeley to.

gret dyspoyte and dalyance of lordes and all worthe  
werreours that ben apassid all laboure and tynching  
and to greet informacion and seruyge of yonge lordes  
and knyghtes that ben lyste and loneth to here & see  
and to vse dedes of armes and chualtrie. The tynnyng  
ge of this booke in to englyshe was writen and ended  
in the vygill of all halowes the yere of our lord a m  
cccc and viij. the tenth yere of our kynge Harry  
the fourth. To him and to vs alle god graunte  
Grace of oure offendynge  
Space to oure amendynge Amen  
And his face to see at oure endynge.

It longeth a man to be a daye man as to loue god  
wyth all his hert and wyde to dysceyve hym and yf he  
wyde hym he shall suffere hym in all his wylls  
and besynesse loue and worship his churche and  
obeye all his comandementes this is the fyrst  
copie that man shuld do unto god.