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**The prose "Alexander" of Robert Thornton: The Middle  
English text with a Modern English translation**

**Chappell, Julie Ann, Ph.D.**

**University of Washington, 1989**

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The Prose Alexander of Robert Thornton:  
The Middle English Text with a Modern English Translation

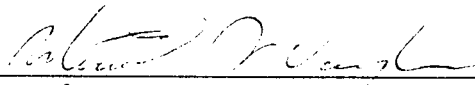
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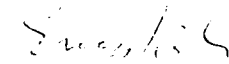
Julie Chappell

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment  
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Abstract

The Prose Alexander of Robert Thornton:  
The Middle English Text with a Modern English Translation

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The unique Middle English prose life of Alexander the Great (the prose Alexander) is the first item in Lincoln Cathedral Library MS. 91 (Lincoln Thornton), a miscellany of religious, historical, pragmatic, and romantic pieces. Although the "control" of the hand varies, sometimes from leaf to leaf, the prose Alexander is written in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript. This hand was also responsible for what is now British Library MS. Additional 31042 (London Thornton). The London Thornton and the Lincoln Thornton preserve our only extant versions of a number of texts. In the Lincoln Thornton are the prose Alexander and the alliterative Morte while the London Thornton contains the Quatrefoil of Love, the Parlement of the Thre Ages, and Wynnere and Wastoure.

My intention in producing an edition of the text of the prose Alexander was to use the technology available to me to produce a clean, diplomatic, lightly emended printed version of a handwritten work. In producing a reasonable representation of the scribal artifact, I hope to further understanding of the production of this

particular manuscript book, of manuscript-book production in late medieval England, of the education of English society in the later Middle Ages, and of textual transmission that accounts for the scribal form and defers the authorial form to scholarly, but still speculative, interpretation. My interpretation of the text, in the form of a Modern English translation, has been subordinated to the representation of the Middle English text.

One of my primary concerns in reproducing Thornton's manuscript was **manipulability**. By this, I mean the ability of a text to be used confidently to: create different versions (interpretations) of this text, collect language usage data and/or linguistic data, compile codicological data, make comparative studies, **ad infinitum**. Therefore, I have tried to maintain a low profile as an editor and with few exceptions to reproduce the notations -- alphabet, abbreviations, punctuation, and spacing -- as carefully as possible for future research as well as for the preservation of a scribal and literary artifact.

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*Juli Ann Chappell*  
*July 24<sup>th</sup>, 1989*

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To Robert Thornton and all medieval scribes  
whose love of learning and desire for books  
will live on in ours



## INTRODUCTION

### The Manuscript

The unique Middle English prose life of Alexander the Great (the prose Alexander) is the first item in Lincoln Cathedral Library MS. 91 (Lincoln Thornton), a miscellany of religious, historical, pragmatic, and romantic pieces. Although the "control" of the hand varies, sometimes from leaf to leaf, the prose Alexander is written in the same "fairly typical mid-fifteenth century cursive hand" (Brewer and Owen: vii) as the rest of the manuscript. This hand was also responsible for what is now British Library MS. Additional 31042 (London Thornton). The London Thornton and the Lincoln Thornton preserve our only extant versions of a number of texts. In the Lincoln Thornton are the prose Alexander and the alliterative Morte while the London Thornton contains the Quatrefoil of Love, the Parlement of the Thre Ages, and Wynnere and Wastoure.

The Lincoln Thornton was disbound and examined by Derek Brewer and A.E.B. Owen in 1974. In 1975, they published a facsimile edition with Scolar Press. Brewer and Owen concluded from their research that this paper manuscript originally consisted of approximately 340 leaves, "averaging 291 by 210 mm" in size (Brewer and Owen: xiii).<sup>1</sup> Only 321 full and fragmentary leaves remain.

Although there were originally seventeen quires, they were not all of the same length, and only fragments now remain of the last quire.

Brewer and Owen allude to the possibility of the gathering of groups of quires into "booklets" without labeling them as such. They say that the "sixteen quires, a to q, may be divided into six sections simply because in six places a text either begins, or may be supposed to have begun, a quire" (Brewer and Owen: viii). P.R. Robinson's seminal work on the booklet notes that "the existence of a 'booklet' is established only if its content forms a self-sufficient unit. The beginning and end of a 'booklet' always coincides with the beginning and end of a text or a group of texts" (Robinson: 47). However, the booklet, and very often the text, consists of more than one quire. Robinson (1980: 47-48) provides a list of ten "features" as criteria for determining a 'booklet,' especially in a composite manuscript. She gives evidence that many 'booklets' were originally independent units often bound "in limp parchment or in pergameno" (Robinson: 52). These 'booklets' may even have circulated as independent units (see Robinson: 53). Ralph Hanna (1986: 102-103) takes Robinson a little further by noting that:

the booklet occurs with such frequency because of its cheapness and its flexibility: this unit involves a rather minimal commitment of resources while still allowing ongoing book-production...[and] forestalls or delays quite indefinitely any very absolute decisions about the form of the final product.

He goes on to apply Robinson's concept of the 'booklet' to the Lincoln Thornton and to divide it into four booklets. He also expands her list of "features" by three (see Hanna: 108). He then proceeds to trim this list of thirteen criteria to six. From this group, he designates three of primary importance: 1) a different set of quire signatures than in other parts of the manuscript, 2) a smaller final quire for the 'booklet,' and 3) leaves left blank at the end with one or more leaves cut away (see Hanna: 108-111). The first text in the Lincoln Thornton meets the last two of these primary features.

Although not necessarily the first piece copied, the first item in the Lincoln Thornton, and Hanna's first booklet, is the prose Alexander. It runs from f. 1r to f. 49r and meets Hanna's and Robinson's requirements for the booklet since the text begins and ends a gathering of three quires, the last being a smaller quire, with blank and cancelled leaves at the end. The lacunae at the beginning and middle of this text do not alter that view. Pages were apparently cut out from the second half of the quire (see Owen: 220). The blank leaves at the end of the gathering were filled in with miscellaneous items by a later hand. Its uniqueness makes it an important text for preservation. By virtue of some of its unusual characteristics, scholars have connected it with the London Thornton.

George Keiser (1979: 177-178) relates the blanks left for illumination in the prose Alexander with blanks left in the London

Thornton (e.g., 4v, 7r, 7v). Sarah Horrall (1980) and Ralph Hanna (1987) make use of watermark evidence in an attempt to arrive at an original "order" for the production of the two manuscripts.

Horrall (1980: 385) identifies nine watermarks in the London Thornton, which she calls A-H, J, five of which also appear in the Lincoln Thornton manuscript (A, B, C, E, and G). Based on her work, Miceal Vaughan (1985) has shown that a relationship exists between the prose Alexander and some of the texts of the Lincoln Thornton by virtue of a shared E watermark.

This watermark also appears on ff. 74r-79v of the Sege of Melayne, with f. 75r/v bearing no watermark; and again on ff. 91r-102v, which picks up the last third of the romance of Duke Rowlande and Sir Ottuel, and continuing through the beginning of the Prayer to the Guardian Angel. There are short pieces, fragments, and missing folios between these two works, but the best known item found in toto here is the Quatrefoil of Love.

The E watermark appears again on ff. 120r-124v, which include four short religious poems. The end of the last piece, A Songe How þt Mercy passeth alle thynges, has been squeezed into the bottom margin of this sheet. A new gathering begins with Richard the Lionheart on f. 125r on paper stock with the H watermark, which is unique to the London Thornton. Since these texts share paper stock bearing the E watermark, it is possible that they also shared an exemplar since paper and exemplar could be acquired at the same place. Keiser (1979: 165-177) has shown that texts for copying were available from stationers and booksellers in a city such as

York as well as from private citizens and ecclesiastics. The probability of Thornton having access to both texts and paper is heightened by information concerning paper supply during this period.

Paper was a commodity that had to be imported through most of the fifteenth century. H.A. Maddox (1916: 6) tells us that the first known paper mill in England was at Stevenage, Hertfordshire in about 1498 with John Tate the Younger as the papermaker. Aitken (1916: 210) places John Tate's product in 1496 when Wynkyn de Worde's Bartholomeus was printed "on paper made by John Tate of Hereford." Since this is considerably later than the production of the two Thornton manuscripts, Robert Thornton had to buy imported paper probably from from his local clerical or non-clerical connections or from a stationer or bookseller in York.

Keiser (see 1979: 160-166) clearly demonstrates Thornton's relationships with the local government and clergy, both of which would require paper in their work. It is also not unlikely that Thornton went to York on business or for supplies. In Keiser's discussion of how Thornton obtained his exemplars, he gives a list of pertinent trades entered in the Freeman's Register of York for the period 1327-1473. Services available in York included "38 parchment-makers, 1 stationer, 35 scribes, 13 limners...and 6 bookbinders (1979: 165). R. B. Dobson (1973: 12) reveals:

Neither enrolment as a York freeman nor indeed membership of a city craft guild can have been compulsory for those who wished to set up shop or business in the precincts of the royal castle of York,

the Liberties of St. Peter's, St. Mary's Abbey, St. Leonard's Hospital, or the other ecclesiastical immunities within the city.

It seems clear that Thornton would have many avenues within the city of York for which to purchase supplies and obtain exemplars for his text.

### **The Scribe and His Practices**

Although the exact birthdate of Robert Thornton is not known, Keiser's research indicates that he had "reached his majority by 1418" and had been "at least one year old...by 5 February 1397-8" (1983: 111). The seventeenth-century pedigree discussed by Keiser (see 1979: 159) indicates that Robert Thornton had died by 1465. However, Keiser finds his name as witness to a charter in 1468 (1979: 161-162). Robert Thornton's life and his social situation have been well-documented by George Keiser in two essays.<sup>2</sup>

According to Keiser (1979: 159), Thornton is one of the "minor gentry" of Yorkshire society in the first half of the fifteenth century. Keiser gives information concerning Robert Thornton's own political or at least official movements. He reports that although Thornton was commissioned to collect taxes in the North Riding in 1453, he was later discharged from these duties. Keiser (1979: 163) quotes from the Calendar of the Fine Rolls, Vol. XIX, which states simply that "the king, moved by certain sinister

informations...laid before him in chancery" had discharged four of the original six tax collectors for this region. Robert Thornton was one of the four dismissed. Thornton was reinstated as a tax collector in May 1454.

Jennifer Kermode's work on the economic conditions of York in the fifteenth century indicates that public office was not necessarily a desirable position. Some, at least, came quite unwillingly to public service, and others evaded it altogether. Kermode (1982: 179), quoting Clark and Slack, reveals that "rising numbers of substantial men...showed themselves unwilling to bear the high costs of civic service. [Yet] nonetheless most towns managed to fill their corporate offices with members of the economic elite." Kermode (1982: 184), quoting Dobson, says that after 1450 there is "'copious evidence for widescale attempts to evade office,' and that evidence for a 'widespread reluctance to serve became most plentiful.'" If others were evading office as Kermode indicates, Thornton may not have been as enthusiastic as he was expected to be. This is, of course, speculation, but given this information and Keiser's concerning Thornton's "mistaken identity" with two other Robert Thorntons involved "in an ambush on Salisbury and his family" (1979: 164), we perceive an extremely tense political climate in pre-War-of-the-Roses York. This unsettled atmosphere might be fertile ground for romantic diversions in literary form -- heroic adventures and Arthurian romances. Thornton's conception of the prose Alexander included visual as well as textual material to divert its reader.<sup>3</sup>

In the prose Alexander, there are ten large blanks left for illuminations. These range in size from 10-12 lines high with all approximately a half column wide (see note to 11, f. 1r). One of these blanks has been filled with a "Q." This "Q" on f. 6r fills a 12-line high blank and precedes "when" in the text. There is no marginal designation either for a capital "Q" or a particular illumination.

There are 104 capitals in the text, all but one of which have been drawn. Seventy-four of these are decorated and ten of those historiated (see Appendix A for details). As noted above, one of the 74 decorated capitals, the "Q" on f. 6r (which I count in my numbering system as both an illumination blank and a capital) occupies one of the blanks left for illumination.

Timothy Shonk suggests for the Auchinleck MS. that there was an "intent to add...decoration for they [the scribes] had to both leave space and designate the letter for each capital" (1985: 78). Robert Thornton has meticulously noted nearly every place where a capital should be drawn. These are without a doubt in Robert Thornton's own hand. Marginal designators appear for 97 of the 104 capitals, including the one which has not been drawn. The anomalous "Q" on f. 6r, which is in error, obviously has no designator. Besides the illumination blank ignored in favor of the superfluous "Q" already discussed, there is a marginal designator ignored on f. 29r, where a capital "p" is drawn and decorated, followed by "han." The marginal designator is a "t." On f. 45v, there is a marginal designator "ff." There is not, however, a



space left for the capital and so it was not drawn. It is also probable that the six missing designators are merely faded, worn off the edge, or trimmed off or obscured in binding. In Quire C on f. 46r, Thornton's designator for the second capital is "V," but the capital drawn is "U." The word is "UN tih," which Thornton invariably writes "vn tih." Quire C is also unique in that it is the only quire of the three where all capitals are drawn in red, but not decorated, and every capital in this quire has a marginal designator.

The only other plain, red capitals are the eight in Quire A (ff. 12v, 14v, 15v, 17v, 18r). Of the remainder, except for three, all are red with purple, black, green, and or brown. The three unusual and elaborate (for this text) capitals (f. 19r, 19v, and 27r) resemble each other in color as well as decoration. They are drawn black with black, blue, brown, and green in the design. As all scholars of this manuscript agree, there is at least one leaf missing between f. 18v and f. 19r and Quire A ends with f. 19v. These three unique capitals require more extensive discussion.

If Thornton is a "gentlemen amateur" and the rough sketches assumed to be his (Owen: 219, 223), it does not account for the decorative style of the three unique capitals. E.G. Stanley's review of Brewer and Owen's facsimile also wants a more thorough discussion of the ornamentation in both of Thornton's manuscripts (see 1978: 167-168). The capital on f. 19r is not only decorated differently than other preceding ones, but its letter form is also unlike them. The round base and overall shape of Thornton's (or

another artist's) capital "T" is replaced on f. 19r by a narrower, rectangular shape. Although the capital "T" on the verso side of this folio shares the decoration of the "T" on the recto side, the letter form is the rounded shape we normally find in the prose Alexander. The more ornate style of decoration of these two folios is related to that which was popular beginning in the first quarter of the 15th century.

According to Kathleen Scott, "this bar frame with acanthus clusters was the essential structure of English border decoration from about 1415-1420 until the end of illumination" (1968: 173). She also gives a note on the manuscripts of a certain Ricardus Franciscus who wrote several different ones. Scott claims that although he wrote all of the manuscripts, "they [MSS] are illustrated and illuminated by at least three different artists and border artists. The name of the scribe appears...with the date 1447" (1968: 171n.3). In the prose Alexander, this style of decoration is limited to these three capitals. The other decorated capitals use multi-layered borders of thin lines extending to tendrils with an occasional leaf-like flourish. These tendrils move up and down away from the capital along the left margin of the page. There doesn't seem to be a great consistency in length. The same style of capital decoration occurs on the vellum outer folios of the London Thornton. A manuscript of works by Thomas Chauldler (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. R. 14.5) has decorated capitals that bear a striking resemblance to Thornton's. The "T" is definitely not like Thornton's, but the decoration around it is.

This manuscript is dated 1457-1461 (see Eric Millar: 38). Scott (1968: 183) points out that illuminating shops had "flourishers" who would do this kind of work. Whether the "artwork" of the prose Alexander is Thornton's or not, his overall attention to these capitals is admirable especially those which contain more than decorative flourish.

Ten of the capitals in this text are historiated with faces or figures that correspond with the immediate text. J.J.G. Alexander points out that as early as the eight century, scribes were aware of the impact of decoration. He finds that in historiated initials "illustration and script are united in such a way that the actual letter form carries the image required by the text, thus producing a new physical unity between the visual and the verbal message" (1978: 87). The best examples of Alexander's point are the historiated capitals which contain the heads of Alexander and two of his rival kings, Darius and Porus (ff. 7r, 9r [2], 17r, 24r). One on f. 7r and two on f. 9r are "D"s for Darius. They are of a solemn, bearded, older king. These are our introduction to Darius. On f. 17r, the two capitals begin the names of the two kings, Darius and Alexander, The obvious effort by the artist to make the distinction between the two is apparent. The "A" for Alexander shows a youthful, beardless, gentle-faced king while the "D" for Darius is larger-featured, bearded, and solemn. This begins the section with the epistle from Alexander to Darius in which he chides Darius for "pide & vayne glorie" (l.27) and warns him of its consequences. The "P" for Porus on f. 24r also shows a stern-

faced, bearded, older king. This begins Porus' letter to Alexander and thus the confrontation between the two. Two of the remaining "A"s that are historiated show an armored knight after the destruction of Thebes (11v) and a helmed warrior who represents a prince of Darius as messenger to Alexander (16v). The next "A" (f. 23v) holds a barrel with a tree growing from the top. This capital immediately follows Alexander's marriage to Roxane. Finally, on f. 38r, a dragon appears within the frame of the capital "T," and a dragon's head finishes one of the letter's decorative tendrils, which ends in the top margin. This begins Alexander's battle with the "grete mltitude of dragōns Serpentes and lyōns" (ll.4-5). These are not lavish or painted enhancements to the text. As noted above, they are of the same ink and color as the capital they adorn (see Appendix A for color detail). The the aesthetics of the text are not the only concern of the scribe. Robert Thornton was also obviously involved in the compilation of the text since he wrote the notations necessary for that endeavor.

There are only 19 pages without catchwords in the prose Alexander: 1r, 2r, 3r, 6r, 7r, 8v, 23r, 25r, 26r, 29r, 29v, 33v, 36v, 38r, 39r, 41r, 43r, 44r, and 46r. The prose Alexander covers quires A, B, and part of C. In Quire A, only 6 of 38 pages lack catchwords; in B only 10 of 46. In that part of Quire C occupied by the prose Alexander, only 3 of 13 pages do not have catchwords.

As one would expect, there are catchwords at the quire boundaries (ff. 19v and 42v). Each occurrence of a catchword(s) has been given in the textual notes and, for quick reference, set out in another form in Appendix B.

The desire for and dedication to learning by such a man as Robert Thornton is clearly evident in this part of the Lincoln Thornton. In spite of political unrest, generally and personally apparent, Thornton managed a task that deserves continued examination. The blanks, what decoration we find on the capitals, and the capital designators and catchwords in the scribe's hand, all point to a conscious effort by Robert Thornton to produce a visually complete text.

### Sources

In Ross's herculean effort to record illustrated medieval Alexander books, he provides a genealogy of these books, which places the prose Alexander in the body of works stemming from the Historia de Preliis I<sup>3</sup>. This is the third of three posited interpolated versions of Archpriest Leo of Naples' tenth-century Nativitas et victoria Alexander magni regis (1963: 47-50). All of these versions of Leo's Nativitas are known by the title Historia de Preliis, I<sup>1</sup>, I<sup>2</sup>, and I<sup>3</sup>, which was taken from the title of the Strassburg incunabula.

It is Sir Frederic Madden's assertion (1839: l-li) that the prose Alexander "is a literal translation of the Latin prose life, printed at Strasburgh in 1494." In Ross's discussion of I<sup>3</sup>

manuscripts, he informs us that "incunabula were published in Strasbourg by the Jordanus printer in 1486, 1489 and 1494. Another was printed somewhere in Southern France in 1490" (1963: 99n.304). Presumably, these incunabula are all I<sup>3</sup> texts. These are the only incunabula for the I<sup>3</sup>. Though Ross totals 45 Latin I<sup>3</sup> manuscripts extant (1985: 89-90), none has ever been determined to be the exemplar for either Thornton or the Strassburg incunabula. In 1927, G.L. Hamilton's influential but misguided study tried to establish a separate branch of the I<sup>3</sup> called the I<sup>3a</sup> (1927: 113-146), which was at the base of Thornton's prose Alexander, the Wars of Alexander, and the Gesta Herewardi. However, Ross (1963: 62) discounted Hamilton's evidence concerning the Gesta Herewardi and rejected it. But he did not debunk Hamilton's notion of an I<sup>3a</sup> version as the source of the other two texts. A more recent study by Hoyt Duggan has, however, done that.

Duggan disproves Hamilton's assumption that the incunabulum edition which he used "sufficiently represented the textual tradition of the I<sup>3</sup> recension...[and] any significant variation...must be explained in terms of a lost interpolated version of I<sup>3</sup>" (1976:626). Duggan's method for discounting Hamilton's assumption is to collate ten manuscripts of the I<sup>3</sup> recension with both the prose Alexander and the Wars of Alexander. In doing so, Duggan demonstrates that "the textual tradition of the I<sup>3</sup> Historia de Preliis is sufficiently variable to account for the readings of both Middle English romances" (1976:627) without demanding a separate branch of the textual family. Having

dispensed with the notion of a separate and substantially different source for the prose Alexander, we can turn to its relationship to the I<sup>3</sup> recension.

When Ross was preparing his extensive study, there was no critical edition of Historia de Preliis I<sup>3</sup>. In 1975, Karl Steffens published his Die Historia de preliis Alexandri Magni Rezension J<sup>3</sup>. This is a critical edition based on nineteen Latin I<sup>3</sup> manuscripts selected from a list of the forty-five extant (see Steffens: X-XXIII). I have been able to use Steffens' edition to "follow along" in transcribing and, particularly, in translating the prose Alexander. A quick look at some of the proper names in the early stages of the text will illustrate this relationship.

There are fifty-seven proper names in the first pages of the Latin I<sup>3</sup> edition. With the exception of orthographic variation, only three out of these fifty-seven do not appear at all in the corresponding folios of the prose Alexander (see "Manuscript Issues" for further details). Since the passages in which these proper names occur in Steffens' edition are also in the Thornton text, the non-occurrence of the names seems an insignificant difference. With Duggan's careful examination and the consequent collapse of Hamilton's theory, this should add further evidence against requiring an I<sup>3a</sup> as the source for the prose Alexander.

Steffens' edition also demonstrated the differences between the Latin I<sup>3</sup> tradition and the prose Alexander. There is, for example, no "post mortem" (see Steffens: 198) following the explicit in the Thornton text. The prose Alexander also

abbreviates Alexander's encounter with the tribes of Gog and Magog. As Duggan points out, although there are sometimes distinct variations between the prose Alexander and the Latin I<sup>3</sup> manuscripts which he collated, the prose Alexander is clearly one of its descendants.

### A Previous and a Projected Edition

There has been only one previous edition of the prose Alexander. The Early English Text Society edition (EETS), printed in 1913 from the notes of J.A. Westlake, provides little more than an emended transcription of the text. For the lacunae that exist in this text, Westlake has inserted a Modern English translation of "the Latin text" (1913: Preface), which is not further identified. This edition has footnotes and sidenotes, which summarize the story. The Introduction, Notes and Glossary which were "reserved for a future volume" (1913: Preface), unfortunately, were never published.

The footnotes are the only descriptive bits of information offered on the text. However, these are cursory and inconsistent, sometimes even inaccurate. Whoever finished the project for Westlake, unfortunately, did little more than plug in his notes at the proper places in the text. Focusing on the initial capitals and illumination blanks of this text, one can clearly see these inconsistencies and inaccuracies.

The language used to describe the size of the capitals and blanks is misleading and inconsistent. The notes refer to space



occupied as half-line space or line space. In several instances (Westlake: 25, 27, 36, 107) notation of capitals is omitted or inaccurate. It often fails to mention the presence of a marginal designation for the capital. The first acknowledgment of marginal designators occurs on p. 43 (f. 17r) although 23 preceding capitals have had designators. The capital index which I have made (see Appendix A) lists all designators as well as other information on these capitals.

The capital description is further confounded by the terms "ornamented" and "ornate" which are used interchangeably. Out of the 103 capitals drawn in the text, only 29 remain undecorated (see note to Cap 1, f. 3v). Although the decoration of most capitals is not unique, the decoration of capitals on ff. 19r/v and 27r (as noted above) is profoundly different than the rest. The EETS edition identifies these as unique capitals but does not elaborate. Finally, it describes the last capital as "large" when, in fact, it is a common-sized, 4-line high capital. While I have depended throughout upon the Scolar Press facsimile for my text, I have benefited from notes made for me by Miceal Vaughan while consulting the original manuscript. For example, his consultation was able to provide me with the information on the color of each capital. Brewer and Owen (1975: xv) have noted that "initials are in red ink, often touched with violet, black or brown; a few are more elaborately rendered in black, blue, green and brown." The EETS edition's first remarks of color (red) for a capital do not appear until f. 17r (Westlake: 43).

Although this early edition of the prose Alexander provides a generally accurate transcription of a unique Middle English text, its inconsistencies in reporting the features of the text confounds the reader. Without an introduction, it provides no justification for its expansion of Thornton's abbreviations and its preservation of others (e.g., h, ð, m). It assumes too much common ground between editor and audience. Rather than clarifying the questions that arise from Thornton's work, it masks the issues.

After beginning this edition, I became aware of a projected edition by Mary Hamel. Since this is only a projected edition and not yet published, I can only speculate about the type of edition that she might offer. I base this speculation on her edition of the alliterative Morte, which was published by Garland in 1984.

Her introduction to this edition indicates that she considers it essential to find a "correct" edition, i.e., an authoritative text. She criticizes earlier editions of the Morte for not making "more than occasional use of the textual evidence provided by" the Malory Winchester MS. (W) (1984: 5). Hamel (1984: 6) is looking for "a more accurate text" of this poem. At one point in her introductory remarks, she equates the word "erroneous" with "scribal" (1984: 15). It is clear that her search for "authority" is primary.

Hamel's edition of the alliterative Morte is based on a "new transcription" of the Thornton made by Hamel. However, she modernizes punctuation, capitalization, and letter forms. She expands abbreviations and silently expands suspensions. She emends

the text based on a collation with W and the work of earlier modern editors of the Morte. For her the Thornton Morte has "errors...for the most part mechanical ones: omissions, misreadings, misspellings...failures of sense, syntax or grammar" (1984: 75). She emends it in a very efficient, thoughtful, and scholarly manner, but as a result, we still lose the immediacy of the unique scribal artifact.

If Hamel follows the procedure she used for the alliterative Morte, it seems clear that she would again modernize and expand, in short, emend the unique text of the prose Alexander. Although she cannot collate this text with any other English prose life, if she accepts the contention that it is a "literal translation" as Madden asserted (see above), she might use one of the Latin I<sup>3</sup> manuscripts to fill in the blanks and "correct" the "scribal errors" not corrected by the scribe. Without a straightforward representation of this scribal artifact, we lose the ability to find for ourselves its place in secular, manuscript-book production, an understanding of its importance in determining the education of the "new" middle strata of English society, and a vital link in the textual transmission of the medieval Alexander legend.

### **Editorial Procedures**

Medieval scribes often treated the works that they copied as "living works" which could not be ascribed to a single author and, therefore, static. These scribal editors appropriated and rewrote or reshaped these texts in their own image. Later scholars were

then confounded in their attempts to establish the author of one textual artifact since each text of a work could be said to have had a new "author." They label many of these artifacts as "corruptions" and then proceed to do their own brand of puritanical restructuring. From their belief that they can see something closer to the authorial original beneath a scribal palimpsest, modern editors of medieval manuscripts have too often produced a 'Frankentext' -- a regenerated pastiche made from parts of different texts. On these patchwork structures, literary critics build their theories and their reputations. In their quest for authority for literary criticism, these editors end up perpetuating the 'Frankentext.' Individual achievement and recognition is a more modern concept, and it is this modern sensibility that we impose on these inanimate texts in our attempts to bring them to life. This search for authorial intention over scribal artifact can be painstaking, frustrating, and of immense proportions. Too often it leaves us with editions of medieval texts which cannot claim to be restorations or reconstructions made from the pieces that we find but are instead interpretations, sometimes quite radical, of the scribal artifact.

They are interpretations intended to represent the authorial original as hypothesized by one editor. What the 'Frankentext' doesn't do is represent, directly and as accurately as possible, the scribal artifact that we find before us. Derek Pearsall sees a move away from the 'Frankentext.' He says that "the tyranny exerted by 'the critical edition' is now recognised, and scholars

are learning the value of 'bad manuscripts'" (1983: 1). These "bad manuscripts," like the "good" ones, were used and read by at least one medieval scribe in his own intellectual and cultural milieu.

Why continue to produce editions that are not representative of their own particular historical milieu? As George Rigg points out "a scribe of 1250 surely knew more about a text written in 1200 than I do" (1977: 121). We now have editions based on one editor's learned, critical judgment for selecting readings from any and all manuscripts as they are judged by him/her to represent the correct variant. Jerome McGann has also challenged this view of the editorial process. He recognizes that the texts are an intersection of sign systems -- a place where "different and interrelated sign systems" converge (1985: 191). The text must be more than "a calculus of variants or a record of emendations" (McGann: 191). We should, as editors, be producing the text as a representation of its own language and culture -- the notations of a medieval mind at work.

An edition of a medieval work can combine the search for an authoritative form and the preservation of the scribal artifact. It can be an accurate representation of the text as it was written by the scribe with interpretation in the form of emendation or translation subordinated to this documentary evidence. The interpretive text should not stand as the objective for editorial practice. My concept of edition then is archaeological as well as literary.

My intention in producing an edition of the unique text of the

prose Alexander was to use the technology available to me to produce a clean, diplomatic, lightly emended printed version of a handwritten work. In producing a reasonable representation of the scribal artifact, I hope to further understanding of the production of this particular manuscript book, of manuscript-book production in late medieval England, of the education of English society in the later Middle Ages, and of textual transmission that accounts for the scribal form and defers the authorial form to scholarly, but still speculative, interpretation.

A text that is feasible and practical and makes possible further literary, historical, codicological, textual, and linguistic study imposes minimal manipulation of the system of notation used by the medieval scribe.<sup>4</sup> The restrictions should only be those which are imposed by the physical limitations of human vision and aesthetics. In order to offer a text that maintained these editorial intentions and accounted for technological and physical limitations, I was forced to appreciate most acutely the frustration and pain of editorial imposition.

One of my primary concerns in reproducing Thornton's manuscript was **manipulability**. By this, I mean the ability of a text to be used confidently to create different versions (interpretations) of this text, collect language usage data and/or linguistic data, compile codicological data, make comparative studies, *ad infinitum*. Therefore, I have tried to maintain a low profile as an editor and with few exceptions to reproduce the notations -- alphabet, abbreviations, punctuation, and spacing --

as carefully as possible for future research as well as for the preservation of a scribal and literary artifact.

By making use of the computer technology and expertise available to me under the rubric of the University of Washington's Middle English Editor Project, I have been able to use a word processing and character design program, which allows me to do just that. This moves the text of the scribe from script to print and allows the reader a cleaner, more accessible text than either the original manuscript or the facsimile edition.

In order for the notations of the scribe to be "redrawn" by the computer, I had to rely on the human eye. In spite of my own limitations as an artist, I believe that in most cases my representations are clear and accurate. But, certain judgments had to be made for specific letters whose lower and upper case status were a matter of size and not form.

Though he does use a formally different capital "D" at times in the Lincoln Thornton, Thornton's "d"s in the prose Alexander were dependent on size more than form, and differences in size were sufficient to foster a degree of confidence for that letter. This was not the case with Thornton's "a"s. Except for the initial capitals, all his "a"s are relatively uniform in style but their size varies considerably without regard to position in the word or of the word in the sentence. For example, there are many instances of a word which has several "a"s within, all larger than the other letters of the word. On f. 12v, the scribe write "AmAnge3." This word falls near the end of a line with no punctuation around it.

Both "a"s are the same size and larger than the letters around them. Should the first be considered a capital but not the next? This is a word in which this occurred frequently. Both "a"s were of the same size whether the first was or was not expected to be a capital (by beginning a line or following punctuation). Therefore, in order to eliminate confusion for the reader, I have chosen to treat the letter "a" as upper case, only when it begins a proper name or is the first word following Thornton's punctuation [(:) (/) (:/) (://) (///)].

The difficulties, identified by Mary Hamel's edition of the alliterative Morte, with certain of Thornton's graphemes n/u and y/p have been determined by context and position as well as phonology and usage as documented by the Oxford English Dictionary. I have changed "y" to "p" when thorn is intended and vice versa, rather than as Thornton has written them. He often writes "þmage3" instead of "ymage3," and "y<sup>o</sup>" occurs on several occasions instead of "þ<sup>o</sup>." This imposition was judged less obtrusive than the disruption of a line reading "þmage3" instead of "ymage3," etc. The textual notes report initial occurrences or particularly questionable readings.

Scribal corrections have been duly noted but not left in the text unless they are a superscripted letter within a word, e.g., f. 16v, l.7, the <sup>i</sup> in "pa<sup>i</sup>re" is a superscripted correction. In the case of Thornton's intratextual cancellations, I chose to treat them as I would my own in typing up a handwritten copy, i.e. I left them out. But all such occurrences have been documented in the



textual notes. The marginal limitations imposed by my desire to offer a readable text have prevented me from placing Thornton's marginal designators, notes, or corrections, or those of later hands, where they occur in the original. But these, too, are fully documented in the textual notes. When Thornton has repeated a word or phrase as he does several times, these have been noted but taken out of the text. However, I have not added words that sense often expects. These conjectures have been left to the textual notes. Clearly, I have extracted Thornton's sins of commission and tried not to add my own in place of his omissions. Since I faithfully reproduced his abbreviation system, I have provided a key for expansion to aid the reader when (s)he requires it. Although all the "flourishes" cannot be firmly established as abbreviation, I have attempted in reproducing them to leave the final determination of their status to the reader.

The spacing of the manuscript has been followed as closely as the eye can see it in facsimile. When Thornton divides a word, even contrary to modern practice, so do I. Because of the scribe's inconsistency in "hyphenating" words at the end of a line, I did not use that to determine word division. Instead the criterion for division was whether or not the letters of the word touched. I did, however, reproduce his hyphen when it occurred. The most frequent examples of division difficulties are the common words, "bi cause," "vn till," and "wt owtteñ." These decisions concerning

word division have physical limitations imposed upon them, but that was preferable to regularizing since that could interfere with later textual work.

It was very difficult to accept these impositions as necessary to a clean representation of the scribal artifact, but in the grander scheme of this edition, they seemed minor.

### Translation

My interpretive appendage for this edition of the prose Alexander is a Modern English translation. What I have aimed for in the translation is a fluid, modern prose that represents the scribe's command of his own language, and translates the concepts of the Middle English text beyond the word. In practice this means, doing justice to the verbal ability of the medieval scribe while modernizing syntax and sentence structure. This attempts to address the modern affinity for shorter, blunter prose, e.g. deleting conjunctive "and" when it became excessive and, for modern sensibilities, unnecessary. Ultimately, one's judgment in these matters is subjective since it is based on two things -- an appreciation for medieval culture and the immediate, overall context of the passage.

One of the most enigmatic aspects of the translation was the conversion of the proper names. What we have in a medieval, vernacular Alexander legend are Ancient Greek names translated into Latin and then into the vernacular. For instance, the Greek Nectanebos, becomes in Latin, "Nectanebus" (p.16), and in

Thornton, "Anectanabus" (f. 1r). That is one of the easier conversions. As I illustrate below (see "Manuscript Issues") and have shown in my discussion of sources, the Middle English conversion of the Latin is certainly recognizable, but that does not mean that either is historically accurate. However, I did not convert the proper names in such a way as to change the historical perspective of the medieval scribe, i.e., if his geography or persons were not historically accurate. I did not alter them to be so.

I have used modern historians' work on Alexander only as a guide to the conversion of proper names in this text.<sup>5</sup> It has not always been enough. In Steffens' edition of the Latin Historia I<sup>3</sup>, we read about "King Nicolaus of Aridorus" (p.20). In Thornton, he is "King Nicoll of Arridoūs" (ff. 1v-2r). My historical sources do not include a King Nicholas or an Arridons or Aridoris. When a name, like this, is not found in the modern histories (in spite of my attempts at creative respelling) I have used Middle English spelling in the Modern English translation. Where this occurs, I have carried the Middle English over into the translation with as much orthographical modernization as possible without changing its uniqueness (e.g., "y" to "i" when used as a vowel). I hope by expanding any abbreviations and modernizing orthography to have added readability and not confusion.

Where the names are known in history or myth, I have tended to use the most popular form. Rather than reverting to a Greek spelling or a pseudo-Greek spelling, I have preferred to give the

most common rendering of a name which will be easily recognized, e.g., Thornton's "Anectanabus" mentioned above is "Nectanebus" in the translation, "Buktiphalas" (f. 1r) is "Bucephalus," "Polipone" (f. 1v) is the "Peloponnese," the "Bragmayns" (f. 31v) are the "Brahmans," and "Tholome?" (f. 48r) becomes "Ptolemy." In this way, I hope to put the reader more at ease with the translation.

The cities that Alexander built and named after himself have been, for the most part, impossible to locate under their subsequent names (f. 49r). Therefore, their names in the translation follow the practices outlined above. Although the author's or scribe's geographic knowledge is limited, it is generally coherent. In the translation, I have not tried to align Alexander's movements to agree with modern historiography about Alexander's campaigns. Whatever myths or fictions have been created or upheld by the medieval text have been translated into the modern one.

### Notes to the Introduction

1. The physical characteristics of the manuscript have been adequately given by D.S. Brewer and A.E.B. Owen's introduction to their facsimile edition (The Thornton Manuscript: Lincoln Cathedral MS. 91. London: Scolar Press, 1975).
2. See George Keiser's "Lincoln Cathedral Library MS. 91: Life and Milieu of the Scribe," *Studies in Bibliography*, 32, 1979: 158-179, and his "More Light on the Life and Milieu of Robert Thornton," *Studies in Bibliography*, 36, 1983:111-119.
3. A general longing for the days of clear-cut heroes and villains might naturally surface in a time of national political dissention. Given this possible "heroic hunger," the rough drawings on f. 52v provide material for some interesting speculation. Alison Stones (1982: 199) notes that there is possibly "a confusion, accidental or deliberate, between the arms of Alexander and those of King Arthur" since she finds in MS. Brussels, Bibl. Royale 11040 (c. 1300) Alexander's arms as or azure three crowns. By the late fourteenth century, Arthur appears with these arms among the Nine Worthies in what is left of that sequence of figures in the Cloisters Tapestry. Since both Alexander and Arthur are among the

Nine Worthies, a confusion between the arms associated with the two is not surprising. The drawings on f. 52v of the Lincoln Thornton in which one knight's shield bears three crowns give rise to speculation that the armorial tradition is still holding either in the fifteenth century or even later. Of course, it is possible that the person who drew these sketches took his model from an earlier manuscript, but, in any case, these still may provide further substance for a conscious plan of organization on the part of the Lincoln compiler.

4. Derek Pearsall's introduction to his volume, **Manuscripts and Readers in Fifteenth-Century England: The Literary Implications of Manuscript Study** (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1983), addresses precisely my reasons for establishing a "representative" text of the prose Alexander.

5. The histories that I primarily used were Pierre Jouguet (1928) and N.G.L. Hammond (1980). However, I also consulted maps from several other works including Donald Engels (1978), and M.M. Austin (1981).

## MANUSCRIPT ISSUES

This section presents specific issues which the Introduction could do no more than raise. Further research is needed to fill the gaps in our knowledge of, not only this manuscript in particular, but also secular book production in the late Middle Ages in general. This provides the necessary vehicle to relay certain information that I gathered in my study of this manuscript. In this way, I hope to stimulate more work in late medieval codicological and paleographical research.

### The Scribe's Paper and Exemplars

All of the secular and clerical outlets discussed under "The Manuscript" section in the Introduction should have carried paper and texts for sale and perhaps for lending. J.W. Thompson (1957: 375) notes the practices of monasteries and cathedral schools in England, which would lend books "to persons not members of the community, and even to laymen." In one instance, he finds that out of "the books recorded on loan, 17 were in the possession of seculars" (1957: 375). Marcel Thomas (1976: 20-21) discusses the "pecia" system of stationers attached to the universities, whose "taxation" system controlled the circulation of the 'exemplaria.' He notes that "the stationers...loaned the copy-text or exemplar to students who either wished to copy it or have it copied...It did

not go out as one book, but in quires (peciae)" (1976: 21). Thomas acknowledges that we know little about the secular booktrade in "popular or recreational literature" (1976: 22) but alludes to similar practices there. We are left then with a good probability of Thornton's obtaining both paper and exemplars from the same source.

Keiser points out that it would not be unusual for the rural gentry to seek pleasurable pursuits while doing business in York. Keiser (1979: 166) quotes F.N. Bartlett's economic study of York as evidence:

York was an important centre for the social life of the gentry of northern England, and the luxurious foodstuffs, skilled services, and the wide variety of manufactured goods readily available in York must have led many north countrymen to visit the city for pleasure and...prolong their business visits.

Keiser (1979: 166) believes that books are playing an "increasingly important" role in the lives of northern English gentry like Robert Thornton. This was made possible, at least in part, because the cost of paper had substantially decreased since its introduction into Europe in the eleventh century.<sup>1</sup>

The cost of Thornton's imported paper may have been higher than on the continent where it was manufactured, but it was still cheaper than parchment. Thomas tells us that "the main advantage of paper was its low cost and, by the 15th century, its relative abundance, [but] it is not easy to make exact comparisons with parchment or vellum" (1976: 17). Andre Blum reveals that in "a document of 11 March 1415...merchants made the university [in



Paris] pay a good price for paper, although [now] it cost less than parchment. The use of rags in the manufacture helped to lower its price" (1934: 35). More evidence for the price of paper comes from Italy, which may have been the most prolific manufacturing and export center for paper. Blum says that "a dozen sheets of paper cost as much as one skin of parchment, which made the cost of paper one-sixth that of parchment" (1934: 36). In Italy public authorities protected the paper industry from high, or sometimes, any taxes in order to keep the rag paper cheap. The same measures were taken in France as early as the mid-fourteenth century (see Blum: 51). It may have been reasonably priced and nurtured as an industry by the end of the fourteenth century, but it had not always been considered the most appropriate medium.

During its early stages of production in Europe, paper was considered secondary to parchment and was used solely for "letters, accounts, etc." (Blum: 26). In Sicily in the twelfth century the constitutions of that kingdom prohibited the use of paper for state documents "*Ex instrumentis in chartis papiri scriptis nulla omnino probatio assumatur*" (Blum: 23). By the fourteenth century, however, it certainly was considered an acceptable medium for other than state documents. King John, the Good, while prisoner in England in 1359-60 bought quires of paper (see Blum: 35). That paper was being brought into England by the fourteenth century at least is clear. Its availability to someone like Robert Thornton in Yorkshire can be attested by some shipments reported at various ports in England.

Wendy Childs' study on Anglo-Castilian trade reveals that "in 1353 two Spanish ships delivered iron, wood, brasil, linen and paper" to Southhampton (1978: 29). A ream of paper is listed among the goods carried by a Flemish ship seized in Bristol during the reign of Henry IV (cf. Carus-Wilson: 50-51). Robert Thornton could even have picked up paper from a mercer in York like the one in Leicester whose inventory included writing paper and the materials for making ink (cf. Thrupp: 291).<sup>2</sup> It seems that paper was reasonably priced and readily available to a man like Robert Thornton of East Newton in Yorkshire, where his secular and ecclesiastical connections were many and varied. Until further research is done in the area of fifteenth-century paper supply in England, we will be left floundering for connections between Thornton sources for paper and his sources for exemplars even though they must exist. For now, how can we further clarify the relationship between the prose Alexander and the texts of the London Thornton discussed in the Introduction? Paleographical information might furnish a substantial link between the two manuscripts and Thornton's exemplars.

#### A Peculiarity in Letter Formation

In the last gathering of the prose Alexander, the capital "O" changes style. This gathering begins on f. 43r and on f. 44v, the design of the capital "O" is significantly different between the one of "Occeane" on line 23 and that of "One" on line 34. This is not a permanent change in style. This "new" style does not

appear again until f. 45v ("Off," line 9). There is one other capital "O" on that page ("Olyphantes," line 29), but it does not have the "new" style. Five more capital "O"s appear between f. 45v and f. 49r, but none is of the "new" style. Does this inconsistency indicate unconscious copying of forms from his exemplar? The last quire of the prose Alexander is also the section of the text where a noted change in Thornton's "control" occurs. Owen conjectures that "Thornton allowed his own hand to be influenced by whatever he was copying" (1975: 223). If that is true, why does this "new" style "O" appear only in texts in the Lincoln and London Thornton which are connected by watermark evidence? If scholars (see Keiser: 177 and Hanna: 57) are correct in placing the prose Alexander's copying contemporaneously with that of the London romances, it is possible that Thornton was copying those texts or parts of them between quires b and c of the prose Alexander. The appearance of this style of "O" in the London Thornton then makes a clearer connection between the prose Alexander and that manuscript.

The "new" style "O" occurs on paper in the last quire of the prose Alexander, in ff. 169r-175v of Sir Percyvell of Gales, and in the London Thornton -- all in texts connected by watermarks. The prose Alexander is written on paper stock with the watermarks K, E, and unknown (see Horrall: 385). The E watermark is scattered throughout the London Thornton between f. 74r and f. 124v, after which only watermarks exclusive to the London Thornton are found. Sir Percyvell of Gales is written on paper with watermarks B, K, E,

and A. Its B watermark occurs in the alliterative Morte and the other Lincoln romances, with their few imbedded, religious and political pieces (see J.J. Thompson: 115), and in the London Northern Passion and the beginning of the Sege of Jerusalem. On f. 169r of Sir Percyvell, Thornton begins to use paper stock with the A watermark. In the London Thornton, the A watermark is used exclusively for the Cursor Mundi.

This "O" appears on the first paper folio of the London Thornton in the Cursor Mundi. On f. 3r, line 34, in the left column, "Othere" begins with a "new" style "O." In the Sege off Melayne, which shares some of the E watermark stock, I find it in "Oure," on f. 69r, line 34, in the left column. Just as in the last quire of the prose Alexander, it is used inconsistently and, generally, but not always, on capital "O"s that begin new lines. This phenomenon is best exemplified in the London Thornton on f. 71v in the Sege of Jerusalem. On this folio, both lines 18 and 19 begin with a capital "O." On line 18, he uses the "new" style and on line 19 the "old." On f. 74r, "Off" in the first "bob" line has a "new" style "O." They occur with much greater frequency from here to the end of this text.

Although one certainly does not want to make assertions based on one letter form, when added to the watermark evidence, more substantial speculation might be made for determining the sequence of Thornton's production or clarifying the sequence itself.

### **Illumination Blanks and the Division of Labor**

If Thornton had been the sole participant in this project, as Owen (1975: 223) offhandedly suggests, why would he have ignored his own marginal designations and notations for two of the illumination blanks. I believe that it was not his intention to work alone.

I suggest that others were involved and further involvement intended in the production of the prose Alexander and most probably those texts in the London Thornton whose capitals remain undecorated and whose illumination blanks are left empty (see Keiser: 178). Lesley Lawton adds further support for divisions of labor by pointing out that "authors, patrons, learned commentators and translators can all be shown to have shared a concern for the provision of miniatures and their location in the text...[Jean Gerson offered] not only directions to the illustrator but also a model, by displaying the text with spaces left at the relevant places" (1983: 44), which Thornton has certainly done. The absence of decoration after the capitals had been drawn in Quire C provide further evidence for outside involvement.

This quire is the last and the only one totally devoid of decoration, I contend that he never saw it again or was never able to get it to the next stage of production after rubrication. Lack of illuminators/decorators could not have been the problem. To Keiser's list (see above) of services available in York and other information provided earlier may be appended further evidence from economic and art historians.

We learn from Jennifer Kermode that York prospered greatly by 1400 and "its merchants and craftsmen benefitted from the expansion of trade, and York achieved the ultimate in local government status in 1396 when it became a county in its own right" (1982: 182).

York also had established one of the first guilds for illuminators.

Henry Plomer's work on the first printers addresses this issue.

Plomer (1925: 245) states:

Next to London and the Universities, the most important city in England was York...From the point of view of trade, its position was second only to London, and a guild of textwriters and illuminators had been in existence there from the days of Edward III.

Further evidence for the presence of illuminators in England in general comes from Kathleen Scott who contends that by the fifteenth century a scribe "may have taken his book(s) to several different illuminating shops for ornamentation," and these shops saw "drapers and stockfishmongers -- buying and owning fine books at least as frequently as the noblemen" (1968: 171).

The cost for such a manuscript would not have hindered completion of the decoration. Scott presents information about the "inexpensive" production of a manuscript like Thornton's. She states that folio size and wide margins on paper not parchment, colored ink ruling on four sides without lines and other "extras" such as running titles are only an imitation of luxury "impressive but not costly" (1968: 183). Compared to other contemporary English manuscripts, like the Auchinleck, the Ellesmere the

Hengwrt, or the Beaufort Hours, the decoration present in Thornton's manuscripts is perhaps inexpensive and unexceptional. However, its intention alone is worth investigation.

Again, Ross's work on "illustrated" medieval Alexander books is pertinent. Ross (1963: 61) notes that the:

Historia de Preliis I<sup>3</sup> was extremely popular in the later Middle Ages...and became the source of many vernacular Alexander books. Only one of the numerous manuscripts of Historia de Preliis I<sup>3</sup> is illustrated.<sup>3</sup>

He acknowledges that some decorated vernacular versions of the Latin I<sup>3</sup> may have existed once but few remain extant (see Ross: 61-65). Although only one of the forty-five extant Latin versions of the I<sup>3</sup> is illuminated, Ross believes that some other lost manuscripts were. Ross further tells us that all the incunabula of the I<sup>3</sup> are "unillustrated" (1963: 61). Thornton's Latin exemplar then may or may not have had illuminations, but the statistical probability of there being illuminations is low.

It seems likely that if the prose Alexander shares an exemplar with the "unillustrated" Strassburg incunabulum which Madden contends that Thornton translates (see Introduction), either Thornton made a conscious choice to preserve or create illuminations and decorations to enhance his text or the Strassburg printer ignored the ones in his exemplar. The latter seems less likely given the fact that nearly all the extant Latin versions of the I<sup>3</sup> are "unillustrated." Although Thornton never filled his

illumination blanks in the prose Alexander, both Ross and Alison Stones provide information that allows us to posit the place of the prose Alexander in the medieval Alexander cycle.

Ross gives an account of one manuscript of the Latin version of the Historia de Preliis I<sup>3</sup> which is decorated. It has eighteen "small colour-washed pen-drawings" (1963: 61). He essentially discounts six of them as "drolleries unconnected with the text" while "twelve illustrate the story and belong to the late antique picture cycle...[with seven] agreeing fairly closely with...Historia de Preliis I<sup>2</sup>" (1963: 61). Ross (1963: 62) also notes an I<sup>3</sup> Italian prose Alexander with 41 miniatures which he relates again to a Historia de Preliis I<sup>2</sup>. He believes that the late antique picture cycle came to the West in the Historia de Preliis I<sup>2</sup>. He contends that its appearance, in part, in one manuscript of the I<sup>3</sup> group establishes a good probability that it must have been contained in other manuscripts, both Latin and vernacular, of the I<sup>3</sup> group (cf. Ross: 53). Consequently, the more abundant information we have from the I<sup>2</sup> illuminated manuscripts seems relevant in a discussion of the prose Alexander, which comes from the I<sup>3</sup> group.

Alison Stones' work with medieval French Alexander literature deals with three manuscripts dated c. 1300. She contends that these three manuscripts are based, in general, on the I<sup>2</sup> redaction. Given Ross' connections for the I<sup>2</sup> and the I<sup>3</sup> pictures, we can



collate the prose Alexander and Stones' three manuscripts as an exercise in possibilities.

The first blank in the prose Alexander appears on f. 1r and coincides with the textual presentation of Bucephalus, Alexander's horse. In Stones' manuscripts, an illumination accompanies this same textual information. On f. 2r, the illumination blank occurs with Alexander's battle with King Nicholas. Illuminations of this battle are present in all three French manuscripts. On f. 2v, a blank appears in conjunction with messengers coming from Darius to Alexander. The French manuscripts have illuminations for this part of the text. The next blank appears on f. 3v where Alexander speaks to his people following the death of Philip. Stones' manuscripts have an illumination in which "Alexander promises to win back the rights of his people" (1982: 211).

All three French manuscripts have an illumination for the destruction of Tyre. On f. 6r, the blank in the prose Alexander that occurs at this point in the text has been filled with the superfluous "Q" already discussed. In the text on f. 6v of the prose Alexander, the "bischope" of the Jews presents Alexander with "a buke of þ<sup>e</sup> pphicye of Daniel" (l.40). At the top of f. 7r, they exchange a few "gyfte3," and Alexander takes his leave. An illumination blank occurs at this point in the text, but a marginal notation in Thornton's hand reads "rex eq<sup>u</sup>tāns." In all three French manuscripts, there is an illumination of Alexander receiving a book from "the high priest Jadus" (Stones: 211). The next blank

in the prose Alexander occurs on f. 22v. Here, in the text, Darius has been buried, and Alexander has assumed his throne (which is elaborately described). The blank coincides physically with the beginning of Alexander's speech to "aȝ þe folkez of perse." The French manuscripts have illuminations for Darius' murder, and his murderers' execution, all of which precede his address to the Persians, but for this blank there is no direct correlation between the prose Alexander and the three French texts. The prose Alexander has an illumination blank on f. 24v where the letter of Porus, King of India, ends and Alexander's reply begins. Stones' manuscripts all have an illumination of Alexander receiving a letter from Porus.

The last two illumination blanks in the prose Alexander are a bit more complicated to coordinate with the French. In two of Stones' I<sup>2</sup> manuscripts there are illuminations of the Queen of the Amazons receiving a letter from Alexander and, in all three, of the Queen of the Amazons being received by Alexander. In the prose Alexander there is a blank on f. 26r where the text has Alexander and Talifride, Queen of the Amazons, exchanging a short series of letters. On this folio, there is a marginal note in Thornton's hand next to the blank which reads "Regina regalibus cū dūabȝ astantibȝ." At the blank on f. 26v, Alexander has received the letter from Talifride and writes back to her summoning her to his "presence." Obviously, Thornton's note on f. 26r is misplaced and should be with the blank on f. 26v. If that was the case, there would be blanks for both the Queen receiving a letter from

Alexander and her being presented to Alexander. Ross (1963: 62) declares that there are "two episodes [in the picture cycle] found only [my emphasis] in I<sup>3</sup>. Alexander and the basilisk and the personal visit of the Queen of the Amazons to Alexander." Either Stones' assumption about her manuscripts being derived from I<sup>2</sup> is wrong or Thornton's note on f. 26r disproves Ross' assertion.

Either way, what we have are nine out of ten blanks in Thornton's text that correspond with some of the illuminations in three other vernacular manuscripts of the Historia. Since the French manuscripts have 82-100 illuminations, Thornton is either being selective from an exemplar with a larger cycle of pictures or both his exemplar and, consequently, his text are abbreviated versions of a much larger group of pictures like the ones found in Stones' manuscripts. If these conjectures about Thornton's pictures are accurate, this would indicate a durable picture cycle and a distinct relationship between I<sup>2</sup> and I<sup>3</sup> illuminations. The fact that the notation is made for two of the illumination blanks in the prose Alexander might indicate, just as for the initial capitals, the intention for another phase of production that would be handled by someone else.

Marcel Thomas (1976: 26) tells us that from the thirteenth century onward that:

it became more and more common for separate workshops to be set up, with copyists in one shop, rubricators perhaps in another, and illuminators in another... involving a large number of artisans, each of whom had his specific task.

If Thornton used such a system of discrete shops, it could account for the unfinished state of the prose Alexander. Since marginal notes are present for two of the illumination blanks and there are guides for nearly all the capitals drawn or intended in the prose Alexander, the intention for another phase of production following Thornton's writing of the text, seems most plausible. Each level of decoration would have to be carried out by an entirely separate individual or, following Thomas, distinct shop and would have to be transported from one artisan to the next. A time consuming and perhaps frustrating endeavor, if the shops were as busy as book production activity in the fifteenth century would indicate.<sup>4</sup> Whatever the division of labor on the prose Alexander, Thornton's intention to produce a viable and enjoyable text of the Alexander legend is clear.

#### Proper Names in Thornton's Text

As noted in the Introduction, the proper names create somewhat of a puzzle for translation. In trying to decipher some historical basis for the proper names in the prose Alexander, I have coordinated those of Karl Steffens' edition of a Latin text of the Historia I<sup>3</sup>. What I have discovered is not so much historical truth as a closer connection between the prose Alexander and the Latin manuscripts of the I<sup>3</sup> redaction.

I have limited my account of these names to only ff. 1r-6v of the prose Alexander. Also, I have discussed only names not appearing in one or the other of the two manuscripts. Variation in

orthography is not listed unless it raises a question as to agreement between the texts. My citations of the prose Alexander refer to folio numbers while those of Steffens' edition refer to page numbers.

A prince of King Philip's on f. 1r is a "Macedoyne" while on p. 16, he is from "Capadocie." Alexander's speech to his people after Philip's death, f. 3v, includes the men of "Macedoyne...Tracy and of grece." On p. 24, the Greeks include the "Thesalionici." The enigmatic "ffrontides" of f. 4r is written "Pharatutidem" on p. 26 with only minor orthographic variations among the manuscripts. An etiological aside on p. 28 gives "Sagittarius" as the place where Alexander shot a hart to sacrifice at the temple of Ammon. There is no such aside on f. 4r where the incident occurs. On p. 30 the name of Meleager's guide in the Valley of Jehosaphat is "Sarison." The name of this same guide on f. 5r is "Sampson." The name for this man is "Sanson" in four of the Steffens' manuscripts and "Sampson" in two. The place where the Jews meet with Alexander, "unde templum et ipsa civitas conspiciuntur" (p.34, ll.20-21) is named, "Scopulus" on p. 34. The corresponding passage on f. 6v, where the Jews meet with Alexander, "whare þ<sup>e</sup> temple & all þ<sup>e</sup> citee may be seen" (ll.7-8) is not named. Proper names might prove a useful tool in determining the relationship of the I<sup>3</sup> manuscripts both Latin and vernacular. Certainly, this brief comparison leads us closer to patently rejecting the existence of another distinct branch of the I<sup>3</sup> family.

### Notes to Manuscript Issues

1. Maddox, among others, says that the Moors introduced the art of papermaking into Europe in the eleventh century, "Toledo being the first place to receive [it]" (1916: 3-4). From Spain it went to Italy with the Italians inventing the art of watermarking the paper "between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries" (Maddox: 5). Blum (1934: 24-25) concurs with Spain's being the first European country to establish mills and produce paper.

2. The source of Thornton's paper as with most English paper supplies of the first half of the fifteenth century was probably Italian. Comparing Horrall's list (1980: 385-386) with Heawood's (1929: 286-307) would lend credence to this assumption. Both Aitken (1916: 209) and Heawood (1929: 305) state that this is generally the case for the first half of the fifteenth century if not the last.

3. D.J.A. Ross uses the term "illustrated" in the same way I use "decorated."

4. See C. Paul Christianson, "A Century of the Manuscript-Book Trade in Late Medieval London" in Medievalia et Humanistica, 12, 1984: 143-165.

### Key to Abbreviations

This is intended as a guide to interpreting the abbreviations reproduced in the Middle English text of the prose Alexander. Determinations have been made based on Cappelli (1912) and on Thornton's own conversion of abbreviations made in catchwords and throughout his text. The reader must decide whether (s)he wishes to expand in this way. The following listing shows the abbreviation and, in parentheses, the suggested expansion.

|              |                     |
|--------------|---------------------|
| ū (um)       | ft (et)             |
| ū (un)       | ʃ (us)              |
| m̄ (me)      | - (ra/a)            |
| m̄ (me)      | ʒ (ur)              |
| n̄ (ne)      | • (ro)              |
| n̄ (ne)      | ʋ (are/ander/er/re) |
| d̄ (de)      | - (-)               |
| t̄ (te)      | ʒ (con)             |
| ḡ (gge/ge)  | ʒ (es/s/us)         |
| b̄ (ub)      | ā (an/am)           |
| h̄ (he)      | ē (en/em)           |
| l̄ (lett)    | e (er)              |
| ll̄ (lle)    | i (ri)              |
| m̄ (mm)      | m̄ (mille)          |
| n̄ (nn)      | c (centum)          |
| p̄ (pp)      |                     |
| ȳ (ym)      |                     |
| ī (in)       |                     |
| ō (om/on)    |                     |
| ū (um)       |                     |
| p̄ (per/par) |                     |
| P̄ (Per/Par) |                     |
| p̄ (pro)     |                     |
| † (es)       |                     |
| ϕ (quod)     |                     |
| ſ̄ (ser/sir) |                     |
| ſ̄ (sse)     |                     |



**THE MIDDLE ENGLISH TEXT  
INTERLEAVED WITH THE MODERN ENGLISH TRANSLATION**

f.1r

down in to þe dyke and thare he felle & was all to frusched and þan Alex<sup>o</sup> said vn to hy one this wyse://fals wreche & he that p<sup>o</sup>sume3 to tell thygez þat ere to com<sup>o</sup> re3te als þou were a pphete and knewe þe p<sup>o</sup>uate3 of heuen Now may þu see that þu lye3:/And þ<sup>o</sup> fore þu arte worthy to hafe swilke a dede and than Anectanab3 ansuerd & said:/I wyste wele ynoghe & he þt I scholde die swylke a dede//Talde I no3te lange are to þe that myn awenn son schulde slae me://Whi ame I thi son þan & Alexandire://3aa for sothe & Anctanab3 I gat the://And wt þat word he 3alde þe gaste://And than Alexander hert tēdirð on his ffader:/And he tuke hy vp on his bakke and bare hy to þe palace and when his moder Olympias saw hy:/Scho said vn tilh hy://Son & scho what es that://Als thi foly hase made it & he so it es and than he gert berye hy wirchipfully

In the mene tyme a prynce of Macedoyne broghte þe kyng a horse vn temed a grete and a faire & he was tyed on ilke side wt chynes of Ireñ:for he walde wery men and ete þan//This ilke horse was called Buktiphalas bi cause of his vgly lukynge ffor he hade a heued lyke a bulle & knottills in his frount/as þay had bene þe bygynyng of hōrnes://And when þe kyng saw þe bewtee of this horse:/he said tilh his ſu<sup>o</sup>ndis

Take3 this horse and puttez hy in a stable and makes barre3 of yren before hy that thefe3 and op<sup>o</sup> mysdoers þt sañ be done to dede may be putt in tilh hy:to be slaen of hy and þay didd soo://In þe mene tyme þe kyng Philippe had ane answe3 of his goddes:/ that hee schulde regne nexte aft<sup>o</sup> hy:the wilke myghte ryde that wylde horse wt owten harme://So it felle þt Alex<sup>o</sup> þe wilke was þan twelue 3ere alde wexe strange & re3te hardy & was wysse and discrete:for he was wele lered & comānd in all þe seuē sciences þe wilke twa philosophirs had teched hy þat es to say://Arestotle & Calistene://And one a day as Alexander passed for by þe place þare als þe fore saide stode:/he loked in be twene þe barre3 of yrñe and saw bi fore þe horse:men3 hend and fete & op<sup>o</sup> of þaire membris liggand scatered here & thare and he had grete wonder þ<sup>o</sup> off://And he putt in his hande bi twene þe barre3:/And þe horse

f. 1r

....down into the ditch he fell and was completely crushed and broken. Then Alexander said to him, "False wretch, who presumes to tell things that are to come just as if you were a prophet and knew the mysteries of heaven. Now you will see that you lie, and are, therefore, worthy of such a death."

Then Nectanebus answered and said, "I know well enough that I should die such a death. Didn't I tell you not long ago that my own son would kill me?"

"Why, am I your son then?" said Alexander.

"Yes, truly," said Nectanebus. "I begat you."

And with that word he died. Then Alexander's heart softened toward his father. He took him up on his back and bore him to the palace. When his mother Olympias saw him she said to him, "Son, what is that?"

"As your folly has made it," he said, "so it is." And then he buried Nectanebus reverently.

In the meantime, a prince of Macedonia brought the king a large, untamed, and beautiful horse. He was restricted on each side with chains of iron because he would ravage men and eat them. This same horse was called Bucephalus because of his ugly face. He had a head like a bull and protuberances on his forehead like the beginning of horns. When the king saw the beauty of this horse he said to his servants, "Take this horse and put him in a stable and make bars of iron around him so that thieves and other criminals under the death sentence may be put in with him to be killed by him." They did so.

In the meantime, this king, Philip, had an answer from his gods concerning who should reign after him -- the one who might ride that wild horse without harm. So it was that Alexander, who was then twelve years old and grown strong and hardy, was wise and discreet. He was well learned and knowledgeable in all the Seven Sciences, which two philosophers had taught him, that is, Aristotle and Callisthenes. One day as Alexander passed by the place where the horse stood, he looked in between the bars of iron and saw in front of the horse men's hands and feet and other parts of them lying scattered here and there. He wondered about this, and he put his hand between the bars. The horse

f. 1v

strekede oute his nekke als ferre als he myghte:/And likked Alexander  
 hand and he knelið douñ on his kneesse:/And bi helde Alexander in þe  
 vesage langly:/And Alexander vnderstode wele þe wið of þe horse  
 and opynd the barrez and went into þe horse and straked hym  
 softly on þe bakke w<sup>t</sup> his riȝte hand:/And belyfe þe horse wexe  
 wonderly meke tiȝ Alexander and riȝte as a honde wið couche  
 when his maist<sup>r</sup> biddes hy so dide he tiȝ Alexander and Alex<sup>r</sup>  
 lukede be sið hy & sawe a sadiȝ & a brydeȝ hyng thare and he  
 take & dyð þam on hyȝ & leppe one his bakke:& rade furthe  
 on hym://And when the kyng Philippe:sawe hy do so:/he said  
 vn tiȝ hy:/Mi son Alexander & he:all þe ansuers of our goddeȝ  
 ere fulfillede in the://ffor when I ame dede þou moȝ regne aft<sup>r</sup>  
 me://And Alexander ansuerð & said:I p<sup>r</sup>y the ffader & he ordeyne  
 me horse & men for I gaa seke dedeȝ of armeȝ://ffor sothe & þe  
 kyng w<sup>t</sup> a glade chere://Take þe a hundreth horse and xl thosandez  
 poude of golde:/And take w<sup>t</sup> the of þe worthieste knyghteȝ þat  
 langeȝ to me and wendis furthe://And he didð so:/And he take  
 w<sup>t</sup> hy also a philosophre þat highte Eufestiȝ whilke he traysted  
 mekiȝ in://And twelue childre þat he chese to be his playfers  
 and went hy furthe and come in tiȝ a contreth þat es called Poli-  
pone:/And when the kyng of þe land herd telle þe swilke men  
 ware entred I to his rewme in swilke araye://he rayseð a gret  
 Oste and come agaynes Alexander for to feghte w<sup>t</sup> hyȝ://And  
 when he come nerehand hy he said vn tiȝ hy://Tell me &  
 he whatt þu ert://And Alexander ansuerð://I am Alexander  
 & he þe son of Philippe þe kyng of Macedoyne://And what hopeȝ  
 þu þe I be & þe kyng tiȝ hy://And Alexander ansuerð:/þou ert  
 kyng of Arridoȝs & he://Neu<sup>r</sup> þe lesse if all I do þe þe wirchippe  
 þat I calle þe kyng:/emp<sup>l</sup>de þe nathynge þ<sup>r</sup> of: ffor men seeȝ  
 ofte tymes men þe ere in heghe astate com to lawe degree &  
 men þe ere in lawe degree come tiȝ heghe astate://þou sais  
 riȝte wele & þe kyng://Take hede to thyȝ awen selfe://And A-  
 lexander ansuerð & said://Ga hethen a way fra me & he for þu  
 can say noghte to mee ne I hafe noghte at do w<sup>t</sup> þe://And þam  
 þe kyng was worder wrathe://And said tiȝ Alexander luke on me  
 [ & he þe spekes to þe

f. 1v

stretched out his neck as far as he could and licked Alexander's hand. He knelt down and looked Alexander in the face for a long time. Alexander understood completely the will of the horse and opened the bars, went in to the horse, and stroked him softly on the back with his right hand. Quickly, the horse became incredibly meek to Alexander and just as a hound crouches down when his master bids him so did the horse to Alexander.

Alexander looked beside him and saw a saddle and a bridle hanging there. He took them and fastened them on Bucephalus, and he leapt on his back and rode out on him. When King Philip saw him do so he said to him, "My son, Alexander, all the prophecies of our gods are fulfilled in you. For when I am dead you must reign after me."

Alexander answered and said, "I ask you, father, to order horses and men for me so I can seek deeds of arms."

"Truly," said the king gladly, "Take a hundred horses and forty thousand pounds of gold with the worthiest knights that belong to me and go out." And he did so.

He took with him also a philosopher named Eufestius whom he trusted greatly and twelve children that he chose to be his playmates.

He went on and came to a country called the Peloponnese. When the king of the land heard that such men were entered into his realm in such array, he gathered a great army and came against Alexander in order to fight with him.

When he came near Alexander, he said to him, "Tell me who you are."

Alexander answered, "I am Alexander, the son of Philip, the King of Macedonia."

"And what do you suppose I am?" said the king to him.

"You are King of Arridons," answered Alexander. "Nevertheless, even though I do you the honor of calling you 'king,' take no pride in it because men often see other men that are in high estate come to low degree and men that are in low degree come to high estate."

"Precisely," said the king. "Listen to your own words."

Alexander answered and said, "Get out of here, away from me since you can say nothing to me nor will I have anything to do with you."

Then the king was violently angry and said to Alexander, "Look at me

f. 2r

¶ he þ<sup>t</sup> spekes to the://ffore I swere the be my ffader hele & I anes spitte in thi face þ<sup>u</sup> schale dye://And w<sup>t</sup> þat he spitte at Alexander & said Take þ<sup>e</sup> þare þ<sup>u</sup> biche whelpe þat þ<sup>e</sup> semeȝ tiȝ hafe://And Alexander stepped furthe & said vn tiȝ hyȝ://ffor þ<sup>u</sup> ¶ he hase dispised me by cause I ame littiȝ:I swere þ<sup>e</sup> bi þ<sup>e</sup> pete of my ffader & by my moders wambe in þ<sup>e</sup> whilke I was consayued of godd Amoȝ þat þ<sup>u</sup> schalt see mee are oughte lange in þ<sup>i</sup> rewme://redi to feghte w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup>:and owþ<sup>o</sup> I schalt wyȝ thi rewme w<sup>t</sup> dynte of swerd & brynge it vnder my sbieccionȝ or þ<sup>u</sup> schalt make me subiecte vn to þe://And þare þay assignede day of Bateȝe and ayther of þaȝ went hame fra oþ<sup>o</sup>

And agaynes þ<sup>e</sup> day of Bateȝe Alexander bi ascent & ordynance of kynge Philippe gadird a grete Oste & went to the place þ<sup>o</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> Bateȝe was assigned and fand aȝ redy þare kyng Nicoȝ and his oste://And þay trumpped vp appoȝ bathe þ<sup>e</sup> pties and bigaȝ to feghte & many meȝ ware slaen oȝ bathe þ<sup>e</sup> sydeȝ Bot at þ<sup>e</sup> laste Alexander hade þ<sup>e</sup> felde & tuke kyng Nichoȝ & gart smytte of his heued & went I tiȝ his land and conquered it and his knyghtes went

and coround hy kynge þ<sup>o</sup> off and sythen he went hame tiȝ his fader kyng Philippe and fand hy sittand at the mete at a bridale://ffor he had put a waye fra hy his wyfe Olympias Alexander Moder and taken hy an oþ<sup>o</sup> þat highte Cleopatra://And Alexander went in to þ<sup>e</sup> hauȝe and said vn to þ<sup>e</sup> kynge Philipp<sup>o</sup> ffader ¶ he I p<sup>o</sup>y ȝow þat for a rewarde of my firste io<sup>o</sup>nee þat I hafe now made:ȝee graunte me to take my Moder Olympias agayne vn to ȝow & do to hir as awe to be done to a qweȝe rathere þaȝ I gyffe hir to an oþ<sup>o</sup> kynge:so þ<sup>t</sup> I be noȝte ȝoure enemy for eu<sup>o</sup>://ffor this wed<sup>o</sup> dyng þat ȝe hafe now made here es vnlefuȝ://when he hadd said thir wordes ane of þ<sup>e</sup> þ<sup>t</sup> satt at þ<sup>e</sup> kynges burde whase name was lesias ansuerd & said to þ<sup>e</sup> kyng:/lord ¶ he þ<sup>u</sup> schalt hafe a soȝ of Cleopatra and he schalt regne aft<sup>o</sup> þ<sup>e</sup>://Alexander thaȝ was gretly greuede at his wordes and w<sup>t</sup> a wardrere þ<sup>t</sup> he hade in his hande he went tiȝ hy and kellede hy://when kyng Phi<sup>o</sup> lippe sawe this he was gretly stirred and rase vp & gatt a swerde

f. 2r

who speaks to you, because I swear to you by my father's health if I once spit in your face you shall die." And with that he spat at Alexander and said, "Take that, which you deserve, you little cur."

Alexander stepped forward and said to him, "Since you have despised me because I am little, I swear to you by the duty owed my father and by my mother's womb in which I was conceived from god Ammon, that you will see me before long in your realm ready to fight with you. Either I shall win your realm by the sword and bring it under my rule or you shall make me your subject."

There they assigned the day of battle, and both went home. In preparation for the day of battle, Alexander, by assent and ordinance of King Philip, gathered a great army. He went to the place where the battle was assigned and found King Nicholas and his army already there. They sounded the trumpets on both sides and began to fight. Many men were killed on both sides. But finally, Alexander was victorious. He took King Nicholas and had his head cut off. Alexander went into Nicholas' land and conquered it, and his knights went and crowned him king.

Then he went home to his father, King Philip, and found him at a wedding dinner, because he had put away from him his wife, Olympias, Alexander's mother, and taken to him another who was called Cleopatra.

Alexander went into the hall and said to King Philip, "Father, I ask you that as a reward for my first expedition which I have made, you condescend to take my mother, Olympias, back to you and treat her as a queen should be rather than force me to give her to another king and be your enemy forever because this wedding that you have now made here is unlawful."

When he had said these words one of the men that sat at the king's table, whose name was Lysias, answered and said to the king, "Lord, you shall have a son from Cleopatra who shall reign after you."

Alexander then was very angry at his words, and with a staff that he had in his hand he went to him and killed him. When King Philip saw this he was incensed. He rose and got a sword

## f. 2v

& raue to wardez Alexander for to hafe smytten hy: / bot onane he felle  
 down and ay þe nerre Alex<sup>r</sup> þt he drewe þe mare he felle to the erthe rizte  
 as he bene ferd: // And þan Alexander said vn tiH hy: // Philippe ¶  
 he how es it soo that þu þat hase wonn w<sup>t</sup> dynt of swerde alle grace ne  
 hase now na strengthe to stande on thi fete: // And þan aH þe hauHe  
 was troubbled and the brydale letted: // And Alexander went abowte  
 þe hauHe and keste douñ þe bourdez w<sup>t</sup> þe mete & þe drynke þt ware  
 appon þan and tuke Cleopatra and schotte hir oute at þe hauHe  
 dore: // And the kynge Philippe for sorowe þt he tuke tiH felle grefe  
 seke: // And a littiH aft<sup>r</sup>wardez Alexander went tiH hy for to vesett  
 hy & comforthe hy and said vn tiH hy: // Philippe ¶ he if aH it be  
 nozte semely þt I calle þe be þi ppre name: neuere þe lesse nozte  
 as þi soñ bot as þi gud frend I saH telle the myñ avice: / It es  
 fully my cōsaile þat þou recoñselle agayne vn to the my lady my  
 Moder Olympias and at þu grefe þe na thyng at þe dede of lesias  
 ne take na heuynes to the þ<sup>r</sup> fore: // ffor vn kyndely me thynke  
 þt þu didd and vngudely þat þu drewe þi swerde for to smytte me  
 þ<sup>r</sup> w<sup>t</sup>: // And when Philippe herd þir wordes his hert tendird &  
 he bigane to wepe: / And þan Alexander went tiH his Moder Oly-  
mpyas and said vn tiH hir: // Be nozte ferde ¶ he ne be nozte  
 heuy to my fader for if alle thi trespass be p<sup>r</sup>uee & nozte knawen  
 neu<sup>r</sup> þe lesse þu erte in pty to blame: // And when he hade sayde  
 thus he ledd hir furthe to þe kyng Philippe and he tuk & kyssid  
 hir and thus was scho recoñselde vn tiH hy agayne

Aft<sup>r</sup> þis þ<sup>r</sup> come messeng<sup>r</sup>s ffra Dari<sup>r</sup>  
 þe empo<sup>r</sup> of Pse to kyng Philippe and  
 asked hy tribute: / And Alexander  
 answerd to thir Messeng<sup>r</sup>s & saide  
 Saise to Dari<sup>r</sup> zo<sup>r</sup> lorde ¶ he þt sen  
 þe tyme þat Philippe soñ was waxen  
 of age þe hen þat ay es waxen  
 barayne & cōsumed awaye and so  
 es Dari<sup>r</sup> pryuede of his trybute  
 and thir Messeng<sup>r</sup>s herd thir wordes  
 þay hade grete woñder of þan &

of þe witt & þe wisdom of Alexander: // In þe mene tyme tythynges  
 come to kyng Philippe þat Ermonye þe whilke bi fore was suget  
 vn tiH hy: / was rebelle & raysse agaynes hy: / And he garte

[semble a grete Oste



f. 2v

and ran toward Alexander in order to strike him. But instantly, he fell down and the nearer he drew to Alexander the more he fell to the earth as if he were afraid.

Then Alexander said to him, "Philip, how is it that you who have won by the sword all Greece has now no strength to stand on your feet?"

Then all the hall was troubled, and the bridal ended. Alexander went about the hall, cast down the tables with the food and the drink that were on them, and took Cleopatra and shut her out at the hall door.

King Philip, because of his sorrow, became grief stricken. A little after that Alexander went to him to visit him and comfort him and said to him, "Philip, if it is not right that I call you by your first name, nevertheless, I give you my advice not as your son but as your good friend. It is my counsel that you reconcile again with my lady, my mother, Olympias, and that you do not grieve nor feel guilty for the death of Lysias. It was unnatural and unjust for you to draw your sword in order to strike me with it."

When Philip heard these words, his heart softened, and he began to weep.

Then Alexander went to his mother, Olympias, and said to her, "Don't be afraid or troublesome to my father for even if all your transgressions are secret and not known, nevertheless, you are in part to blame."

When he had said this, he led her out to King Philip, and he embraced and kissed her so she was reconciled to him again.

After this, a messenger came from Darius, the Emperor of Persia, to King Philip and asked him for tribute.

Alexander answered the messenger and said, "Tell Darius, your lord, that since the time that Philip's son came of age, as the hen that through age is grown barren and consumed away so is Darius deprived of his tribute. When the messengers heard these words, they were awestruck by them and by the intelligence and wisdom of Alexander.

In the meantime, tidings came to King Philip that Armenia, which had been under his rule, had rebelled and risen up against him. He had

f. 3r

semble a grete Oste and sent Alexander thedir þ<sup>o</sup> w<sup>t</sup>:/to feghte w<sup>t</sup> þa<sup>n</sup> and to putt þa<sup>n</sup> agayne vnder his subieccioun://Alexander than went w<sup>t</sup> this Oste till Ermony & broghte it agayne i sbieccion as it was bi fore://And i þ<sup>o</sup> mene tyme whils he was þare a lorde of Macedoyne þ<sup>o</sup> whilke highte pansamy:a st<sup>n</sup>ge ma<sup>n</sup> & a balde suget vn to Philippe and hade of lange tyme couette for to hafe þ<sup>o</sup> quene Olympias conspirede agaynes þe kyng and come with a grete multytude of folke appo<sup>n</sup> þ<sup>o</sup> kyng to for do hy and when tythynges here of come to kyng Philippe he went to mete hy in þe felde w<sup>t</sup> a fewe menzee://And when he sawe þe grete mlti<sup>t</sup>ude þat pansamy hade w<sup>t</sup> hy he turned & fledd and Pansamy p<sup>o</sup>sued aft<sup>r</sup> hy and ou<sup>r</sup>rhied hy and strake hy thurghe w<sup>t</sup> a spere and zitt ife a<sup>n</sup> he were greuosely wonded he dyed nozte alsone bot he laye half dede in the waye://And than þ<sup>o</sup> Macedoynes þ<sup>t</sup> wenede he hade bene dede made meki<sup>n</sup> sorowe://And when þis io<sup>n</sup>nee was done Pansamy was gretly emp<sup>d</sup>dede þ<sup>o</sup> offe://& went into þ<sup>o</sup> kynges palace for to take þ<sup>o</sup> qwene Olympias oute of it and hafe hir with hy://And euen þ<sup>o</sup> same tyme Alexander come fra hermony & sawe swylke trouble & styrrynge in the rewme and hyed hy faste to warde þ<sup>o</sup> kynges palace and when Olympias herd telle þat Alexander hir so<sup>n</sup> had þ<sup>o</sup> victorie of his enemys & was comande nere://Scho went furthe of þ<sup>o</sup> palace at a preuee posterne to mete hir so<sup>n</sup> and to welcome hy hame://And alsone als scho come nere hy scho criede appo<sup>n</sup> hy & said://AA my so<sup>n</sup> Alexander whare es þ<sup>o</sup> g<sup>o</sup>ce & þ<sup>o</sup> fortune þat oure goddes highte the þ<sup>t</sup> es to say þat þ<sup>u</sup> scholde alwaye ou<sup>r</sup>come thyn<sup>n</sup> enemys & nozte be ou<sup>r</sup>come<sup>n</sup> þat Pansamy hase one þ<sup>s</sup> wyse slaen thi ffader://And alsone the worde come to Pansamy þ<sup>t</sup> Alexander was come<sup>n</sup>://And he went furthe of palace for to mete hy://and also faste als Alexander sawe hy he oute w<sup>t</sup> a swerd and clafe his heued Ito þ<sup>o</sup> tethe & slewe hy://And ane of þe Oste said till Alexander://Philippe þ<sup>t</sup> fader q<sup>u</sup> he lyes dede in þ<sup>o</sup> felde://And þan Alexander went thedir thare he laye and saw hy euen at þ<sup>o</sup> dynges://And þa<sup>n</sup> he bega<sup>n</sup> faste for to wepe://And Philippe loked apo<sup>n</sup> hy & said AA my dere so<sup>n</sup> Alexander q<sup>u</sup> he w<sup>t</sup> a glade hert may now dye for þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> so so<sup>n</sup>e hase venged my dede & euen w<sup>t</sup>

f. 3r

a great army assembled and sent Alexander with it toward that place to fight with them and to put them again under his rule. Alexander then went with this army to Armenia and brought it again under his father's rule as it had been before.

In the meantime, while he was there, a lord of Macedonia whose name was Pausanias, a strong and bold man, subject to Philip, who had for a long time coveted Olympias, conspired against the king. He came with a great multitude of folk against the king to kill him. When word of this came to King Philip, he went to meet him in the field with a few troops. When he saw the great multitude that Pausanias had with him, he turned and fled. Pausanias pursued him, overtook him, and struck him through with a spear. Even though he was grievously wounded, Philip did not die right away but lay half-dead in the road. Then the Macedonians who thought he was dead felt great sorrow.

When this confrontation was finished, Pausanias was filled with pride and went into the king's palace in order to take the queen, Olympias, out of it and have her with him. At the same time, Alexander came from Armenia and saw such trouble and confusion in the realm that he went quickly toward the king's palace. When Olympias heard that Alexander, her son, was victorious over his enemies and was coming near, she went out of the palace by a secret postern gate to meet her son and to welcome him home.

As soon as she came near him, she cried to him and said, "Ah, my son Alexander, where is the grace and the fortune that our gods promised you, that is to say, that you should always overcome your enemies and not be overcome? Pausanias has done just that and killed your father."

When the word came to Pausanias that Alexander had come, he went out of the palace to meet him. As soon as Alexander saw him, he drew his sword and split Pausanias' head to the teeth and killed him.

One of his men said to Alexander, "Philip, your father, lies dead in the field."

Then Alexander went to where he lay and saw him just before he died. Alexander began to weep deeply.

Philip looked upon him and said, "Ah, my dear son Alexander, I may now die gladly since you so soon have avenged my death." And even with

f. 3v

þ<sup>t</sup> worde he ȝalde þ<sup>e</sup> gaste://And Alexander wirchipfully gert hy be entered

When kyng Philippe was entered://  
 Alexander went and sett hy i his t<sup>n</sup>e  
 and gerte calle by fore hy alle þ<sup>e</sup> folke  
 þat was gaderd thedir lordes & op<sup>r</sup>  
 and said vn to þam on þ<sup>s</sup> wyse:/Meñ  
 ¶ he of Macedoyne:/of Tracy and of  
 grece by haldez þ<sup>e</sup> fegure of Alexander  
 and puttez oute of ȝo<sup>r</sup> hertes drede  
 of alle ȝo<sup>r</sup> enemys ffor sekerly and  
 ȝe will take gude hertis to ȝow  
 thurghe þ<sup>e</sup> helpe of oure goddis ȝe  
 schalt hafe þ<sup>e</sup> ou<sup>r</sup>hande of all ȝoure

neghtebours and ȝo<sup>r</sup> name schalt spred ou<sup>r</sup> alle the werlde://And  
 þ<sup>r</sup> fore ilk ane of ȝow þ<sup>t</sup> hase armo<sup>r</sup>s makes it redy and he þat hase  
 nane come to my palace & I saht gerre delyu<sup>r</sup> hym all þ<sup>t</sup> hym  
 nedis and ilk a mañ make hy redy to þ<sup>e</sup> werre://And when þ<sup>e</sup> lordes  
 and knyghtis þ<sup>t</sup> ware of grete age herd thir wordes þay ansuerd  
 Alexander & said vn tilh hym://lorde ¶ thaye we hafe ȝuede  
 ȝoure fader a longe tyme & traueled w<sup>t</sup> hym in his werres &  
 þare fore we ere now so bryssed i armes þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>r</sup> no myghte lefte  
 in vs for to suffre disesse þat often tymes falles to meñ of werre  
 ffor we ere streken in grete age//And þ<sup>r</sup> fore if it be plesynge  
 vn to ȝow we consaile ȝow & we be seken ȝowe that ȝe chese  
 ȝow ȝong lordes & ȝong knyghtes þat ere listy meñ & able for  
 to suffre disesse for to be w<sup>t</sup> ȝow://ffor here we giffe vp all  
 armes if it be ȝo<sup>r</sup> will & forsakes þam for eu<sup>r</sup>://And þam Alex<sup>r</sup>  
 ander answerd & said I will rathere ¶ he chese þ<sup>e</sup> sadnesse  
 of an alde wyse mañ than þ<sup>e</sup> vn avey lightenesse of ȝongemen  
 ffor ȝongmen often tymes traystand to mekilh i thaire awenñ  
 doghtynes thurgh þaire awenñ foly ere mescheued Bot  
 alde meñ wirkes all by consaile & by witte/When he had  
 said thir wordes://All meñ alowed his hie witte and hally  
 þay assented to hy for to do his lyste

S one aft<sup>r</sup> Alexander assemblede a grete Oste & went  
 bi Schippe to wardez Ytaly and als he come by Calcedoyne  
 he assaylled it rezte strangly and þe folke of Calcedoyne  
went to þ<sup>e</sup> walles

f. 3v

that word he died. Alexander had him honorably interred.

When King Philip was buried, Alexander went and set himself on his throne and summoned before him all the folk that were gathered there, lords and others, and said to them, "Men of Macedonia, of Thrace, and of Greece, look on the figure of Alexander and put out of your hearts dread of all your enemies because surely if you will take heart, through the help of our gods you shall have supremacy over all your neighbors, and your name shall spread over all the world. Therefore, each of you that has armor prepare it, and he who has none, come to my palace. I shall give him all he needs. Each of you get ready for war."

When the older lords and knights heard these words, they answered Alexander and said to him, "Lord, we have served your father a long time and traveled with him in his wars. Therefore, we are now so battered by deeds of arms that there is no strength left in us to undergo the distress that often falls to men of war because we are stricken with great age. Therefore, if it pleases you, we counsel you. We implore you to choose for yourself young lords and young knights that are vigorous men who are able to endure the difficulty in order to be with you since, here, we give up and forsake all arms if that is your will."

Then Alexander answered and said, "I would rather choose the seriousness of an old wise man than the ill-advised lightness of young men. For young men often trust too much in their own ability and, through their own folly, are ruined. But old men do everything by counsel and with intelligence."

When he had said these words all men acknowledged his supreme intelligence and unanimously agreed to follow his command.

Soon after, Alexander assembled a great army and went by ship toward Italy, and as he came by Chalcedon, he attacked it with great force, and the folk of Chalcedon

f. 4r

went to þ<sup>e</sup> walles of þ<sup>e</sup> Citee and defendid manly Bot at the laste Alexander wañ the Citee://And fra thethyñ he Schippede in tiñ Italy and alsone als þe Romaynes herd of his comynge þay were wonder ferde for hyñ://And the grete lordes of þ<sup>e</sup> lande take fourty thowsandez of besandez and I<sup>c</sup> corouñes of golde and went vn tiñ hyñ and presant hym w<sup>t</sup> þañ & bysoughte hy þ<sup>t</sup> he scholde nozte werrey appoñ þañ ne do þañ na harme://And than Alexander take trybute of þ<sup>e</sup> Romaynes and of alle the folkes þ<sup>t</sup> duelt bi twixe that & þ<sup>e</sup> weste Occeane://þ<sup>e</sup> whilke regione es callede Europe & lefte þañ in gude pesse

F ra thethyñ he Schippede in tiñ Affrice in thee whilke he fande bot fewe þ<sup>t</sup> rebelled agaynes hy and þ<sup>v</sup> fore als swa saye eueñ sodeynly he cōquerid it & broghte it vnder his subieccioñ://And fra

Affric he went by Schippe tiñ ane Ile þ<sup>t</sup> es called ffrontides for to consaile w<sup>t</sup> a godd þ<sup>t</sup> þay called Amoñ and as Alexander & his meñ went to wardez þ<sup>e</sup> temple of þ<sup>s</sup> for said godd þay mett in þ<sup>e</sup> waye a grete hert þ<sup>e</sup> whilke Alex<sup>v</sup> bad his meñ sla w<sup>t</sup> arowes://And þay schott at hy:bot nane of þañ myghte hitt hy and þañ Alexander take a bowe & schotte at hy & hitt hy & slewe hy and þañ Alexander went in to þ<sup>e</sup> temple & made sacrafyce of þ<sup>s</sup> hert vn to godd Amoñ and by soughte hy þ<sup>t</sup> he schulde gyffe hy ansuares when Alexander hade made his p<sup>r</sup>yers þare to godd Amoñ he went w<sup>t</sup> his Oste I tiñ a place þat highte Taphoresey In þ<sup>e</sup> whilke were xv feftene gude townnes & þay hade twelue grete reuers þat rane in to þ<sup>e</sup> see and at þ<sup>e</sup> entree of þañ in to þ<sup>e</sup> See þ<sup>v</sup> was draweñ ou<sup>r</sup> grete chynes of yryne and thare Alexandir made Sacrafice tiñ his goddez://And on þ<sup>e</sup> same nyghte a godd þat Serapis apperid vn tiñ hy in his slepe cledð in riche clothyng in ane horrible forme & a dredefuñ and said vn tiñ hy://Alexander ¶ he may þ<sup>u</sup> take þ<sup>s</sup> montayne on þ<sup>i</sup> schulder & bere it a way ¶ Alexander how myghte any mañ do þat and Serapis ansuerd & said Righte as þ<sup>s</sup> Montayne sañ neu<sup>r</sup> w<sup>t</sup> owteñ

[ende be

f. 4r

went to the walls of the city and defended manfully. But in the end Alexander won the city.

From there he came by ship into Italy. As soon as the Romans heard of his coming, they were extraordinarily afraid of him. The great lords of the land took forty thousand bezants and one hundred crowns of gold and went to him. They presented him with them and begged him not to make war on them or harm them. Then Alexander took the tribute from the Romans and from all the people that lived between that and the West Ocean, which region is called Europe. He left them in peace.

From there, he sailed into Africa, where he found but few that rebelled against him. Therefore, he quickly conquered it and brought it under his subjection.

From Africa he went by ship to an island that is called Frontides in order to counsel with a god whom they called Ammon. As Alexander and his men went toward the temple of this god, they met in the road a great hart, which Alexander commanded his men to kill with arrows. They shot at him, but none of them could hit him. Then Alexander took a bow and shot at him and hit him and killed him. Alexander then went into the temple and made a sacrifice of this hart to god Ammon and prayed to him that he should give him answers.

When Alexander had made his prayers there to god Ammon, he went with his army to a place that is called Taphoresey. In this place were fifteen good towns, and they had twelve great rivers that ran into the sea. Great chains of iron were drawn over their entry into the sea. There Alexander made a sacrifice to his gods.

On the same night, a god called Serapis appeared to him in his sleep clad in rich clothing in a horrible and dreadful form. He said to him, "Alexander, you may take this mountain on your shoulder and carry it away."

Said Alexander, "How might any man do that?"

Serapis answered and said, "Just as this mountain shall always

f.4v

enow be remowed hethen:/So thi name & thi dedes schall be made mynde  
 of to the worldes end://And than Alexander p<sup>r</sup>yed hy þt he walde  
 praycye hy what kyns dede he scholde die://Serapis ansuerd  
 and said It es noghte spedfull till a man to knawe his paynefull  
 endynge ffor if he knewe it pauent<sup>e</sup> he scholde neu<sup>r</sup> hafe loye in his  
 hert Neu<sup>r</sup> þe lesse bi cause þu hase p<sup>r</sup>yede me to telle þe I saß say  
 the aft<sup>r</sup> a drynke þu schall take thi dede ffor I thi youthe þu saß  
 make thyñ endynge://Bot spirre me nob<sup>r</sup> þe tyme ne þe houre  
 when it schal be ffor I will on na wyse telle it to the://for  
 whi goddez of þe este ptiez of þe werlde saß telle the alle thi  
 werdez://when Alexander wakkened of his dreame he was  
 reghte heuy and sent þe maste substance of his Oste to þe Cite  
 of Askalon and bad þañ habide hy thare and hy selfe & a c<sup>o</sup>tane  
 of menze w<sup>t</sup> hym habade & thare he garte make a Citee &  
 called it Alexander aft<sup>r</sup> his awenñ name

I n the mene tyme þe Egipcyens herð of þe comyng  
 of Alexander & þay went agaynes hy & sbmytt  
 þañ vn till hy & resayffed hy wirchipfully and  
 when Alexander come in till Egipte he fand ane  
 ymage of a kyng made of blake stane curiously cor<sup>m</sup>  
 ueñ and he askede þe Egipcians whase ymage it was and þay  
 ansuerd & said It es þe ymage q<sup>u</sup> þay of Anectanabz that was  
 kyng of Egipte nozte lange sythen gane þe wyseste & þe worthiest  
 þt eu<sup>r</sup> was þ<sup>r</sup> in://ffor sothe q<sup>u</sup> Alex<sup>r</sup> Anectanabz was my ffader and þa  
 he knelid douñ with grete reuerence & kyssed þe ymage ffra  
 thethyñ he went w<sup>t</sup> his Oste to Surry But þe Surriens a  
 gayne stude hy and faghte w<sup>t</sup> hyñ and slewe many of his  
 knyghtes Neu<sup>r</sup> þe lesse Alexander had þe victorie and þañ  
 he went to Damaske & Ensegged it & wanne it and fra  
 thethyñ he went to Sydon & wañ it://And þañ he went  
 vn to þe Citee of Tyre and layde Ensegge abowte it and  
 þe Ensegge he laye many a day and thare his Oste suffred  
 many dysessez ffor þt Cite was so strange in it selfe by  
 cause of þe ground þt it was sett apon and by cause of grete  
 towres & many þt ware abowte it and also bi cause it was  
 so enclosed w<sup>t</sup> the See þat it myghte noghte lightly be

[wonñen by name



f. 4v

remain here, so your name and your deeds shall be remembered to the world's end."

Then Alexander prayed to him that he would prophesy for him what kind of death he should have. Serapis answered and said, "It is not expedient for a man to know his painful ending because if it happened that he knew it, he would never have joy in his heart. Nevertheless, because you have prayed to me to tell you, I shall say that after a drink you shall take your death because in your youth you shall die. Ask me neither the time nor the hour when it shall be. Since gods of the East parts of the world will tell you all your fate, I will not tell it to you."

When Alexander wakened from his dream, he was very troubled and sent the greatest part of his army to the city of Ascalon and commanded them to remain there. He, and a certain part of his company with him, stayed behind. There he made a city and called it Alexandria after his own name.

In the meantime, the Egyptians heard of the coming of Alexander. They went to him, submitted themselves to him, and received him honorably. When Alexander came into Egypt he found an image of a king made of exquisitely carved black stone, and he asked the Egyptians whose image it was.

They answered and said, "It is the image of Nectanebus who was king of Egypt not long ago, the wisest and the worthiest that there ever was."

"Truly," said Alexander, "Nectanebus was my father." Then he knelt down with great reverence and kissed the image.

From there he went with his troops to Syria. But the Syrians resisted him. They fought with him and killed many of his knights. Nevertheless, Alexander was victorious.

Then he went to Damascus. He besieged it and won it.

From there he went to Sidon and won it.

Then he went to the city of Tyre and laid siege about it. This went on many days. There his army suffered much distress since the city was so strong in itself because of the ground that it was set on and because of many great towers that surrounded it. Also it was so enclosed with the sea that it might not be easily

f. 5r

be wonnen by nane assawte://Alexander þaȝ vmbithoghte hy  
 one what wyse he myghte best coȝ to for to destruy þis citee  
 and he gerte make a grete bastell of tree and sett it apoȝ sch  
 ippes in þe see euen forgaynes þe cete so þt þe myghte no schippeȝ  
 come nere the haueȝ for to vetaille þe Citee or suppoeth it w<sup>t</sup>  
 meȝ by cause of þe bastelle://In þe mene tyme Alexander Oste  
 hade grete defawte of vetayls and þaȝ he sent ires vn to  
 Iadus þat at that tyme was bischoppe & gouernoure of þe  
 iewes and p<sup>y</sup>ede hy for to suppoeth hy w<sup>t</sup> soȝ meȝ and also  
 þat he walde send suȝ vetails for hy & his Oste and he  
 scholde pay for þaȝ w<sup>t</sup> a glade chere:/And þt he scholde also  
 send hy the tribute þt he scholde gyffe Dariȝ þe empo<sup>r</sup> of Perse  
 for hy ware bett<sup>r</sup> he said hafe his frenchipe þaȝ þe frenchipe  
 of Dariȝ The Bischope þaȝ of þe Iewes ansuerd þe messang<sup>r</sup>s  
 þt broghte hy þe ires & said://I hafe q̃ he made athe to Dariȝ  
 þt whils he leffez I schall neu<sup>r</sup> bere armes agaynes hyȝ and  
 þ<sup>r</sup>fore I ne may noȝte do agaynes myȝ athe://The Messang<sup>r</sup>s  
 þaȝ went tiȝ Alexander & talde hy þe bischopes ansuere and  
 he was greued & sayd://I make myȝ avowe q̃ he vn tiȝ  
 oure goddes þat I schall take swilke vengeance on þe iewes  
 þat I schall make þaȝ to knawe whethir it es bett<sup>r</sup> to þaȝ  
 to be obeisant vn to cōmandemēt or vn to þe kynges of Pse  
 and he callede a Duke þt highte Melagere and w<sup>t</sup> v<sup>c</sup> meȝ of  
 armes and badd þaȝ gaa in to þe vale of Iosaphat þe whilke  
 was full of bestez & brynge of thase bestez to þe Oste for to  
 vetaille þaȝ w<sup>t</sup> and ane Sampsoȝ þat knewe þe cuntre  
 wele was paire gyde://þay went in to þe vale and gadird  
 to gedir cateȝ w<sup>t</sup> owte nombir & be gaȝ for to dryfe oȝ  
 þaȝ and he þt was lorde of þe cuntre Theosellas bi name ray<sup>m</sup>  
 sed a grete multitude of folke and mett þaȝ & faughte w<sup>t</sup>  
 þaȝ & slewe many of þaȝ Bot Melagere & his felaws  
 at þt tyȝ had þe bett<sup>r</sup>:/And a þt highte Caulȝ went baldly  
 to Theosellas & smate of his heued://Aȝ this was done bot  
 a littiȝ fra þe citee of Gadir and þaȝ Bertyne lorde of þe citee  
 seand this was gretely stirrede and ischewede owte of þe citee  
 & w<sup>t</sup> xxx<sup>m</sup> feghtyng meȝ and sett vp a schowte apoȝ þe ma

[cedoynes]

f. 5r

won by any assault. Alexander then thought about how he might best come to destroy this city. He had a great wooden tower made and set it upon ships in the sea directly in front of the city so that no ship might come near the haven in order to provision the city or supply it with men.

In the meantime, Alexander's army had a great deficiency of provisions. Then he sent letters to Jadus who at that time was Bishop and Governor of the Jews and asked him to supply him with some men and also that he should send some provisions for him and his army and pay for them with a glad cheer. He should also send him the tribute which he would give Darius, the Emperor of Persia, since it would be better for him to have Alexander's friendship than the friendship of Darius.

The Bishop of the Jews then answered the messengers who brought him the letters and said, "I have made an oath to Darius that while he lives I shall never bear arms against him. Therefore, I may not break my oath."

The messengers then went to Alexander and told him the bishop's answer, and he was grieved and said, "I vow to our gods that I shall take such vengeance on the Jews that I shall make them realize whether it is better for them to be obedient to my commandment or to the King of Persia's."

He called a duke named Meleager with five hundred men of arms. He commanded them to go into the Valley of Jehosaphat, which was full of animals, and bring those animals to the army in order to provide food for them. A man, Sampson, who knew the country well was their guide. They went into the valley and gathered together countless cattle and began to drive them on. He, who was lord of the country, Theosellas by name, raised a great multitude of folk and met them. He fought with them and killed many of them. But Meleager and his fellows at that time had the better of them. A man called Caulus went boldly to Theosellas and cut off his head. All this was done just a little way from the city of Gadara.

Then Bertyne, lord of the city, seeing this, was greatly disturbed. He came out of the city with thirty thousand fighting men and set up a shout at the

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the macedoyñs alle at anes that alle þ<sup>e</sup> erthe trembled w<sup>t</sup> alle://And  
 when þ<sup>e</sup> Macedoyñs saw that grete multytude of folke com appon þa<sup>m</sup>  
 þay were rehte ferde and þan Melagere walde hafe sent a Messang<sup>r</sup>e  
 to þaire lorde Alexander for to come & socoure þa<sup>m</sup> bot he myzte fynd  
 na ma<sup>n</sup> þat walde vndertake þ<sup>e</sup> Message://Than thir twa batalles  
 mett Same<sup>n</sup> & faughte to gedir and thare was Sampson slaen  
 and Bertyne and þ<sup>e</sup> Macedoyñs w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> grete multitude of þaire  
 enemys ware dreue<sup>n</sup> abakke and lyke for to be dreue<sup>n</sup> abakke  
 & discomfit<sup>t</sup> and ane of þ<sup>e</sup> grekkes þat highte Arites seyng þ<sup>e</sup>  
 meschefe þay stode I<sup>n</sup> wan<sup>n</sup> hy owte of the Bataile & went  
 in alle þ<sup>e</sup> haste þat he myghte ti<sup>ll</sup> Alexander & talde hy þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup>  
 grekkes & þ<sup>e</sup> Macedoyñs ware in poynte to be mescheuede bot  
 if he suppoellde þa<sup>m</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> titterre://And than Alexander lefte  
 þ<sup>e</sup> segge of Tyre and went w<sup>t</sup> his Oste to þ<sup>e</sup> vale of Iosaphat  
 and fand his me<sup>n</sup> rizte harde by stadde w<sup>t</sup> þaire enemys://And  
 he and his Oste vmbylapped alle þaire enemys and daunge  
 þam dou<sup>n</sup> & slewe þa<sup>m</sup> ilke a moder so<sup>m</sup> and when he had so  
 done he turned agayne vn to Tyre and fand the Bastelle  
 þat he hade made in þ<sup>e</sup> See dongen<sup>n</sup> doune to þ<sup>e</sup> grounde://for  
 also<sup>n</sup> als Alexandere was gane fra Tire to þ<sup>e</sup> vale of Iosaphat  
 Bala<sup>n</sup> þ<sup>t</sup> was lorde of Tyre ischewid oute of þ<sup>e</sup> citee w<sup>t</sup> thee  
 folke þ<sup>r</sup> of & assailed the bastell manfully and tuk it & dange  
 it doune and when Alexander sawe that he was gretly an  
 gerde and his hert wonder heuy and so ware alle þ<sup>e</sup> Macedoyñs  
 and the grekes In so meki<sup>ll</sup> thay ware nerehand in dispeire  
 for to wy<sup>n</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> citee and ware in poynte to hafe riffer<sup>n</sup> vp þ<sup>e</sup>  
 segge and one þ<sup>e</sup> nyghte nexte suande Alexander als he laye  
 & slept dremyd þat he hadd in his hand a grape þ<sup>e</sup> whilke  
 hy thoghte he keste doune vnder his fete and trade þ<sup>r</sup> one &  
 alsone þ<sup>r</sup> ra<sup>n</sup> oute of it a grete dele of wyne://And when  
 Alexander wakned he called ti<sup>ll</sup> hy<sup>m</sup> a Philosophre & talde hy  
 his dreme and þ<sup>e</sup> Philosophre ansuerde be balde q<sup>d</sup> he & lefe  
 nozte to ensegge Tyre for þ<sup>e</sup> grape þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> helde in thi hand and  
 keste vnder thi fete and trade þ<sup>r</sup> one es þ<sup>e</sup> Citee of Tyre þ<sup>e</sup> whilk  
 þ<sup>u</sup> sa<sup>ll</sup> wyn<sup>n</sup> thurgh strenth and trede it with thi fete and  
 þ<sup>r</sup> fore be na thyng a baiste://when Alexander herd thire  
 wordes://he was gretly cōforthed and vmbithoghte hy<sup>m</sup>  
 one whate wyse he myghte gette this Citee:and than he  
[gart make

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Macedonians all at once so that all the earth trembled with it. When the Macedonians saw that vast multitude of folk come upon them, they were genuinely afraid. Then Meleager would have sent a messenger to their lord Alexander that he come and aid them, but he could find no man that would undertake the message. Then these two battle units met together and fought together.

There Sampson and Bertyne were killed. The Macedonians were driven back by the great multitude of their enemies and likely to be driven back further and defeated. One of the Greeks, whose name was Aretes, seeing the distress they stood in, left the battle and went as fast as he could to Alexander and told him that the Greeks and the Macedonians were on the verge of being defeated unless he aided them more quickly. Then Alexander left the siege of Tyre and went with his army to the Valley of Jehosaphat. There he found his men extremely hard-pressed by their enemies. He and his army surrounded all their enemies and crushed them down and killed them, every mother's son.

When he had done so, he turned again to Tyre and found the tower that he had made in the sea struck down to the ground. For as soon as Alexander was gone from Tyre to the Valley of Jehosaphat, Balan, who was lord of Tyre, came out of the city with his people and attacked the tower manfully. He took it and struck it down. When Alexander saw that, he was greatly angered and his heart very disturbed. So were all the Macedonians and the Greeks, so much so that they were nearly in despair of winning the city and were at the point of lifting the siege.

On the following night, Alexander, as he lay sleeping, dreamed that he had in his hand a grape, which he seemed to cast down under his feet, and he trod on it. As soon as he did, there ran out of it a great deal of wine. When Alexander wakened, he called to him a philosopher and told him his dream.

The philosopher answered, "Be bold and don't leave the siege of Tyre, for the grape that you held in your hand and cast under your feet and trod upon is the city of Tyre, which you shall win through strength and tread with your feet. Therefore, do not be dismayed."

When Alexander heard these words, he was greatly comforted and contemplated how he might get this city. Then he

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garte make anop<sup>r</sup> bastelle in þ<sup>e</sup> see grettere & hyere and strangere þan þ<sup>e</sup> top<sup>r</sup> was://for it was hieere þa<sup>n</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> hegheste towre of þ<sup>e</sup> citee//And þis bastelle was tyede w<sup>t</sup> a hundrethe ankers://þa<sup>n</sup> Alexander gert armede me<sup>n</sup> suerely & wele & wente by hy ane vp apo<sup>n</sup> this bastelle and badd<sup>a</sup> a<sup>ll</sup> his me<sup>n</sup> þ<sup>t</sup> þay schulde make þa<sup>n</sup> redy for to feghte & to giffe assawte to þ<sup>e</sup> citee and alsone als þay sawe hy entire in to þ<sup>e</sup> citee þay scholde a<sup>ll</sup> at anes presse to þ<sup>e</sup> walles and scale þa<sup>n</sup> and clymbe ou<sup>r</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> walles baldely & wy<sup>n</sup> þe citee://And when<sup>a</sup> a<sup>ll</sup> me<sup>n</sup> weren redy hee gerte smyte soundere þ<sup>e</sup> cabilla<sup>s</sup> þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> bastelle was tyed w<sup>t</sup> & þ<sup>e</sup> wawes of þ<sup>e</sup> see bare it to þ<sup>e</sup> walles of þ<sup>e</sup> Citee:And Alexander delyuerlye stert apo<sup>n</sup> walles whare Bala<sup>n</sup> stode and ra<sup>n</sup> apo<sup>n</sup> hy & slew hy and keste hy ou<sup>r</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> walles in to þ<sup>e</sup> dyke of þ<sup>e</sup> citee://And when<sup>a</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> Mace<sup>-</sup>doyns & þ<sup>e</sup> grekes sawe Alexander entir in to þ<sup>e</sup> citee þay schouffed to þ<sup>e</sup> walles a<sup>ll</sup> at anes and clambe ou<sup>r</sup> su<sup>m</sup> w<sup>t</sup> leddirs su<sup>m</sup> on op<sup>r</sup> wyse w<sup>t</sup> owtte<sup>n</sup> any resistance://for þ<sup>e</sup> Tyrye<sup>n</sup>s was so ferde by cause of þ<sup>e</sup> dedde of Bala<sup>n</sup> þaire Duc þat þay ne durste noghte t<sup>r</sup>ne agayne ne defende þ<sup>e</sup> walles://And o<sup>n</sup> this wyse was þ<sup>e</sup> citee taken<sup>a</sup> and do ungen<sup>a</sup> doune to þ<sup>e</sup> erthe://ffra þ<sup>e</sup> segge of Tyre Alexander & his me<sup>n</sup> went to þ<sup>e</sup> citee of Gaza and assailed it & w<sup>t</sup> schorte while þay wa<sup>n</sup> it://And ffra thethy<sup>n</sup> hyed<sup>a</sup> hym towardez Ier<sup>l</sup> for to ensegge it

Q

When þ<sup>e</sup> Bischoppe of þ<sup>e</sup> Iewes herde telle þat Alexander was cōmaund<sup>a</sup> toward<sup>a</sup> Ier<sup>l</sup> he gert ca<sup>ll</sup> bi fore hy<sup>m</sup> a<sup>ll</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> iewes þ<sup>t</sup> ware i þ<sup>e</sup> citee and talde þa<sup>n</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> tythynges þ<sup>t</sup> ware talde hy and sythe<sup>n</sup> he cōmandid<sup>a</sup> þa<sup>n</sup> þat þay schuld<sup>a</sup> co<sup>m</sup> to þ<sup>e</sup> tēple and be þare in praynge ffastynges and wakynges & i sacrafice makyg vn to godd<sup>a</sup> bi sekand<sup>a</sup> hy of helpe & socoure and þay did<sup>a</sup> soo://And on þ<sup>e</sup> nyghte nexte aft<sup>r</sup> when<sup>a</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> Bisc<sup>-</sup>

hoppe hadd<sup>a</sup> made his sacrafice and was lyand<sup>a</sup> in prayers he fel<sup>a</sup> on slomeryng and ane angel<sup>e</sup> appered<sup>a</sup> vn tih<sup>a</sup> hy and sayd<sup>a</sup> Be no<sup>3</sup>te ferd<sup>a</sup> ¶ he bot swythe gere araye honestly a<sup>ll</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> stretis of citee and caste open<sup>a</sup> the zates and warne a<sup>ll</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> folke þ<sup>t</sup> þay aray þa<sup>n</sup> in whitte clethynges and thi selfe & a<sup>ll</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> prestis reuestez 3ow solempnely and to morne arely wende<sup>a</sup> furthe of þ<sup>e</sup> citee agaynes Alexander in processiou<sup>n</sup>://for hy by houe<sup>a</sup>

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had another greater, higher, and stronger tower made in the sea. It was higher than the highest tower of the city. This tower was tied with a hundred anchors. Then Alexander armed himself securely and well and went alone up on this tower. He commanded all his men prepare themselves to fight and to attack the city so that as soon as they saw him enter into the city, they should, all at once, press to the walls, scale them, climb over them boldly, and win the city. When all men were ready, he severed the cables which the tower was tied with and the waves of the sea bore it to the walls of the city.

Alexander nimbly jumped upon the walls where Balan stood. Alexander charged him, killed him and cast him over the walls into the moat of the city. When the Macedonians and the Greeks saw Alexander enter into the city, they pushed forward to the walls all at once and climbed over, some with ladders and some by other means, without any resistance. For the Tyrians were so afraid because of the death of Balan, their duke, that they dared not turn back nor defend the walls. In this way the city was taken and crushed down to the earth.

From the siege of Tyre, Alexander and his men went to the city of Gaza and assaulted it. Within a short time, they won it. From there he hastened toward Jerusalem in order to attack it.

When the Bishop of the Jews heard that Alexander was coming toward Jerusalem, he called before him all the Jews who were in the city and told them the tidings that were told to him. Then he commanded them to come to the temple and be there praying, fasting, and waking and making sacrifice to god beseeching him for help and aid. And they did so.

On the next night, when the bishop had made his sacrifice and was lying in prayers, he fell asleep and an angel appeared to him and said, "Be not afraid but, quickly, solemnly adorn all the streets of the city and throw open the gates. Warn all the folk that they should dress themselves in white clothing, and yourself and all the priests dress yourselves solemnly. In the morning early, go out of the city in procession toward Alexander. For he must

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regne & be lorde of alle þe werlde://Bot at þe laste þe wrethe of godd  
 saht falle apouȝ hy://when þe bischoppe wakened of his slepe:/he called  
 tilh hy þe iewes and talde þam his reuelacioȝ and bad þam do aȝ  
 als þe angelle hade schewed hyȝ://And þay did so//ffor þay arayed  
 þe stretez of þe cetee and cledde þam in whitte clethynges:/And the  
 bischope & þe prestis reueste þam and bathe thay and alle þe folke  
 went furthe of þe citee tilh a place where þe temple & aȝ þe citee  
 may be seen/And þare þay habade þe comynge of Alexander://And  
 when Alexander come nere þis foresaid place and sawe be for hyȝ  
 swilke a multitude of folke cledde alle in whitte and þe p<sup>r</sup>stez arayed  
 solempnely I riche vestymentis and þe byschope also in his pontyfy-  
 cales and a mytir one his heued and þe apouȝ a plate of golde where  
 one was wreten þe name of grete godd Tetrag<sup>m</sup>maton://he comȝ  
 ded aȝ his men þat þay schulde halde þam by hynd hy and habyde  
 tilh he com to þam://And he lighte off his horse and went bi hyȝ  
 ane to þe Iewes://And knelid douȝ to þe erthe and wirchippede þe hye  
 name of godd þt he saw þare wreten apouȝ þe bischopes heued:/And  
 þam alle þe iewes knelid douȝ & saluste Alexander and cried aȝ w<sup>t</sup>  
 a voyce:lyff lyffe q þay grete Alexander lyffe lyffe the gretteste  
 Empe<sup>r</sup> of þe werlde:lyffe he þat saht ou<sup>r</sup>com aȝ men and noȝte be  
 ou<sup>r</sup>comen://Prynce maste glorious and maste worthy of aȝ þe p<sup>r</sup>ncez  
 þt regnez apouȝ erthe://When þe kynges of Surry saw þis þay hadd  
 grete wonder þe off://And a prynce of Alexanders þt highte Pmenon  
 said vn tilh Alexander://Mi lorde þe Empe<sup>r</sup> q he we mervelle vs  
 gretely:þt þu wham aȝ men wirchippeȝ and lowteȝ://wirchippeȝ  
 here þe bischope of þe Iewes://And Alexander ansuered://I wirchipe  
 noȝte hym þis q he Bot godd whase state he p<sup>r</sup>senteȝ://ffor when  
 I was in Macedoyne and vmbithoghte me oȝ what wyse I myȝte  
 cōquere Assye I saw hy slepand in swilke habite & in swylke araye  
 and he lete as he sett noȝte by me bot went baldely furthe bi me  
 and for I see nane in swilke arraye bot hym:/I suppose  
 it be he þat I saw in my slepe://And þare fore I trowe þat thurgh  
 þe helpe of godd I saht ou<sup>r</sup>com Daryus þe kyng of Perse and his  
 grete pryde for do and aȝ thynges þat I caste in my hert for to  
 do it es my full triste þat thurgh his helpe I saht fulfiȝ it and  
 wele bryng it to end://And þis es þe cause I wirchipped hyȝ://And  
 when he hadd said thies wordes he went in to þe citee w<sup>t</sup> the  
 bischope & þe p<sup>r</sup>stez and went in to þe temple þat Salamon made  
 and as þe bischope teched hyȝ he Offred sacrafice vn to godd:/And  
 þe bischope tuke Alexander in hande a buke of þe pphicye of Daniel  
in þe whilke



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reign and be lord over all the world. But finally the wrath of God shall fall upon him."

When the bishop wakened from his sleep, he called to him the Jews and told them his revelation and commanded them to do everything as the angel had showed him. And they did so since they adorned the streets of the city and clad themselves in white clothing. The bishop and the priests dressed themselves, and both they and all the folk went out of the city to a place where the temple and all the city may be seen. There they awaited the coming of Alexander.

When Alexander came near this place and saw before him such a multitude of folk clad all in white with the priests arrayed solemnly in rich vestments and the bishop also in his pontifical robes and a mitre on his head and on that a plate of gold upon which was written the name of great god Tetragrammaton, he commanded all his men to stay behind him and wait until he came to them. Then he jumped off his horse and went by himself to the Jews. He knelt down on the earth and worshipped the high name of god that he saw there written on the bishop's head. Then all the Jews knelt down and greeted Alexander and cried all with one voice, "Live, Live," said they, "great Alexander, live, live, the greatest Emperor of the world. Live! He that shall overcome all men and not be overcome. Prince most glorious and most worthy of all the princes that reign on earth."

When the kings of Syria saw this, they were amazed by it. A prince of Alexander's that was called Parmenion, said to Alexander, "My lord, the Emperor, we are astonished that you whom all men worship and reverence, worship here the Bishop of the Jews."

Alexander answered, "I do not worship him like this but God whose state he represents because when I was in Macedonia and thought about how I should conquer Asia, I saw him sleeping in such clothing and in such array. He made it clear that he considered me of little consequence but went boldly on by me. Since I see none in such array but him, I believe that it was he whom I saw in my sleep. Therefore, I trust that through the help of God I shall overcome Darius, the King of Persia, and destroy his great pride. All things that I resolve in my heart to do, I fully trust that through his help I shall do it and bring it to a good end. This is why I worship him."

When he had said these words, he went into the city with the bishop and the priests and went into the temple that Solomon made and as the bishop taught him he offered sacrifice to god. The bishop gave Alexander a book of the prophecy of Daniel

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in þ<sup>e</sup> whilke he fande wretyn þat a mañ of Grece sulde distruy þ<sup>e</sup> powere of Perse://And Alexander was reghte gladde supposynge þt it was hy selfe://And þañ he gaffe þ<sup>e</sup> bischoppe & þ<sup>e</sup> op<sup>r</sup> prestez grete gyftez & riche & p<sup>r</sup>cyous://And badd þ<sup>e</sup> bischoppe asche of hy what so he walde and the bischoppe askede þat he walde giffe þañ leve to vse þ<sup>e</sup> same lawes þat þaire fadres vsed bi fore þañ and he graunted it://And þañ þ<sup>e</sup> bischoppe askede þat walde giffe þ<sup>e</sup> Iewes þt ware in Medee & in Babyloyne leue for to vse þaire lawes & he graunted hy þat & añ op<sup>r</sup> thynges þat he walde aske:/

hic incipit

Alexander thañ went fra ierl<sup>m</sup> & lefte thare Andromac his Messag<sup>r</sup>e and hy selfe & his Oste went to þ<sup>e</sup> op<sup>r</sup> citez þt ware in þ<sup>e</sup> lande of Indee and at ilke a citee þt he come to he was wirchipfully ressayued://In þ<sup>e</sup> mene tyme þ<sup>e</sup> Surryens þt fledd fra Alexander went to Perse and talde þ<sup>e</sup> empo<sup>r</sup> Dari<sup>l</sup> how Alexander hadd done to þañ://And Dari<sup>l</sup> spirred thay<sup>m</sup> of his stature & of his schappe

and þay schowed hym p<sup>r</sup>trayed in a pchemyn skynñ þ<sup>e</sup> ymage of Alexander://And alsone als Dari<sup>l</sup> sawe it he dispysed Alexander by cause of his littiñ stature and be lyfe he gerte write a ðre and sent it till Alexander://And þ<sup>e</sup> w<sup>t</sup> he sent hy a handbañ & op<sup>r</sup> certane lapez in scorne:/And þ<sup>e</sup>s is þ<sup>e</sup> teno<sup>r</sup> of þ<sup>e</sup> ðre þt he sent till hy  
D ar<sup>l</sup> kyng of kynges and lord of añ erthely lordes eueñ like vnto soñeschynande w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> goddez of Perse vn<sup>r</sup> till Alexander oure ðuand we send:/we hafe vn<sup>r</sup> derstandeñ now on late whare of we m<sup>r</sup>uelle vs gretely þat þ<sup>u</sup> ert so raysed in p<sup>r</sup>ide and vayne glorye þt þ<sup>u</sup> hase semlede to gedir a company of robbo<sup>r</sup>s and thefez oute of þ<sup>e</sup> weste pties and castez þ<sup>e</sup> for to com I till oure pties supposynge thurgh þañ for to ou<sup>r</sup> sett and constreyne grete myghte & þ<sup>e</sup> v<sup>r</sup>tue of þ<sup>e</sup> pcyens whase strenghte þ<sup>u</sup> may neu<sup>r</sup> slokeñ ne ou<sup>r</sup>come suppose þ<sup>u</sup> gadirde & sembled to gedir añ þ<sup>e</sup> werlde ffor I do þ<sup>e</sup> wele to wiete þ<sup>u</sup> myghte nerehand alsoñe nommer þ<sup>e</sup> st<sup>r</sup>nes of heuen as þ<sup>e</sup> folke of þ<sup>e</sup> empire of Perse Oure goddez also by

f. 7r

in which he found written that a man of Greece should destroy the power of Persia. Alexander was extremely glad, believing that it was he. And then he gave the bishop and the other priests great, rich, and precious gifts. He told the bishop to ask from him whatever he would, and the bishop asked that he would give them leave to use the same laws that their fathers used before them. And he granted it. Then the bishop asked that he would give the Jews who were in Media and in Babylon leave to use their laws, and he granted him that and all other things that he would ask.

Alexander then went from Jerusalem and left Andromachus, his messenger, there. He and his army went to the other cities that were in the land of India. At each city that he came to, he was honorably received. In the meantime, the Syrians, who fled from Alexander, went to Persia and told the Emperor Darius what Alexander had done to them. Darius questioned them about his stature and his build. They showed him a portrait of Alexander on a parchment skin. As soon as Darius saw it, he despised Alexander for his small stature, and quickly he wrote a letter and sent it to Alexander. With it he sent him a handball and other toys in scorn. This is the substance of the letter that he sent to him.

'Darius, king of kings and lord of all earthly lords like the sun shining with the gods of Persia, to Alexander, our servant, we send. We have recent information about which we are greatly amazed -- that you are so raised in pride and vainglory that you have assembled together a company of robbers and thieves out of the West regions and contrive to come into our regions supposing through them to upset and constrain the great might and the power of the Persians whose strength you may never reduce or overcome though you gathered and assembled together all the world. I think you should understand that you might as well count the stars of heaven as the folk of the empire of Persia. Our gods also by

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by whaym̄ all þ's werlde es gouerned & sustened prayssez & cōmende3  
 oure name passyng all op<sup>r</sup> nacyons//Bot no3te w<sup>t</sup> standyng þ's þou as  
 a littill bisne a dwerghē a halfe man̄ & orte3 of alle men̄ desyrand  
 to ou<sup>r</sup>passe þ<sup>i</sup> littilnesse rizte as a mouse crepez oute of hir hole:so  
 þ<sup>u</sup> ert copen̄ out of þ<sup>e</sup> lande of Sethy<sup>m̄</sup>:/wenyng w<sup>t</sup> a few rebawdez  
 to cōquere & optene þ<sup>e</sup> landez of Perse brade & lange & to ryotte  
 & playe the in thaym̄ as myesse douse in þ<sup>e</sup> house whare na catter  
 ere://Bot I þat p<sup>u</sup>aly hase aspied thi gate3:/whēn þ<sup>u</sup> wenez moste  
 seurely for to sterle abowte I saħ sterle apōn þ<sup>e</sup> & take þ<sup>e</sup>:/&  
 so in wrechidnes saħ thidayes fouly hafe aħ ende://A grete ffoly  
 þ<sup>u</sup> dide for to take apōn the swylke a p<sup>r</sup>sumpcyōn It ware full  
 faire to þ<sup>e</sup> if þ<sup>u</sup> myghte bi oure lefe w<sup>t</sup> oure beneuolence ocupie  
 aħ anely þ<sup>e</sup> rewme of Macedoyne zeldyng þ<sup>r</sup>fore tih vs zerey  
 a certane tribute:/if aħ þ<sup>u</sup> couetid no3te oure empire://þare fore  
 it es gude þat þ<sup>u</sup> lefe thi fonned p<sup>r</sup>posse and wende hame a gayne  
 & sett the in thi moder knee:/And lo I sende the here a littill batte  
 w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> whilke als a childe þ<sup>u</sup> may play the://for þ<sup>u</sup> ert bot a childe  
 It es mare semely þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> use childe3 gammez:/þan dedez of armes  
 We knawe wele thi pouert and thi nede and þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> hase vnnethes  
 whare w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> may sustene thi caytyfde corse://wenez þ<sup>u</sup> thaħ to  
 bryng vnder thi subieccioñ the empyre of Dari<sup>l</sup>://I say the by  
 my ffader saule:/þat in the rewme of Perse þ<sup>r</sup> es so grete plente  
 of golde þat & it were gadirde to gedir on a hepe It schulde passe  
 þ<sup>e</sup> clerenes of þ<sup>e</sup> soñ whare fore we cōmande the and straitely en<sup>m</sup>  
 ioyne3 the þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> leue thi fole pride and thi vayne glory & tourne  
 hame agayne to Macedoyne://And if þ<sup>u</sup> wiħ no3te soo://we saħ  
 sende to þ<sup>e</sup> a multitude of men̄ of arme3 swilke ane saw þ<sup>u</sup> neu<sup>r</sup> þ<sup>e</sup>  
 whilke saħ take þ<sup>e</sup> and hyngē þ<sup>e</sup> hye oñ a gebett as a trayto<sup>r</sup> and a  
 mayst<sup>r</sup> of theefez:And no3te as þ<sup>e</sup> soñ of Philippe

W heñ þ<sup>e</sup> Messang<sup>r</sup>s þat were sent fra Dari<sup>l</sup> come to kyng  
 Alexander þay gaffe hy the ires and þ<sup>e</sup> batte & op<sup>r</sup> cer<sup>m</sup>  
 tane lapes þat þ<sup>e</sup> empo<sup>r</sup> sent hy in scorne://And Alex<sup>r</sup>  
 take þ<sup>e</sup> ires and gert rede it openly by fore alle men̄  
 and Alexander knyghtez whēn þay herde þ<sup>e</sup> teno<sup>r</sup> of þ<sup>e</sup>  
 ires ware gretly astonayde and wonder heuy://And whēn Alexander  
 sawe þaħ so heuy by cause of þ<sup>e</sup> ire he saide vn to þaħ://AA my  
 worthy knyghtis ¶ he are 3e fered for þ<sup>e</sup> prowde wordez þ<sup>t</sup> are  
 contened in Dari<sup>l</sup> ires wate 3e noghte wele þat hundez þ<sup>t</sup> berkes

[mekih̄ bytez men̄ no3te

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whom all this world is governed and sustained praise and commend our name above all other nations. But notwithstanding this, you, as a little short-sighted man, a dwarf, a half-man, and refuse of all men, desiring to overcome your littleness, just as a mouse creeps out of its hole, so you have crept out of the land of Sethym thinking, with a few ribalds, to conquer and obtain the lands of Persia, broad and long, and to riot and play in them as mice do in the house where no cats are. But I, who have secretly kept watch over your travels, when you think you can safely run about, I shall leap upon you and catch you, so that your days shall end miserably in wretchedness. It was a great folly for you to take upon yourself such a presumption. It would be more than fair to you if you might, by our leave, with our benevolence, occupy only the realm of Macedonia, yielding for it yearly to us a certain tribute -- as long as you did not covet our empire. Therefore, it is good that you leave your foolish purpose and go back home and set yourself on your mother's knee. So I send you here a little ball with which, as a child, you may entertain yourself. Since you are but a child, it is more seemly that you engage in child's games than in deeds of arms. We know well your poverty and need and that you have scarcely anything with which you may sustain your cowardly body. Do you think then to bring under your subjection the empire of Darius? I tell you by my father's soul that in the realm of Persia there is such great plenty of gold that if it were gathered together in a pile it would surpass the brightness of the sun. Therefore, we command you and directly enjoin you that you leave your foolish pride and your vainglory and turn back home to Macedonia. If you will not do so, we shall send to you a multitude of men of arms such as you never saw, which shall take you and hang you high on a gibbet as a traitor and a master of thieves, and not as the son of Philip.'

When the messengers who were sent from Darius came to King Alexander, they gave him the letters and the ball and other playthings that the emperor sent him in scorn. Alexander took the letters and read them openly before all men. Alexander's knights, when they heard the contents of the letters, were greatly astonished and exceedingly troubled.

When Alexander saw them so dejected because of the letter, he said to them, "Ah, my worthy knights, are you afraid of the proud words that are contained in Darius' letters? Don't you know well that hounds that bark



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a great deal do not bite men as soon as do hounds that come on men without barking. We trust completely that the letter tells the truth about some things, that is to say, of the great plenty of gold that Darius says he has. Therefore, let us manfully fight with him, and we shall have that gold. For the vast amount of his gold, it seems to me, should make us be bold and hard in order to fight with him manfully."

When Alexander had said these words, he commanded his knights to take the messengers of Darius and bind their hands behind them and lead them out to the gallows and hang them. They took the messengers and bound them and began to lead them to the gallows.

Then the messengers began to cry pitifully to Alexander and said, "Ah, honorable lord and king, how have we committed a crime that we should be hanged for our king's deeds?"

Then King Alexander answered, "The words of your emperor, who sent you to me as to a thief, as the letter which you brought will attest, make me do this."

"Ah, lord," they said, "our emperor sent thus to you because your power and your might were unknown to him. But we beg you, let us go, and we shall make known to him your great glory, your royalty, and your nobility."

Then King Alexander commanded his knights to unbind them and bring them to his hall to dinner. There he made them a great and royal feast.

As they sat at the meal, these messengers said to Alexander, "Lord, if it is pleasing to your high majesty, send with us a thousand strong men of arms, and we shall deliver to them the Emperor Darius."

Alexander answered and said, "Sit still, and make yourselves merry because I tell you, surely, for the betraying of your king, I will not grant you one knight to go with you."

In the morning, Alexander wrote a letter to Darius, the contents of which were this.

'Alexander, the son of Philip and of Queen Olympias, to Darius, king of the land that shines with the gods of Persia, we send. If we earnestly and truthfully behold ourselves, there is nothing that we have here that we may by right call ours. But all of it is lent to us for a time. Because we are whirled about by the wheel of fortune, now we are brought from riches into poverty, now from mirth and joy into sorrow and distress, and back around again. And now from the heights we are plunged into lowness. Therefore, no man that is set in high degree should trust too much in his supremacy so much that through pride and vainglory he should despise the deeds of other men less

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þaū he://for he wate neu<sup>r</sup> how sone þ<sup>e</sup> whele of fortune may t<sup>r</sup>ne abowte  
 and caste hy doune to lawe degree þat sittez hye oñ lofte:/And rayse  
 hy to hye wirchipe and grete noblaye:þat bi fore was pore & in lawe  
 degree//And þ<sup>r</sup>fore the aughte to thynke grete schame þat swilke a  
 worthy empo<sup>r</sup> as meñ haldez the schulde sende swylke a message  
 vn to me so littill a mañ & so pore://for þ<sup>u</sup> ert eueñ lyke to þ<sup>e</sup> some  
 as thi selfe says sittande in þ<sup>e</sup> trone of Nitas w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> goddez of Perse  
 Bot goddez þat eu<sup>r</sup> mare are liffaunde & neuermare dye:deyne:z  
 nozte for to hafe þ<sup>e</sup> felachipe of dedely meñ://Sekerly I am a dedely  
 mañ:And to þ<sup>e</sup> I come as to a dedely mañ for to feghte w<sup>t</sup> the:/Bot  
 þ<sup>u</sup> þat arte so grete & so glorious & callez thi selfe vndedely:þ<sup>u</sup> sañ  
 wyne na thyng of me if alle þ<sup>u</sup> hafe þ<sup>e</sup> ou<sup>r</sup>hande of me:/for þ<sup>u</sup> hase  
 ou<sup>r</sup>cōmeñ bot a littill mañ and a theeffe als þ<sup>u</sup> sayse:/And if I hafe þ<sup>e</sup>  
 ou<sup>r</sup>hande ou<sup>r</sup> the It sañ be to me þ<sup>e</sup> gretteste wirchipe þ<sup>t</sup> eu<sup>r</sup>e byfett  
 me for als mekiñ als I sañ hafe þ<sup>e</sup> victorie of þ<sup>e</sup> worthieste empo<sup>r</sup>  
 of þ<sup>e</sup> werlde://Bot þare þu saide þ<sup>t</sup> in þ<sup>e</sup> rewme of Perse es so grete  
 plentee of golde:/þou has scharpede oure hertiz and made mare  
 balde for to feghte with the & for to wyne þat golde:for to relefe  
 oure pouerte w<sup>t</sup> añ & putte a waye oure nede whilke þ<sup>u</sup> says we  
 hafe://In þat also þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> sent vs a hande batte and op<sup>r</sup> barne laykaynes  
 þ<sup>u</sup> pphicyed rizte and betakend bi fore thynges þ<sup>t</sup> we trowe thurgh  
 goddez helpe sañ falle vn tiñ vs://By þ<sup>e</sup> rowndenes of þ<sup>e</sup> batte  
 we vnderstande þ<sup>t</sup> alle þ<sup>e</sup> werld aboute vs þ<sup>e</sup> whilke sañ fatte vnder  
 oure subieccioñ:/Bi þ<sup>e</sup> tane of þ<sup>e</sup> laykañs þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> sent vs þ<sup>e</sup> whilke es  
 made of wandez and crokez donwardez at þ<sup>e</sup> ou<sup>r</sup>end:we vnderstand  
 þ<sup>t</sup> añ þ<sup>e</sup> kyngez of þ<sup>e</sup> werlde and añ þ<sup>e</sup> grete lordez sañ lowte tiñ  
 vs://Bi þ<sup>e</sup> top<sup>r</sup> laykañ þ<sup>t</sup> es of golde and hase apoñ it as it ware  
 a mannez hede:/we vnderstande:þ<sup>t</sup> we sañ hafe þ<sup>e</sup> victorie of añ  
 meñ and neu<sup>r</sup> be ou<sup>r</sup>cōmeñ://And þ<sup>u</sup> þ<sup>t</sup> ert so grete & so myghty hase  
 now onwardez sent vs trybute in als mekeñ als þ<sup>u</sup> sent vs a  
 handbatte and þir op<sup>r</sup> thynges þat I rehersed by fore the whilke  
 cōtenez in þaū so grete dignytez þ<sup>e</sup> lett<sup>r</sup> of Alexander  
 W            heñ þis ðre was wreten//Alexander called tiñ þ<sup>e</sup> Mess  
               angers of þ<sup>e</sup> Empo<sup>r</sup>s of Perse and gaffe þaū riche gyft  
               and bi tuke þaū þ<sup>e</sup> ðre and badd þaū bere it to þaire  
               lorde://And þaū Alexander sembled his Oste and by  
 gañ for to wende towarde Perse://when þ<sup>e</sup> Messang<sup>r</sup>s of Perse  
 come to þ<sup>e</sup> empo<sup>r</sup> þay talde hy of þ<sup>e</sup> grete ryaltee of kyng Alexander



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than he because he who sits exalted never knows how soon the wheel of fortune may turn about and cast him down to low degree and raise to high honor and great nobility, him who before was poor and in low degree. Therefore, you ought to think it is a great shame that such a worthy emperor, as men hold you, should send such a message to such a little and such a poor man as I am since you are like the sun, as you yourself say, sitting in the throne of Nitas with the gods of Persia. But gods who live forever and never die, do not desire to have the fellowship of mortal men. Certainly, I am a mortal man, and I come to you as to a mortal man in order to fight with you. But you who are so great and so glorious and call yourself immortal, you shall win nothing from me if, ultimately, you are victorious because you have overcome but a little man and a thief, as you say. And if I am victorious, it shall be for me the greatest glory that ever happened to me for as much as I shall have victory over the most powerful emperor of the world. But since you said that in the realm of Persia there is such a great plenty of gold, you have sharpened our hearts and made us bolder to fight with you and to win that gold in order to eliminate our poverty and our need which, you say we have.

Also in that letter in which you sent us a handball and other child's toys, you prophesied correctly and signified future things that we believe through god's help shall happen to us. By the roundness of the ball, we understand that all the world about us shall fall under our subjugation. By the one toy that you sent us which is made of sticks and hooks downward at the top, we understand that all the kings of the world and all the great lords shall submit to us. By the other toy that is gold and has on it, as if it were a man's head, we understand that we shall have victory over all men and never be overcome. And you that are so great and so mighty have now, in advance, sent us tribute in as much as you sent us a handball and these other things, which I rehearsed before, which contain in them such great dignity.'

When this letter was written, Alexander called to the messengers of the Emperor of Persia and gave them rich gifts and entrusted to them the letter and commanded them to bear it to their lord. And then Alexander assembled his army and began to move toward Persia.

When the messengers of Persia came to the emperor, they told him of the great royalty of King Alexander

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and tuke hy the lett<sup>rs</sup> þat Alexander sent hy<sup>m</sup>:://And þ<sup>e</sup> empo<sup>r</sup> garte rede  
þa<sup>m</sup>:://And when he herd þa<sup>m</sup> redde he was wonder wrathe:://And sent  
a ðre belyue vn ti<sup>ll</sup> twa grete lordez that hadd þ<sup>e</sup> gou<sup>n</sup>nance of þ<sup>e</sup> empire  
vnder hy sayand to þa<sup>m</sup> on this wiese

D ari<sup>l</sup> kyng of kynges and lorde of lordes vnti<sup>ll</sup> oure trewe  
legez P<sup>m</sup>l & Antyochus:gretynge and ioy:://we here tell  
þat Alexander Philippe so<sup>n</sup>e of Macedoyne es so heghe  
raysede in pryde þat he es rebel<sup>le</sup> agaynes vs::& es cōmen<sup>d</sup>  
inti<sup>ll</sup> Asye and hase destroyed it vtterly:://And ȝitt hy thynke noȝte  
this ynoghe:://bot he p<sup>r</sup>posez hy for to come nere vs and do þ<sup>e</sup> same ti<sup>ll</sup>  
op<sup>r</sup>e cuntrez of oure empire as he hase done ty<sup>ll</sup> Asye:://whare fore we  
comande ȝowe opayne of ȝo<sup>r</sup> legeance þat ȝe semble þ<sup>e</sup> grete me<sup>n</sup> &  
þ<sup>e</sup> worthy of oure empyre w<sup>t</sup> op<sup>r</sup> of oure trewe lege<sup>z</sup>:and I a<sup>ll</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> haste  
þ<sup>t</sup> ȝe may gase & counters ȝone childe takand hy and bryngand hy  
bi fore oure p<sup>r</sup>sence:þat we may lasche hy wele als a wanton<sup>n</sup> childe  
schulde be:/And clethe hy in p<sup>r</sup>poure:& so send hy ti<sup>ll</sup> his Moder Olympias  
wele chastyede::ffor it semeȝ noȝte to be a feghter:bot for to vse childe  
gammeȝ

T hire twa lordes Prim<sup>l</sup> and Antyochus when þay hadde  
redde this ðre of þ<sup>e</sup> empo<sup>r</sup>s:þay wrate agayne vnti<sup>ll</sup>  
on this wyse:://Vn to Dari<sup>l</sup> kyng of kynges grete god<sup>d</sup>  
P<sup>m</sup>l & Antiochus seruyce þat þay ka<sup>n</sup> do:/To ȝo<sup>r</sup>  
heghe maieste we make it aknawen þat þ<sup>e</sup> childe Alexandere  
whilke ȝe speke off hase a<sup>ll</sup> vtterly destroyed ȝo<sup>r</sup> cuntree:/And we  
sembled a grete multytude of folke and faughte w<sup>t</sup> hy:bot he hase  
discomfit vs and we were fayne for to flee::ffor vnnethe myghte  
any of vs wyne awaye w<sup>t</sup> þe lyfe::/pare fore we þat ȝe say ere hel<sup>m</sup>  
pers vnto ȝowe:besekeȝ ȝo<sup>r</sup> hye maiestee that ȝe sende su<sup>m</sup> socoure  
ti<sup>ll</sup> vs ȝo<sup>r</sup> trewe legeȝ:://When Dari<sup>l</sup> hadde redde þ<sup>e</sup>s ðre:þ<sup>e</sup> come anop<sup>r</sup>  
messang<sup>r</sup> ti<sup>ll</sup> hy:://And talde hy þat Alexander and his Oste hade  
lugede þa<sup>m</sup> appon the wat<sup>r</sup> of strume:://And when Dari<sup>l</sup> herd þ<sup>t</sup>  
he wrate anop<sup>r</sup> ðre vnti<sup>ll</sup> Alexander of whilke þis was þ<sup>e</sup> teno<sup>r</sup>

D ari<sup>l</sup> kyng of kynges and lorde of lordes vn ti<sup>ll</sup> oure fu<sup>n</sup>de  
Alexander Thorowte a<sup>ll</sup>e þ<sup>e</sup> werlde þ<sup>e</sup> name of Dari<sup>l</sup>  
es praysed & cōmended:://Oure goddeȝ also hase it wreten<sup>n</sup>  
in thaire bukes:://how tha<sup>n</sup> durste þ<sup>u</sup> be so balde for to  
passe so many wat<sup>rs</sup> and seeȝ Mountaynes & craggeȝ:for to werraye  
agaynes oure royalle maiestee:://A grete wirchip me thynke it

[ware to þ<sup>e</sup>

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and took him the letters that Alexander sent him. And the emperor had them read. When he heard them read, he was exceedingly angry and sent a letter immediately to two great lords who governed the empire under him, saying to them:

'Darius, king of kings and lord of lords, to our true lieges, Primus and Antiochus, greeting and joy. We hear that Alexander, Philip's son, of Macedonia, is so exalted in pride that he is a rebel against us, and has come to Asia and has destroyed it utterly. Yet he thinks this not enough, but he plans to come nearer us and do the same to countries of our empire as he has done to Asia. For which reason, we command you on pain of your allegiance, that you assemble the great men and the worthy of our empire with other of our true lieges and, as quickly as you can, go and confront that child, taking him and bringing him before our presence so that we may lash him well as a wanton child should be, and clothe him in purple and so send him to his mother, Olympias, well chastised because it does not become him to be a fighter but instead to play children's games.'

These two lords, Primus and Antiochus, when they had read this letter of the emperor, wrote back to him in this way.

'To Darius, king of kings, great god, Primus and Antiochus do what service they can. To your high majesty, we make known that the child Alexander of whom you spoke has completely destroyed your country. We assembled a great multitude of folk and fought with him. But he has routed us, and we were eager to flee since we scarcely got away with our lives. Therefore, we, who you say are helpers to you, beg your high majesty that you send some aid to us your true lieges.'

When Darius had read this letter, there came another messenger to him and told him that Alexander and his army had camped on the water of the Strume. When Darius heard that, he wrote another letter to Alexander which said:

'Darius, king of kings and lord of lords to our servant, Alexander. Throughout all the world the name of Darius is praised and commended. Our gods also have it written in their books. How then dare you be so bold as to pass so many waters, seas, mountains, and crags in order to war against our royal majesty? A great honor, it seems to me,

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ware to the if þou myghte mawgre oures hafe I possessiouñ þe kyngdome  
of Macedoyne all anely w<sup>t</sup> owttēn mare Thare fore the es bett<sup>r</sup> amend  
þe of thi mysededis þan we take swilke wreke appoñ the þ<sup>t</sup> op<sup>r</sup> meñ take  
bisne þ<sup>r</sup> by Señ aHe þe erthe w<sup>t</sup> owttēn oure lordchipe may be callete wedowe  
Torne a gayne þ<sup>r</sup> fore we cōsaile þe I to thyñ awenñ cuntree:/Are oure wrethe  
and oure wreke falle apoñ þe://Neu<sup>r</sup> þe lesse þ<sup>t</sup> oure wirchippe & oure g<sup>te</sup>  
noblaye be sūwhate knawēn to þe://We sende the a malefuñ of chessebolle  
sede in takennyg þ<sup>r</sup> of://luke if þ<sup>u</sup> may nombir & telle all þir chessebolle  
sede & if þ<sup>u</sup> do þatt þañ may þe folke of oure oste be nowmerd:/And if þou  
may nozte do þat oure folke may nozte be nowmerd://þare fore t<sup>ne</sup>  
hame agayne into þ<sup>i</sup> cuntree and lefe þ<sup>i</sup> foly þat þ<sup>u</sup> hase by guñ:/And take  
namare apoñ þe swilke a p<sup>sumpcioñ</sup> for I tell þe we haffe meñ of armes  
w<sup>t</sup> oute nowñere

W heñ þe Messang<sup>r</sup>s of Dariñ come tiñ Alexander þay tuk hy þe ðre  
and þe malefuñ of chessebolle sede://Alexander þañ gerte rede  
þe lett<sup>r</sup>://And sytheñ he putt his hand in þe male and tuke of  
þe chessebolle sede & putt I his mouthe & chewed it & said I  
see wele & he þat he has many meñ bot þay are rizte softe as this  
sede are//In þe mene tyme þ<sup>r</sup> come a Messang<sup>r</sup> tiñ Alexander fra Ma-  
cedoyne:/And talde hy þat his Moder Olympias was grefe seke:/And  
Alexander herd þis://he was wonder heuy:/Neu<sup>r</sup> þe lesse he wrate  
vn to Dariñ a ðre þat spakke oñ this wyse

A lexander þe soñ of Philippe & of qwene Olympias vn to  
Dariñ kyng of Perse we sende://we do þe wele to wiete  
þat we hafe herde certaine tythynges whilke gers vs a  
gaynez oure wiñ do þat we now sañ saye Bot trow þ<sup>u</sup> nozte  
þ<sup>t</sup> we for fere or dowte of thi p<sup>de</sup> and þ<sup>i</sup> vayne glorie  
t<sup>ne</sup> hame agayne now tiñ oure awenñ cuntre://Bot all anely for to  
vesett oure Moder Olympias whilke lygges grefe seke://Bot wete þ<sup>u</sup>  
wele w<sup>t</sup> in schorte tyñ we schall haste vs agayne w<sup>t</sup> a grete nowmere  
of fresche knyghtis://And rizte als þou sent vs a malefuñ of chesse-  
bolle sede://So we sende þe here a littiñ pep://ffor þ<sup>u</sup> schulde witte  
þ<sup>t</sup> rizte as þe scharpenes of þis littiñ pep:/passez þe multitude of þe  
chessebolle sede rizte so þe grete multitude of þe psyenes sañ be ou<sup>r</sup>  
comēn w<sup>t</sup> a fewe knyghtis of Macedoyne

T his ðre be kende Alexander to þe knyghtis of Dariñ and þe pep  
also & bad þañ bere þañ to þe empo<sup>r</sup>:/And he gaffe þañ grete  
gyftes and riche and sent þañ furthe://And þañ he t<sup>ne</sup>de  
lagayne w<sup>t</sup> his oste

f. 9v

it would be for you, if you would disregard our lands and retain possession only of the kingdom of Macedonia and no more. Therefore, it is better if you amend your misdeeds than if we take such vengeance upon you that other men may take warning from it. Since all the earth without our lordship may be called widow, turn back, therefore, we counsel you, into your own country, before our wrath and our vengeance fall upon you. Nevertheless, so that our renown and our great nobility be somewhat known to you, we send you a bag full of poppyseeds as a portent of it -- see if you can number and count all these poppyseeds, and if you do that then may the folk of our army be numbered, and if you may not do that, our folk may not be numbered. Therefore, turn back home into your country and leave your folly that you have begun and no longer take upon yourself such a presumption because, I tell you, we have countless men of arms.'

When the messengers of Darius came to Alexander they took him the letter and the bag full of poppyseeds. Alexander then had the letter read. Then he put his hand in the bag and took out some of the poppyseeds and put them in his mouth and chewed them and said, "I see well that he has many men, but they are extremely soft as these seeds are."

In the meantime, there came a messenger to Alexander from Macedonia and told him that his mother, Olympias, was seriously ill. When Alexander heard this, he was very distressed. Nevertheless, he wrote to Darius a letter that spoke in this way.

'Alexander, the son of Philip and of Queen Olympias, to Darius, King of Persia, we send. We want you to fully understand that we have heard certain tidings which make us act against our will, which we now shall say. But don't believe that we, out of fear or dread of your pride and your vainglory, turn back home now to our own country. But only in order to visit our mother, Olympias, who lies very ill. But be well aware, within a short time we shall hasten back with a great number of fresh knights. And just as you sent us a bag full of poppyseeds, so we send you here a little pepper so that you might know that just as the sharpness of this little pepper surpasses the mass of the poppyseeds so the great multitude of the Persians shall be overcome by a few knights of Macedonia.'

This letter and also the pepper, Alexander showed to the knights of Darius and commanded them to carry them to the emperor. And he gave them great and rich gifts and sent them on. And then he turned

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Agayne w<sup>t</sup> his Oste to warde Macedoyne//Thare was þ<sup>e</sup> same tyme  
a wonder wyse ma<sup>n</sup> of werre þ<sup>e</sup> whilke highte Amorca and he was  
prynce werres in Araby and lay þare w<sup>t</sup> a grete multitude of me<sup>n</sup> in a  
wayte of Alexander & his Oste://And when he herde tell of þ<sup>e</sup> cōmyng of  
Alexander he redied hy for to kepe hy://And when þay mett þay faught  
to geder all þ<sup>e</sup> daye fra þ<sup>e</sup> morne till þ<sup>e</sup> eue<sup>n</sup>//And so þay dide all þase  
thre dayes//And þare was so meki<sup>ll</sup> folke dede in þat bataile//þat  
þ<sup>e</sup> sone wexe eclipte & w<sup>t</sup> drewe his lighte vggande for to see so me<sup>n</sup>  
ki<sup>ll</sup> scheddyng of blude Bot at þ<sup>e</sup> laste þ<sup>e</sup> pcyenes ware so thikke falde  
felled to þ<sup>e</sup> grounde þat þaire prynce Amorca t<sup>u</sup>ned þ<sup>e</sup> bakke & fledd  
and vnnethez myghte wyn<sup>n</sup> a waye and a fewe w<sup>t</sup> hy//So hastily  
fledd Amorca þat he come nerehand alson to Dari<sup>l</sup> as his messag<sup>rs</sup>  
did þ<sup>t</sup> come fra Alex<sup>v</sup> and fand Dari<sup>l</sup> haldand þ<sup>e</sup> ire in his hande þ<sup>t</sup>  
Alex<sup>v</sup> sent hy<sup>m</sup> and spirrande what Alex<sup>v</sup> did w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> chessebolle sede<sup>z</sup>  
and þ<sup>e</sup> messang<sup>rs</sup> ansuerd & said//he tuke of þ<sup>e</sup> chessebolle sede<sup>z</sup> & þay  
and chewed of þam & said//I see wele & he þat Dari<sup>l</sup> hase many  
me<sup>n</sup> bot þay are wonder softe//And then Dari<sup>l</sup> tuk of þ<sup>e</sup> pep þat  
Alex<sup>v</sup> sent and putt in his mouthe and chewed it and when he  
felide þ<sup>e</sup> strenghe of it and þ<sup>e</sup> grete hete//he syghede sare and  
saide//Alex<sup>v</sup> knyghtis & he are bot fewe bot and þay be als strange  
in þam selfe as þis pep es in it selfe þay sa<sup>ll</sup> fynde nane in þis  
werlde þat may agaynestande þam//And þan ansuerde Amorca &  
saide ffor sothe lorde & he ze say sothe Alexander hase few knyghtis  
bot þay ere strange þat hase slaen my knyghtis þ<sup>t</sup> ware so many  
so þat unnethez myghte I eschape oute of þaire handez://Alex<sup>v</sup>  
if alle he hade þ<sup>e</sup> victorie of his enemys he bare hy neu<sup>v</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> hiere  
þ<sup>v</sup> fore ne emp<sup>d</sup>dede hy nozte þ<sup>v</sup> of Bot bathe þ<sup>e</sup> pcyenez & the Ma<sup>n</sup>  
cedoyns þ<sup>t</sup> ware slaen he gert brynge to berye<sup>ll</sup>//And þan he  
come w<sup>t</sup> his Oste into Ceci<sup>ll</sup> where many Citez submyt þam v<sup>n</sup>  
till hy//And of that rewme þ<sup>v</sup> went w<sup>t</sup> hy<sup>m</sup>:/xvii<sup>m</sup> feghtyng  
men//And fra thethy<sup>n</sup> he come till Ysaury þ<sup>e</sup> whilke w<sup>t</sup> owten  
any agayne standyng was zolden vn till hy//And Alex<sup>v</sup> went vp  
apon þ<sup>e</sup> Mounte Taur and fande þ<sup>v</sup> a Citee þat me<sup>n</sup> callede  
psypolis and thare he tuk w<sup>t</sup> hy a certaine of me<sup>n</sup> of armes  
and went so thurgh Asye and wa<sup>n</sup> many Citez//And so he come i  
to ffrigy and went i to þ<sup>e</sup> temple of þ<sup>e</sup> so<sup>n</sup> and thare he made Sa<sup>n</sup>  
crafyce to þ<sup>e</sup> so<sup>n</sup>//ffra thethy<sup>n</sup> he come to a reuere þ<sup>t</sup> es called  
Stamandra and þare he said till his me<sup>n</sup>//Blyste mote ze be &  
[he þ<sup>t</sup> hase

f. 10r

back with his army toward Macedonia. There was at the same time, a very wise man of war, called Amorca. He was the prince of wars in Arabia and lay there with a great multitude of men awaiting Alexander and his army. When he heard of the coming of Alexander, he readied himself to catch and hold Alexander.

When they met, they fought together all day, from the morning to the evening. And so they did for those three days. There were so many folk dead in that battle that the sun eclipsed and withdrew its light dreading to see so much shedding of blood. But finally, the Persians were so thoroughly annihilated that their prince, Amorca, turned around and fled. He scarcely got away and a few with him. So hastily did Amorca flee that he came to Darius nearly as soon as did his messengers who came from Alexander, and found Darius holding in his hand the letter that Alexander sent him and asking what Alexander had done with the poppyseeds.

The messengers answered and said, "He took some of the poppyseeds and chewed some of them and said, 'I see well,' said he, 'that Darius has many men, but they are exceedingly soft.'"

Then Darius took the pepper that Alexander sent and put it in his mouth and chewed it. When he felt the strength of it and the great heat, he sighed painfully and said, "Alexander's knights are but few. But if they are as strong in themselves as this pepper is in itself, they shall find none in this world that may resist them."

Then Amorca answered and said, "Truly, lord, you say the truth. Alexander has few knights but they, who have killed my knights who were so many, are so strong that I was barely able to escape out of their hands. Alexander, even though he had the victory over his enemies, never bore himself higher nor filled himself with pride because of it. But he had both the Persians and the Macedonians that were killed brought to burial."

Then he came with his army into Cilicia, where many cities submitted themselves to him. From that realm, there went with him, seventeen thousand fighting men.

And from there he came to Isauria, which yielded to him without any resistance. Alexander went up on Mount Taurus and found there a city that men called Persepolis. Out of there he took with him certain soldiers and went so through Asia and won many cities.

Thus he came into Phrygia and went into the temple of the sun. There he made sacrifice to the sun.

From there he came to a river that is called Stamandra. There he said to his men, "Blessed must you be

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¶ he þt hase getyn þe comendacions & þe p̄ysyngez of þe gude docto<sup>r</sup> homer?  
 and ane of his men̄ ansuerde & said Mi lorde kyng ¶ he:/Me thynke  
 I may sauely writte ma p̄ysyngez & louyngez of the þaṁ homer? did  
 oi þaṁ þt distruyede þe Citee of Trayane ffor þu hase done i þi tyme  
 ma wirchipful̄ thynges þaṁ eu<sup>r</sup> did þay//And Alexander & said  
 Me ware leu<sup>r</sup> ¶ he be a wyse manes disciple/þan for to hafe þe louyngez  
 of Achilles://After this he remouede w<sup>t</sup> his Oste in to Macedoyne  
 & fande his Modir Olympias wele couerd of hir sekenes//And sug<sup>r</sup>  
 go<sup>r</sup>nede þare w<sup>t</sup> hir a while//And thaṁ he ordeyned hyṁ for to wende  
 agayne in to Psy//And keste hy for to logge at a Citee þt men̄  
 callez Abandryan The men̄ of þe Citee when̄ þay herde telle of  
 cōmyngē//þay Sperede þe zates of þe citee and watchede þe citee  
 ane ilke a syde://And when̄ Alex<sup>r</sup> saw þat//he went & assailede þe  
 citee and þe burgez of þe citee when̄ þay sawe þt þe citee was nozte  
 strange ynoghe of þe selfe for to agaynstande þe assawte of þaire  
 enemys//þay cōde tiḥ Alex<sup>r</sup> & saide//kyng Alex<sup>r</sup> ¶ þay we spered  
 nozte þe zates of citee to þat entent for to agaynestande the:/Bot  
 allanly for þe drede of Dariḥ kyng of Perse þe whilke as it was tolde  
 tiḥ vs es p̄possede for to send his men̄ hedir for to destruye vs  
 & oure citee//And þaṁ Alex<sup>r</sup> said vn to þaṁ agayn//Iffe ze wiḥ  
 ¶ he þt we distruy zow noghte openez zo<sup>r</sup> zates//And when I hafe  
 made an ende w<sup>t</sup> Dariḥ þaṁ saḥ I come agayne & speke w<sup>t</sup> zowe  
 and þaṁ þe Citazenes opened þe zates//ffra thetheṁ þay went  
 to Commoliche//and fra thethyn to Bihoy//And so to Caldiple//Syne  
 þay come tiḥ a grete reuere whare Alex<sup>r</sup> Oste hadd grete  
 defaute of vetails//And þaṁ his knyghtis murnede gretely and  
 said//Oure horses ¶ þay faylez vs ay mare & mare//Alex<sup>r</sup> ansuerd  
 & said AA my doghty knyghtis ¶ he þat zitt hedir towardez  
 hase in werrez suffred many piḥs & mekiḥ disesse ere ze nowe  
 in despeyre of zo<sup>r</sup> hele for þe failynge of zo<sup>r</sup> horsez//Saḥ we nozte  
 gete horsez ynowe and we lyffe & hafe qwert and if we dye  
 we saḥ hafe na nede of horse na þay may do vs na pphete//haste  
 we us þ<sup>r</sup> fore in aḥ þat we maye to þe place whare we saḥ  
 gete horsez w<sup>t</sup> owtteṁ nowm<sup>r</sup>//And vetails also bathe for oure  
 selfe & for oure horsez//when he hadd aḥ saide þay went furthe  
 and come tiḥ a place þt es called luctus þt es to say wepynge  
 [whare þay fand



f. 10v

who have received the commendations and the praises of the good doctor Homer."

And one of his men answered and said, "My lord king, it seems to me that I may safely write more praises and laudations of you than Homer did of them that destroyed the city of Troy because you have done in your time more glorious things than they ever did."

Alexander said, "I would rather be a wise man's disciple than to have the praises of Achilles."

After this he removed with his army into Macedonia. He found his mother, Olympias, well recovered from her sickness and stayed there with her a while. Then he prepared to go back into Persia. He decided to set up camp at a city that men called Abandrian. The men of the city, when they heard of his coming, barred the gates of the city and guarded the city on every side. When Alexander saw that, he went and attacked the city.

The burgesses of the city, when they saw that the city was not strong enough itself to resist the assault of their enemies, cried to Alexander and said, "King Alexander, we did not bar the gates of the city with the intention of resisting you. But only for dread of Darius, King of Persia, who, as it was told to us, intends to send his men here in order to destroy us and our city."

Then Alexander said to them again, "If you don't want us to destroy you, open your gates. When I have finished with Darius, than I shall come back and speak with you." Then the citizens opened the gates.

From there, they went to Comnoliche. From there to Bihoy. And so to Caldiple. Then they came to a huge river where Alexander's army had a great deficiency of supplies.

Then his knights complained greatly and said, "Our horses fail us ever more and more."

Alexander answered and said, "Ah, my brave knights, who have up to now suffered many perils and much distress in war, are you now in despair of your health because of the failure of your horses? Shall we not get horses enough if we live and have health? And if we die, we shall have no need of horses nor will they do us any good. As fast as we can, we must go to the place where we shall get countless horses and supplies also, both for ourselves and for our horses."

When he had said all this, they went on and came to a place that is called Luctus, that is to say "weeping,"

f. 11r

whare þay fande vetails ynoghe and mete ynoghe for þaire horse ffra  
 thethyñ þay remoued & come tiñ a place þt hatt Trigagantos and þare  
 þay lugged þañ//And Alex<sup>v</sup> went into a temple of Apollo://whare als  
 he aghteled to hafe made Sac<sup>r</sup>fice and hafe hadd ansuere of that godd  
 of certane thynges þt he walde hafe aschede:bot a woman þat hizte  
zacora whilke was preste of þt temple talde Alex<sup>v</sup>:/þt þañ was  
 nozte þe tyme of ansuere//On þe Morne Alex<sup>v</sup> come to þe temple & made  
 his sacrafice://And Apollo said tiñ Alex<sup>v</sup> hicles ¶ he//And Alex<sup>v</sup>  
 ansuerd & said:/Now þt þu callez me hercules ¶ he:/I see wele  
 þt añ thyñ ansuere ere false://ffra thethyñ Alex<sup>v</sup> went tiñ a  
 citee þat es called Thebea and said vn to þe folke of þe citee [Sendez  
 me furthe ¶ he foure hundreth knyghtis wele armed for to wend w<sup>t</sup>  
 vs in suppoellyng of vs//And when þe Thebens herd thir wordez:/þay  
 spered þe zates of þe citee for to agaynestande Alex<sup>v</sup>//And went to  
 þe wallez and cled lowde þat Alex<sup>v</sup> myghte here//Alexander ¶ þay  
 bot if gaa hethyñ fra vs:/we sañ do the a velany & thi knyghtis  
 also//When Alex<sup>v</sup> herde this//he smyled & saide//ze Thebeens  
 ¶ he þat ere so mekiñ praysed & cōmended of strenghe:/Spere  
 ze 30<sup>r</sup> zates & saise ze wiñ feghte w<sup>t</sup> me://þe es na doghety mañ  
 of armez þat couetez for to haue wirchip and loos:/þat wiñ close  
 hyñ w<sup>t</sup> in walles bot fightes w<sup>t</sup> his enemys manly in þe felde  
 When he hadd saide thir wordez:/he bad þt foure thowsandez  
 archers sulde gaa aboute þe citee w<sup>t</sup> þaire bowes & lay apoñ  
 þañ w<sup>t</sup> arowes þat stode apoñ þe wallez//And he bad two hundreth  
 meñ of armes ga to þe walles and myne þañ doune/And a  
 hundrethe he bad take fyrebrandez & gaa to þe zates & bryñe  
 þañ//And he ordeynde op<sup>v</sup> foure hundreth meñ for to bett douñ  
 þe walles w<sup>t</sup> Sewes of werre Engynes and Gounes & op<sup>v</sup> man<sup>v</sup>  
 of Inst<sup>u</sup>mentez of werre and hy selfe and þe remenant of þe oste  
 lay nere þañ to soco<sup>r</sup> þañ when þay hadd nede//And be lyfe  
 fra þay hadd gyffen assawte:/to þe citee:/þe zates ware brynt  
 & mekiñ folke was slayne w<sup>t</sup> in þe citee://Suñ w<sup>t</sup> arowes suñ  
 w<sup>t</sup> stanes of Engynes//þe ffire also by gañ for to sett in howsez  
 w<sup>t</sup> in þe citee & rayse a grete lowe//In þe Oste of Alex<sup>v</sup> was þe  
 same tyme a mañ þe whilke highte Cicester<sup>r</sup> a grete enemy  
 to þe citee//he when he sawe þe citee bryne made righte  
 mery

f. 11r

where they found supplies enough and food enough for their horses.

From there they left and came to a place called Trigagantos. There they camped. Alexander went into a temple of Apollo, where he intended to have made sacrifice and have had an answer from that god about certain things that he wanted to ask. But a woman called Zacora, who was the priest of the temple, told Alexander that then was not the time for an answer.

In the morning, Alexander came to the temple and made his sacrifice. And Apollo said to Alexander, "Hercules."

Alexander answered and said, "Now that you call me Hercules, I see well that all your answers are false."

From there Alexander went to a city that is called Thebes and said to the folk of the city, "Send out to me four hundred knights, well-armed, in order to go with us and aid us."

When the Thebans heard these words, they locked the gates of the city in order to resist Alexander and went to the walls and called loudly so that Alexander might hear, "Alexander, unless you go away from us, we shall do you a villainy, and your knights also."

When Alexander heard this, he smiled and said, "You Thebans, who are so much praised and commended for strength, are you locking your gates and saying you will fight with me? There is no brave man of arms, who covets glory and fame, who will close himself within walls, but fights with his enemies manfully in the field."

When he had said these words, he commanded that four thousand archers should go around the city with their bows and attack with arrows those who stood upon the walls. And he commanded two hundred men of arms to go to the walls and mine them down, and a hundred he commanded to take firebrands and go to the gates and burn them. He prepared another four hundred men to beat down the walls with war engines and guns and other kinds of instruments of war. He and the remnant of the army lay near them to aid them when they had need. As soon as they assaulted the city, the gates were burned, and many folk were killed within the city. Some with arrows. Some with stones from catapults. The fire also began to set in houses within the city and raise a great flame.

In the army of Alexander there was at the same time a man who was called Cicesterus, a great enemy of the city. He, when he saw the city burn, made very

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mery//Bot a man of the citee þt highte Hismon when he saw his cuntree þus gates be destroyed come and felle one knees be fore Alexander and bigan for to synge a sange of Musyke & of Murnyge w<sup>t</sup> an Instrument of Musike//Supposyng þ<sup>v</sup> by for to drawe Alex<sup>v</sup> herte to Mercy & styrre hy to hafe rewthe on þ<sup>e</sup> citee//Alex<sup>v</sup> be helde hym & sayde Maist<sup>v</sup> q̃ he whare to syngez þ<sup>u</sup> me þis sange:AA lorde q̃ hismon to luke zife I myzte styrre þ<sup>i</sup> herte to hafe mercy oñ þ<sup>e</sup> citee//And þan Alexander was wonder wrathe and bad dynges þ<sup>e</sup> walles of þ<sup>e</sup> cetee douñ to þ<sup>e</sup> harde erthe//And when þay had so done þay remoued & went þaire way and ane of þ<sup>e</sup> worthieste men of þ<sup>e</sup> citee þ<sup>e</sup> whilke hyghte Clitomarus went w<sup>t</sup> þan in cōpany//Bot þ<sup>v</sup> Thebeens þt ware left aftire þ<sup>e</sup> birnyng of þ<sup>e</sup> citee went to þ<sup>e</sup> temple of Apollo and askede weþ<sup>v</sup> eu<sup>v</sup> mare þaire citee sulde be repaireð agayne//Appollo ansuerde & said//he þat schall bygge þis citee agayne:sall hafe thre vic<sup>-</sup>tories//And when he hase geten thre victories:/he sall onane come & repareð this citee and bigge it agayne also wele als eu<sup>v</sup> it was

A                   lexander fra þ<sup>e</sup> citee of Thebe went to Corynthe and þare come tið hym certane lordes p<sup>-</sup>yand hy þat he walde come & see a wrestilyng//And he graunted þan and to þis Ilke wrestillyng þ<sup>v</sup> come folke w<sup>t</sup> owten nowm<sup>v</sup>//And when all men were gadirde Alexander saide whilk of zowe q̃ he sall gaa & begyn þis playe//Clitomarus þan of whaym I spakke bi fore knelið bi fore þ<sup>e</sup> kyng & saide://lorde q̃ he & ze wolle vouche saffe to giffe me leue I wið begyn//And Alexander bad hy ga to//And Clitomarus went in to þ<sup>e</sup> place and þ<sup>e</sup> firste man þt come in his hande at the first to<sup>-</sup>ne he threwe hy wideopen and Alexander said vn tið hy//Caste thre men q̃ he & þ<sup>u</sup> sall be corouned þan þ<sup>v</sup> come anop<sup>v</sup> man to Clitomarus and vnnethez he come in his handez when he was casten wydeopen//And one þ<sup>e</sup> same wyse he fuede þ<sup>e</sup> thirde//And þan Alexander gart sett oñ his heuede a p<sup>-</sup>ciuous coroun and þ<sup>e</sup> kynges f<sup>-</sup>unde<sup>v</sup> spirrede hy what his name was My name q̃ he es w<sup>t</sup> owten citee when Alexander herde þt//he saide vn tið hy Thou noble wristiller q̃ he whi arte þ<sup>u</sup> callede w<sup>t</sup> owten citee//wirchipful empo<sup>v</sup> q̃ he be fore þat ze werede þ<sup>e</sup> empo<sup>v</sup>s dyademe I hadde a citee full of folkez & of reches Bot now sene ze come to this astate & þis dignytee I am spoylede & p<sup>-</sup>uede of my citee//And when herde this he wiste wele þat he ment of þ<sup>e</sup> citee of Thebe//And þan he garte his fgeantez  
[make a crye

f. 11v

merry. But a man of the city who was called Hismon, when he saw his country, in this way, being destroyed, came and fell on his knees before Alexander. He began to sing a song of music and of mourning with an instrument of music, believing by this means to draw Alexander's heart to mercy and stir him to have pity on the city.

Alexander saw him and said, "Master, why do you sing me this song?"

"Ah, lord," said Hismon, "to see if I might stir your heart to have mercy on the city."

And then Alexander was exceedingly angry and commanded them to tear the walls of the city down to the hard earth. And when they had done so, they left and went their way. One of the worthiest men of the city, who was called Clitomarus, went with them in the company. But the Thebans that were left after the burning of the city went to the temple of Apollo and asked whether their city should ever be rebuilt again.

Apollo answered and said, "He, who shall build this city back, shall have three victories, and when he has gotten three victories, he shall soon come and rebuild this city and build it back as well as it ever was."

From the city of Thebes, Alexander went to Corinth. There came to him certain lords, asking him to come and see some wrestling. He assented. To this same wrestling match there came innumerable folk.

When all men were gathered, Alexander said, "Which of you shall go and begin this play?"

Clitomarus then, of whom I spoke before, knelt before the king and said, "Lord, if you will grant me permission, I will begin."

Alexander commanded him to do so. Clitomarus went into the place and the first man that came in his grip, at the first turn, he threw him.

Alexander said to him, "Throw three men, and you shall be crowned."

Then there came another man to Clitomarus, and scarcely did he come in his hands than he was thrown. In the same way, he served the third. Then Alexander had a precious crown set on his head, and the king's servants asked him what his name was.

"My name," he said, "is 'without city.'"

When Alexander heard that he said to him, "You noble wrestler, why are you called 'without city?'"

"Glorious emperor," he said, "before you wore the emperor's diadem, I had a city full of folks and of riches. But now since you came to this estate and this dignity, I am undone and deprived of my city."

When Alexander heard this, he fully understood that he meant the city of Thebes. And then he had his sergeants

## f. 12r

make a crye that hadd giffen Clitomar<sup>l</sup> leue for to repairelle þ<sup>e</sup> citee  
of thebee//ffra Corinthe Alex<sup>v</sup> and his oste remowed till a citee þat highte  
platea of þ<sup>e</sup> wilke a mañ þat highte Sc rassag<sup>as</sup> was prynce and  
Alex<sup>v</sup> went to þ<sup>e</sup> temple of Diane and fande þare a womañ preste  
þ<sup>e</sup> wilke was a maydeñ & scho was araied lyke p<sup>o</sup>stez of þat ty<sup>e</sup>  
and when sawe Alex<sup>v</sup> scho saide vn till hy//Alex<sup>v</sup> quod scho þu arte  
welcomē//þou schalt conquere all þ<sup>e</sup> werlde//One þ<sup>e</sup> morne Sc rassag<sup>as</sup>  
went to þ<sup>e</sup> same temple and alsone als þ<sup>e</sup> p<sup>o</sup>ste sawe hy scho saide vn  
till hy Sc rassag<sup>as</sup> & scho what thou wt in a schorte while þu schalt  
be p<sup>u</sup>ed of þ<sup>e</sup> lordchip þat þu now hase://And when he herde þis he was  
righte wrathe wt hir & saide//þou arte nozte worthy & he for to be  
p<sup>o</sup>ste here//Alexander come to þ<sup>e</sup> g<sup>i</sup>st<sup>o</sup>daye and þu pphicyed hy gude//  
And to me þu sais þt I schalt lose all my lorde chipe//And scho ansuerd  
& saide//Beez nozte angry to me & scho:for all þis buse be fulfilled  
and nathynge þ<sup>v</sup> of lefte ne ou<sup>h</sup>ippede//A littill aft<sup>r</sup> it felle þt Alex<sup>v</sup>  
was gretly angrede at Sc rassag<sup>as</sup> and tuke fra hym his lordchipe  
a Sc rassag<sup>as</sup> went to þ<sup>e</sup> cite of Athenez and sare wepande he com<sup>o</sup>  
plenede hy to þ<sup>e</sup> citazenes of Athenez & talde þa<sup>m</sup> how þt Alex<sup>v</sup> hadd  
p<sup>u</sup>ed hy of his lordechip<sup>o</sup>//And þa<sup>m</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> Atheneanes ware wonder  
toward Alexander//And made grete boste & manace þt þay schold  
ryse agaynes hy//bot if he restorede Sc rassag<sup>as</sup> agayne till his  
lordechipe//Alexander remowed his Oste fra platea to þ<sup>e</sup> citee  
of Athenes//And when herde telle þt þ<sup>e</sup> Athenens ware wrathe  
till hy warde & manaced hy he wrate vn to þa<sup>m</sup> a lre þat spak  
one this wyse

A       lexander þ<sup>e</sup> soñ of Philippe and of qwene Olympias vn to the  
          Athenenes g<sup>e</sup>tynge//ffra þ<sup>e</sup> tyme þat oure ffadir was dedde  
          & we were sett in þ<sup>e</sup> Trone of his d<sup>i</sup>gnytee//we went into  
          þ<sup>e</sup> weste Marches//whare all þ<sup>e</sup> folkez þt duellez thare for þ<sup>e</sup>  
maste pty zalde þa<sup>m</sup> vn till vs wt owteñ stresse//ffra þ<sup>e</sup> citee of Rome  
to þ<sup>e</sup> weste see occyane//All meñ submytte þa<sup>m</sup> vn till vs//þt wt oure awen  
fre will we hafe taken þa<sup>m</sup> till oure g<sup>e</sup>ce//And thase þt walde nozte  
s<sup>i</sup>mytt þa<sup>m</sup> till vs wt fairenes//we hafe distruyed þa<sup>m</sup> & þaire citez  
and doungeñ þa<sup>m</sup> down to þ<sup>e</sup> erthe//And now þis op<sup>o</sup> daye as we went  
fra Macedoyne & passed thurgh Asye:bi þ<sup>e</sup> cite of Thebe//þ<sup>e</sup> Thebyens  
despysed vs & lete as þay sett nozte by vs//Bot onane we garte þair  
pryde falle and destruyed bathe þa<sup>m</sup> & thaire citee/And þ<sup>v</sup> fore we  
write vn to 3ow:that 3e sende vs teñ philosophres þt be wyse

[by þ<sup>e</sup> wilke

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proclaim that he had given Clitomarus leave to rebuild the city of Thebes.

From Corinth, Alexander and his army departed to a city called Platea of which a man called Scrassageras was prince. Alexander went to the temple of Diana and found there a woman priest who was a virgin and was dressed like priests of that time.

When she saw Alexander, she said to him, "Alexander, you are welcome. You shall conquer all the world."

In the morning, Scrassageras went to the same temple and as soon as the priest saw him she said to him, "Scrassageras, within a short while you shall be deprived of the lordship that you now have."

And when he heard this, he was extremely angry with her and said, "You are not worthy to be priest here. Alexander came to you yesterday, and you prophesied good for him. To me you say that I shall lose all my lordship."

She answered and said, "Don't be angry with me, since all this must be fulfilled and nothing left or omitted from it."

A little later, it happened that Alexander was greatly angered at Scrassageras and took from him his lordship. Scrassageras went to the city of Athens, and, weeping intensely, he complained to the citizens of Athens and told them how Alexander had deprived him of his lordship. Then the Athenians were extremely angry at Alexander. They made great boast and threat that they should rise against him unless he restored Scrassageras to his lordship.

Alexander removed his army from Platea to the city of Athens. When he heard that the Athenians were angry at him and threatened him, he wrote to them a letter that went this way.

'Alexander, the son of Philip and of Queen Olympias, to the Athenians, greeting. From the time that our father was dead and we were set on the throne of his high estate, we went into the West frontiers where all the folk who live there, for the most part, have yielded themselves to us without stress. From the city of Rome to the West Ocean, all men submit themselves to us so that by our own free will we have taken them into our favor. Those that would not submit to us with fairness, we have destroyed them and their cities and struck them down to the earth. Now this other day, as we went from Macedonia and passed through Asia by the city of Thebes, the Thebans despised us and behaved as if they thought nothing of us. But quickly we made their pride fall and destroyed both them and their city. Therefore, we write to you to send us ten philosophers who are wise

f. 12v

by þ<sup>e</sup> whilke we may be encensed and conselled//for op<sup>o</sup> thyng witt we nane  
 aske 3ow Bot alle anely þ<sup>t</sup> 3e halde vs for 3o<sup>r</sup> lorde & 3o<sup>r</sup> kynge//And 3if 3e witt  
 no3te sbmytt 3owe vn titt vs 3ow buse op<sup>o</sup> be st<sup>o</sup>ngere þa<sup>n</sup> we or ell<sup>s</sup> sb<sup>o</sup>  
 mytt 3ow to sū lordechipe þ<sup>t</sup> be st<sup>o</sup>ngere þa<sup>n</sup> oures

T he Athenyenes redd þ<sup>s</sup> ire and þa<sup>n</sup> þay biga<sup>n</sup> to crye one  
 highte/And ane þay highte Eschille stode vp amange3 þa<sup>n</sup>  
 and said:/It es fully my conseil ¶ he þ<sup>t</sup> we o<sup>n</sup> na wise assent  
 wordez of Alexander//Alle þ<sup>e</sup> folke þa<sup>n</sup> þ<sup>t</sup> was gadirde þare  
 prayed þ<sup>e</sup> philosophre Demostines þ<sup>t</sup> he walde tell þa<sup>n</sup> his consele as  
 touchynge þ<sup>t</sup> mat<sup>o</sup>e//And he stude vp & hadd a<sup>ll</sup> me<sup>n</sup> be stitt//And þa<sup>n</sup>  
 he said vnto þa<sup>n</sup>//Sirs ¶ he I p<sup>o</sup>y 3ow takes tent vn to my wordez  
 & herkenes gudly what I sa<sup>ll</sup> say//If 3e fele 3ow of power for titt a  
 gayne stande Alex<sup>o</sup> & to supprise hy þa<sup>n</sup> feghtes w<sup>t</sup> hy manly and  
 obeys no3te titt his wordez//And if 3e suppose 3e be no3te strange  
 ynoghe to feghte w<sup>t</sup> hy<sup>n</sup>//þa<sup>n</sup> here3 hy<sup>n</sup> and obeys vn titt hy<sup>n</sup>  
 3e knawe wele þ<sup>t</sup> als oure eldirs telles vs//3erses was a grett kynge  
 & a myghty and many victories he gatt//And neu<sup>o</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> lesse i Ellada he  
 suffrede grete meschefe//Bot he this Alexander has done many  
 batailles in þ<sup>e</sup> whilke he suffrede neu<sup>o</sup> disese bot alwaye had þ<sup>e</sup>  
 ou<sup>o</sup>hande//þ<sup>e</sup> Thirienes I p<sup>o</sup>y 3ow ware no3te balde knyghtis and  
 strange and a<sup>ll</sup> þaire lyfe hade bene excercysede i armes//And  
 whate profited þa<sup>n</sup> þaire strenghe/þ<sup>e</sup> Thebienes also þ<sup>t</sup> were  
 so wyse and so grete ex<sup>o</sup>cyse hadde i armes fra þ<sup>e</sup> firste tyme þ<sup>t</sup>  
 þ<sup>e</sup> citee was bygged whare off fuede þaire grete witt þa<sup>n</sup> and  
 þaire grete strength when Alexander assailede þa<sup>n</sup>//þ<sup>e</sup> Poliponiens  
 faghte w<sup>t</sup> Alex<sup>o</sup> bot þay myghte na while agaynestande his  
 me<sup>n</sup> of armes Bot also<sup>n</sup> þaire ware disconfit and slaen//It es  
 no3te vnknowen vn to 3owe how many citeez castells & townnez  
 for fere sbmittis þa<sup>n</sup> vn titt hy<sup>n</sup> w<sup>t</sup> owttē any assawte gyffyg  
 þarefore it es no3te my consaile þat 3e be heuy ne wrathe titt  
 Alex<sup>o</sup> for Scrassag<sup>o</sup>as ffor a<sup>ll</sup> men knawes wele þat Alex<sup>o</sup> es a  
 wonder wyse ma<sup>n</sup> & a warre & a ma<sup>n</sup> þ<sup>t</sup> gou<sup>o</sup>nes hy by reson  
 and þ<sup>o</sup> fore 3e may wele wete he walde no3te putt Scrassag<sup>o</sup>as  
 oute of his lordechipe apō<sup>n</sup> lesse þa<sup>n</sup> forfett vn titt hy//when  
 þ<sup>e</sup> Athenyenes had herde þir wordez:þay cōmedid gretly the  
 conseille of Demostines and tha<sup>n</sup> they ordeyned a corou<sup>n</sup> of  
 golde þ<sup>e</sup> weghte of .l. pounce and sent Messang<sup>o</sup>s þ<sup>o</sup> w<sup>t</sup> and  
 w<sup>t</sup> t<sup>o</sup>bute vn titt Alexander bot philosophres sent þay nane  
[and when þir messag<sup>o</sup>s



f. 12v

by whom we may be instructed and advised. We will ask you for nothing else but only that you consider us as your lord and your king. If you will not submit yourselves to us, it is necessary for you either to be stronger than we or else submit yourselves to some lordship that is stronger than ours.'

The Athenians read this letter and then they began to cry aloud. One they called Aeschylus stood up among them and said, "It is completely my counsel that we in no way agree to the words of Alexander."

All the folk then, who were gathered there, asked the philosopher, Demosthenes, to tell them his advice touching the matter. He stood up and had all men be still.

Then he said to them, "Sirs, I pray you pay attention to my words and listen well to what I shall say. If you feel you have the power to resist Alexander and to overpower him, then fight with him manfully and do not obey his words. If you think you are not strong enough to fight with him, then listen to him and submit to him. You know well as our elders tell us, Xerxes was a great and mighty king and had many victories. Nevertheless, in Greece he suffered great distress. But he, this Alexander, has fought many battles in which he never experienced trouble but always had the upper hand. The Tyrians, I ask you, were they not bold knights and strong, and all their life had been practiced in arms? What did their strength gain them? The Thebans, who also were so wise and so greatly experienced in arms from the first time that the city was built, how did their great wit and their great strength serve them when Alexander assailed them? The Peloponnesians fought with Alexander, but they could not long resist his men of arms. Soon they were defeated and killed. It is not unknown to you how many cities, castles, and towns, out of fear, submit themselves to him without his giving any assault. Therefore, it is not my counsel that you be troubled or angry with Alexander for Scraassageras because all men know well that Alexander is an exceedingly wise man and a prudent one and a man that governs himself by reason. Therefore, you should understand completely that he would not put Scraassageras out of his lordship for less a reason than a crime against him."

When the Athenians had heard these words, they praised the counsel of Demosthenes a great deal. Then they prepared a crown of gold the weight of fifty pounds and sent messengers with it and with tribute to Alexander. But they sent no philosophers.

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and when thire Messang<sup>rs</sup> come tiH Alex<sup>o</sup> pay gaffe hy p<sup>e</sup> corouñ and p<sup>e</sup> tribute þat p<sup>e</sup> Athenyenes sent hyñ and talde hy þat þay had highte hym a grete nowm<sup>o</sup> of catelle and when Alex<sup>o</sup> had herd þa<sup>m</sup>:he vnder stode wele p<sup>e</sup> conceH of Eschilus þ<sup>t</sup> cōceHð p<sup>e</sup> Athenyenes to agaynestand hyñ and also p<sup>e</sup> conceH of Demostenes that cōceHde þa<sup>m</sup> p<sup>e</sup> contrary and þa<sup>m</sup> he wrate a ðre to þa<sup>m</sup> whare of the Tenoure was this

A       lexander p<sup>e</sup> soñ of Philippe and quene Olympias for p<sup>e</sup> name of kyng wih we nozte take apoñ vs be fore we hafe oure enemys vnder oure subieccioñ:vn to p<sup>e</sup> Athenyenes gre<sup>m</sup>tyng//It es nozte oure entent to come in 30<sup>o</sup> citee w<sup>t</sup> oure oste Bot allanly to come & dispyte w<sup>t</sup> 30<sup>o</sup> p<sup>hrs</sup> and to asche þa<sup>m</sup> certane questyons Oure p<sup>o</sup>posse was also to hafe declared for oure trewe leggez & oure gude ffrendez://Bot 30<sup>o</sup> dedez p<sup>ues</sup> p<sup>e</sup> cont<sup>ry</sup> as it done vs tiH vnderstande//Oure goddez we take to witnef þat whilke of 3ow so rysez agayne vs we saH take swilke wrete apon hy//þ<sup>t</sup> op<sup>o</sup> meñ saH take ensample þ<sup>o</sup> by//Bot 3e als schrewes and euyH meñ:eu<sup>o</sup> mare trowez iH and thynkes iH//wate 3e nozte wele þat p<sup>e</sup> Thebienes þ<sup>t</sup> raise agaynes vs hadd þaire mede als þay disserued://And 3e haffand in vs a wrange consayte blame vs ffor we putt Scrassag<sup>as</sup> oute of his Office p<sup>e</sup> whilke forfett gretly agaynes oure maieste//We sent vn to 3ow bi ðre for ten philosophres bot 3e nozte knawande oure grete powere & oure myghte despysed oure maundement and walde nozte fulfiH it//Neu<sup>o</sup> p<sup>e</sup> les if aH 3e hafe offendid agaynes vs hider towarde and bene disobeyande tiH oure maiestee//we forgiffe 3ow aH 30<sup>o</sup> gilt and p<sup>e</sup> g<sup>e</sup>uance þat 3e hafe doñ vs So þat 3e be obeyande vn tiH vs fra this tyme forwarde//Comforthes 3ow þ<sup>o</sup>fore & beez mery for of vs 3e schall hafe na greuance ne na disesse be cause 3e did aft<sup>o</sup> p<sup>e</sup> conceH of Demostynes

W       hen p<sup>e</sup> Athenyenes herd þ<sup>s</sup> ðre redd þay ware rizte gladd// And þa<sup>m</sup> Alexander & his Oste went fra thethyn vn to Lacedoyne//Bot p<sup>e</sup> lacedouns walde one na wyse obey vn tiH Alex<sup>o</sup> bot said ilkañ of þa<sup>m</sup> tiH op<sup>o</sup>//latt vs nozte be lykke p<sup>e</sup> Athenyenes q<sup>o</sup> þay þat drede p<sup>e</sup> Manaschyng and p<sup>e</sup> boste of Alex<sup>o</sup> bot late vs schewe oure myzte and oure strenghe and manly defende  
[oure citee]

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When these messengers came to Alexander, they gave him the crown and the tribute that the Athenians sent him and told him that they had promised him a great number of cattle. When Alexander had heard them, he fully understood the counsel of Aeschylus who counseled the Athenians to resist him and also the counsel of Demosthenes who counseled them the contrary. Then he wrote a letter to them, the contents of which was this.

'Alexander, the son of Philip and Queen Olympias, since the name of king will we not take upon us before we have our enemies under our domination, to the Athenians, greeting. It is not our intent to come into your city with our army, but only to come and dispute with your philosophers and to ask them certain questions. Our purpose was also to have affirmed our true lieges and our good friends. But your deeds make us understand that the opposite is true. With our gods as our witness, whoever rises against us, we shall take such vengeance upon him that other men shall learn from it. But you, like shrews and evil men, continually believe evil and think evil; don't you fully understand that the Thebans who rose against us had their reward as they deserved. You, having a wrong notion about us, blame us since we put Scraassageras out of his office, who distressingly committed a crime against our majesty. We sent to you by letter for ten philosophers but you, not knowing our great power and our might, despised our request and would not fulfil it. Nevertheless, even though you have offended against us up to now and been disobedient to our majesty, we forgive you all your guilt and the grievance that you have done us as long as you obey us from this time forward. Comfort yourselves, therefore, and be merry, for from us you shall have no grievance or no distress because you followed the counsel of Demosthenes.'

When the Athenians heard this letter read they were very glad. Then Alexander and his army went from there to Lacedaemonia. But the Lacedaemonians would in no way obey Alexander but said each to the other, "Let us not be like the Athenians, who dread the threatening and the boast of Alexander, but let us show our might and our strength and manfully defend

f. 13v

oure citee agayne3 hy//When þay hadd saide þay Spered þe zates of  
þe cetee faste and went manly to þe walles//And a grete nowm<sup>v</sup> of  
þa<sup>m</sup> tuke þa<sup>m</sup> shippez & went to þe See a grete many//to feghte  
wt Alex<sup>v</sup> are he come to lande//And when Alex<sup>v</sup> saw this he sent  
a ire to þa<sup>m</sup> Sayand on this wyse

Alexander þe soñ of Philippe and of þe quene Olympias  
vn to þe lacedoūns we sende//we conseñ 3ow þt þat  
that 3o<sup>v</sup> elders hase lefte 3ow 3e kepe hale & sound &  
in sauete and lyfte3 nozte 3o<sup>v</sup> hende ou<sup>v</sup> hie to þe  
thynges þt 3e may nozte reche to//And if 3e desire for to hafe  
ioy of 3o<sup>v</sup> strenthe:/dose swa þt 3e be worthy to hafe wirchipe  
of vs//þare fore we comande 3ow þat 3e turne agayne wt 3o<sup>v</sup>  
schippe3 and leuez þa<sup>m</sup> & gase to lande by 3o<sup>v</sup> awenñ fre wiñ  
or sekirly I sañ sett fire in tha<sup>m</sup> & bryne þa<sup>m</sup> and if 3ee  
dispise oure cōmandemēt blame3 na mañ bot 3o<sup>v</sup> selfe:if  
we wreke vs one 3owe

T he lacedoūns redd þs ire and when it was redd þay  
ware wonder heuy nozte forði þay redied þa<sup>m</sup> to feghte  
Bot Alex<sup>v</sup> arryued in añ op<sup>v</sup> coste and come to þe citee are  
þay wiste and vmbylapped þe citee one ilke a syde and  
assailde it strangely & dange þe lacedouns of þe walles & slewe many  
of þa<sup>m</sup> & wounded many and sett fyre in þaire schippe3 & brynt þa<sup>m</sup>  
þe remanant of þa<sup>m</sup> þt ware lefte appoñ lyfe when þay saw this  
grete meschefe come oute of þe citee vn tiñ Alex<sup>v</sup> & felle douñ at  
his fete & be soughte hy of mercy & of g<sup>v</sup>ce//And Alex<sup>v</sup> ansuerd//I  
come to 3ow q he meke & mylde:/bot in þat degre 3e walde nozte  
ressayffe me þ<sup>v</sup> fore now are 3o<sup>v</sup> schippe3 brynned and 3o<sup>v</sup> citee dist  
ruyed & 3o<sup>v</sup> folkez slayne:warned I nozte be fore þt 3e schule nozte  
heue 3o<sup>v</sup> handez ou<sup>v</sup> hye to þe sternes to þe whilke nane erthely mañ  
may wynñ ffor what so eu<sup>v</sup> clymbez hier þa<sup>m</sup> his fete may wynñ  
to suñ halde:/he sañ falle onane douñ to þe grounde//And þ<sup>v</sup> fore  
es þ<sup>v</sup> a comōne puerbe:/þat wha sa hewes to hie:þe chippez wiñ  
falle in his egh 3e wende hafe done tiñ vs as 3o<sup>v</sup> eldirs didde  
sūtyme tiñ kynge 3ersez/bot 3o<sup>v</sup> wenyng dessayued 3ow ffor 3e  
myghte nozte agayne stande vs when we assailde 3ow//when

[he hadd said on þis wyse

f. 13v

our city against him."

When they had said this, they locked the gates of the city tight and went manfully to the walls. A great number of them took ships and a great many went to the sea to fight with Alexander before he might come to land. When Alexander saw this, he sent a letter to them saying thus.

'Alexander, the son of Philip and of the Queen Olympias, to the Lacedaemonians, we send. We advise you that what your elders have left you, you keep whole and sound and in safety and don't lift your hand too high to the things that you may not reach. If you desire to enjoy your strength, act in such a way that you may be worthy to gain worship from us. Therefore, we command you that you turn back with your ships and leave them and by your own free will proceed to land. Or assuredly, I shall set fire in them and burn them. If you despise our commandment, blame no man but yourself if we avenge ourselves on you.'

The Lacedaemonians read this letter. When it was read, they were exceedingly troubled, but they prepared to fight. But Alexander landed at another coast and came to the city before they knew it and surrounded the city on every side. He assaulted it fiercely and struck the Lacedaemonians off the walls. He killed many of them and wounded many. He set fire in their ships and burned them. When the rest of them, who were left alive, saw this great ruin, they came out of the city to Alexander and fell down at his feet and entreated his mercy and grace.

Alexander answered, "I came to you meek and mild. But in that state you would not receive me. Therefore, your ships are now burned and your city destroyed and your folk killed. Didn't I warn you earlier that you should not raise your hands too high to the stars to which no earthly man may attain? Although whatever person climbs higher than his feet may gain some foothold, he shall soon fall down to the ground. For this there is a common proverb that whoever chops too high, the chips will fall in his eyes. You intended to do to us as your elders once did to King Xerxes, but your thinking deceived you because you could not resist us when we assailed you."

When



f. 14r

he had spoken in this way, he gave them permission to go wherever they wanted.

Then he left there and went toward Cilicia. When the Emperor Darius heard of the coming of Alexander, he was extremely frustrated and sent after all his princes, dukes, and earls, and other great lords and went to a council.

He said to them, "I see well that he, this Alexander, who goes about making war like this, increases greatly in glory. Everywhere he comes he is victorious. I believed that he was a thief and a robber who had gone to countries that were weak and feeble and dared not resist him and robbed them and despoiled them. But now I see well he is a brave man of arms and a noble warrior. The more I have defamed him and despised him, the more his name and his glory rise. In order for him to learn children's games, I sent him a ball, a top, and a whip. But he, whom I called a student, he seems a teacher. Wherever he goes, fortune goes with him. Therefore, it is necessary for us to negotiate about our well-being and our people's and put away all pride and all folly, and no longer despise Alexander, saying that he is nothing because we are Emperor of Persia since his littleness increases and our greatness decreases. I have great fear that god's providence helps him, so that while we are about and think to put him out of Greece we are despoiled of the realm of Persia by him."

When Darius had said these words his brother Coriather answered and said, "You have here greatly magnified and commended Alexander since you say he is more ardent to come into Persia than we are to come into Greece. Therefore, if it is pleasing to your majesty, try the ways of Alexander so you shall well and peaceably bind you empire and conquer many other realms. When Alexander goes to battle and fights, he does not allow his princes or his other lords to go before and himself come behind, but he goes before them all, and thus he raises his glory and his name."

Darius asked, "Ought I to take example from Alexander or Alexander from me?"

A prince answered and said, "Alexander is an experienced man of war and a wise one and has committed no crime in any way. Therefore, he does manfully by himself all that he does because he has taken the nature of the lion."

"How do you know that?" asked Darius.

And





f.14v

he answered and said, "That time that I was sent to Macedonia to ask tribute of King Philip, I saw by his bearing and his wise response that he should be a man exceeding both in wit and in deed. Therefore, if it pleases you, I advise that you send to all the lands and countries that belong to your empire, that is to say, to Parthia, and Media, Appollonia, Mesopotamia, Italy, and Bactria, and to all the rest since a hundred and fifty different races are subject to you. To the lords of all these I advise that you send, commanding them that they come to you as quickly as they can with all the men that they may gather who are able to go to war. When they are all assembled together, let us implore our gods for help. Then Alexander, when he sees such a multitude of folk against him, his heart shall fail him and his men's also. Either he shall, out of fear, turn back home to his own country or else submit himself to you."

Then another prince answered and said, "This is a good counsel, but it is not useful as a remedy. Don't you fully understand that a wolf chases a great flock of sheep and causes them to scatter? So also does the wisdom of the Greeks surpass other nations."

In the meantime, Alexander assembled a great multitude of folk to the number of two hundred thousand fighting men and moved toward Persia. They came to a river that is called Mociona of which the water was exceedingly cold and bright and clear. Alexander had a great desire to be bathed there and went into it and bathed himself and washed himself in it. As soon as he did, he fell into a fever and a headache with it so that he became extremely ill. When the Macedonians saw their lord so afflicted physically they were very troubled and quite filled with dread.

They said among themselves, "If Darius finds out that our lord Alexander is so sick, he shall come and fall upon us suddenly and destroy us, each one. But if we had the health of our lord Alexander, we would have comfort enough and dread no nation."

Then King Alexander called to him his physician, who was called Philip, and directed him to prepare a medicine for his sickness. This same physician was



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only a young man, but he was a very skilled man and an expert in all the points that belong to medicine. He promised Alexander that a certain drink that he would soon prepare make him completely well.

Now it happened that with Alexander was a prince called Parmenion, lord of Armenia. This prince had great enmity toward this physician because Alexander loved him so exceedingly well. Quickly, he wrote to Alexander and warned him that he should be careful with Philip, his physician, and for no reason accept that drink which he would give him. He said that Darius had promised to give him his daughter as wife and his kingdom after his death, if it happened that he might, by any means, make an end of Alexander.

When Alexander had read this letter, he was not troubled. He trusted so much in his physician's sense of right and wrong.

In the meantime, this physician came to Alexander with that very drink. Alexander took this drink in a hand and the aforesaid letter in his other hand and looked at the physician in the face quite intently.

To whom the physician said, "Glorious emperor, be not afraid but drink the medicine boldly." Then quickly Alexander took this drink and showed Philip the letter.

When Philip had read the letter, he said to Alexander, "Now truly, my lord, as our gods are my witness, I am not guilty of this treason that is written here."

Alexander then was all well as ever he was and called to Philip, his physician, and embraced him in his arms and said, "Philip, do you know how much love and trust I have in you? I drank your medicine, and then I showed you the letter that was sent me against you."

"My lord," said Philip, "I implore you that you will condescend to send after my accuser. Make him come before your presence who has sent this letter to you and has accused me of such a high treason."

Quickly then Alexander had Parmenion sent for to come to him and had the truth sought out and found that he deserved death. Then he had his head cut off.

From there King Alexander removed his army to Armenia. Very soon, he conquered it and put it under his subjugation.

He traveled from there many days

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wt his Oste//And at þe laste come tiȝ a cuntre wonder drye & full of  
 creuesceȝ of cauerneȝ & alde cisternes whare na wat<sup>r</sup> myghte be fū-  
 deñ//And ffra þeine þay passede thurgh a cuntree þat es called  
 Andrias//to þe Reuere of Eufates//And þare þay lugede þam//þan  
 Alexander garte brynge many grete treeȝ for to make a brygge of  
 ou<sup>r</sup> þat wat<sup>r</sup> appoñ schippeȝ and garte tye þam Sameñ wt chenys  
 of Ireñ & ireñ nayleȝ//And when þe brigge was aȝ redy:/he badde  
 his knyghtes wende ou<sup>r</sup> apoñ it Bot when þay saw þe grete reu<sup>r</sup>  
 ryne so swiftly and with so a grete a byrre:thay dred þam þt þe  
 brygge schulde falle//for þay supposede þe chenys schuld breke be  
 cause of grete weghte//And when Alexander saw þam dredand  
 on this wyse he gert hirde meñ þt were þare kepanð katell wend  
 ou<sup>r</sup> be fore and warnede þt þe Oste schulde folowe þam//Bot zit þe  
 knyghtis ware ferde & durste noghte wende ou<sup>r</sup>//Than was Alex<sup>r</sup>  
 rizte wrathe and callede vn tiȝ hy aȝ his prynceȝ & grete lordez  
 and firste he went hy selfe ou<sup>r</sup> þe bryg & aȝ his prynceȝ folowed  
 hy and sythen aȝ þe Oste//Twa grete ryuers rynnes thurgh/Medee  
 Mesopotamy and Babiloyne//þt es to say Tygre & Eufates//And soo  
 rynneȝ in to þe ryuere of Nil//When Alex<sup>r</sup> & aȝ hys Oste ware past  
 ou<sup>r</sup> eufates//he gert smyte sonder þe brygge þat he hadd gert make  
 bifore and dissolue ilka pece þ<sup>r</sup> off fr op<sup>r</sup> and when his knyghtis sawe  
 that:/þay ware reghte heuy and m<sup>n</sup>ede gretly þ<sup>r</sup> fore and said emanges  
 þam self//what saȝ we now doo ȝ þay when we are harde by stadde  
 wt oure enemys & walde flee ffor ou<sup>r</sup> þs reuere may we noȝte wynñ  
 and when Alex<sup>r</sup> pceyued þat m<sup>n</sup>oure of his folke he said vn to þam  
 What es þat ȝ he þat ȝe say a mangeȝ ȝow If it falle þt we flee owte  
 of þe bataile//Sothely I late ȝow wele wite þat þis is þe cause whi  
 I garte for do þis brygg þt I gert make://ffor thi þat owþ<sup>r</sup> we schule  
 feghte manly or eȝs if walde flee we schule aȝ pische at anes  
 and aȝ drynke of a coppe//ffor whi þe victorie es noȝte aretted to  
 þam þat flieȝ/Bot to þam þt habydez or folowes on þe chace//þare  
 fore comforthez ȝow wele & bese balde of hertis//And thynke it bot  
 a playe stalworthly to feghte//ffor I say ȝow sekerly://we ne schat  
 neu<sup>r</sup> see Macedoyne be fore we hafe ou<sup>r</sup>comeñ aȝ oure enemys  
 and þam wt þe victore we saȝ tourne hame agayne

I N þis mene tyme kyng Dariȝ gadirde a grete multitude of  
 meñ agaynes Alexander and ordeyned ou<sup>r</sup> þam fyvehundreth  
[chiftaynes]

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with his army, and finally, they came to an extremely dry country full of crevasses and caverns and old wells where no water could be found.

From there they passed through a country that is called Andrias to the Euphrates River. There they set up camp. Then Alexander had many large trees brought in order to make a bridge over that water on ships and have them tied together with chains of iron and iron nails. When the bridge was all ready, he commanded that his knights go over on it. But when they saw the great river run so swiftly and with such great momentum, they feared that the bridge would fall. They believed the chains would break because of the great weight. When Alexander saw them filled with such dread, he made shepherds who were there keeping cattle go over before them, and he declared that the army should follow them. But still the knights were afraid and dared not go over. Then Alexander was quite angry and called all his princes and great lords to him. First, he went himself over the bridge, and all his princes followed him and afterwards all the army.

Two great rivers run through Media, Mesopotamia, and Babylonia, that is to say, the Tigris and Euphrates, and these run into the river Nile.

When Alexander and all his army had passed over the Euphrates, he had the bridge broken apart that he had had made before and separated each piece of it from the other. When his knights saw that, they were very troubled and complained a great deal about it.

They said among themselves, "What shall we do now, when we are hard-pressed by our enemies and want to flee, since we can't go over this river?"

When Alexander perceived that murmur from his people, he said to them, "What is that that you say among you? If it happens that we want to flee out of the battle, truly, I want you to understand completely that this is why I had this bridge destroyed that I had made. Because either we should fight manfully, or else, if we flee, we should all perish at once and drink of the cup, because the victory is not awarded to them who flee but to them who remain or pursue. Therefore, comfort yourselves well and be bold of heart and think it but play to fight bravely because I say to you, surely we shall never see Macedonia before we have overcome all our enemies. Then with the victory we shall turn back home."

In the meantime, King Darius gathered a great multitude of men against Alexander and deployed over them five hundred

f. 16r

chyftaynes of grete lordes and lured hym w<sup>t</sup> his meñ apouñ þ<sup>e</sup> reuere  
 of Tygre//And one a day thir twa kynges w<sup>t</sup> paire bathur Ostes mett  
 to gedir apouñ a faire felde and faughte to gedir wonder egerly  
 Bot sone Dariñ meñ hadd þ<sup>e</sup> werre & 3ode to grounde thikkfalde slayne  
 in þ<sup>e</sup> felde//And when þ<sup>e</sup> remenaute saw þat//þay tuk þaū to þ<sup>e</sup> flighte  
 In Dariñ oste was a mañ of pse:A doghety & a balde:to whaym Dariñ  
 highte for to giffe his doght<sup>r</sup> to wyfe if so were þat he myghte  
 by any way sla kyng Alexander//This mañ gatt hy clothyng  
 and armo<sup>r</sup> like vn to þ<sup>e</sup> macedoyns and went a mangez þaū as  
 þay faghte ay tiñ he come by hynd kyng Alex<sup>r</sup>//And alsoñ als he  
 come nere hy:/he lifte his swerde on heghte & lete flye at hyñ  
 w<sup>t</sup> añ þ<sup>e</sup> myghte þat he hade and hitt hy on þ<sup>e</sup> heued so fercely  
 þat he perched his bacenett and drewe þ<sup>e</sup> blode of hy//When  
 Alex<sup>r</sup> knyghtis saw that:þay tuke hy anone & broghte hy bifore  
 Alexander//And Alex<sup>r</sup> supposyng þ<sup>t</sup> he hadde bene a macedoyne  
 saide vn tiñ hy//Wirchipfuñ mañ ¶ he & doghety & strange  
 what ayled þ<sup>e</sup> at me for to giffe suylike a strake:/knowe þ<sup>u</sup> nozte  
 wele þat it was I Alex<sup>r</sup> 3o<sup>r</sup> helpere & 3o<sup>r</sup> allere fuande//And  
 pcyene ansuerd & said wiete þ<sup>u</sup> wele wirchipfuñ empo<sup>r</sup> ¶  
 he I ne ame na macedoyne:bot I am a mañ of Perse:/And this  
 dede I didd://ffor kyng Dariñ made me a pmysse of his doghetir  
 to wife if I myghte brynge hy thi heid://Than kyng Alexander  
 called bi for hy añ his knyghtis and askede þaū what þaū  
 thoghte was for to do w<sup>t</sup> this mañ://Suñ ansuerde & saide  
 þaū thoghte it beste to gerre smyte of his heid Suñ for to  
 putt hy to þ<sup>e</sup> fire for to brynne Sū to gare drawe & hang hy  
 and when Alex<sup>r</sup> had herde paire conceñ//he ansuerd & said:Sirs  
 ¶ he what wrange or what defawte cañ 3e fynde ī þ<sup>s</sup> mañ  
 Señ he hase besied hy tiñ obey tiñ his lordes cōmandement  
 and at his power fulfilled it//whilke of 3ow so deme3 hym  
 worthy to be dedde//es worthy I tyme cōmyng to hafe þ<sup>e</sup> same  
 dome//ffor if I cōmande ane of 3ow for to ga & sla Dariñ:þ<sup>e</sup>  
 same payne that 3e dome þis mañ for to suffre://ware 3e  
 worthy for to suffre 3o<sup>r</sup> selfe of Dariñ if 3e myzte be getyñ and  
[he cōmanded]

f. 16r

chieftains of great lords and encamped himself with his men on the Tigris River. One day, these two kings with both their armies met together on a open field and fought together very eagerly. But soon Darius' men had the worse and went to the ground in multitudes, killed in the field. When the rest saw that, they fled.

In Darius' army was a man of Persia. He was a strong and a bold one to whom Darius promised to give his daughter as his wife if it happened that he might by any means kill King Alexander. This man got himself clothing and armor like the Macedonians and went among them as they fought until he came behind King Alexander. As soon as he came near him, he lifted his sword up and let fly at him with all his strength. He hit him on the head so fiercely that he penetrated his basinet and drew his blood. When Alexander's knights saw that, they took him quickly and brought him before Alexander.

Alexander, thinking that he was a Macedonian said to him, "Honorable man, brave and strong, what caused you to give me such a stroke? Didn't you know well that it was I, Alexander, your helper and the servant of you all?"

The Persian answered and said, "Know well, glorious emperor. "I am not Macedonian, but I am a man of Persia. This deed I did because King Darius made me a promise of his daughter as my wife if I were able to bring him your head."

Then King Alexander called before him all his knights and asked them what they thought to do with this man.

Some answered and said that to them it seemed best to have his head cut off. Some to put him to the fire to burn. Some to have him drawn and hung.

When Alexander had heard their counsel, he answered and said, "Sirs, what wrong or what fault can you find in this man? Considering that he has engaged himself to obey his lord's commandment and, as far as he could, fulfilled it, whichever of you so judges him worthy of death is worthy in times to come to have the same fate. If I commanded one of you to go and kill Darius, the same punishment that you judge this man to suffer you would be worthy to suffer yourself from Darius if you were caught."

And

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þan he cōmandede þat he schulde wende hame to his felawes w<sup>t</sup>  
 owtteñ any harme//When Dariñ herde þ<sup>t</sup> his lordes ware slayne  
 in grete nowm<sup>o</sup> he gadered a grete multitude of knyghtis  
 and of fote meñ and went vp on a hiñ þat es called Tau-  
 risiñ and thare he made his mustre of his meñ Supposynge  
 þ<sup>t</sup> he schuld ou<sup>o</sup>come Alex<sup>o</sup> thurgh multitude of folke//Bot alsoñ  
 als þay mett w<sup>t</sup> þa<sup>r</sup>e bathere ostez and bigañ for to fighte  
 Dariñ meñ fledd and hy selfe also://And Alex<sup>o</sup> psuede hym  
 vn to þ<sup>e</sup> citee of Bactriañ and þare he lured hy and offerde  
 Sacrafice tiñ his goddez://And on þ<sup>e</sup> morne he garte assaile  
 þ<sup>e</sup> citee and wanne it on werre//And in þ<sup>e</sup> cheffe place þ<sup>o</sup> of  
 he sett his trone and añ þir op<sup>o</sup> citez þat were abowte it he wanañ  
 þa<sup>m</sup> o werre & putt þa<sup>m</sup> vnder his sbieccioñ In þis ilke citee of  
 Bactriañ he fande treso<sup>r</sup> w<sup>t</sup> owtteñ nowm<sup>o</sup> and also his moder  
 and his wyfe

A nd in þ<sup>e</sup> mene tyme whils Alex<sup>o</sup> lay at Bat<sup>n</sup>:/þ<sup>o</sup> come a  
 prynce of Dariñ oste vn tiñ Alex<sup>o</sup> & said vn tiñ hy<sup>m</sup>  
 wirchipfuñ empo<sup>r</sup> q<sup>d</sup> he I hafe a lang tyme bene  
 a knyghte of Dariñ and done hy grete fuyce:/And zitt to this  
 day I had neu<sup>o</sup> na reward of hy//And þ<sup>o</sup>fore if it like vn to zowr<sup>o</sup>  
 maieste:take me teñ thowsande of 30<sup>r</sup> meñ of armes:And  
 I hete 3ow for to brynge to 30<sup>r</sup> hande kyng Dariñ & þ<sup>e</sup> maste  
 pte of his oste//And when Alex<sup>o</sup> had herde þis//he said vn tiñ  
 hy//ffrende q<sup>d</sup> he/I thanke þ<sup>e</sup> mekiñ of thi faire pmys  
 Neu<sup>o</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> lesse I late þ<sup>e</sup> wite my meñ wiñ nozte beleue þat  
 þ<sup>u</sup> wiñ feghte agaynes thyn owenn peple//In þ<sup>e</sup> mene tyme  
 a prynce of Dariñ oste sent vn tiñ hy a lett<sup>o</sup> of whilk þ<sup>s</sup> was  
 þ<sup>e</sup> teno<sup>r</sup>

T o Dariñ grete kyng of kyngez//his lordes wilke he  
 hase ordeyned cheftaynes vnder hy Sende3 meke  
 fuyce Oftymes be fore this hafe we wreten to 30<sup>r</sup>  
 maieste and now agayne we writte vnto 3ow & late3 3ow  
 wite þat þ<sup>e</sup> macedoynes & kyng Alex<sup>o</sup> as wode lyouns ere enterde  
 [oure landez]



f. 16v

then he commanded that this man should go home to his fellows without any harm.

When Darius heard that his lords were killed in vast numbers, he gathered a great multitude of knights and of footmen. He went up on a hill that is called Taurisius, and there he made his muster of his men believing that he would overcome Alexander through the large mass of people. But as soon as they met with both their armies and began to fight, Darius' men fled and so did he.

Alexander pursued him to the city of Bactra. There he set up camp and offered sacrifice to his gods. In the morning, he attacked the city and won it in the battle. In its principal place, he set his throne.

All the other cities that were about it he won in battle and put them under his rule. In this same city of Bactra, he found immeasurable treasure. He also found the mother and wife of Darius.

In the meantime, while Alexander lay at Bactra, there came a prince of Darius' army to Alexander and said to him, "Glorious emperor, I have for a long time been a knight of Darius and done him great service. Yet to this day, I have never had any reward from him. Therefore, if it pleases your majesty, give me ten thousand of your men at arms, and I promise you to bring to your hand King Darius and the majority of his army."

When Alexander had heard this, he said to him, "Friend, I thank you much for your attractive promise. Nevertheless, I should let you know that my men will not believe that you will fight against your own people."

In the meantime, a prince in Darius' army sent him a letter of which substance was this.

'To Darius, great king of kings, his lords which he has appointed chieftains under him send meek service. Often before this, we have written to your majesty, and now again we write to you and let you know that the Macedonians and King Alexander like ferocious lions have entered

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oure landez and all oure strenthes as a wilde raueschande beste  
 he hase destroyed: & oure knyghtes slayne//And oppressed we  
 are w<sup>t</sup> so grete t<sup>b</sup>ulaciōns:/pat we na longare suffre his  
 mawgree ne his malece bere//whare fore mekly we be seke  
 30<sup>r</sup> benyngne maiestee pat 3e wi<sup>l</sup> drawe to 3oure mynde oure  
 meke fuyce and swilke socoure vouchsaffe to send vs//pat we  
 put off and agaynestande p<sup>e</sup> violence & p<sup>e</sup> malice of oure fore  
 said enemys//When Dari<sup>l</sup> had redde p<sup>s</sup> ire/onane he gert  
 writte a lettir to kyng Alexander sayand on p<sup>s</sup> wyse

D       aryus kyng of Perse and kyng of kyngez vn to my  
       s<sup>u</sup>uande Alexander I say//Now late p<sup>e</sup> es cōmē  
       ti<sup>l</sup> oure eres:tythynges:pat p<sup>u</sup> wenez to euen<sup>e</sup> thi  
 littilhede ti<sup>l</sup> oure heghe magnificence Bot Se<sup>n</sup> it es impo<sup>r</sup>  
 ssible ti<sup>l</sup> a heuy asse:w<sup>t</sup> owtte<sup>n</sup> wenges or op<sup>v</sup> inst<sup>u</sup>mentez  
 of flying:for to be lifte vp to p<sup>e</sup> sternes://late nozte thy<sup>n</sup> hert  
 be raysede to hye in p<sup>d</sup>e for p<sup>e</sup> victories p<sup>t</sup> p<sup>u</sup> hase gete<sup>n</sup>/we  
 hafe wele herd te<sup>l</sup> pat p<sup>u</sup> hase done gentilly and shewed  
 grete humanytee ti<sup>l</sup> oure moder oure wyfe & oure childre  
 and p<sup>e</sup> fore I late p<sup>e</sup> wele wite pat als lang als p<sup>u</sup> dose wele  
 to p<sup>a</sup> pou sa<sup>l</sup> fynde me nane enemy to the//And if p<sup>u</sup> do i<sup>l</sup>  
 to p<sup>a</sup> p<sup>u</sup> sa<sup>l</sup> hafe p<sup>e</sup> enemytee of me and pare fore spare  
 p<sup>a</sup> noght bot do to p<sup>a</sup> as p<sup>e</sup> liste//ffor somtyme p<sup>u</sup> sa<sup>l</sup>  
 see & fele p<sup>e</sup> sentence of our<sup>e</sup> ire lighte apo<sup>n</sup> thi heghe p<sup>d</sup>e  
 when Alexander hadd redde p<sup>s</sup> ire he wrate hy anop<sup>v</sup> agayne  
 whare off p<sup>e</sup> teno<sup>r</sup>was this

A       lexander p<sup>e</sup> so<sup>n</sup> of Philippe & qwene Olympias to  
       Dari<sup>l</sup> kyng of Perse we write:/P<sup>d</sup>e & vayne glorie  
       hase oure goddez all way hated:And takez vengeance  
 of dedly me<sup>n</sup> p<sup>t</sup> takes apo<sup>n</sup> p<sup>a</sup> p<sup>e</sup> name of inmortalitee  
 Bot p<sup>u</sup> als I wele see cesseez nozte zitt hider to for to blasfeme  
 in all pat p<sup>u</sup> may//Bot of that pat p<sup>u</sup> blamez me for p<sup>e</sup> benyg<sup>n</sup>  
 nytee that I schewed p<sup>i</sup> moder p<sup>i</sup> wyfe & p<sup>i</sup> childre:p<sup>u</sup> ert moued  
 on a lewed fantasye ffor I late p<sup>e</sup> wele wyte I did it nozte

[for to be

f. 17r

our lands. Like a wild ravishing beast, he has destroyed all our strength and killed our knights. We are oppressed with such great tribulations that we no longer can endure his displeasure nor bear his malice. Therefore, we meekly implore your benign majesty that you will remember our meek service and condescend to send us such aid that we can put off and resist the violence and the malice of our aforesaid enemies.'

When Darius had read this letter, at once he had a letter written to King Alexander which said:

'Darius, King of Persia and king of kings, to my servant Alexander, I say, recently there is come to our ears, tidings that you think to bring your littleness up to our high magnificence. But since it is impossible for a heavy ass, without wings or other instruments of flying, to be lifted up to the stars, let not your heart be raised too high in pride for the victories that you have gotten. We have heard well that you have acted nobly and shown great humanity to our mother, our wife, and our children. Therefore, you should undersand completely that as long as you treat them well you shall find me no enemy to you. If you treat them badly, you shall have my enmity. Therefore, spare them not, but do to them as you wish because sometime you shall see and feel the significance of our anger light upon your high pride.'

When Alexander had read this letter, he wrote back another to him, which said:

'Alexander, the son of Philip and Queen Olympias, to Darius, King of Persia, we write. Pride and vainglory have our gods always hated, and they have taken vengeance on mortal men who take upon themselves the name of immortality. But you, as I well see, still do not cease to blaspheme in every way. But of what you accuse me, the benignity that I showed your mother, your wife, and your children, you are moved by an ignorant fantasy because you should know that I did it not

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for to be thanked of the ne for to hafe thi Beneuolence þ<sup>r</sup>efore:/Bot it  
come of a gentilnes of oure awenē hert fownded in vertu//Of thee  
victories also whilke þ<sup>e</sup> forluke of godd<sup>e</sup> has sent vs ere we na thyng  
enp<sup>l</sup>ddede//ffor we knawe wele þat oure goddis alwaye helpes  
vs//whilke þ<sup>u</sup> ilk a daye dispysez & settez at nozte//And this sañ  
be þ<sup>e</sup> laste lett<sup>r</sup> þat I sañ writte vn to þ<sup>e</sup>//Be ware if þ<sup>u</sup> wiñ  
ffor I say the sekerly I come to þ<sup>e</sup> onane//þis ðre gaffe Alexander  
to þ<sup>e</sup> messang<sup>r</sup>s of Dari<sup>l</sup> and many g<sup>e</sup>te giftez þ<sup>r</sup> w<sup>t</sup>//Seyme he  
sent anop<sup>r</sup> ðre tiñ his prynce3 & his lordez of þis teno<sup>r</sup>

A       lexander þ<sup>e</sup> soñ of Philippe & of þ<sup>e</sup> quene Olympias vn  
to þ<sup>e</sup> prynce3 & þ<sup>e</sup> lordez vnder oure sñieccioñ i Capa<sup>m</sup>  
doce:In laodice:or ellswhare duelland:gretyng//&  
gude g<sup>r</sup>ce//we charge 3ow & cōmandez 3ow st<sup>r</sup>ytly þat  
ilkañ of 3ow ordayne vs in añ þ<sup>e</sup> haste þ<sup>t</sup> 3e may I<sup>a</sup> nete hydes  
barked & send þa<sup>m</sup> tiñ Alexander þat we and oure knyghtis may gere  
make vs of þa<sup>m</sup> clethyng & schoes//And w<sup>t</sup> cameles þ<sup>t</sup> 3e haue  
at Alexander//gerre cary þa<sup>m</sup> to þ<sup>e</sup> wat<sup>r</sup> of Euftrate In þis mene  
tyme a prynce of Dari<sup>l</sup> Nostande by name wrate to Dari<sup>l</sup> on þ<sup>s</sup> wise

T       o Dari<sup>l</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> wirchipfuñ grete godd<sup>e</sup>//his s<sup>u</sup>uande Nostand<sup>e</sup>  
law seruyce Me aughte nozte to sende swylk tythynges  
to 3o<sup>r</sup> ryalle maiestee//bot grete nede gers me do  
it//þare fore be it knaweñ vn to 3o<sup>r</sup> hie lordchipe  
þat twa grete prynce3 of 3o<sup>r</sup>s & I//hase foghteñ w<sup>t</sup> kyng  
Alexander//And hy es fallen þ<sup>e</sup> victorie & slayne he hase  
thir twa worthy prynce3 & mekiñ op<sup>r</sup> folke and I fleed<sup>e</sup>  
g<sup>e</sup>uously wonded//And many worthi knyghtis of 3o<sup>r</sup>s hase  
for sakeñ 3o<sup>r</sup> lordchipe & ioyned þa<sup>m</sup> tiñ Alexander oste  
þ<sup>e</sup> whilk he hase wirchipfully and hase giffeñ grete lordchipes  
of 3o<sup>r</sup>s//And wheñ Dari<sup>l</sup> had redd<sup>e</sup> þ<sup>s</sup> ðre he sent in haste  
tiñ Nostand<sup>e</sup> and cōmanded hy for tiñ ordeyne a grete  
Oste:And manfully agaynestande þ<sup>e</sup> folke of Macedoyne  
he sent also a ðre to Porus kyng of Ynde p<sup>r</sup>ying hy to helpe  
hy agaynes Alexander and Por<sup>l</sup> wrate agayne i þ<sup>s</sup> manere

P       Or<sup>l</sup> kyng of Ynde vn to Dari<sup>l</sup> kyng of Perse gretyg  
ffor þou hase p<sup>r</sup>yed vs to come to the i helpynge  
[of þ<sup>e</sup> agaynes

f. 17v

in order to be thanked by you or to have your benevolence from it. But it came from a nobility of our own heart founded in virtue. Concerning the victories also which the providence of god has sent us, we are in no way filled with pride. We know well that our gods always help us, which you each day despise and think is nothing. This shall be the last letter that I shall write to you. Be on your guard, for I say to you certainly I will come to you soon.'

This letter Alexander gave to the messengers of Darius and many great gifts with it. At the same time, he sent another letter to his princes and his lords which said:

'Alexander, the son of Philip and of the Queen Olympias, to the princes and the lords under our subjection living in Cappadocia, in Laodicea, or elsewhere, greeting and good grace. We charge you and command you directly that each one of you, as quickly as possible, prepare for us one thousand tanned cowhides, and send them to Alexandria so that we and our knights may have clothing and shoes made for us. Have them carried to the River Euphrates with camels that you have at Alexandria.'

In the meantime, a prince of Darius, Nostande by name, wrote to Darius in this way.

'To Darius, the glorious great god, his servant, Nostande, sends humble service. I ought not send such tidings to your royal majesty, but great need forces me to do it. Therefore, let it be known to your high lordship that two great princes of yours and I have fought with King Alexander. To him has fallen the victory, and he has killed these two worthy princes and many other folk. I fled grievously wounded. Many worthy knights of yours have forsaken your lordship and joined Alexander's army and to these he has acted honorably and has given great lordships of yours.'

When Darius had read this letter, he sent in haste to Nostande and commanded him to prepare a great army and manfully resist the folk of Macedonia. He also sent a letter to Porus, King of India, asking him to help him against Alexander. Porus wrote back in this manner.

'Porus, King of India, to Darius, King of Persia, greeting. Since you have beseeched us to come to aid you

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of the agaynes thyn enemys//We late the wete þt we are redy &  
 alwaye hase bene for to com to helpe 3ow//Bot as at þ's tyme we  
 are lettete to com to 3ow/be cause of grete seknesse þt we ere stadd  
 in//Neu<sup>r</sup> þe leff sekerly it es rizte heuy vn tiH vs & greuol vn  
 tiH here of þe grete inlury þat es done vn tiH 3ow and þ<sup>r</sup>fore  
 we late 3ow wite þat wt in schorte ty<sup>m</sup> we sah come for to helpe  
 3ow wt te<sup>n</sup> legyōns of knyghtis//Bot when Rodogorius Dari<sup>l</sup>  
 moder herd telle þt Dari<sup>l</sup> hir so<sup>n</sup> ordayned hy for to feghte a  
 gayne wt kyng Alexander scho was rizte sory and wrate a ire  
 vn tiH hy þat contened this sentence

T o kyng Dari<sup>l</sup> hir moste biloued so<sup>n</sup> Rodogori<sup>l</sup>  
 his modir sendez gretynge & ioy I hafe understande<sup>n</sup>  
 þat ze hafe assemblede 3o<sup>r</sup> me<sup>n</sup> & mekil<sup>l</sup> op<sup>r</sup> folke also  
 for to feghte eft sones wt Alex<sup>r</sup>//Bot I late þe wite  
 it wiH availle þe na thyng ffor þoghe ze hadd gadirde to gedir  
 alle þe me<sup>n</sup> in þe werlde duellyg/zit ze ware vnable to agayne  
 stande hy ffor þe foreluke of godd mayntenez hy & vphalde<sup>r</sup>  
 hy//And þ<sup>r</sup> fore dere so<sup>n</sup> it es my conseth 3o<sup>r</sup> heghenesse of herte  
 ze lefe & fall sūwhate fra 3o<sup>r</sup> glory and bese fauorable to þe gret<sup>m</sup>  
 nes of Alex<sup>r</sup>//ffor bett<sup>r</sup> it es to for ga þat at ze may nozte  
 halde & haffe in pesse þan þat at ze may halde//þan for too  
 couett aH and be excluded & for ga aH//When Dari<sup>l</sup> redde  
 þ's ire he was gretly troubbled and weped bitterly cōmand<sup>r</sup>  
 vntiH his mynde his moder his wyf & his childer

I n the mene tyme kyng Alex<sup>r</sup> removed his oste//And drew  
 nere þe cite of Susis in þe whilke Dari<sup>l</sup> was lengand the  
 Same tyme so þat he myzte see aH þe heghe hillez þat  
 ware abown<sup>n</sup> þe citee//þan Alex<sup>r</sup> cōmanded aH his  
 me<sup>n</sup> þat ilkan<sup>n</sup> of þa<sup>m</sup> suld cutte dow<sup>n</sup>e a brawnche of a  
 tree and bere þa<sup>m</sup> furth wt þa<sup>m</sup> & dryfe bifore þa<sup>m</sup> aH  
 man<sup>e</sup> of bestez þt þay myzte fynde in þe way//And when the  
 Pcyenes saw þa<sup>m</sup> fra þe heghe hillez þay wondred þa<sup>m</sup>  
 gretly//And Alex<sup>r</sup> come wt his oste to þe citee of Susis and  
 lugged hy nere be syde þe citee//And tha<sup>n</sup> he called his pry<sup>n</sup>ce<sup>r</sup>  
 & his op<sup>r</sup> lordez and said vn to þa<sup>m</sup>//late vs q he send a mes<sup>m</sup>  
 sangere to kyng Dari<sup>l</sup> & bidd<sup>r</sup> hy<sup>m</sup> owp<sup>r</sup> com & feghte wt vs or eHs  
[abmyt hy]

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against your enemies, we let you know that we are ready and always have been in order to come to help you. But since at this time we are impeded from coming to you because of great sickness that we are placed in, nevertheless, it is surely quite troublesome to us and grievous to hear of the great injury that is done to you. Therefore, we want you to know that within a short time we shall come to help you with ten legions of knights.'

But when Rodogorius, Darius' mother, heard that Darius, her son, prepared himself to fight again with King Alexander, she was very sorry and wrote a letter to him that contained these sentiments.

'To King Darius, her most beloved son, Rodogorius, his mother, sends greeting and joy. I have knowledge that you have assembled your men and many other folk also in order to fight once again with Alexander. But I want you to know it will avail you nothing. For though you had gathered together all the men living in the world, yet you would be unable to resist him because the providence of god maintains him and upholds him. Therefore, dear son, it is my advice that you leave your highness of heart and descend somewhat from your glory. Be well-disposed toward the greatness of Alexander because it is better to forgo what you cannot have and have what you can in peace, than to covet all and be excluded and forgo all.'

When Darius read this letter he was greatly troubled and wept bitterly, his mother, his wife, and his children coming into his mind.

In the meantime, King Alexander removed his army and drew near the city of Susa, in which Darius was staying at the same time in such a way that he could watch all the high hills that were around the city. Then Alexander commanded all his men that each of them should cut down a branch of a tree and carry them on with them and drive in front of them all kinds of animals that they might find along the way. When the Persians saw them from the high hills they wondered about them a great deal.

Alexander came with his army to the city of Susa and camped close beside the city. Then he called his princes and his other lords and said to them, "Let us send a messenger to King Darius and bid him either to come and fight with us or else

f. 18v

sbmytt hy vn tiht vs The nexte nyghte aft<sup>r</sup> Godd<sup>s</sup> Amoñ appe<sup>r</sup>  
 rede vn tiht Alex<sup>v</sup> in his slepe bryngand<sup>s</sup> hy þ<sup>e</sup> fig<sup>r</sup>re of Mercuri  
 & a mantiht and anop<sup>r</sup> man<sup>e</sup> of garment of Macedoyne and  
 saide vn tiht hy//Alex<sup>v</sup> soñ q<sup>d</sup> hee//eu<sup>v</sup> mare when þ<sup>u</sup> hafe nede  
 saht I helpe the//And þ<sup>v</sup> fore luke þ<sup>u</sup> sende noghte to Dari<sup>l</sup> þat  
 messangere þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> spake off//ffor I wiht þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> thi selfe clethe thee  
 w<sup>t</sup> my figure & wende thedir þ<sup>t</sup> selfe if ahte it be pilo<sup>l</sup> for to do  
 Drede þ<sup>e</sup> na thyng for I saht be thi helpe so þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> saht hafe na man<sup>v</sup>  
 of disesse//On þ<sup>e</sup> morne when Alex<sup>v</sup> rase fra slepe/he was getly  
 cōforthed<sup>s</sup> of his dreame & called tiht hy his prynce3 and talde þa<sup>n</sup>  
 alle his dreame and þay assentede ahte þat he schulde wende to  
 Dari<sup>l</sup> in his propir psoñ//And onane he called vn tiht hy ane of þ<sup>e</sup>  
 p<sup>r</sup>ince3 þ<sup>e</sup> whilke highte Emulus this prynce was a wyghte mañ  
 & an hardy & wonder trewe tiht Alex<sup>v</sup>//And þa<sup>n</sup> Alex<sup>v</sup> bad hy lepe  
 one a horse & brynge w<sup>t</sup> hy a nop<sup>r</sup> horse & folow hy//And he didd<sup>s</sup> so  
 and when þay come to gedir to þ<sup>e</sup> wat<sup>r</sup> of Graunte þat in þ<sup>e</sup> langage  
 of Perse es called Struma þay fande it frosen ou<sup>r</sup> and Alex<sup>v</sup>  
 onane chaūged he wede & lefte þ<sup>e</sup> foresaid<sup>s</sup> prynce w<sup>t</sup> twa horse  
 at þ<sup>e</sup> wat<sup>r</sup> syde and hyselpe w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> horse þ<sup>t</sup> he satt apoñ went ou<sup>r</sup>  
 þ<sup>e</sup> wat<sup>r</sup> apoñ þ<sup>e</sup> ys3 towarde þ<sup>e</sup> citee of Susis//And his prynce  
 besoghte hy þ<sup>t</sup> he walde suffre hy wende w<sup>t</sup> hy ne pauent<sup>r</sup> any  
 disesse felle hy by þ<sup>e</sup> waye//And Alex<sup>v</sup> ansuerd<sup>s</sup> & sayde//habyde  
 me here q<sup>d</sup> he//ffor he saht be my helpere wha<sup>n</sup> in dreame3 I sawe  
 appere vn to me//This ilke wat<sup>r</sup> whilke I spake of bi fore//Ah  
 þ<sup>e</sup> wynt<sup>r</sup> sesoñ ilke a nyghte was frosen aht ou<sup>r</sup>:bot tymely  
 in þ<sup>e</sup> mornynge als sone als þ<sup>e</sup> warme soñ smate apoñ it þa<sup>n</sup>  
 it dissoluede agayne & rañ wonder swiftly þ<sup>e</sup> brede of þ<sup>t</sup> wat<sup>r</sup>  
 es þ<sup>e</sup> space of a furlange//When Alex<sup>v</sup> come to þ<sup>e</sup> zate of þ<sup>e</sup> citee  
 the Pcens when þay saw hy hadd<sup>s</sup> grete wonder of his figure  
 and wend<sup>s</sup> he hadd<sup>s</sup> bene a godd<sup>s</sup> and onane þay asked<sup>s</sup> hy what  
 he was//And he ansuered<sup>s</sup> & said//he was a messang<sup>r</sup>e sent fra  
 kyng Alex<sup>v</sup> to þaire lorde Dari<sup>l</sup> and be lyfe þay broghte hy til hy  
 Dari<sup>l</sup> when Alex<sup>v</sup> come bi fore hy said vn til hy//Whethyñ ert þ<sup>u</sup>  
 q<sup>d</sup> he I ame q<sup>d</sup> Alex<sup>v</sup> sent vn to þ<sup>e</sup> fra kyng Alexander to wiete  
 whare to þ<sup>u</sup> taries to come tiht hy to gyffe hy batelle//Owthir  
 come & feghte manfully w<sup>t</sup> thyne enemys or ehts submitte þ<sup>e</sup>  
[tiht hyñ & pay hy t<sup>b</sup>ute



f. 18v

submit to us.

The next night, God Ammon appeared to Alexander in his sleep bringing him the likeness of Mercury and a mantle and another kind of garment from Macedonia and said to him, "Alexander, son, whenever you have need I shall help you. Therefore, see that you do not send Darius that messenger whom you spoke of because it is my wish that you clothe yourself with this likeness and go there yourself even though it might be perilous to do it. Dread nothing, because I shall be your help so that you shall not have any kind of distress."

In the morning when Alexander rose from sleep, he was greatly comforted by his dream and called to him his princes. He told them all his dream, and they all agreed that he should go to Darius in his own person.

Soon he called to him one of the princes called Emulus. This prince was a valiant and hardy man and exceedingly loyal to Alexander. Then Alexander commanded him to leap on a horse and bring with him another horse and follow him. And he did so. When they came together to the river of Granicus, that in the language of Persia is called Struma, they found it frozen over. Alexander soon changed his clothes and left this prince with two horses on the bank. He, with the horse that he sat on, went over the river on the ice toward the city of Susa. His prince implored him to allow him to go with him if by chance any distress came to him on the way.

Alexander answered and said, "Stay here for me since he, whom I saw appear to me in dreams, shall be my helper."

This same river, which I spoke of before, all the winter season each night was frozen over completely, but early in the morning, as soon as the warm sun fell on it, then it dissolved again and flowed very swiftly. The width of the river is the space of a furlong.

When Alexander came to the gate of the city, the Persians, when they saw him, were awestruck by his appearance and thought he was a god. And right away they asked him who he was.

He answered and said he was a messenger sent from King Alexander to their lord Darius. Quickly they brought him to him.

Darius, when Alexander came before him, said to him, "From where do you come?"

"I am," said Alexander, "sent to you from King Alexander to find out why you hesitate to come to him to give him battle. Either come and fight manfully with your enemies or else submit yourself..."

f. 19r

on a hye place & cōforthed his meñ and said vn to þaṁ//þe mltitude  
of þe pcienes ¶ he may nozte be euend to þe mltitude of þe geckes ffor  
sewrlly we are ma þan þay//And if þay were ane hundreth sythes  
maa than wee:/late nozte 3o<sup>7</sup> hertis faile 3ow þ<sup>o</sup>fore ffor I telle  
3ow a grete mltitude of flyes may do na harme tiḥ a fewee  
waspes//And when þe Oste had herde thire wordes þay cōmen  
dide hy halelely w<sup>t</sup> a voyce

T hañ þe empo<sup>7</sup> Dariḥ remowed his oste and come to þe reu<sup>e</sup>  
of Graunt on þe nyghte and went ou<sup>o</sup> on þe ys3 and þar he  
lugged hy The Oste of Dariḥ was wonder grete and  
strange ffor þay hadd in þaire oste X<sup>a</sup> cartes ordaynd  
ffor þe werre and grete mltitude of Olyfante3 w<sup>t</sup> towres of tree  
oñ þaṁ stuffed w<sup>t</sup> feghtyng meñ//And sone aft<sup>o</sup> appoñ a day thir  
twa kynges w<sup>t</sup> þaire oste3 mett samen on a faire felde//Dariḥ  
w<sup>t</sup> his meñ and Alex<sup>o</sup> w<sup>t</sup> his meñ//Than Alex<sup>o</sup> lept apoñ his  
horse þ<sup>t</sup> highte Buctiphalas and rade furthe bi fore aḥ his oste  
and houed in þe myddes waye bi twene þe twa Ostes//And when  
þe pcyenes saw hy þay had grete wonder of hy and ware rizte  
ferde for hy by cause he was so vggly//neu<sup>e</sup> þe lesse þay tromped  
vp & went to warde Alex<sup>o</sup>//And sone þe batells ioyned &  
faghte to gedir fersely and many meñ dyed on ayther pty  
þ<sup>o</sup> was so thikke schott of arowes þ<sup>t</sup> þe ayer was couerde as it  
had bene w<sup>t</sup> a clowde Some faghte w<sup>t</sup> swerde3 Sū w<sup>t</sup> speres  
Sū w<sup>t</sup> axes & suṁ w<sup>t</sup> arowes//þe felde lay fuḥ of folke Suṁ  
dede suṁ halfe dede & suṁ greuously wonded Thay begaṁ  
for to feghte at þe soñ rysyng and faghte to þe soñ setting  
Bot þ<sup>o</sup> dyed many ma of þe pcyenes þaṁ þ<sup>o</sup> dide of Macedoyns  
and when Dariḥ sawe his meñ faḥe so thikke in þe felde he  
lefte þe felde & fledd and þe pcyenes seyng that//þay fledd  
also Bot þaṁ þaire cartes of werre rane amange þe pcyens  
& slewe of þaṁ folke w<sup>t</sup> owte nowm<sup>o</sup> & namely of fote meñ  
ffor by þat tyme it was myrke nyghte and þay ne myzte  
nozte see for tiḥ eschewe þaṁ when Dariḥ come to the

[foresaid wat<sup>o</sup>

f. 19r

...on a high place and comforted his men and said to them, "The multitude of the Persians may not be equal to the multitude of the Greeks because, surely, we are more than they. Even if they were a hundred times more than we, do not let your hearts fail you because of it since I tell you, a great multitude of flies may do no harm to a few wasps."

When the army had heard these words, they praised him together with one voice.

Then the Emperor Darius moved his army and came to the river of Granicus in the night and went over on the ice. There he set up camp. The army of Darius was exceedingly large and strong for they had in their army ten thousand carts prepared for the battle and a vast number of elephants with wooden towers on them stuffed with fighting men.

One day soon after, these two kings with their armies met together on an open field. Darius with his men and Alexander with his men. Then Alexander leapt on his horse that was called Bucephalus and rode out before all his army. He waited in readiness midway between the two armies. When the Persians saw him, they had great awe of him and were quite afraid of him because he was so ugly. Nevertheless, they sounded the trumpets and went toward Alexander.

Soon the battlelines joined and fought together fiercely. Many men died on both sides. There were arrows so thickly shot that the air was covered as if it had been with a cloud. Some fought with swords. Some with spears. Some with axes and some with arrows. The field lay full of folk. Some dead. Some half dead and some grievously wounded. They began to fight at sunrise and fought to sunset. But there died many more of the Persians than there did of Macedonians. When Darius saw his men fall so thick in the field, he left it and fled. The Persians, seeing that, fled also. But then their carts of war ran among the Persians and killed many of them and particularly footmen, because by that time, it was dark night and they could not see in order to avoid them. When Darius came to the

f. 19v

to þe foresaid watere he fande it froseñ and ou<sup>r</sup> he went//And when he was  
ou<sup>r</sup> þe op<sup>r</sup> lordes of þse went appon þe ys3 so grete a mltitude þat þay couerde  
þe ys3 fra þe taa banke to þe top<sup>r</sup> & þat a grete brede & þañ onane þe ys3 brake  
als sone als Dariñ was paste ou<sup>r</sup> & añ þt ware on þe ys3 ware pischte ilk  
a moder son & drownedede in þe wat<sup>r</sup>//þe remau<sup>n</sup>t when þay come to the  
wat<sup>r</sup>//þay myzte nozte wyn ou<sup>r</sup>//And þañ þe Macedoynes come & dange  
þañ downe//In this batelle þ<sup>r</sup> was slaen of þe pcyenes CCC<sup>m</sup> w<sup>t</sup> owteñ  
thase þat were drownedede//kyng Dariñ fledd to þe citee of Susis & went  
in tiñ his palace & felle downe to þe grounde//& sigheand & wepande  
w<sup>t</sup> a sare hert//he said theis wordes//Allas full wa es me vnhappye  
wriche þat eu<sup>r</sup> I was borne ffor þe ire & þe indignacioñ of heuen es  
falleñ one mee//ffor I Dariñ þat lifte my seluen vp to þe sternes//Now  
am I broghte lawe to þe erthe//Now es Dariñ þt conquerede añ þe Este  
nacyons & made þañ subiecte & t<sup>i</sup>butaries vn tiñ hy fayne for to flee  
fra his enemys & submytte hy vn to þañ//And it ware knaweñ vn  
to þe wreched mañ what schulde falle tiñ hy aft<sup>r</sup> wardez he schulde  
hafe littiñ thoghte of þe tyme p<sup>r</sup>sentt bot one þe tyme to come solde  
his thozte be//In a poynte of a daye it falles þat þe meke es raysede  
vp to þe clowddez//And þe prowde es putt to nozte//And when he hade  
saide thir wordes he rase vp & satt & wrate a ðre vn tiñ Alexander  
sayande one this wyese

T iñ his lorde Alexander kyng of Macedoyne Dariñ kyng  
of Perse gretynge & Ioy We hafe wele vndirstanden  
by þat that we hafe herde of 3owe and sene//þat 3ee  
hafe in 3ow grete wysedom & a hye witt:So þt nozte  
allanly 3e knawe thynges þt are p<sup>r</sup>sent or passede bot also thynges  
þat ere for to come and þ<sup>r</sup>fore añ thynges þat 3e doo:3e do it w<sup>t</sup> owteñ  
any lakke or repreue//Neu<sup>r</sup> þe lesse hafe3 in mynde þat rizte as wee  
ware so ware 3e geteñ & borne of a fleshly womañ//And þ<sup>r</sup>fore  
rayse nozte 3o<sup>r</sup> herte to hye bi cause of 3o<sup>r</sup> prowessche & 3o<sup>r</sup> doghty  
dedis so þat 3e for gete 3o<sup>r</sup> laste ende//ffor ofte tymes we see  
þat þe lattere end of a mañ discordes w<sup>t</sup> þe firste//It suffice3 tiñ  
a werryoure for to gete þe victorye of his enemys þofe añ he schewe  
nozte añ þe malice þat he may//Remembre 3ow of þe wirchipfull  
kyng 3erses oure progenyto<sup>r</sup> þat many victoryes gatt & schane  
in alle pspiteez//Be fore he raysed his hert in p<sup>i</sup>de passande mesure//  
añ þe wirchippe þat he hadd wonñ be fore/he loste in Ellada þ<sup>r</sup>fore  
remembre 3ow þat añ þe wirchipes & þe victoryes þat 3e hafe geteñ  
[by þe forluke of godd]

f. 19v

aforesaid river, he found it frozen, and over he went. When he was across, the other lords of Persia went upon the ice in so large a number that they covered the ice from one bank to the other a great width. Then quickly the ice broke as soon as Darius was passed over, and all that were on the ice perished, every mother's son, and drowned in the water. The rest, when they came to the river, could not go over. Then the Macedonians came and struck them down. In this battle three hundred thousand of the Persians were killed, besides those who drowned.

King Darius fled to the city of Susa and went into his palace and fell down on the ground, and, sighing and weeping with a painful heart, he said these words, "Allas, I am an unhappy man and completely miserable that I was ever born since the anger and the indignation of heaven has fallen on me because I, Darius, who lifted myself up to the stars, now am I brought low to the earth. Now is Darius, who conquered all the Eastern nations and made them subject and tributaries to him, eager to flee from his enemies and submit himself to them. If it were known to the wretched man what would happen to him afterward, he would have little thought of the present time but his thoughts would be on the future. In a span of a day, it happens that the meek are raised up to the clouds, and the proud are reduced to nothing."

When he had said these words, he got up and sat and wrote a letter to Alexander, which said:

'To his lord Alexander, King of Macedonia, Darius, King of Persia, greeting and joy. We completely understand by what we have heard of you and seen, that you have in you great wisdom and a high intelligence so that not only you know things that are present or past but also things that are to come. Therefore, all things that you do, you do without any fault or reproach. Nevertheless, keep in mind that just as we were, so were you begotten and born of a mortal woman. Therefore, do not raise your heart too high because of your prowess and your brave deeds so that you forget your final end, since often we see that the latter end of a man is discordant with the first. It suffices to a warrior to have victory over his enemies even though he does not display all possible ruthlessness. Remember the glorious King Xerxes, our progenitor, who had many victories and increased in all prosperity before he raised his heart in immeasurable pride; all the honor that he had won before, he lost in Greece. Therefore, remember that all the honors and the victories that you have gotten...

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bett<sup>v</sup> vs es for to dy manly in þ<sup>e</sup> felde þan for to See þ<sup>e</sup> mescheffe of oure  
 pople & þ<sup>e</sup> dissolacio<sup>n</sup> of oure rewme//Whare fore hafand reward and  
 compassio<sup>n</sup> of oure disesse we be seke 3ow þat 3e late oure p<sup>r</sup>yerer sattell  
 in 3o<sup>7</sup> hert & helpe for to succo<sup>7</sup> vs now at oure nede//hafand in 3oure  
 mynde þ<sup>e</sup> grete noblaye of oure pgenyto<sup>7</sup>s//And I seure 3ow þ<sup>t</sup> giffe  
 ilke a fote man þ<sup>t</sup> come3 w<sup>t</sup> 3ow//thre pecez of golde//And ilke a horse man  
 fyve pecez of golde and also mete & drynke ynoghe to 3ow & all 3o<sup>7</sup>  
 men//And whare so 3e lugge 3ow//We schalle fynde 3ow a hundreth  
 & fourscore tentes curiously wroghte//And also we schall gyffe 3ow  
 Alex<sup>v</sup> horse Buktyphalas and alle appairail & þ<sup>e</sup> araye þ<sup>t</sup> langes  
 till Alex<sup>v</sup> hallely schall be 3o<sup>7</sup>s and also all þ<sup>e</sup> spoylle of his folke sall  
 be dalte a mange3 3oure folke//Where fore we beseke 3ow þat  
 also soñ als this 3re cōme3 to 3ow//3e haste 3ow till vs in all þ<sup>t</sup>  
 3e may//ffor wite 3e wele for certayne//that rizte als he done till  
 vs//so he p<sup>r</sup>pose hy in tyme cōmyng for to do to 3owe

I        n the men tyme certane men of Dari<sup>l</sup> went fra hy & come  
 till Alexander & talde hy þat Dari<sup>l</sup> p<sup>r</sup>posede hy for to feghte  
 w<sup>t</sup> hy eftesones and had sent till Por<sup>l</sup> kyng of Inde for to  
 come in grete haste for to helpe hy//Wheñ Alex<sup>v</sup> herd þ<sup>e</sup>s  
 be lyfe he removed his Oste to ward Dari<sup>l</sup> thynkand in  
 his herte þ<sup>t</sup> he wolde on na wyse take apoñ hy þ<sup>e</sup> name of Empo<sup>7</sup>  
 be fore he hadd wonñ Dari<sup>l</sup> and his rewme one werre//And wheñ  
 Dari<sup>l</sup> herde of þ<sup>e</sup> cōmyng of Alex<sup>v</sup>//he dredd hy gretly & þ<sup>e</sup> pcyenes  
 also//Bot þare was two prynce3 of Dari<sup>l</sup>:of þ<sup>e</sup> whilke þ<sup>e</sup> tane  
 highte/Bisso//& þ<sup>e</sup> top<sup>v</sup>/Ariobarsantes//thir twa wheñ þair herd  
 of þ<sup>e</sup> comyng of Alex<sup>v</sup>//cōspyred to gedir for to slaa þaire lord Dari<sup>l</sup>  
 supposyng for till hafe a grete thanke of Alex<sup>v</sup> and a gret reward  
 for þaire dede//And ayther of þa<sup>n</sup> ware sworne till op<sup>v</sup>//And  
 thañ thay went to þ<sup>e</sup> kynges palace & come I till his chamber  
 w<sup>t</sup> drawen swerdes in þaire handez and fand Dari<sup>l</sup> bi hym  
 ane//And wheñ Dari<sup>l</sup> saw that he trowed wele þ<sup>t</sup> þay wolde  
 sla hy//And said vn to þa<sup>n</sup>//Dere frende3 hedir to wardez  
 hafe I called 3ow my fu<sup>n</sup>dez//bot now I call 3ow my lordes  
 what ayles 3ow at me þ<sup>t</sup> 3e will sla me//hase Alex<sup>v</sup> cheriste þ<sup>e</sup>  
 macedoynes mare þa<sup>n</sup> I hafe done 3ow//hase I nozte sorow  
 & disese ynoghe of enemyse w<sup>t</sup> owtteñ//bot if 3e cōspire agaynes  
 me for to sla me w<sup>t</sup> owtteñ gilt//I say for sothe & 3e sla me

[þus p<sup>e</sup>uely

f. 20r

...it is better for us to die manfully in the field than to see the distress of our people and the dissolution of our realm. Therefore having regard and compassion for our trouble, we implore you that you let our prayers settle in your heart and help to aid us now in our need, remembering the great nobility of our progenitors. I assure you that I will give each footman who comes with you three pieces of gold, and each horseman five pieces of gold and also meat and drink enough for you and all your men. Wherever you set up camp, we shall find you a hundred and four score tents exquisitely made. Also we shall give you Alexander's horse, Bucephalus, and all the apparel and the array that belongs to Alexander entirely shall be yours. Also all the plunder from his folk shall be dealt among your folk. Therefore, we beg you that as soon as this letter comes to you, you hasten to us as fast as you can because understand well, for certain, that just as he does to us, so he intends in the future to do to you.'

In the meantime, certain men of Darius went from him and came to Alexander. They told him that Darius intended to fight with him again soon and had sent to Porus, King of India, to come in great haste in order to help him.

When Alexander heard this, he quickly removed his army toward Darius, thinking in his heart that he would not for any reason take the name of Emperor for himself before he had won Darius and his realm in war. When Darius heard of the coming of Alexander, he and the Persians also were filled with dread.

But there were two princes of Darius, one of whom was called Bessus and the other Ariobarzanes. These two, when they heard of the coming of Alexander, conspired together to kill their lord Darius, expecting to get great appreciation from Alexander and a large reward for their deed. And each was sworn to the other. Then they went to the king's palace and came into his chamber with drawn swords in their hands. They found Darius by himself.

When Darius saw that, he understood completely that they would kill him and said to them, "Dear friends, up to now I have called you my servants, but now I call you my lords. What causes you to kill me? Has Alexander cherished the Macedonians more than I have you? Have I not sorrow and distress enough from outside enemies but that you conspire against me to kill me without guilt? I say truly if you kill me

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thus p<sup>e</sup>ualye//And Alex<sup>v</sup> may gete 3ow//he will take mare crue<sup>ll</sup> ven-  
geance one 3ow//than on any theues//ffor sothely it es na cōforthe  
ne lykyng ti<sup>ll</sup> ane Empo<sup>r</sup> to fynd an op<sup>r</sup> Empo<sup>r</sup> m<sup>o</sup>thered w<sup>t</sup> his awen<sup>n</sup>  
men//Bot þay were na thyng stirrede to petee//ne tendernesse//  
ne mercy//thurgh his wordez Bot went ti<sup>ll</sup> hy and w<sup>t</sup> grete cruelnesse  
smate hy & al to magled hy and went faste þaire waye & lefte  
hy for dede

A nd when Alex<sup>v</sup> herd te<sup>ll</sup> þ<sup>t</sup> Dari<sup>l</sup> was slayne//he went  
ou<sup>r</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> wat<sup>r</sup> of Graunt and a<sup>ll</sup> his Oste w<sup>t</sup> hy and come  
to þ<sup>e</sup> cetee of Susis//And alsone als þ<sup>e</sup> pcyenes saw hy  
Thay Opened þ<sup>e</sup> 3ates of þ<sup>e</sup> citee & rescheyued hy<sup>n</sup>  
w<sup>t</sup> grete wirchipe//And when þ<sup>e</sup> Pryncez þat slewe Dari<sup>l</sup> wiste  
þ<sup>t</sup> Alex<sup>v</sup> was comen In to þ<sup>e</sup> citee þay went & helde þa<sup>n</sup> i hidils  
ay ti<sup>ll</sup> þay myzte gete knaweynge of Alex<sup>v</sup> wi<sup>th</sup>//As towchand  
þat that þay hadd done to Dari<sup>l</sup>//Alex<sup>v</sup> þa<sup>n</sup> went in to þ<sup>e</sup> kynges  
Palace and as he went þ<sup>r</sup> in he merueyld hy getly of þ<sup>e</sup> biggyng  
þ<sup>r</sup> off//ffor Cir<sup>l</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> kyng of Perse gert bigg it ryally//And the  
pament þ<sup>r</sup> offe was made of stanes of dyu<sup>s</sup>e colours & þ<sup>e</sup> walles  
a<sup>ll</sup> enueround w<sup>t</sup> fyne golde & p<sup>r</sup>cyol stanes & sternes lyke to  
þ<sup>e</sup> firmament and pelers of golde þat bare vp þ<sup>e</sup> werke//Whe<sup>n</sup>  
Alex<sup>v</sup> saw a<sup>ll</sup> this curiol werke he meruailed hy gretly//And tha<sup>n</sup>  
he went to þ<sup>e</sup> chambre þare Dari<sup>l</sup> laye halfe dede//And alsone  
als he saw hy<sup>n</sup>//he hadd grete rewthe & cōpassion of hy and  
he take offe his awen<sup>n</sup> manti<sup>ll</sup> & cou<sup>er</sup>d þ<sup>r</sup> w<sup>t</sup> & went & graped  
his wondes and wepid for hy rizte tenderly & said vn til hy  
Rise vp & Dari<sup>l</sup> q<sup>ue</sup> he & be of gude comforthe//And als frely  
as eu<sup>r</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> reioysede thy<sup>n</sup> Empire so mot þ<sup>u</sup> 3itt do//And be als  
myghty & als gloryouse als eu<sup>r</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> was//I swere the here by  
oure myzty goddes & by þ<sup>e</sup> faythe in my body//þ<sup>t</sup> here I resigne  
vn to the a<sup>ll</sup> thy<sup>n</sup> empyre desyranda soueraygly for to hafe  
þ<sup>e</sup> lyfe of the as þ<sup>e</sup> so<sup>n</sup> of þ<sup>e</sup> ffader ffor sekerly it es vnfittand  
& unsemly ti<sup>ll</sup> ane empo<sup>r</sup> for to be reioysede of an op<sup>r</sup> empo<sup>r</sup>s  
mescheffe & disesse when fortune hase forsaken hy//Telle  
me & what þay are þ<sup>t</sup> hase thus fare<sup>n</sup> w<sup>t</sup> the and I sewre þ<sup>e</sup>  
als I am trew ma<sup>n</sup> I sall venge the to þ<sup>e</sup> vttereste and  
[when Alex<sup>v</sup>



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thus secretly, and Alexander gets you, he will take more cruel vengeance on you than on any thieves because truly it is no comfort or pleasure to an emperor to find another emperor murdered by his own men."

But they were not stirred to pity or tenderness or mercy by his words. But went to him and with great cruelty killed him, hacked him all to pieces, went quickly their way, and left him for dead.

When Alexander heard that Darius was killed, he went over the Granicus River and all his army with him and came to the city of Susa. As soon as the Persians saw him, they opened the gates of the city and received him with great honor. When the princes that killed Darius knew that Alexander had come into the city, they went and kept themselves in hiding until they might get word about Alexander's will concerning what they had done to Darius.

Alexander then went into the king's palace. As he went there, he was astonished immensely by its form because Cyrus, the king of Persia, had it built royally. The pavement of it was made of stones of different colors and the walls entirely covered with fine gold and precious stones and stars like the firmament and pillars of gold that supported it all. When Alexander saw all this exquisite work, he was greatly astonished.

Then he went to the chamber where Darius lay half dead. As soon as he saw him, he had great pity and compassion for him. He took off his own mantle and covered him with it. He went and examined his wounds and wept for him quite tenderly and said to him, "Rise up, Sir Darius, and be of good comfort. As nobly as ever you rejoiced in your empire, so you might again and be as mighty and as glorious as ever you were. I swear to you here by our mighty gods and by the faith in my body that here I resign to you all your empire, desiring above all to have you alive as the son does the father because surely it is unfitting and unseemly for an emperor to be rejoiced by another emperor's distress and trouble when fortune has forsaken him. Tell me, Sir, who they are that have attacked you in this way, and I assure you, as I am a true man, I shall revenge you to the utmost."

A dere soñ Alex<sup>v</sup> ¶ he:/Als thi heghe witt knawes wele  
aʒ this werlde es corrupt and sett in malice//ffor þ<sup>e</sup>  
souerayne forlūke of godd aʒ thynges knawande  
fra þ<sup>e</sup> begynnyng and hafand felyng of þ<sup>e</sup> wirkyges  
for to come//made mañ in that wyse at þ<sup>e</sup> begynnyng þ<sup>t</sup> nathing  
es in hy stable ne faste//So þ<sup>t</sup> aʒ thynges þat ere passande  
t werldely fra þ<sup>t</sup> he faile of gou<sup>n</sup>ance tournes alsoñ tiʒ hy  
in cōtrarye//ffor if godd hadd ordeyned aʒ thynges esy to  
mañ and alwaye w<sup>t</sup> owteñ chaungyng sent hy pspitee//  
mañ schulde be lyftede vp so hie in pryde t in vayne glorie  
þ<sup>t</sup> he solde noʒte arett aʒ his wele fare t his welthe vn to  
godd:/bot tiʒ his awenñ deserrt t his awenñ vertu//And  
so schulde meñ gaa fra þaire makare//On þ<sup>e</sup> top<sup>v</sup> syde if þ<sup>e</sup>  
heghe wyssedom of godd hadd made þ<sup>e</sup> werlde oñ þat wyse þ<sup>t</sup>  
aʒ illes and infelicites fell apōñ mañ w<sup>t</sup> owteñ any man<sup>v</sup> of  
gudeneʒ//so many freletese sulde folow þ<sup>e</sup> kynde of mañ/þat  
we schulde aʒ be drawen in to þ<sup>e</sup> gilder of disparacioñ so  
þ<sup>t</sup> we solde hafe na triste in þ<sup>e</sup> gudnes of godd//And þ<sup>fore</sup>  
grete godd wolde so wisely skifte aʒ thynges þ<sup>t</sup> when a mañ full of  
felicitee thurgh his heghe pride witt noʒte knawe his makere ffra  
þ<sup>e</sup> heghte of pride in to þ<sup>e</sup> pitte of mekenes t lawnes he moū be  
plungede//So þ<sup>t</sup> he þat thurgh pride t felicite forgatt his godd  
thurgh fallynge in wrechidneʒ t disesse hafe mynde of his godd  
Reghte als þ<sup>u</sup> may see bi me my dere soñ Alex<sup>v</sup>//þ<sup>t</sup> was raysede  
vp so hye in pride t vayne glorie thurgh reches t pspitee þat  
felle vn to me//þat I trowed noʒte þ<sup>t</sup> I was goddes creature  
bot goddes ffelawe//And þañ thurgh blyndenē of pride I couthe  
noʒte see that/þat now thurgh scharpenē of mekenes and  
mescheffe I see clerely t knawes//Bot if it happen þat any  
mañ be vmbilappede w<sup>t</sup> grete infelicitee/so þat he despairand  
of þ<sup>e</sup> grace of godd//Supposse na remedy ne nane lukes eftēre//  
[þañ oure lorde

f. 21r

When Alexander, weeping painfully, had said this and much more, Darius put out his hand and laid his arm about Alexander's neck. He kissed his breast, his neck, and his hand and said, "Ah, dear son, Alexander, as your high intelligence understands, all this world is corrupt and malicious. The supreme foresight of god knows all things from the beginning and has feeling about future deeds. He made man in such a way in the beginning that nothing in him is stable or firmly fixed so that all things that are mortal and worldly, which he fails to govern, soon turn against him. If god had ordained all things easy for man and always, without fail, sent him prosperity, man would be lifted up so high in pride and vainglory that he would not ascribe all his welfare and his wealth to god, but to his own merit and his own power. Thus men would depart from their maker. On the other hand, if the high wisdom of god had made the world in such a way that all troubles and unhappiness happened to man without any kind of goodness, so many frailties would follow the nature of man that we would all be drawn into the snare of desperation and have no trust in the goodness of god. Therefore, great god so wisely arranged all things so that when a man full of prosperity, because of his high pride, will not acknowledge his maker, then from the pinnacle of pride into the pit of meekness and lowness he must be plunged. Consequently, he, who through pride and prosperity forgot his god, through falling into wretchedness and distress might remember him. Just as you, my dear son, Alexander, may see by me. I was raised up so high in pride and vainglory through riches and prosperity that came to me, that I believed that I was not god's creature but god's fellow. Then, through blindness of pride, I could not see what now I see and know clearly because of the keenness of meekness and distress. But if it happens that any man is surrounded with great unhappiness so that he, despairing of the grace of god, believes there is no remedy or that no one cares,



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then our lord god raises him up to the height of prosperity. Then he, who because of wretchedness and unhappiness might not see god or know him, by virtue of good fortune and prosperity, knows that he, who may bring a man to a lowly position, may raise him higher, and he, who may raise a man to a high position, may put him down again when he desires. Therefore, son, don't let your heart rise too high in pride for the victories that god has sent you even though you may do now what you desire, just as if you were a god. But always think on your final end, for you are a mortal man, and each day if you look earnestly, you may see your death before your eyes. Don't you realize how our life may be compared to the work of spiders that so cleverly make their webs, but as soon as a little blast of wind puffs upon them, they break and fall to the ground? Look and see how glorious I was yesterday and how wretched I am today and how low I am brought. I was lord of almost all the world, and now I have no power over myself. Now I beg you, son, that you will bury me with your benign hands, and let both the Macedonians and the Persians come to my funeral. From this time forward, the empire of Macedonia and the empire of Persia are both one.

I have committed to your care my mother Rodogorius. Treat her as honorably as you would your own mother. I implore you also to be merciful to my wife. If it pleases you, take Roxane, my daughter, as your wife because it is right that you, who are come of such glorious progenitors, you from King Philip and her from King Darius, be joined together. May an honorable and noble fruit spring from you two."

Just as he had said these words he died in Alexander's arms.

Following the custom for burying emperors, King Alexander then had Darius' body adorned as royally as he could. With all the solemnity and honor that might be done, intensely weeping, he himself helped to carry the bier and had the Macedonians and the Persians go before it. The Persians also wept quite deeply not only for the death of Darius but for pity when they saw that Alexander wept so sincerely. When Darius was buried, Alexander went back to the palace.

In the morning, Alexander went and set himself on a throne of gold and precious stones, which Cyrus, who was King of Persia, at some time had

## f. 22r

make þt was kynge of Perse//And the Macedoynes and þe Psyenes  
 sett apoñ his hede a coroune þt was Darił þe whilke was so p<sup>o</sup>ciuous  
 þat meñ knewe nane like it in na lande//ffor ał þe palace schane  
 thurgh bryghteneff of þe p<sup>o</sup>cyous stanes þat were sett þv in//And þe  
 trone was ał of golde & of p<sup>o</sup>ciol stanes & þe sege þv offe was vii  
 Seven cubetez heghe fra þe grounde//And a grece of Seveñ greez  
 was made þv to whare by kynges ascended þv to//And thir greez  
 were made wonder craftyly & curyously//The firste gree was  
 of ane Amatist//The seconde gree was of a Smarađ//The  
 thredda gree was of a Topaz//The ferthe gree was of a g<sup>o</sup>nat//The  
 fifte was of ane Adamand//The sext was of fyn golde//And  
 the Seuēnt was of Clay//And thay ware nozte wten gete  
 causez ordeyned one þis wyse//ffor þe first gree w ane amatist  
 for amange ał op<sup>o</sup> stanes it hase this vertu//that it represses &  
 haldez doune þe fumositee of wyne & þe myghte þv offe//& suffers  
 nozte a mañ þat beres it oñ hy be troubbled in his witt/ne i his  
 mynde thurgh drownkenef//And on þe same wise solde ilke a  
 kyng be of pfite witt & mynde//& thurgh nane occasion do na  
 mysse//The secūd gree was of a Smaragd þe whilke clarifyez  
 & kepez þe sighte of hy þt beres apoñ hy and so schulde a kynge  
 hafe clere sighte of his hert//wyselly for to see & discern that  
 þat es spedfull & pfitable bathe for hy selfe & for þe comon  
 profit//The thirdd gree was of a Topaz:þe whilke es so clere  
 þt & a mañ bi halde hy selfe þv in it sał seme tił hy as his hede  
 ware to<sup>o</sup>nede downwardez:And his fete vpwardez:And it be  
 takenes þt a kyng schulde alway take hede tił his laste ende  
 The ferthe gree was of a Granat whilk passez ał manere of  
 preciol stanes in reedneff:& betakenes þt a kyng suld be scham<sup>o</sup>  
 full for tił conscent tił any thyng þt es vnlefuł//The fifte  
 was of ane Adamande//þe Adamande es so harde þat it may  
 nozte be broken nowþv with yreñ ne wt stane//bot if it firste  
 be enoynted wt gayte blode//On þe same wyse a kyng suld  
 be of so grete constance & sadneff þt for na prayere ne for  
 na worldely gude he solde nozte bewgh fra þe way of ryght<sup>o</sup>  
 wisneff The sexte gree was of fyne golde:for rizte as gold  
 passez ał man<sup>o</sup> of metalle in bewtee & in p<sup>o</sup>cioustee//rizte so  
 a kyng awe to be p<sup>o</sup>ferred before op<sup>o</sup> meñ & gou<sup>o</sup>no<sup>o</sup> of þañ  
 [þe Seuēnt

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made. The Macedonians and the Persians set Darius' crown on his head. This crown was so precious that men knew none like it anywhere. All the palace shone from the brightness of the precious stones that were set in it. The throne was entirely gold and precious stones. The seat was from the ground seven cubits high. A stairway of seven steps, by which kings ascended, was attached to it. These steps were exceedingly well-crafted and exquisite. The first step was made of amethyst. The second step was emerald. The third step was topaz. The fourth step was garnet. The fifth was diamond. The sixth was fine gold, and the seventh was clay. They were not without good reason designed in this way.

The first step was amethyst because, among all other stones, it has this power -- it represses and holds down the heady quality of wine and its effects and does not permit a man who bears it on him to be troubled in his wits or his understanding because of drunkenness. In the same way, each king should be of perfect mind and understanding and under no circumstances do wrong. The second step was emerald, which clarifies and preserves the sight of him who bears it upon him, and so should a king have clear sight in his heart, to see wisely and discern that which is expedient and profitable both for him and for the common good. The third step was topaz, which is so clear that if a man sees himself in it, it shall seem to him as if he were turned upside down. It signifies that a king should always be aware of his ultimate demise. The fourth step was garnet, which surpasses all kinds of precious stones in redness and means that a king should be ashamed to consent to anything that is unlawful. The fifth was diamond. The diamond is so hard that it may not be broken either with iron or with stone unless it first is anointed with goat blood. In the same way, a king should be of such great constancy and steadfastness that he will not turn away from the path of honesty for any plea or for any worldly good. The sixth step was fine gold because just as gold surpasses all kinds of metal in beauty and in preciousness, so a king ought to be honored above other men and be their governor.

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þe Seuent was of Clay:tiht þat entent þat a mañ þat es raysed vp to  
þe dignyte of a kyng sulde alway vmbythynk hym þat he was made  
of erthe: & at þe laste to þe erthe he saht agayne//When Alexander  
was sett apoñ this trone corounde w<sup>t</sup> his diademe & þe Macedoynes  
& þe psyenes standyng abowte hy: be fore þa<sup>m</sup> ahe he gert write  
a bre till aht cuntreez þat was of this teno<sup>r</sup>

Alexander the soñ of godd<sup>d</sup> Amoñ & qwene  
Olympias kyng of kynges & lorde of  
lordes://till ahe Dukes:Pryncez//Erles  
Barōns//maisters & till aht þe folkez  
of perse:ioy & grace//Señ it es ple<sup>m</sup>  
syng to godd<sup>d</sup> þat I sitt one þe trone  
of Dari<sup>l</sup> & be lorde of þe psyenes g<sup>e</sup>te  
cause I hafe for to be reioyist g<sup>e</sup>tely  
þ<sup>e</sup> offe//ne were it for þe gret m<sup>i</sup>ti<sup>m</sup>  
tude of folke þ<sup>t</sup> ere slayne//Bot señ

it so es þat godd<sup>d</sup> hase ordeynede me to be 3o<sup>r</sup> lorde  
and 3o<sup>r</sup> gou<sup>n</sup>o<sup>r</sup>//pare fore we cōmande 3ow//þat in ilke a citee thurghowte  
þe lordchipe of pse//3e ordayne prynce3 and gou<sup>n</sup>o<sup>r</sup>s as þ<sup>e</sup> was in Dari<sup>l</sup>  
tyme//to þe whilke we cōmande 3ow þat 3e be obeyande//As 3e before  
tymes hafe bene//And that þay do ri3te till ilke a mañ at þaire powere  
also it es oure wiht and oure cōmandement//þat ilke a mañ welde &  
reioyse paysabily his landes and his possessiouns we cōmande alsoo  
þat fra this lande of pse vntill Ellada & fra thethyn to Macedoyne  
be redy way & open//so þat ilke a mañ þat wiht may passe bathe in  
and owte w<sup>t</sup> merchandyse or any op<sup>e</sup> erandes þ<sup>t</sup> þay hafe at do and  
Ioy & pese be vn to 3owe//

P an gert Alex<sup>e</sup> aht meñ be still & said one this wyse//whilke of  
3ow so slew myñ enemy Dari<sup>l</sup>:come3 forthe be for me and  
I schah giffe 3ow worthy mede & conable wirchipe do þa<sup>m</sup>  
I swere bi oure goddez þ<sup>t</sup> ere almyzty & bi my moste biloued<sup>d</sup> Moder  
Olympias þ<sup>t</sup> I saht gyffe þa<sup>m</sup> worthy mede//Wheñ Alexander  
had saide thir wordes//þe psyenes wepede wonderly sare//And  
thañ þe twa mañ morthireres Bisso and Aryobarzantes come  
bi fore Alex<sup>e</sup> & sayde vn till hy//Wirchipfull empo<sup>r</sup> & þay we ere  
thase þ<sup>t</sup> slew Dari<sup>l</sup> thyne enemy w<sup>t</sup> oure awenn<sup>d</sup> hende//And wheñ  
Alex<sup>e</sup> saw þa<sup>m</sup> he bade his knyghtes be lyfe ga & take þa<sup>m</sup> & bynde  
[þa<sup>m</sup> & lede þa<sup>m</sup>]



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The seventh was clay signifying that a man who is raised up to the dignity of a king should always remember that he was made of earth and, at the last, to the earth he shall return.

When Alexander, crowned with his diadem, was set on this throne with the Macedonians and the Persians standing about him, in front of all of them he had a letter written to all countries which said:

'Alexander, the son of god Ammon and Queen Olympias, king of kings and lord of lords, to all dukes, princes, earls, barons, philosophers and to all the folk of Persia, joy and grace. Since it is pleasing to God that I sit on the throne of Darius and be lord of the Persians, I would have great cause to rejoice immensely about it, if it were not for the great multitude of folk that have been killed. But since God has ordained me to be your lord and your governor, we command you that in each city throughout the lordship of Persia, you appoint princes and governors as there were in Darius' time, to whom we command you to be as obedient as you have been before. Also it is our will and our commandment that they act justly toward each man within their power and that each man govern and rejoice peaceably in his lands and his possessions. We command also that from this land of Persia to Greece and from there to Macedonia, there be a direct and open road so that each man who wishes may pass both in and out with merchandise or any other errands that they have to do. Joy and peace be with you.'

Then Alexander silenced all men and said, "Whichever of you killed my enemy Darius, come out before me, and I shall give you worthy reward and do suitable honor to you. I swear by our gods that are almighty and by my most beloved mother, Olympias, that I shall give them worthy reward."

When Alexander had said these words, the Persians wept very bitterly. Then the two men, the murderers, Bessus and Ariobarzanes, came before Alexander and said to him, "Glorious emperor, we are those who killed Darius, your enemy, with our own hands."

When Alexander saw them, he commanded his knights quickly go and take them and bind

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þaṁ & lede þaṁ to Dariḡ grafe and þare smytte of þaire heuedes//And  
 thaṁ þay ansuerd & saide vn tiḡ Alex<sup>o</sup>//AA wirchipfuḡ emp<sup>o</sup> & þay swore  
 þ<sup>u</sup> nozte tiḡ vs bi oure goddez þ<sup>t</sup> ere almyzty: & bi þ<sup>e</sup> hele of thi Moder Olym-  
 mpias þat þ<sup>u</sup> solde gerre do vs na harme bot þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> solde giff vs a worthi  
 reward//And Alex<sup>o</sup> saide agayne vn to þaṁ So aughte me wele  
 for to swere for to gette knawyng of þ<sup>e</sup> slaers of Dariḡ//ffor I solde  
 neu<sup>o</sup> hafe getyṁ knawyng þ<sup>o</sup> offe had I nozte sworne so//And zitt I  
 saḡ safe myṁ athe wele ynoghe//ffor it was alway myṁ entent  
 þ<sup>t</sup> if I myzte wete what þay ware þay solde hafe swilke a rewarde  
 ffor þay þat slaes þaire awenṁ lorde it es a takeṁ þ<sup>t</sup> þay wiḡ hafe  
 na conscience to sla anop<sup>o</sup> maṁ//And wheṁ þ<sup>e</sup> psyenes herde this  
 þay by gaṁ to prayse Alex<sup>o</sup> & to cōmende hy and blysse hy as he  
 had bene a godd<sup>o</sup>//þaṁ kyng Alex<sup>o</sup> gert hede tha twa homycydes  
 And aḡ þ<sup>e</sup> rewme he sett in gou<sup>o</sup>nance of certayne lordes//Amanges  
 op<sup>o</sup> þ<sup>o</sup> was ane alde lorde was eme to Dariḡ þ<sup>e</sup> whilke highte Climitḡ  
 þat was gretly luffede w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> psyenes and Alex<sup>o</sup> at þ<sup>e</sup> request of aḡ the  
 psyenes ordeyned hy for to be chefe gou<sup>o</sup>no<sup>o</sup> vnder hy of aḡ pse  
 and one þ<sup>e</sup> morne Alex<sup>o</sup> sett hy in his trone w<sup>t</sup> his corouṁ on his hede  
 and eft<sup>o</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> biddyng of Dariḡ he cōmande to brynge bi fore hy Rosaṁ  
 Dariḡ doght<sup>o</sup> w<sup>t</sup> a corouṁ oṁ hir hede sett fuḡ of p<sup>o</sup>ciol stanes and  
 þare as þ<sup>e</sup> man<sup>o</sup> was of þ<sup>e</sup> psyenes he tuke hir to his wyfe and made  
 hir to sitt w<sup>t</sup> hy in his trone & cōmand aḡ meṁ to wirchipe hir als  
 qwene and þaṁ þ<sup>e</sup> psyenes were wonderly glade & onane þay brozte  
 þaire goddez bi fore Alex<sup>o</sup> & bi gaṁ to wirchipe hy & loue hy rizte  
 als he had bene a godd<sup>o</sup> & said vn tiḡ hy hallely w<sup>t</sup> a voyce// þou  
 thi selfe es a godd<sup>o</sup> ffor that þat es plesande tiḡ oure goddes  
 alway þ<sup>u</sup> dose//And wheṁ Alex<sup>o</sup> saw this//he was gretly troubled  
 & rizte ferde & said vn to þaṁ//Wirchipfuḡ sirs & he//I p<sup>o</sup>y  
 zow þ<sup>t</sup> ze wirchipe me nozte as a godd<sup>o</sup> for sothely I am as ze  
 are a corrupteble & a dedly maṁ and in me þ<sup>o</sup> es na pceḡ of the  
 god hede//And þ<sup>o</sup>fore I beseke zow cessez of this wirchipe þ<sup>t</sup> ze do me  
 þ  
 an gert Alexander write a bre tiḡ Olympias his moder  
 & tiḡ Arestotle his maist<sup>o</sup> makand mencyoṁ of aḡ þ<sup>e</sup> ba-  
 tayls & þ<sup>e</sup> disessez þ<sup>t</sup> he hadd<sup>o</sup> suffred in pse and of the  
 grete reches þat he fand<sup>o</sup> þare of þ<sup>e</sup> whilke he & aḡ  
 his meṁ ware made riche and also he wrate vn to þaṁ

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them and lead them to Darius' grave and there cut off their heads.

Then they answered and said to Alexander, "Ah, glorious emperor, didn't you swear to us by our gods that are almighty and by the health of your mother, Olympias, that you would have no harm done to us but that you would give us a worthy reward?"

Alexander replied to them, "It was necessary for me to swear so in order to get knowledge of the murderers of Darius since I should never have had knowledge of you had I not sworn so. Yet I shall maintain my oath well enough since it was always my intent that if I might learn who they were they would have such a reward. Since they killed their own lord, it is a sign that they will have no conscience about killing another man."

When the Persians heard this, they began to praise Alexander and to commend him and bless him as if he had been a god. Then King Alexander had the two murderers beheaded.

He set all the realm under the governance of certain lords. Among others, there was an old lord who was uncle to Darius and whose name was Climetus. He was greatly loved by the Persians, and Alexander, at the request of all the Persians, appointed him chief governor under Alexander of all Persia.

In the morning, Alexander set himself in his throne with his crown on his head. Following the wishes of Darius, he commanded that Roxane, Darius' daughter, be brought before him with a crown completely covered with precious stones on her head. There, according to the customs of the Persians, he took her as his wife and made her sit with him in his throne. He commanded all men to honor her as the queen. Then the Persians were exceedingly glad. Soon they brought their gods before Alexander and began to worship him and praise him just as if he had been a god.

They said to him altogether with one voice, "You yourself are a god because you always do what is pleasing to our gods."

When Alexander saw this, he was greatly troubled and quite afraid and said to them, "Honorable sirs, I beg you not to worship me as a god since, truly, I am as you are, a corruptible and a mortal man. In me there is no bit of the godhead. Therefore, I beg you, cease this worship that you do me."

Then Alexander had a letter written to Olympias, his mother, and to Aristotle, his teacher, mentioning all the battles and the troubles that he had suffered in Persia and the great riches that he found there, by which he and all his men were made rich. Also he wrote to them



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that they should have a special eight-day observance of the marriage of Alexander and Roxane, Darius' daughter. And so did Alexander in Persia with the Macedonians and the Persians for a long time.

After this, King Alexander assembled a great army both of Macedonians and of Persians. He went toward India to wage war on Porus, King of India, who prepared his army to come and help King Darius.

When Alexander had entered into India, he went through wilderness and wasteland in which were great rivers and many large caves and caverns. Then Alexander and his men grew weary and felt very severely troubled.

The princes of Macedonia and of Greece complained among themselves a great deal and said to each other, "It might have been enough for us to have overthrown King Darius and conquered the kingdom of Persia. To what end do we leave our own lands and travel farther into India, which is full of wild beasts? Alexander desires nothing else but to go about and, through war, to bring all the world under his rule. Since war and confrontation enriches his body so completely, if he rested any length of time without war, he would fail and die as if for lack of food. Therefore, we should leave him and turn home to our own country, and let him go on with the Persians if he wishes."

When Alexander heard this, he had all the army stay in one place, and he went and stood in a high place among them and said this: "Divide yourselves in two so that the Persians are by themselves and the Macedonians and the Greeks are by themselves."

When they had done so, Alexander said to the Macedonians and the Greeks, "Ah, my own dear knights, you know well enough that to this day these Persians have been contrary and have been rebels to you and to me and now you want to leave me here with them and turn back to your own country? Don't you remember clearly that when your hearts were troubled and afraid because of the words that were contained in Darius' letters, I, through my speech and my advice, comforted your hearts? And afterward, when we came into the field against our enemies, I went before you all. I, by myself, was the first man who entered the battle. Yet moreover, as you well know, I took upon myself to be the messenger of you all to King Darius. There, for you, I put myself in many great

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pills//And þ<sup>o</sup>fore witteþ wele for certayne þat rihte as hedirtowardeþ  
 we haue ouercomeñ oure enemys & hade þ<sup>e</sup> bett<sup>r</sup> of þa<sup>m</sup>//rihte so fro  
 hepeñ forwardes thurgh þ<sup>e</sup> helpe of oure goddeþ:we sañ ou<sup>r</sup> come oure  
 enemys & haue þ<sup>e</sup> victorye of þa<sup>m</sup>//And þ<sup>o</sup> fore I say 3ow forsothe þ<sup>t</sup>  
 añ if 3e will to<sup>n</sup>e agayne to grece & macedoyne:/I sañ nozte to<sup>n</sup>e  
 agayne oñ na wyse:þat 3e may knawe þ<sup>t</sup> w<sup>t</sup> owttēñ gou<sup>r</sup>nance of a kyng  
 nane Oste may wyne na wirchipe://Wheñ Alex<sup>o</sup> had said þus añ þ<sup>e</sup>  
 prynceþ of Macedoyne & of þ<sup>e</sup> g<sup>e</sup>kes Schamede gretely:/& askede m<sup>o</sup>cy  
 & forgiñeñ Sayande one this wyse//Moste wirchipfulñ empo<sup>r</sup>:oure lyfe  
 lyes hallely in 3o<sup>r</sup> hande:/wheñir so eu<sup>r</sup> 3e will goo:we will gladly  
 felowe 3o<sup>r</sup> hye maiestee þofe we schulde añ dye for 3ow oñ a daye  
 we sañ folow 3ow & neu<sup>r</sup> lefe 3ow://And þa<sup>m</sup> þay remowed fra  
 þe<sup>n</sup>e and come in tiñ a cuntree of Inde þ<sup>t</sup> es called Phisiaceñ  
 in þ<sup>e</sup> laste ende of Iuly://And þare mette hy þ<sup>e</sup> embassatours of Por  
 kyng of Inde:/And broghte hy tres fra Por þ<sup>t</sup> said oñ this wyse  
 P Orñ kyng of Inde:vn to þ<sup>e</sup> theeffe Alexander:þat thurgh  
 thifte & robbery many citees wynneþ:bidying we send  
 Señ þ<sup>u</sup> ert dedely:wharto wenez þ<sup>u</sup> þat þ<sup>u</sup> ert of powere  
 to agaynstande godd þat es vn dedely://A grete fole me  
 thynke þ<sup>u</sup> ert þat hase eghne and cane nott See:/Trowes þ<sup>u</sup> we  
 be lyke vn to þ<sup>e</sup> psyenes þat þ<sup>u</sup> hase made subiectes vn to the://þ<sup>u</sup>  
 hase foughtēñ hedirto warde w<sup>t</sup> softe meñ & cowardeþ:/& for þ<sup>u</sup>  
 hase ou<sup>r</sup>comeñ þa<sup>m</sup>:þ<sup>u</sup> wenez þat thi littillneñ sañ brynge oure  
 hye maiestee vnder thi subieccioñ þ<sup>e</sup> whilke es vn possyble for  
 to bee:/bot if goddeþ submytt þa<sup>m</sup> vn to meñ and þ<sup>e</sup> erthe be eueñ  
 lyke to þ<sup>e</sup> heueñ//I late the wiete þ<sup>t</sup> I may nozte be ou<sup>r</sup>cōmeñ  
 for nozte allanly meñ bot also goddeþ doeeþ fuyce to my name  
 wate þ<sup>u</sup> nozte wele þat ane Dynise þ<sup>e</sup> fader of Bachñ come intiñ  
 Inde w<sup>t</sup> a grete Oste for to feghte:/bot onane he to<sup>n</sup>ede þ<sup>e</sup> bakke  
 & fledd for he was nozte of powere to agaynstande þ<sup>e</sup> v<sup>r</sup>tu of meñ  
 of Inde:/And þ<sup>o</sup> fore er any schame or mischeffe coñ to þ<sup>e</sup>:we cōsell  
 the & cōmandeþ the þ<sup>t</sup> in añ þ<sup>e</sup> haste þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> may þ<sup>u</sup> to<sup>n</sup>e hame agayne  
 to thyne aweñ lande://ffore wele þ<sup>u</sup> knawes þ<sup>t</sup> bi fore 3erses was  
 kyng of Perse:þ<sup>e</sup> macedoyneþ gaffe tribute tiñ Inde://Bot  
 by cause þ<sup>t</sup> þaire lande es barayne & vnprofitable: & na thynges  
 þer in plesande tiñ a kynges:þ<sup>e</sup> meñ of Inde sett nozte þ<sup>o</sup> by  
 ffor ilke a mañ desyres mare a large lande & a plenteuoñ:þa<sup>m</sup>  
[a straye lande]

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perils. Therefore, you should fully understand that, certainly, just as up until now we have overcome our enemies and had the better of them, so from now on, through the help of our gods, we shall overcome our enemies and be victorious over them. Therefore, I tell you truly that even if you all want to turn back to Greece and Macedonia, I will never turn back, so that you may learn that without the governance of a king no army may acquire any glory."

When Alexander had said this, all the princes of Macedonia and of the Greeks were very ashamed and asked mercy and forgiveness, saying, "Wherever you will go, we will gladly follow your high majesty. Even if we should all die for you on a day, we shall follow you and never leave you."

Then they left there and came into a country of India that is called Phrygia in the end of July. There the ambassadors of Porus, King of India, met him and brought him letters from Porus that said, 'Porus, King of India, to the thief Alexander, who through theft and robbery has seized many cities, we send command. Since you are mortal, why do you believe that you have the power to resist god who is immortal? It seems to me that you are a great fool who has eyes and cannot see. Do you believe that we are like the Persians whom you have subjugated to yourself? Up to now you have fought with soft men and cowards, and because you have overcome them you think that your littleness shall bring our high majesty under your domination, which is impossible unless gods submit themselves to men and the earth be equivalent to the heavens. You should know that I may not be overcome since not only men but also gods do service to my name. Do you not know well that Dionysius, the father of Bacchus, came into India with a great army in order to fight, but soon he turned around and fled because he was not powerful enough to resist the strength of the men of India? Therefore, before any shame or mischief comes to you, we advise you and command you that as fast as you can, turn yourself back home to your own land because you know well that before Xerxes was King of Persia, the Macedonians gave tribute to India. But because their land is barren and unprofitable and nothing in it is pleasing to a king, the men of India think nothing of it since every man more desires a large and abundant land than

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a strayte lande & a barayne://And þ<sup>v</sup> fore zitt the thirde to<sup>n</sup>e I comāde  
the that þ<sup>u</sup> to<sup>n</sup>e hame to thyne awenē lande//And neu<sup>v</sup> in thi lyfe couette  
to hafe lordchipe þare þ<sup>u</sup> may nane gete

W heñ þ<sup>s</sup> ire was comē tiñ Alex<sup>v</sup>:/he gerte rede it be fore  
añ meñ//And when his knyghtis hadd herde þ<sup>e</sup> teno<sup>r</sup> of þ<sup>s</sup>  
ire þay were trublede//And Alex<sup>v</sup> sayde vn to þa<sup>m</sup>//My  
wirchipfuñ knyghtes q he//late nozte 3o<sup>r</sup> hertis be trublede  
ne fered for Porl ire//hafe 3e nozte in mynde w<sup>t</sup> how grete p<sup>i</sup>de  
Dariñ wrate vn tiñ vs dyu<sup>o</sup>se tymes//I say 3ow sothely þ<sup>t</sup> añ þ<sup>e</sup>  
folke of thyse Este pties hafe þaire hertis & þaire wittis lyke vn  
to þ<sup>e</sup> bestes þ<sup>t</sup> þay dueñe w<sup>t</sup> añ//þ<sup>t</sup> es at say//Tygres//Pardes//  
& op<sup>v</sup> wilde bestis whilke fuñ selden ere slaen of meñ//And þ<sup>v</sup> fore  
þay triste añ in þaire strengthe and when Alex<sup>v</sup> hade said thir  
wordes//he garte writte a ire vn to Porl kynge of Inde whare  
of this was the teno<sup>r</sup>

King of kynges and lorde of lordes Alexander  
þ<sup>e</sup> soñ of godd Amōñ & þ<sup>e</sup> qwene Oly-  
mpias//vn to Porl we sende//þou  
hafe scharpede oure wittes & gyffen  
vs hardynef for to feghte agaynes  
þ<sup>e</sup>//whare þ<sup>u</sup> says þ<sup>t</sup> macedoyne es bot  
a littiñ lande & barayne of añ thyng  
þ<sup>t</sup> gude es//And Inde þ<sup>u</sup> says es large  
& plenteuol of añ gudez & reches and  
þ<sup>v</sup> fore we sañ enforce vs to feghte  
w<sup>t</sup> the at añ oure myghte for to ðquere

thi landez þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> sais es so fuñ of reches//And for þ<sup>u</sup> haldez vs pou<sup>v</sup>  
& of na reputaciō//þ<sup>v</sup> fore we desire for to ascende to þ<sup>e</sup> heghte  
of thi maieste//And also þ<sup>v</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> says þat nozte allanly vn to meñ  
bot also vn to goddez þ<sup>u</sup> erte empo<sup>r</sup>//I sañ come to the for to  
feghte w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup>:as w<sup>t</sup> an haythen mañ fuñ of Pompe & p<sup>i</sup>de and  
vayne glory://& nozte as w<sup>t</sup> a godd//ffor añ þ<sup>e</sup> werlde may  
nozte agaynstand þ<sup>e</sup> wrethe of a godd//þer fore señ þ<sup>e</sup> Elementis of this  
aere:þat es at say Thuners//leuenyngez and wat<sup>v</sup> may nozte  
bere þ<sup>e</sup> indygnaciō of goddez:/how schulde þa<sup>m</sup> dedely meñ  
mowe agaynstande þaire wrethe//And þ<sup>v</sup> fore I late the wele  
[wiete þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>i</sup>



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a flat and barren one. Therefore, for the third time, I command you that you turn home to your own land and never in your life covet the lordship where you may not have it.'

When this letter came to Alexander, he had it read in front of all his men. When his knights had heard the contents of this letter, they were troubled.

Alexander said to them, "My honorable knights, don't let your hearts be troubled or afraid because of Porus' letter. Don't you remember with what great pride Darius wrote to us various times? I tell you truly that all the folk of these East parts have a heart and an intellect like the animals that they live with, that is to say, tigers, leopards, and other wild beasts which quite seldom are killed by men, and, therefore, trust completely in their own strength."

When Alexander had said these words, he had a letter written to Porus, King of India, the substance of which was this.

'King of kings and lord of lords, Alexander, the son of god Ammon and the Queen Olympias, to Porus, we send. You have sharpened our wits and given us hardiness to fight against you since you say that Macedonia is but a little land and barren of all things that are good, and India, you say, is large and abundant in all goods and riches. Therefore, we shall fortify ourselves to fight with you with all our might in order to conquer your lands that you say are so full of riches. Because you hold us poor and of no reputation, therefore, we desire to ascend to the height of your majesty. Also you say that not only to men but also to gods you are emperor. I shall come to you in order to fight with you as with a heathen man full of pomp and pride and vainglory, and not with a god because all the world may not resist the wrath of a god. Therefore, since the elements of this air, that is to say, thunder, lightning, and water, may not bear the indignation of gods, how should mortal man then be able to resist their wrath. Therefore, you should

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welc witte that thi fonnde proudd speche trubblez me nozte ne mouez  
me neu<sup>v</sup> a dele

W heñ porl hadd this lre//he was wondere wrathe & assem<sup>m</sup>  
blede a grete Oste of meñ//And a grete mltitude of Oly<sup>m</sup>  
phāntes:w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> whilke þ<sup>e</sup> meñ of Inde ere wount for to  
feghte and went agaynes Alex<sup>v</sup>//This Oste of Porl was  
ri3te grete & strange for þare ware þ<sup>v</sup> in xiiii<sup>a</sup> cartes of werre and  
viii<sup>c</sup> Oliphāntez and ilk an Olyphante hadd a toure of tree apoñ  
his bakke & in ilke a toure xxx meñ//þare ware also op<sup>v</sup> feghtyg  
meñ on horse & oñ fote w<sup>t</sup> owtē nowm<sup>v</sup>//And when þ<sup>e</sup> Macedoyns  
and þ<sup>e</sup> psyenes sawe þ<sup>e</sup> grete mltitude bathe of meñ & of Oly<sup>m</sup>  
phāntez þay were fered & gretely stonayde//Neu<sup>v</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> lesse bathe  
þ<sup>e</sup> ptyes ordayned þa<sup>m</sup> to batell and arayed þaire batells//Alex<sup>v</sup>  
on his syde//And Porl on his syde//And Alex<sup>v</sup> lepe vp on his horse  
Buktiphalas & p<sup>l</sup>kkede bi fore a<sup>h</sup> his meñ//And comanded þ<sup>t</sup>  
þ<sup>e</sup> Medoynes & þ<sup>e</sup> psyenes sulde firste be gynñ to feghte and  
so þay did & hy selfe w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> grekes & þ<sup>e</sup> macedoynes stode on þ<sup>e</sup>  
top<sup>v</sup> syde redy to succo<sup>v</sup> þa<sup>m</sup> when myst<sup>v</sup> ware//And for þ<sup>e</sup> Olyphā<sup>m</sup>  
ntez also Alex<sup>v</sup> gert make suylike a<sup>n</sup> ordynance//he gert make  
xxiii<sup>a</sup> ymagez of brasse:and gert fill þa<sup>m</sup> full of dry wodde  
and he gerte make also cartes of yreñ for to bere thir ymagez  
be fore þ<sup>e</sup> Olyphāntez//And when þ<sup>e</sup> Ostez come nere to gedir  
he gert sett fyre in þ<sup>e</sup> wodd þat was in þ<sup>e</sup> ymagez//And when  
þ<sup>e</sup> Olyphāntez saw þir ymagez þay wende þ<sup>t</sup> þay hadd bene  
meñ//& schott owte þaire groynes as þay were wount for to  
do for ti<sup>h</sup> hafe weryed þa<sup>m</sup>//And alsone thurgh þ<sup>e</sup> grete hete  
þay were brynned and than thay gaffe bakke & fledd for drede  
to bryne þayre groynes//And þ<sup>v</sup> fore þ<sup>e</sup> meñ þ<sup>t</sup> were abowñ in þ<sup>e</sup>  
tours myghte nozte wyñ to for to feghte//And when Porl  
saw that he was reghte Sary//þa<sup>m</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> Medoynes & þ<sup>e</sup> psyenes  
w<sup>t</sup> arowes and speres & op<sup>v</sup> dyu<sup>v</sup>se wapynes of werre slewe  
thykfalde of þ<sup>e</sup> meñ of Inde//And thus þay faghte cōtennelly  
xxx<sup>ti</sup> days//& meki<sup>h</sup> pople of bathe þ<sup>e</sup> ptyes ware dede://And  
at þ<sup>e</sup> laste þ<sup>e</sup> Medoynes & þ<sup>e</sup> psyenes be gañ faste for to fayle  
and when Alexander saw that he was wondere wrathe and  
Entrede in to þ<sup>e</sup> batelle sittand on his horse Buctiphalas

f. 25r

know that your foolish, proud speech does not trouble me or move me in the least.

When Porus had this letter, he was very angry and assembled a huge army of men and a great multitude of elephants, with which the men of India are in the habit of fighting, and went against Alexander. This army of Porus was quite great and strong for there were in it fourteen thousand carts of war and eight hundred elephants. Each elephant had a wooden tower on its back and in each tower thirty men. There were also innumerable other fighting men on horse and on foot. When the Macedonians and the Persians saw the great multitude both of men and of elephants, they were afraid and greatly dismayed. Nevertheless, both the parties prepared for battle and deployed their battlelines, Alexander on his side and Porus on his side.

Alexander leapt up on his horse, Bucephalus, and spurred him onward before all his men and commanded that the Medians and Persians should first begin to fight. And so they did. He, with the Greeks and the Macedonians, stood on the other side ready to aid them when there was need. Alexander had made preparations for the elephants also -- he had made twenty-four thousand statues of brass and had them filled full of dry wood, and he also had made carts of iron to bear these statues in front of the elephants.

When the armies came near each other, he had fire set to the wood that was in the statues. When the elephants saw these statues, they believed that they were men and shot out their trunks, as they are accustomed to do, to have ravaged them. Soon, through the great heat, they were burned. Then they turned around and fled for fear of burning their trunks. Therefore, the men that were above in the tower might not turn around in order to fight. When Porus saw that, he was very distressed. Then the Medians and the Persians with arrows and spears and other various weapons of war killed a great number of the men of India.

Thus they fought continually thirty days. Many people from both sides were dead. Finally, the Medians and the Persians quickly began to fail. When Alexander saw that, he was very angry and entered into the battle sitting on his horse, Bucephalus.

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and faghte mānfully & þ<sup>e</sup> grekes & þ<sup>e</sup> macedoynes w<sup>t</sup> hy//and his horse also helped hy<sup>m</sup> gretely//And than<sup>m</sup> be lyfe þ<sup>e</sup> Indyenes bega<sup>n</sup> gretely for to fayle//And when Porl saw that he turned þ<sup>e</sup> bakke & fledd//And þa<sup>n</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> Indyenes þat were lefte o<sup>n</sup> lyfe fledd also and Alex<sup>v</sup> lugeð hy thare w<sup>t</sup> his Oste and made Sacrafice ti<sup>l</sup> his goddez and cōmaunded for to bery þ<sup>e</sup> dedd bodyd:/bathe of Indyenes & of þ<sup>e</sup> psyenes & þ<sup>e</sup> Macedoynes

S One aft<sup>r</sup> apo<sup>n</sup> a day Alex<sup>v</sup> ensegedd Porl citee & wan<sup>n</sup> it and went in ti<sup>l</sup> Porl Palace whare i<sup>n</sup> he fande mare reches þa<sup>n</sup> any ma<sup>n</sup> wi<sup>l</sup>l trowe//for he fande þ<sup>v</sup> in x<sup>i</sup> pelers of Massy golde ilka<sup>n</sup> of a grete thikne<sup>ß</sup> & a grete lenthe w<sup>t</sup> paire chapytra<sup>l</sup>les//And bi twene þ<sup>e</sup> pelers of golde ware hyngande venettez of golde & syluere w<sup>t</sup> leues of golde//And þ<sup>e</sup> brawnchez of this venett ware su<sup>m</sup> of cristalle su<sup>m</sup> of Margaritez Su<sup>m</sup> of Smaragdes & su<sup>m</sup> of Onyches and þay semed as þay hade bene v<sup>r</sup>ay vynes//þ<sup>e</sup> walles also of þ<sup>e</sup> palace ware couerde a<sup>l</sup> ou<sup>r</sup> w<sup>t</sup> plates of golde þ<sup>e</sup> whilke whe<sup>n</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> Macedoynes cutte i so<sup>u</sup>dre & brakke þay fande þ<sup>t</sup> þay ware a gret ynche thikke//And thir walles ware sett full of diu<sup>s</sup>e p<sup>v</sup>ciol stanes þat es at say of charebuncles//Smaragdes//Margarites & Amatist<sup>i</sup> and þ<sup>e</sup> zates of þ<sup>e</sup> Palace ware of Euo<sup>r</sup> wonder whitt & þ<sup>e</sup> bande<sup>z</sup> of þa<sup>n</sup> & þ<sup>e</sup> legges of Ebone//þ<sup>e</sup> chambirs also of þis Palace ware a<sup>l</sup> of Cipre<sup>ß</sup> and þ<sup>e</sup> beddez in þa<sup>n</sup> ware sett full of Margaritez Smaragdez & charebuncles//þ<sup>e</sup> hau<sup>l</sup> also of þ<sup>e</sup> Palace was sett full of ymagez of golde & bi twix þa<sup>n</sup> stode platanes of golde in þ<sup>e</sup> branches of whilke þ<sup>v</sup> were many man<sup>v</sup>s of fowles & ilke a fowle was coloured & paynted aft<sup>r</sup> his kynde asked þ<sup>e</sup> bekes of þa<sup>n</sup> & þ<sup>e</sup> clowes ware a<sup>l</sup> of fyne golde//And ay whe<sup>n</sup> Porl liste thir fowles thurgh crafte of Music walde synge aft<sup>r</sup> paire kynde askede & was//he fande also i þ<sup>t</sup> Palace veset<sup>l</sup> w<sup>t</sup> owte<sup>n</sup> nowm<sup>v</sup> Su<sup>m</sup> of golde//Su<sup>m</sup> of Cristalle Su<sup>m</sup> of op<sup>v</sup> man<sup>v</sup>es of p<sup>v</sup>cyouse stanes Su<sup>m</sup> of Siluere//And þ<sup>t</sup> a<sup>l</sup> man<sup>v</sup> of veset<sup>l</sup> þ<sup>t</sup> me<sup>n</sup> sulde be fued offe Bot þ<sup>v</sup> were bot fewe of þa<sup>n</sup> of Siluere

F ra thethy<sup>n</sup> Alex<sup>v</sup> remowede his Oste//& come to þ<sup>e</sup> zates of Caspee//and þare he lugeð hy<sup>m</sup>//It was a noble lande & a gude Bot þare ware þare i<sup>n</sup> many maners  
[of nedders]

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He fought manfully and the Greeks and the Macedonians with him. His horse also helped him greatly. Then quickly the Indians began to fail in great numbers. When Porus saw that, he turned around and fled. Then the Indians who were left alive fled also. Alexander set up camp there with his army and made sacrifice to his gods and commanded burial of the dead bodies both of Indians and of Persians and Macedonians.

One day, soon after, Alexander laid siege to Porus' city and conquered it. He went in to Porus' palace where he found more riches than any man would believe. In there, he found forty pillars of solid gold each of a great thickness and a great length along with their capitals. Between the pillars of gold hung vinets of gold and silver with leaves of gold. Some of the branches of these vinets were crystal, some were pearls, some were emeralds, and some were onyx. They seemed as if they were real vines. Also the walls of the palace were covered all over with plates of gold which, when the Macedonians cut them down and broke them, were found to be a full inch thick. These walls were set full of different precious stones, that is to say, carbuncle, emeralds, pearls, and amethysts. The gates of the palace and their hinges were very white ivory, and the legs were ebony. The chambers of the palace were all cypress and the beds in them were covered completely with pearls, emeralds, and carbuncles. The hall of this palace also was covered entirely with images of gold and between them stood plantain trees of gold, in the branches of which there were many kinds of birds, and each bird was colored and painted realistically. Their beaks and claws were all fine gold. Whenever Porus desired, these fowls, through a musical device, would sing as they would naturally. He also found in the palace, innumerable vessels, some gold, some crystal, some of other kinds of precious stones, some silver and all kinds of vessels that men could be served from. But there were few silver ones.

From there Alexander removed his army and came to the gates of Caspia. There he set up camp. It was a noble land and a good one, but there were in it many kinds

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of nedders and of wilde bestez//ffra þeine Alex<sup>v</sup> sent a lre tiht Talifride  
quene of Amazon<sup>n</sup> of þ<sup>s</sup> teno<sup>r</sup>

K yng of kynges and lorde of lordes Alexander þ<sup>e</sup> soñ of godd  
Amon & þ<sup>e</sup> quene Olympias vn to Talifride þ<sup>e</sup> quene of Amazon<sup>n</sup>  
ioy//The grete Bataylles þ<sup>t</sup> we hafe hadd w<sup>t</sup> kyng Dari<sup>l</sup> & how  
we hafe cōquered a<sup>ll</sup> his rewme and his lordchipes//we trowe  
be noghte vnknawen vn to 3ow//And also how we hafe foghten with  
Por<sup>l</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> kyng of Inde & his cheeffe citee wonnen//And also w<sup>t</sup> many  
op<sup>v</sup> folkez & þay ware neu<sup>v</sup> of powere to agaynestande vs þ<sup>e</sup> whilke we  
suppose be nozte vnknawen vn to 3owe//whare fore we sende 3ow  
worde & cōmandez 3ow þat 3e sende vs tribute if 3e wiht þ<sup>t</sup> wee  
cō nozte to 3ow to do 3ow disesse And vn to this lre Talifride  
made ansuere by lre one this wyse

Talyfride quene of Amazon<sup>n</sup> w<sup>t</sup> op<sup>v</sup> g<sup>te</sup> la<sup>-</sup>  
dys of oure rewme vn tiht Alexander kyng  
of Macedoyne ioi//we hafe wele herde  
telle of þ<sup>e</sup> hye witt þ<sup>t</sup> es in the thurgh  
whilke þ<sup>u</sup> hase in mynde thynges þ<sup>t</sup> ere  
passed and disposez thynges þ<sup>t</sup> ere p<sup>v</sup>sent  
and knawez thynges þ<sup>t</sup> ere to come//Avyse  
the wele þ<sup>v</sup> fore are þ<sup>u</sup> come tiht vs what  
trebulaciōnez & disesse may falle the in  
thi cōmyng//ffor þare was neu<sup>v</sup> nane  
zit þ<sup>t</sup> werreyed agayne vs þ<sup>t</sup> ne he had  
schame þ<sup>v</sup> offe at þ<sup>e</sup> ende//And þ<sup>v</sup> fore take

hede to thi laste ende//ffor grete schame it es tiht a wyse man  
thurgh indescreciō to falle in mescheffe//Bot if it be lykyng  
to þ<sup>e</sup> to knawe oure conu<sup>s</sup>sacyō and oure habitaciō//we declare  
it vn to þ<sup>e</sup> be oure p<sup>v</sup>sent lres þ<sup>t</sup> oure hitaciō es in ane lle þ<sup>t</sup> es clo<sup>-</sup>  
sede abowte w<sup>t</sup> a grete reu<sup>v</sup> þ<sup>t</sup> nob<sup>v</sup> hase bygynnyng nor endyng  
Bot on a syde we have a straye entree//And the nowm<sup>v</sup> of women  
þ<sup>t</sup> duellez þ<sup>v</sup> in es CCxiiii<sup>m</sup> þ<sup>t</sup> ere nozte filed w<sup>t</sup> men ffor oure hus<sup>-</sup>  
bandez duellez nozte amangez vs ne no nob<sup>v</sup> man Bot on þ<sup>e</sup> top<sup>v</sup>  
syde of þ<sup>e</sup> reu<sup>v</sup>//And ilke a 3ere we make a solempne feste in the  
wirchipe of Iubit<sup>v</sup> xxx days//And þan we go tiht oure husbendes  
and duellez w<sup>t</sup> þam op<sup>v</sup> xxx dayes & hase oure luste & oure disporte

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of vipers and of wild beasts. From there Alexander sent a letter to Talifride, Queen of the Amazons that said:

'King of kings and lord of lords, Alexander, the son of god Ammon and the Queen Olympias, to Talifride, the Queen of the Amazons, joy. The great battles that we have had with King Darius and how we have conquered all his realm and his lordships, we believe are not unknown to you. How we have fought with Porus, the King of India, and won his chief city and also with many other folk who were never powerful enough to resist us, we believe this is not unknown to you. Therefore, we send you word and command you that you send us tribute, if you don't want us to come to you to do you harm.'

To this letter Talifride made answer by letter in this way.

'Talifride, Queen of the Amazons, with other great ladies of our realm, to Alexander, King of Macedonia, joy. We have heard a great deal about the high intelligence that is in you, through which you remember things that are past, control things that are present, and know things that are to come. Be advised, therefore, before you come to us, what tribulations and distress may fall to you in your coming since there was never anyone yet that made war against us that was not ashamed by it in the end. Therefore, take heed to your end since it is a great shame to a wise man through indiscretion to fall into ruin. But if it pleases you to know our way of life and place of residence, we declare it to you by our present letters. We live on an island that is encircled by a great river that neither has beginning nor end, but on one side, we have a narrow entry. The number of women that lives on it is two hundred fourteen thousand who are not defiled by men because our husbands do not live among us nor does any man, but on the other side of the river. Each year we make a solemn feast for thirty days in the worship of Jupiter. Then we go to our husbands and live with them another thirty days and have our lust and our relaxation

f. 26v

to gedir as kynde askes and if any of vs cōsayfe & bere a childe if it be a male þ<sup>e</sup> modere kepis it Seuen ȝere and than sendez it to þ<sup>e</sup> fadere and if scho bere a maydeñ childe//þ<sup>e</sup> moder haldez it w<sup>t</sup> hir & techez it oure maners//Wheñ we goo to werre agayne ȝoure enemys we ere C<sup>m</sup> rydand one horse wele armede and suñ of vs hase bowes & arowes and suñ speres and op<sup>v</sup> dyu<sup>v</sup>se wapyne//And þ<sup>e</sup> remenant kepez ȝoure Ile and wheñ we come w<sup>t</sup> the victorye ȝoure husbondez does vs grete wirchipe//And þ<sup>v</sup> fore if þ<sup>u</sup> come agaynes vs we late the witt þ<sup>t</sup> we witt feghte w<sup>t</sup> the at aȝ ȝoure myȝte and if it happen þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> hafe þ<sup>e</sup> victory of vs wirchipe saȝ it nane be to the bi cause þ<sup>u</sup> hafe discōfit womē//And if þat we discomfit the it saȝ be an heghe wirchipe tiȝ vs þat we may discomfit so wirchipfull an empo<sup>r</sup> and to the it saȝ be a hye reproue where fore we sygnifie vn to þ<sup>e</sup> by ȝoure Ires þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> come noȝte agaynes vs for sekerly þ<sup>v</sup> may grete dysese come þ<sup>v</sup> offe þ<sup>t</sup> pauent<sup>e</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> knaweȝ noȝte now offe at þ<sup>s</sup> tyȝe when Alexander hadd redd þ<sup>s</sup> Ire he begañ to lawghe and onane he garte writte Anop<sup>v</sup> Ire and sent it to Talyfride/whare offe þ<sup>e</sup> teno<sup>r</sup> was this

Alexander kyng of kynges And  
of lordez þ<sup>e</sup> soñ of godd Amoñ  
& þ<sup>e</sup> qwene Olympias to Taly<sup>m</sup>  
fride quene of Amazon and þ<sup>e</sup>  
op<sup>v</sup> ladys of þ<sup>e</sup> Same rewme:ioy//  
we late ȝow weite þat thre  
pties of þ<sup>e</sup> werlde þ<sup>t</sup> es to say  
Asye//Affric & Europe we hafe  
cōquered & made subiectes  
vn tiȝ vs//& þ<sup>v</sup> was neu<sup>v</sup> nane  
of þaȝ þ<sup>t</sup> myȝte agaynstande  
ȝoure powere//And if we now  
suld noȝte be of powere to feghte

with ȝowe it ware ane heghe schame tiȝ vs//Neu<sup>v</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> lesse for als mekiȝ als we lufe ȝo<sup>r</sup> cōu<sup>v</sup>sacion we conseȝ þat ȝe cone forthe of ȝo<sup>r</sup> Ile & ȝo<sup>r</sup> husbondez w<sup>t</sup> ȝow and appere in ȝoure p<sup>v</sup>sence//ffor we swere ȝow bi godd Amoñ ȝoure ffader & by aȝ ȝoure goddez þ<sup>t</sup> ȝe saȝ hafe na disesse of vs//Bot gyffeȝ vs sumwhat i name of tribute and we schaff fynd ȝow and ȝoure Amazōns þat comeȝ  
[w<sup>t</sup> ȝow]



f. 26v

together as nature requires. If any of us conceives and bears a child, if it be a male, the mother keeps it seven years and then sends it to the father. If she bears a female child, the mother holds it with her and teaches it our ways. When we go to war against our enemies, we are one hundred thousand on horseback, well-armed. Some of us have bows and arrows and some spears and various other weapons. The rest guard our island. When we come home victorious, our husbands do us great honor. Therefore, if you come against us, you should know that we will fight with you with all our might. If it happens that you have victory over us, it will be no honor to you to have defeated women. If we conquer you, it shall be a high honor to us that we routed so glorious an emperor. To you it shall be a complete disgrace. Therefore, we indicate to you by our letters for you not to come against us, for certainly great distress shall come from it, which perhaps, you don't yet know.'

When Alexander had read this letter, he began to laugh, and, immediately, he had another letter written and sent it to Talifride. The contents of which was this.

'Alexander, king of kings and of lords, the son of god Ammon and the Queen Olympias, to Talifride, Queen of the Amazons and the other ladies of the same realm, joy. We want you to know that three parts of the world, that is to say, Asia, Africa, and Europe, we have conquered and made our subjects. There was never any of them that could resist our power. If we now should not be powerful enough to fight with you, it would be a great disgrace to us. Nevertheless, for as much as we love your way of life, we counsel that you come out from your island and your husbands with you, and appear in our presence because we swear to you by god Ammon, our father, and by all our gods, that you shall have no discomfort from us. But give us something in the manner of tribute, and we shall furnish you and your Amazons that come

## f. 27r

w<sup>t</sup> 3ow horse ynowe:/And when 3o<sup>7</sup> liste es for to wende hame agayne  
 3e schaff hafe gude leue//And when þ<sup>e</sup> Amazons hadd redd þis ire  
 þay went to conseñ and thoghte it was beste for to ascent vn tiñ  
 hy//And þañ þay sent hy x stedes þ<sup>e</sup> beste þ<sup>t</sup> myzte be funden  
 in any cuntree and x op<sup>o</sup> horse þ<sup>e</sup> beste þat myzte be geten and  
 a grete su<sup>m</sup> of golde//And Talifride hirsselfe and op<sup>o</sup> ladys w<sup>t</sup> hir  
 went vn tiñ hyñ and accorded w<sup>t</sup> hy and went hame agayne  
 wonder glade & blythe

I N þ<sup>e</sup> mene tyme it was talde Alex<sup>o</sup> þat Porl þ<sup>e</sup> kyng of Inde was  
 in Bactriceñ and assembled a grete Oste for to feghte eftsons  
 w<sup>t</sup> hy//And when Alex<sup>o</sup> herde this he remowede his Oste.and  
 chese owte Cl of duy<sup>o</sup>cs þ<sup>t</sup> knewe þ<sup>e</sup> cuntree:for to hafe þ<sup>e</sup> go-  
 uernance of his Oste and to lede þañ seurly thurgh þat  
 strange cuntree//In þ<sup>e</sup> Monethe of Auguste when þ<sup>e</sup> soñ es  
 maste hate þay bi gañ for to take þaire io<sup>7</sup>nee//And thay went  
 thurgh a dry cuntree:Sandye & w<sup>t</sup> owten wat<sup>o</sup> and nedlynge3  
 þañ by houed wende armede þ<sup>o</sup> was so grete plentee of ned-  
 dirs and crueñ wylde bestes ffor thies forsaid gydez ware mare  
 fauorable to Porl//þañ tiñ Alex<sup>o</sup> & his Oste And þ<sup>o</sup> fore þay ledd  
 þañ thurgh swilke barrayne and piloñ cuntree3//And when Alex<sup>o</sup>  
 saw it schope thus and that his conseñ by fore had sayd þ<sup>e</sup> sothe  
 þ<sup>t</sup> es at say bathe his awenñ frende3 and meñ of Caspy þ<sup>t</sup> cōseld  
 hy þ<sup>t</sup> he suld nozte hye hy ou<sup>o</sup> faste//ne triste to mekiñ to stran3  
 gers//þan he cōmanded þat añ meñ schulde wende armed: &  
 so þay did and þañ añ þ<sup>t</sup> Oste schane rizte as it had bene sternes  
 for sū of þaire armo<sup>7</sup>s ware of golde su<sup>m</sup> of Siluer & su<sup>m</sup> of  
 p<sup>o</sup>ciol stanes//And when Alex<sup>o</sup> saw þ<sup>e</sup> araye of his Oste and þaire  
 baners bi fore þañ schynande so faire he was rizte gladde  
 Neu<sup>o</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> les grete disese he hadd þ<sup>t</sup> nowþ<sup>o</sup> he ne his meñ myzte  
 fynde na wat<sup>o</sup>//So it felle þ<sup>t</sup> a knyghte of Macedoyne þ<sup>t</sup> hyzte  
 zephilus fand wat<sup>o</sup> standyng in an holle stane þ<sup>t</sup> was gadird  
 þare of þ<sup>e</sup> dewe of þ<sup>e</sup> heuen the whilke þ<sup>s</sup> forsaid knyghte putt  
 in his Bacenett & bro3the it tiñ Alex<sup>o</sup> for to drynke//And Alex<sup>o</sup>  
 saide vn tiñ hy//I suppose ¶ he þ<sup>t</sup> I drynke þ<sup>s</sup> wat<sup>o</sup> sañ þ<sup>e</sup>  
 Macedoynes & þ<sup>e</sup> psyenes be any thyng refreschede þ<sup>o</sup> by or I  
 sañ hafe añ þ<sup>e</sup> refreschyng be my selfe//And he ansuerd & saide  
 þou añ ane lorde ¶ he sañ be cōforthed þ<sup>o</sup> by//¶ Alex<sup>o</sup> þañ and  
[if 3e sañ]

f. 27r

with you horse enough. When your desire is to turn back home, you shall have good leave.'

When the Amazons had read this letter, they went to counsel and thought it was best to assent to him. Then they sent him ten steeds, the best that might be found in any country, and ten other horses, the best that might be obtained, and a great sum of gold. Talifride herself and other ladies with her went to him and met with him and went home again very glad and content.

In the meantime, Alexander was told that Porus, the King of India, was in Bactria and assembled a great army to fight with him again soon. When Alexander heard this, he removed his army and chose one hundred and fifty guides who knew the country, who would direct his army and lead them safely through that strange country.

In the month of August, when the sun is most hot, they began to make their journey. They went through a dry country, sandy and without water, and, out of necessity, they went armed, there were so very many vipers and cruel, wild beasts. These guides were more favorable to Porus than to Alexander and his army, and therefore they led them through such barren and perilous countries.

When Alexander saw this take shape and that his earlier council had spoken the truth, that is to say, both his own friends and men of Caspia who counselled him that he should not hurry too fast nor trust too much to strangers, then he commanded that all men should go armed, and so they did. Then all that army shone just as if it were stars because some of their armor was gold, some silver, and some precious stones. When Alexander saw the array of his army and their banners before them shining so bright, he was very glad. Nevertheless, he had great distress since neither he nor his men could find any water.

So it happened that a knight of Macedonia, who was called Zephilus, found water standing in a hollow stone, gathered there from the dew of the heaven, which this knight put in his basinet and brought to Alexander to drink.

And Alexander said to him, "Suppose that I drink this water, shall all the Macedonians and the Persians be at all refreshed by it or shall I have all the refreshment by myself?"

And he answered and said, "You alone, lord, shall be comforted by it.

Said Alexander then, "And

f. 27v

if 3e schall all pische trowes þu þt it solde be lykand to mee for to lyfe  
 in sorowe & disese seyng þe dedd of þe Macedoynes & þe psyenes//And  
 be lyue he garte helle down þe wat<sup>r</sup> on þe erthe be fore all his men  
 and when his knyghtis saw that//þay ware hugely comforthede  
 þare by rizte als Ilkan of þam hadd dronken a grete draughte of  
 wat<sup>r</sup> and þam þay went furthe þaire waye//And on þe morne þay come  
 tiht a reuere whase bankes was growand full of grete redys &  
 þay ware als hye as pyne treese//3a for þe maste ptie of xi fote  
 lange//Than badd that þay drawe of þe wat<sup>r</sup> & brynge to þe Oste  
 Bot all þat dranke þ<sup>r</sup> offe it keste þam in tiht a flux and slewe  
 a grete hepe of þam//ffor þt wat<sup>r</sup> was wonder scharpe and als  
 bittire als any mekiht gyrse//Bot þam was Alex<sup>r</sup> gretly disessedd  
 & all his Oste nozte allanly of þam selfe bot also for þaire horsez  
 & þaire bestez þt þay ledd wt þam þe whilke bi gam for to faile  
 for thyrste//Alexander hadd wt hy a thowsande Olyphantez  
 þt bare his golde//And foure hundreth cartes of werre and I<sup>m</sup> &  
 CC waynez//he hadd also in his Oste CCC<sup>m</sup> horse men and  
 Myles & Camelles wt owten nowm<sup>r</sup>//þt bare þaire vetails and  
 op<sup>r</sup> thynges þat was necessarye to þe Oste also oxen and kye  
 Schepe and swyne wt owten nowm<sup>r</sup> þe whilke pischt for defaute  
 of drynke//Sum of Alex<sup>r</sup> knyghtes lykked Ireñ//Sum dranke  
 oyle & sum ware at so grete meschefe þat þay dranke þaire  
 awen stalynges//And thare was so grete habundance of nedders  
 & op<sup>r</sup> venymol bestez þat þam byhoued nede3 trauele armed  
 and þat was a grete nuy to þam & an heghe disese//þam was  
 Alexander worder Sorye & namely for þe disese þt his Oste suffrede  
 A Nd as þay went end lande þis reuere abowte þe viii  
 houre of þe day þay come tiht a casteht þt stode in a  
 littiht Ile in þis forsaid ryuere and this casteht was  
 made of þe forsaid redez//þe brede of this ryuer was  
 foure furlange lenth//And in þat casteht þay sawe a few men  
 and þam Alex<sup>r</sup> bad his men spirre þam þat ware i þe casteht in  
 þe langage of Inde whare þay myghte fynde any swete watir  
 able for to drynke//And also soñ als þay spake to þam þay with  
 drewe þam & hidd//And Alex<sup>r</sup> gerte schotte arowes in to þe casteht  
 and þam þay hidd þam wele þe mare//And when Alex<sup>r</sup> saw that  
 [þay walde on na wyse

f. 27v

if you shall all perish, do you believe that I would enjoy living in sorrow and distress seeing the death of the Macedonians and the Persians?"

Quickly, he threw down the water on the earth before all his men. When his knights saw that, they were immensely comforted by it just as if each of them had drunk a great draught of water. Then they went on their way.

In the morning, they came to a river whose banks were overgrown with large reeds as high as pine trees. Yes, for the most part of forty feet long. Then he commanded that they draw some of the water and bring it to the army. But it cast all who drank it into a flux and killed a great many of them because that water was very sharp and as bitter as a bunch of hay. But then Alexander was greatly distressed as was all his army, not only for themselves but also for their horses and their animals that they led with them, which began to fail for thirst.

Alexander had with him a thousand elephants that bore his gold and four hundred carts of war and a thousand two hundred wagons. He also had in his army, three hundred thousand horsemen, countless mules and camels that bore their provisions, and other things that were necessary to the army. Also oxen and cattle, countless sheep and swine perished for lack of drink. Some of Alexander's knights licked iron. Some drank oil, and some were in such great distress that they drank their own urine. There was such a great abundance of vipers and other venomous beasts that it was necessary for them to travel armed. That was a great annoyance to them and an extreme discomfort. Then Alexander was exceedingly sorry especially for the distress that his army suffered.

And as they went along this river about the eighth hour of the day, they came to a castle that stood in a little island in this river. This castle was made of the reeds that grew there. The width of the river was four furlongs in length. In that castle, they saw a few men. Then Alexander commanded his men to ask them, who were in the castle, in the language of India, where they might find any sweet, drinkable water. As soon as they spoke to them, they withdrew and hid. Alexander had arrows shot into the castle. Then they hid themselves even more. When Alexander saw that

## f. 28r

that þay walde one na wyse speke w<sup>t</sup> hy//he badd a certane of his knyghtes nakne þa<sup>m</sup> & swyme ou<sup>r</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> wat<sup>r</sup> to þ<sup>e</sup> caste<sup>ll</sup>//And þa<sup>n</sup> xxxvii balde knyghtis & hardy of Macedoyne nakned þa<sup>m</sup> and tuke ilka<sup>n</sup> of þa<sup>m</sup> a swerde in his hande & went in to þ<sup>e</sup> wat<sup>r</sup> & swame it to þay were passede þ<sup>e</sup> ferthe parte þ<sup>r</sup> offe//And sodeynly thare rase oute of þ<sup>e</sup> wat<sup>r</sup> a grete mltitude of bestez þ<sup>t</sup> ere called ypotaynes grettere of body than a<sup>n</sup> Olyphant and deuored thir knyghtis eu<sup>r</sup>ilka<sup>n</sup>e//And þa<sup>n</sup> was Alex<sup>r</sup> rizte sare greuede//And be lyfe garte take þ<sup>e</sup> forsaidd guydez Cl & caste þa<sup>m</sup> into þ<sup>e</sup> wat<sup>r</sup> and onane þ<sup>e</sup> ypotaynes deuored þa<sup>m</sup>//And Alex<sup>r</sup> thoghte it was nozte spedfull langare to stryffe w<sup>t</sup> thase Monstres//and garte tromppe vp and remowed his Oste fra þeine and went so a<sup>ll</sup> þ<sup>t</sup> day wondere wery for thriste and also þay hadd g<sup>e</sup>te disese & nuye of wilde Beste þat come apou<sup>n</sup> þa<sup>m</sup> þat es to say of lyous beres vny<sup>-</sup> cornes//tygres and pardez//w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> whilke þay faughte & g<sup>e</sup>te t<sup>r</sup>ue<sup>ll</sup> hade

A nd as þay went ou<sup>n</sup> þis wyse w<sup>t</sup> grete angere & disese aboute þ<sup>e</sup> eleued<sup>r</sup> houre þay saw a littill bate in þ<sup>t</sup> riuer made of rede and me<sup>n</sup> rowande þ<sup>r</sup> in//And Alex<sup>r</sup> gert spirre þa<sup>m</sup> in þ<sup>e</sup> langage of Inde whare þay myzte fynde any fresche wat<sup>r</sup> and þay talde whare & schowed þa<sup>m</sup> a place a littill þeine//whare in þay saide þay scholde fynde a grete st<sup>a</sup>nke of swete wat<sup>r</sup> and gude//And þa<sup>n</sup> Alex<sup>r</sup> & hys Oste went a<sup>ll</sup> aboute þat ryuere & come ti<sup>ll</sup> þis forsaidd stanke and luge<sup>d</sup> þa<sup>m</sup> aboute it//And Alex<sup>r</sup> comanded þ<sup>t</sup> þay sulde felle a wod<sup>d</sup> þ<sup>t</sup> growed faste þ<sup>r</sup> by three myle on lenthe & a<sup>ll</sup>s meki<sup>ll</sup> on brede//þat wodde was a<sup>ll</sup> of þ<sup>e</sup> redez þ<sup>t</sup> I spak of bi fore and þ<sup>e</sup> stanke was a myle ou<sup>n</sup> lenth þan Alex<sup>r</sup> comanded þ<sup>t</sup> þay sulde make many fires in þ<sup>e</sup> oste//and gerte trompe to þ<sup>e</sup> mete//And also<sup>n</sup> als þ<sup>e</sup> mone be ga<sup>n</sup> to schyne þ<sup>r</sup> come a grete mltitude of Scorpyons to warde þ<sup>e</sup> stanke for to take þa<sup>m</sup> a drynke//And þa<sup>n</sup> þ<sup>r</sup> come op<sup>r</sup> manere of nedders and dragōns wonder grete of dyu<sup>r</sup>se colo<sup>r</sup>s//And a<sup>ll</sup> þat cuntree resoūned of þ<sup>e</sup> noyse & þ<sup>e</sup> hissingez þ<sup>t</sup> þay made//þir dragōns come doune fra þ<sup>e</sup> hye Mountaynes for to drynke of þ<sup>e</sup> stanke and þay hadd crestis one þaire heddez & þaire breste<sup>z</sup> ware bryghte lyk golde & þaire mowthes open<sup>n</sup>//þaire Aande slewe any qwik<sup>k</sup> t any qwik<sup>k</sup> thyng þat it smate apou<sup>n</sup> and oute of þaire eghne þ<sup>r</sup> come flammes of fyre//And when Alex<sup>r</sup> & his Oste saw þa<sup>m</sup>//þay ware rizt

[fered]

f. 28r

they would in no way speak with him. He commanded several of his knights to undress themselves and swim over the water to the castle. Then thirty-seven bold and hardy knights of Macedonia undressed themselves. Each took a sword in his hand and went into the water and swam until they were past the fourth part of it. Suddenly, there rose out of the water a great multitude of beasts that are called hippopotamus. They were greater of body than an elephant and devoured every one of these knights.

Then Alexander was quite painfully grieved. Quickly, he had the one hundred and fifty guides taken and cast into the water. Soon the hippopotamuses devoured them. Alexander thought it was no longer expedient to struggle with these monsters. He had the trumpets sounded and removed his host from there.

They went all that day quite weary from thirst. They also had great distress and annoyance from wild beasts that came upon them, that is to say, from lions, bears, unicorns, tigers, and leopards with whom they fought and had great trouble.

As they went in this fashion with great anger and distress, about the eleventh hour, in that river, they saw a little boat made of reeds with men rowing it. Alexander had them asked in the language of India where they might find any fresh water. They told where and showed them a place a little way from there. They said they should find a great pool of sweet and good water there. Then Alexander and his army went across that river and came to this pool. They set up camp around it. Alexander commanded that they should fell a stand of trees that grew nearby, three miles in length and just as broad. Those trees were all the reeds that I spoke of before. The pool was a mile in length. Then Alexander commanded that they should make many fires in the army and sound the trumpets for the meal.

As soon as the moon began to shine, there came a great multitude of scorpions toward the pool in order to get themselves a drink. Then there came other kinds of vipers and dragons exceedingly large and of various colors. All that country resounded from the noise and the hissing that they made. These dragons came down from the high mountains to drink from the pool. They had crests on their heads, and their breasts were bright like gold. Their mouths were open. Their breath killed any live thing that it touched, and out of their eyes there came flames of fire.

When Alexander and his army saw them, they were very

f. 28v

fered for þã ffor þay wende þay schulde hafe weried þã ilkã  
 and þã Alex<sup>v</sup> comforthed þam and saide vn to þã//Mi wirchipfull  
 knyghtes ꝥ he bees nozte agaste of þã bot does ilkane as 3e see  
 me do and þã he tuk a nett & sett it bi twixe hy & þã and tuke  
 his schelde & his spere & faughte w<sup>t</sup> þã manfully//And when  
 his knyghtes saw þat//þay ware gretly cōforthed & be lyfe tuke  
 þaire wapyñez & didd als þay sawe Alex<sup>v</sup> doo//and slewe of þã  
 a grete mltitude whatt thurgh dyu<sup>se</sup> wapyñez what in þaire  
 fyres//And of Alex<sup>v</sup> knyghtes þe dragōns slewe xx<sup>ti</sup> & xxx<sup>ti</sup> fotemen  
 Aft<sup>v</sup> þã þ<sup>v</sup> come owte of þe forsaide wodde of redez Crabbes of a  
 wonderfull greteneþ//And þaire bakkes ware harder þã co<sup>-</sup>  
 cadrillez//And when þe knyghtis smate þã one þe bakkes w<sup>t</sup>  
 þaire speres//þay myzte nozte pche þã ne na harme do þã  
 Neu<sup>v</sup> þe lesse þay slewe many of þã in þaire ffires//And þe remen<sup>-</sup>nt  
 of þã gatt in to þe stannke//And aboute þe sexte houre of þe nyghte  
 þ<sup>v</sup> come apoũ þã whytt lyōns grettere þã Bulles and þay  
 schoke þaire heuedeþ at þã & g<sup>ete</sup> manace made i þaire manere  
 þã þe knyghtes keped þã in þaire nettis and slew þã//Aft<sup>v</sup>  
 this þ<sup>v</sup> cõ apoũ þã þã a grete mltitude of swyne þ<sup>t</sup> ware  
 ã of a wonderfull mekilneþ w<sup>t</sup> tuskes of a cubett lenthe  
 And w<sup>t</sup> þã þare come wilde men & women of þe whilke ilkã  
 hadd sex hende//Bot Alex<sup>v</sup> & his knyghtes keped þã i þaire  
 nettis & slewe many of þã//And on þis wyse Alex<sup>v</sup> & his Oste  
 was gretly disesed//þã cōmanded Alex<sup>v</sup> þat þay schuld make  
 many fyres w<sup>t</sup> owten þe Oste aboute þe stanke//Aft<sup>v</sup> this þ<sup>v</sup>  
 come apoũ þã a wondere grete beste grettere & strangere  
 þã ã Olyphānt and he hadde i his frunte three lange hornes  
 and he was schapẽ lyke a horse & he was ã blakke//And þis  
 beste was called in þe langage of Inde//Anddontruciõ//And  
 or he went to þe watir at drynke he assailed þe oste//Bot Alex<sup>v</sup>  
 went here & þare amangeþ þe oste & cōforthed þã//This ilke  
 beste slewe of his knyghtes xxviii and bare donne lii and at  
 þe laste it felle in þe nettis and was slayne//Aft<sup>v</sup> þis þ<sup>v</sup> come  
 oute of þe redez a grete mltitude of mysþ als grete als foxes  
 and ete vp þe dede bodys//þare was na qwike thynges þat þay  
 bate þat ne also sõ it dyed//Bot harme did þay nane to þe  
[oste]



f. 28v

afraid for themselves because they believed these beasts would destroy each one of them.

Then Alexander comforted them and said to them, "My honorable knights, do not be terrified of them but each one of you do as you see me do."

Then he took a net and set it between himself and them and took his shield and his spear and fought with them manfully. When his knights saw that, they were greatly relieved. Quickly, they took their weapons and did as they saw Alexander do. They killed a great number of them by means of different weapons and with their fires. Of Alexander's knights, the dragons killed twenty, and thirty footmen. After them, there came out of the same forest of reeds, crabs of an amazingly large size. Their backs were harder than crocodiles. When the knights hit them on the backs with their spears, they could not penetrate them nor harm them. Nevertheless, they killed many of them in their fires. The rest of them got into the pool.

About the sixth hour of the night, there came upon them white lions, larger than bulls. They shook their heads at them and took a threatening stance. Then the knights caught them in their nets and killed them.

After this, there came upon them then a great multitude of swine that were all of an astonishing size with tusks a cubit long. With them there came wild men and women who each had six hands. But Alexander and his knights caught them in their nets and killed many of them. In this way, Alexander and his army were greatly distressed. Then Alexander commanded that they should make many fires outside the army around the pool.

After this, an extremely large beast, greater and stronger than an elephant, came upon them. He had in his front, three long horns, and he was shaped like a horse. He was all black. This beast was called in the language of India, Anddontrucion. Before he went to the water to drink, he attacked the army. But Alexander went here and there among the troops and comforted them. This same beast killed twenty-eight of his knights and trampled fifty-two. Finally, it fell in the nets and was killed.

After this, a huge number of mice as large as foxes came out of the reeds and ate up the dead bodies. There was no live thing that they bit that soon did not die. But they did no harm to the

## f. 29r

to þe oste//þaṁ come þare flyande amangeþ þaṁ bakkes grettere þaṁ  
 wilde dowfes and þaire tethe ware lyke meṁ tethe//And þay didð meṁ  
 mekiḡ dise and hurte many meṁ Of Suṁ þay bate offe þe nese//of Sū  
 þe eres//In þe mornenyge arely þe come many fewlis als grete as  
 wlturs/reed of colo<sup>r</sup> and þaire fete & þaire bekes aḡ blakke//Bot þay  
 didð na dise to þe oste bot went to þe stanke syde & drewe fisches &  
 elez oute of þe wat<sup>r</sup> & ete þaṁ

P haṁ lefte Alex<sup>o</sup> þir piloḡ placeþ and come w<sup>t</sup> his Oste in to þe  
 cuntree of Bact<sup>ce</sup>ṁ þe whilke was fuḡ of golde & op<sup>r</sup> reches  
 and þe meṁ of þe cuntree resayfed hy benyngly & wirch<sup>m</sup>  
 ipfully//And gaffe hy & his Oste grete giftes//And þare  
 he habade xx<sup>ti</sup> dayes//In þat cuntree þay sawe trees þ<sup>t</sup> in stedde  
 of leues bare wolfe þe whilke folkez of þe cuntree gaderð & made clathe  
 þ<sup>r</sup> offe//þe knyghtes of Alex<sup>o</sup> wex wonder balde & strange of hert be  
 cause of þe victoryes þay hadd wonneṁ of þe wilde besteþ before neuēneð

F ra thethyṁ Alexander remowed his Oste & come to þe  
 place whare Porḡ lay w<sup>t</sup> þe folke þ<sup>t</sup> he hadd assembled  
 and one þe morne bathe Alex<sup>o</sup> and Porḡ tuke þaire groude  
 & arayed þaire bateḡs for to feghte//And thaṁ Alex<sup>o</sup>

lepped apoṁ his horse Buktiphalas & went bi fore his Oste &  
 þaṁ þay trūpede vp & þe bateḡs loyned Sameṁ & faghte to gedir  
 riḡte sare//Bot þe Indienes feḡ thikfalde in þe bateḡ as corne  
 dose in þe felde be fore þe sythe//And wheṁ Porḡ saw that he  
 went and stode bifore aḡ his meṁ and cryed vn tiḡ Alexander  
 & saide on this wyse//It sitteþ noḡte tiḡ an empo<sup>r</sup> q̃ he to lose  
 his meṁ þus in vayne Bot it sitteþ tiḡ hy for to det<sup>r</sup>myne  
 his cause with his awenṁ handeþ//And þ<sup>r</sup> fore late thi folke  
 stande stiḡ on þe ta syde & myṁ on þe top<sup>r</sup> & late the & me feghte  
 to gedir hand for hand//And if it happenṁ þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> ou<sup>r</sup> come me my  
 folke & I saḡ be subiecteþ vn to þe//And if I ou<sup>r</sup> come the thaṁ  
 thou & thi folkez be subiectes to me//Thir wordeþ said Porḡ  
 dispysand Alexander bi cause þ<sup>t</sup> he was a maṁ of littiḡ stat<sup>e</sup>  
 ffor he was bot three cubites hye & Porḡ was fyfe cubetes  
 hye & mare//And þ<sup>r</sup>fore he t<sup>r</sup>ysted hy aḡ in strenghe of his body  
 noḡte knawande þe vertu & þe hardynes þat was hidd i Alex<sup>o</sup>

f. 29r

army. Then there arrived bats, flying among them, larger than wild doves, and their teeth were like men's teeth. They distressed the men greatly and hurt many men. Of some, they bit off the nose. Of some, the ears.

In the morning early, there came many birds as large as vultures, red in color, and their feet and their beaks all black. They did no harm to the army but went to the poolside and pulled fish and eels out of the water and ate them.

Then Alexander left these perilous places and came with his army into the country of Bactria, which was full of gold and other riches. The men of the country received him benignly and with proper respect and gave him and his army great gifts. There he remained twenty days.

In that country they saw trees that, instead of leaves, bore wool, which the folk of the country gathered and made cloth. Alexander's knights grew exceedingly bold and stouthearted because of the victories they had won over the wild beasts mentioned before.

From there, Alexander removed his army and came to the place where Porus lay with the folk that he had assembled. In the morning, both Alexander and Porus stood their ground and deployed their battlelines to fight. Then Alexander leapt on his horse, Bucephalus, and went before his army. Then they sounded the trumpets, and the battlelines joined and fought together quite intensely. But the Indians fell in large numbers in the battle, as corn does in the field before the scythe.

When Porus saw that he went and stood before all his men and cried to Alexander and said, "It is not proper for an emperor to lose his men this way in vain. But it is proper for him to decide his cause with his own hands. Therefore, let your folk stand still on the one side and mine on the other and let you and me fight together hand to hand. If it happens that you overcome me, my folk and I shall be your subjects. If I overcome you, then you and your folks shall be my subjects."

Porus said these words, despising Alexander because he was a man of little stature. For he was but three cubits high, and Porus was five cubits high and more. Therefore, he had complete confidence in the strength of his body, not knowing the power and the hardiness that was hidden in Alexander.

f. 29v

and than bathe þe osten stode still ant lete þe twa kyngez feghte samen  
 Porl gaffe Alex<sup>d</sup> a grete strke on þe hede & was i poynte to hafe  
 felled hy and than Porl knyghtez sett vp a grete Schowte  
 and Porl to<sup>n</sup>ed hy to þam warde for to reprove þam for þaire  
 schowtting and Alex<sup>d</sup> went till hy manfully & tuke his swerd  
 in bathe his handez & lete flye at hy & hitt hy fullbott one þe  
 heued & slew hy//And when þe Indienes saw that þay bigan  
 scharply for to fighte w<sup>t</sup> Alex<sup>d</sup> & his oste//vn to whayme  
 Alex<sup>d</sup> spake & sayde//wrechis q̃ he wharto feghte ze sen  
 30<sup>7</sup> kynge es dede//wate ze nozte wele that thare na gou<sup>n</sup>o<sup>7</sup>  
 es þe folke are sparpled be lyfe als schepe þ<sup>t</sup> ere w<sup>t</sup> owten  
 ane hirde//þe Indienes ansuerd & saide//vs es leuer q̃ þay  
 fighte manfully and dye in the felde þam for to see þe dis-  
 solacion of oure folke and oure lande be destroyed & wasted  
 leues 30<sup>7</sup> feghtyng q̃ Alex<sup>d</sup> & wendeze hame to 30<sup>7</sup> howsez  
 pesaybly & Seurely ffor I swere 3ow bi oure goddez if zee  
 wi<sup>th</sup> do so ze sa<sup>th</sup> hafe no harme ne 30<sup>7</sup> lande sa<sup>th</sup> nozte be  
 destroyed ne spoyled bi cause þ<sup>t</sup> ze hafe foghten so manfully  
 for 30<sup>7</sup> kynge//And when þe Indienes herde thir wordes þay  
 keste fra þam þaire wapynez & thanked Alexander and  
 wirchiped hy rizte als he hadd bene a godd//Than kyng  
 Alexander luge<sup>d</sup> hy þare & his Oste w<sup>t</sup> hy & he cōmand  
 to bery þe dede corsez þat ware slayne in þe Bate<sup>l</sup> and  
 offred sacrafice till his goddez//Also he garte Entere  
 porl þe kynge of Inde wirchipfully

F ra thethy<sup>n</sup> Alexander remowed his Oste & come  
 till a cuntree þat was called Oxidracas The  
 folkez of þat cuntree are wonder Symple men  
 & nozte prowde & þay are called Gūnosophiste  
 þay feghte neu<sup>d</sup> mare ne stryfes//þay ga alway  
 naked & citez ne townnez hafe þay nane Bot duellez i lugez  
 & i caues//When þe kyng of þis folke herd tell of þe cōmyng  
 of Alexander//he wrate a ire & sent vn till hy whare offe  
 this was the teno<sup>7</sup>

f. 29v

Then both the armies stood still and let the two kings fight together. Porus gave Alexander a great blow on the head and was on the verge of cutting cut him down. Then Porus' knights set up a great shout, and Porus turned himself toward them to reprove them for their shouting. Alexander went at him manfully and took his sword in both his hands and let fly at him. He hit him squarely on the head and killed him.

When the Indians saw that, they began to fight vigorously with Alexander and his army, to whom Alexander spoke and said, "Wretches, why do you fight since your king is dead? Do you not know that where there is no governor, the folk are dispersed quickly as sheep that are without a shepherd?"

The Indians answered and said, "We would rather fight manfully and die in the field than to see the desolation of our folk, and our land be destroyed and wasted."

"Leave your fighting," said Alexander, "and go home to your houses peaceably and safely because I swear to you by our gods if you will do so, you shall not be harmed or your land be destroyed or despoiled, because you have fought so manfully for your king."

When the Indians heard these words, they threw down their weapons and thanked Alexander and honored him just as if he had been a god.

Then King Alexander set up camp there and his army with him. He commanded that the dead corpses, who were killed in the battle, be buried, and he offered sacrifice to his gods. Also he had Porus, the King of India, interred honorably.

From there, Alexander removed his army and came to a country that was called Oxydracae. The folk of that country are exceedingly uncomplicated men and not proud. They are called Gymnosophists. They never fight or quarrel. They always go about naked and have no cities or towns, but live in tents and in caves.

When the king of this folk heard of the coming of Alexander, he wrote a letter and sent it to him. These were the contents of it.

f. 30r

T           he coruptible Gūnosophist//vn tith Alexander a mañ wee  
wryte//we here tell þt þu cōmez to werre apoñ vs//whare  
of we m<sup>ue</sup>eylle vs gretly//ffor wt vs sañ þu fynd nathyng  
þat þu may spoyle vs offe//ffor we hafe na thyng elles  
amangez vs bot allanly whare with we may sustene oure wafull  
bodys//what may þu þañ take fra vs//Bot if þu come for to feght  
wt vs//feghte oñ//ffor I late the wele witt//þt oure symplenes  
will we on na wyse lefe//Wheñ Alexander had redd this ire  
he sent ane ansuere agayne oñ this wyse//Paisably ꝥ he will  
we com to 3ow and no violence do 3ow//And þañ he wente  
in to þe cuntree whare þay duelled//And he saw þañ ga naked  
ft duelle in luges ft in caues ft þaire wyfes ft þaire childre away  
fra þañ walkand wt wilde bestez//And he hadd grete m<sup>ue</sup>eylle  
ft asked þañ if þay hadd any op<sup>o</sup> housez//And þay ansuerde ft said  
nay Bot in thir holettez duelle we alwaye ft I þir caues//  
And Alex<sup>o</sup> cōmendid gretely þaire sympleneft and bad þañ  
aske hym whate so þay walde//And þay ansuerd ft sayde Gyffe  
vs ꝥ þay vndedlyneft//so þt we mow nozte dye//for op<sup>o</sup> reches  
couet we nane//ꝥ Alex<sup>o</sup> I am dedely my selfe//how þañ may  
I giffe 3ow vndedlyneft//And wheñ þay herd hy say soo þañ  
þay ansuerd ft sayde oñ this wyse//AA wreched mañ ꝥ þay  
whare to wendeþ þu þl aboute/ft quelleþ so many meñ ft soo  
many ille dediz dooes señ þu wate wele þt þu sañ dye//ffor  
sothe ꝥ he þe cause whi I do it es of þe puydence of godd  
ffor hys mynystre I am doand þe cōmandement of hy//3ee  
wate wele þat þe see es nozte trubbled of hy selfe Bot wheñ  
þe wynde entres in tith hy þañ it stirrez hy ft troubleþ hy//I  
walde hafe ristedd and lefte añ werre//Bot þ<sup>o</sup> es anop<sup>o</sup> spy-  
ryte ft suffres it nozte be in reste//And wheñ Alex<sup>o</sup> hadde  
said thir wordez//he left þañ ft went tith anop<sup>o</sup> cuntree

A           Nop<sup>o</sup> day he come wt his Oste tith a place wharee  
twa ymagez ware//þe whilke Ercules gart make  
ft sett in þat place//And þe tane of þañ was of  
fyne golde and þe top<sup>o</sup> of fyne Siluere ft þe lenthe of aythir  
of þañ was twa cubettis//Wheñ Alex<sup>o</sup> saw þir ymagez  
he gert pche

f. 30r

'The mortal Gymnosophists to Alexander, a man, we write. We hear that you come to war upon us. We are very astonished by this since you shall find nothing with us of which you may despoil us. We have nothing else among us but only that with which we may sustain our woeful bodies. What might you then take from us? But if you come to fight with us, fight on because I can tell you that we will not leave our humble ways for any reason.'

When Alexander had read this letter, he sent an answer back which said:

'Peaceably,' he said, 'we will we come to you and commit no violence against you.'

Then he went into the country where they lived. He saw them go naked and live in tents and their wives and their children away from them walking with wild beasts. He was awestruck and asked them if they had any other houses.

They answered and said, "No, but in these tents and in these caves we always live."

Alexander greatly praised their humility and told them to ask him whatever they would.

They answered and said, "Give us immortality so that we might not die since we do not covet other riches."

Alexander said, "I am mortal myself. How then may I give you immortality?"

When they heard him say this, then they answered and said, "Ah, miserable man, why do you go about in this way and kill so many men and do so many ill deeds since you know well that you shall die?"

"Truly," he said, "the reason why I do it is by the providence of god. As his minister, I am doing his commandment. You know well that the sea is not troubled by itself, but when the wind strikes it, then it stirs it and disturbs it. I would have rested and left all war, but there is another spirit that will not allow it to be at rest."

When Alexander had said these words, he left them and went to another country.

Another day, he came with his army to a place where two images were, which Hercules had made and set in that place. One of them was of fine gold and the other of fine silver and the length of both of them was two cubits.

When Alexander saw these images,

f. 30v

he garte pche þam for to witt whep<sup>d</sup> þay ware holle or massy//And he fand þ<sup>t</sup> þay were a pty holle and he garte stoppe þ<sup>e</sup> hole agayne and putt in þam a thowsande nobles & fyve hundreth//And fra þeine he remowed his Oste//And entrede in tith a wildirnef calde & myrk so þ<sup>t</sup> þay myghte vnnethes an knawe anop<sup>d</sup> or See anop<sup>d</sup>//And fra thythi<sup>n</sup> þay went seuen daye lo<sup>n</sup>nee and entred in tith a wildirnef and come tith a grete reuere//And bi zonde þ<sup>t</sup> riwere//þay saw wonder faire & wele vesaged women cled<sup>d</sup> in foule clethyng & horrible and þay hadd in þaire handez wapne made all of Siluere//bi cause þay hadd nob<sup>d</sup> Ire<sup>n</sup> ne stele//And þay rade one horse//And men saw þay nane amangez þam//And when þ<sup>e</sup> Oste walde hafe passede ou<sup>d</sup> this ryuere//þay myzte nozte be cause it was rizte brade and full of dragōns and op<sup>d</sup> monstres

F ra thethi<sup>n</sup> þay went aboute towardez þ<sup>e</sup> lefte pty of Inde and come tith a dry Marras full of gret redez and as þay passed thurgh þat Marras be lyue þ<sup>d</sup> come owte of þ<sup>e</sup> redez a beste lyke ane ypotayne//whase breste was lyke to þ<sup>e</sup> cocadri<sup>lle</sup> and his bakke lyk a sawe//And his tethe wonder grete & als scharpe as a suerde//bot I his gangyng he was als slaw als a snyle//And in his oute come he slew twa knyghtis of Alex<sup>d</sup>//This ilke beste myzte þay on na wyse pche w<sup>t</sup> þaire speres Bot w<sup>t</sup> mellis of yre<sup>n</sup> þay slew it

A nd fra þeine þay trauelde thritty day io<sup>n</sup>nez and come to þ<sup>e</sup> vttermaste iles of Inde & þare þay lugged þam besidez a ryuere þ<sup>t</sup> es callede in þ<sup>t</sup> langage of Inde hēmahur<sup>d</sup>//And aboute þ<sup>e</sup> Eleuend<sup>d</sup> houre þar come

owte of þ<sup>e</sup> weddez a grete miltitude of Olyphantez & come apon þam w<sup>t</sup> a gret birre & þaire groynes opy<sup>n</sup> and onane Alex<sup>d</sup> lepe apon his horse Buktiphalas and busked hy Agaynes þam and badd þ<sup>e</sup> macedoynes þ<sup>t</sup> þay solde tak þaire horse and ilk a man a swyne in a bande & wende agaynes þ<sup>e</sup> olyphantis//And when þ<sup>e</sup> oliphant<sup>f</sup> saw þam//þay come gapande w<sup>t</sup> þaire groynez redy to tak þam//And when þ<sup>e</sup> Macedoynes saw þat þay ware fered and durste nozte go to þam//And Alex<sup>d</sup> saide vn to þam My wirchipfull knyghtes & he bese of gud cōforthe & dredez zow na thyng for and ze will gare zoure swyne crye faste

[ze schall see all þir olyphant<sup>f</sup>



f. 30v

he had them pierced in order to know whether they were hollow or solid. He found that they were partly hollow. He had the hole stopped up again and put in them a thousand and five hundred nobles.

From there, he removed his army and entered into a wilderness so cold and murky that they might scarcely recognize or even see one another.

They went seven days' journey from there and entered into a wilderness and came to a great river. Beyond that river, they saw extremely fair and beautiful women clad in foul and horrible clothing. They had in their hands weapons made entirely of silver, because they had neither iron nor steel. They rode on horseback. They saw no men among them. When the army wanted to cross over this river, they could not because it was very broad and full of dragons and other monsters.

From there, they turned toward the left side of India and came to a dry marshland full of great reeds. As they passed through the marshland, suddenly, there came out of the reeds a beast like a hippopotamus, whose breast was like that of a crocodile and his back like a saw. His teeth were extremely large and as sharp as a sword. But in his movement, he was as slow as a snail. In his approach, he killed two of Alexander's knights. They could by no means stab this same beast with their spears. But with hammers of iron they killed it.

They traveled thirty days' journey from there and came to the outermost islands of India. There they set up camp beside a river, that is called in that language of India, Hemmahurer. About the eleventh hour there came out of the weeds a huge herd of elephants. These came upon them in a great rush with their trunks extended. Quickly, Alexander leapt upon his horse, Bucephalus, and hastened against them. He commanded the Macedonians to take horse, and every man to take a swine in a strip of leather and move against the elephants. When the elephants saw them, they came open-mouthed with their trunks ready to take them. When the Macedonians saw that they were afraid and dared not go toward them.

Alexander said to them, "My glorious knights, be of good comfort and dread nothing. If you will make your swine cry vigorously,

f. 31r

3e schall see all þir Olyphantes flee anon//and alsone als the Olyphant  
herde þe crye of þe swyne and þe noyse of þaire trompes//þay fledd and  
durste nozte habyde//And Alex<sup>d</sup> & his men p<sup>r</sup>sued tham//And what  
wt nettis whatt wt swerdes & speres þay slewe of þam a grete  
miltitude and come agayne to thaire tentis

A Nob<sup>d</sup> day þay removed þeine and trauelde thurgh the  
same woddez of Inde//And þay fand þe women with  
berdis rechande down to þaire pappes//& þaire heuede  
playne abowne and þay ware cled all in skynnes//þay  
chasede thir women and sū of þam þay tūke & broghte þam  
till Alex<sup>d</sup>//And he gart spirre þam in the langage of Inde//how  
þay lifed in thase woddes whare na duellyng was of men//And  
þay ansuerd & said we lyffe all & þay wt venyson þt we take in  
thir woddes thurgh huntynge

W heñ þay ware passed oute of thir woddez//þay come in  
till a faire felde vn till a place whare this forsaide  
riuere ran//And þare þay fand bath men & women  
all naked//And þay ware als rughe of hare as þay  
had bene bestes//whase kynde & custome it was als wele to be  
in þe wat<sup>r</sup> als on þe lande//And als sone als þay saw Alex<sup>d</sup> oste  
onane þay fledd to þe wat<sup>r</sup> and dowked in till it//ffra þeine þay  
traueld xv. day io<sup>n</sup>nee//And entred in till woddes þat ware full  
of cynocephals þe whilke als soon als þay saw Alex<sup>d</sup> & his oste  
onane þay assailede þam//Bot Alex<sup>d</sup> & his men//what wt arowes  
whate wt speres & nettes slew a grete miltitude of þam//and þe  
remen<sup>t</sup> of þam fledd here and thare in þe woddez

F ra thethin þay went fourty dayes & come i till a cham<sup>e</sup>  
payne cuntree þat was all Barayne and na hye  
place ne na hilles myghte be sene on na syde//And  
as it ware aboute þe xi houre of þe day//þare bigan so  
grete a wynde to blawe oute of þe Este þat it blew doune to þe erthe  
all thaire tentis & þaire luges//And þe was grete disese ymang  
þe oste//ffor þe wynde tuk fire brandes oute of fyres þt þay hadd  
made and smate dyu<sup>s</sup>e men & brynte þam//And þan Alex<sup>d</sup> knyght  
mo<sup>n</sup>no<sup>d</sup>e gretly & said amange þam þe wrethe & þe wreke of  
oure goddez & þay fallez apou vs Bicause we seke to ferre to<sup>m</sup>  
warde þe soon rysynge//My wirchipfull knyghtez & Alex<sup>d</sup> bese  
[of gud cōforthe

f. 31r

you shall see all these elephants flee right away. As soon as the elephants heard the cry of the swine and the noise of their trumpeting, they fled and dared not remain. Alexander and his men pursued them. With nets, swords, and spears they killed a vast number of them and came back to their tents.

Another day, they left there and traveled through the same woods of India. They found there women with beards reaching down to their breasts and their heads bald on top. They were clad all in skins. They chased these women, and some of them they took and brought to Alexander. He had them asked in the language of India, how they lived in these woods where no one else lived.

They answered and said, "We live completely on venison that we get in these woods by hunting."

When they had passed out of these woods, they came into a open field to a place where this aforesaid river ran. There they found both men and women all naked. These folk, whose nature and custom it was to be in the water as well as on the land, were covered with hair just like animals. As soon as they saw Alexander's army, they immediately fled to the water and ducked into it.

From there, they traveled fifteen days' journey and entered into woods that were full of dog-headed creatures, which as soon as they saw Alexander and his army instantly attacked them. But Alexander and his men, with arrows, spears, and nets killed a vast number of them. The rest of them fled here and there in the woods.

They went forty days from there and came into a flat country that was all barren and had no high place. Nor could any hills be seen on any side. As it was about the eleventh hour of the day, there began such a great wind to blow out of the East that it blew down all their tents and their huts. There was great distress among the army because the wind took firebrands out of fires that they had made and struck many men and burnt them.

Then Alexander's knights murmured a great deal and said among themselves, "The wrath and the vengeance of our gods falls on us because we quest too far toward the sunrise."

"My honorable knights," said Alexander, "be



f. 31v

of good comfort and unafraid because this tempest has not occurred by the wrath of our gods but because of the autumn equinox."

When the wind had ceased, they gathered together what the wind had dispersed.

From there, they went twenty-five days and came into a green valley. There they set up camp. Then Alexander commanded that they should make many fires because it began to be insufferably cold. Great flakes of snow began to fall as if they had been great clumps of wool. When Alexander saw that, he was afraid that it would not cease soon. He commanded his men that they should tread down the snow and trample it with their feet. Their fires also helped them a great deal. Nevertheless, there were, because of that snow, five hundred of the army dead, whom Alexander had buried.

Then there fell a very heavy rain, and the snow ceased. With the rain, there also came such a thick mist that continually, for three days in a row, they saw no sun. Out of the cloud that hung above them fell what seemed like huge firebrands, which burnt many of their tents and many of their huts. Immediately, Alexander offered sacrifice to his gods and commanded his knights to put old, torn, wet clothes before the fire. He made his prayer. As soon as he did, the weather grew clear and fair.

From there, they departed and came to a great river that is called the Ganges. There they set up camp. As they looked over on the other side, they saw two or three men walking up and down there. Alexander commanded his men to ask them, in the language of India, who they were.

They answered and said, "We are Brahmins."

Alexander had great desire to speak with the Brahmins, but he could not get over the water because it was so deep and so broad except in the months of July and August. It also was full of hippopotamuses, scorpions, and crocodiles, absent in those summer months. When he saw that he could not go over, he was very disappointed. Quickly, he had a little boat made of reeds and had it covered with cowhides. He had it tarred well both inside and out. When the boat was made, he set a knight of his company into it and gave him a letter with him to bear

f. 32r

to Dindim? pat was kyng of þe Bragmayns of whilk þe was þe teno<sup>r</sup>  
 K yng of kynges and lorde of lorde3//Alex<sup>d</sup> þe soñ of godd Amon  
 it of þe quene Olympias vn to dindim? kyng of Bragmayns  
 ioy//Eu<sup>d</sup> señ we were comen to þat age þat we couthe  
 discerne by twix gud it iñ we hafe desyred sou<sup>d</sup>aynly  
 for to hafe wysdome it konnyng it for to putt a way fra vs igno<sup>m</sup>  
 rance it vnconnyng ffor as þe wise techyng of oure philoso<sup>m</sup>  
 phres declares opynly Eloquence w<sup>t</sup> owtteñ witt it wisdom  
 dose ofte sythes mare skathe þañ gude:þ<sup>d</sup> fore we hafe wele  
 vnderstanden by relacion of dyu<sup>d</sup>se meñ/þ<sup>t</sup> 30<sup>r</sup> lyfe it 30<sup>r</sup> man<sup>s</sup>  
 are diuised and diu<sup>d</sup>se fra añ op<sup>d</sup> meñ so þ<sup>t</sup> nop<sup>d</sup> on þe See ne  
 on þe lande 3e seke na helpe and þ<sup>t</sup> 3e zeme anop<sup>d</sup> manere of  
 doctryne þañ we hafe lerende of oure docto<sup>r</sup>s//Whare fore  
 we p<sup>y</sup> 3ow þ<sup>t</sup> 3e witt certyfe vs bi 30<sup>r</sup> ires of 30<sup>r</sup> lyffe and  
 30<sup>r</sup> maners and 30<sup>r</sup> doctryne//ffor pauent<sup>e</sup> we may take þ<sup>d</sup>  
 of suñ gud Ensample/And 30<sup>r</sup> wysdome it 30<sup>r</sup> gudnef neu<sup>d</sup>  
 be þe lef//ffor it es na harme tñ a mañ thurgh his gudnes  
 to make anop<sup>d</sup> mañ gude as he es//The whilk I may proue  
 bi this Simylitud//I supposse a mañ hadd I his hand a lyght  
 candill//many op<sup>d</sup> candills may be lyghted þ<sup>d</sup> at//it lose  
 na thyng of his lyghte//And rizte so it es of þe gudnef  
 of a mañ//ffor many meñ may take gude ensample of hy  
 it his gudnef be na thyng enmenuste þ<sup>d</sup> by//where fore  
 zitt eftsons we p<sup>y</sup> 3ow þat w<sup>t</sup> owtteñ any taryng or  
 delay//3e schewe vs þe maners of 30<sup>r</sup> lyffing//Than kyng  
 Dindim? resaffed þe ires wirchipfully and wrate anop<sup>d</sup>  
 agayne of this teno<sup>r</sup>

D yndim? Maist<sup>d</sup> of þe Bragmayns vn to kyng Alex<sup>d</sup>  
 ioy it getyng//we hafe wele vndirstanden by  
 þe teno<sup>r</sup> of thi ires//þat þu desyres gretly for to  
 hafe v<sup>d</sup>ray cōnyng and pfitt wysdom þe whilke  
 are mekiñ bett<sup>d</sup> þañ any kyngdom for þay may neu<sup>d</sup> be  
 boghte w<sup>t</sup> na pryce//Whare fore I comend þe gretly knaw<sup>m</sup>  
 yng þat þu arte a wyse mañ//ffor ane Empo<sup>r</sup> w<sup>t</sup> owtteñ  
[wisdom]

f. 32r

to Dindimus who was King of the Brahmins of which these were the contents.

'King of kings and lord of lords, Alexander, the son of god Ammon and of the Queen Olympias to Dindimus, King of the Brahmins, joy. Ever since we came to that age when we could discriminate between good and evil, we have desired above all else to have wisdom and knowledge and to put away from us ignorance and unknowing. For as the wise teaching of our philosophers declares openly, eloquence without wit and wisdom often does more harm than good. Therefore, we have understood well by reports from various men that your life and your manners are distinct and different from all other men's, so that neither on the sea nor on the land, do you seek any help. And that you keep another manner of doctrine than we have learned from our learned men. Therefore, we ask you to inform us by your letters about your life and your manners and your doctrine because perhaps we may take from it some good example, and your wisdom and goodness be not lessened by it since it does no harm to a man through his goodness to make another man as good as he is, which I may prove by this parable. Imagine that a man had in his hand a lit candle from which many other candles may be lit, and it loses nothing of its light. It is just so with the goodness of a man because many men may take good example from him, and his goodness is not at all diminished in degree by it. Therefore, before long, we ask you that without any hesitation or delay, you show us your way of life.'

Then King Dindimus received this letter honorably and wrote back another which said:

'Dindimus, Master of the Brahmins, to King Alexander, joy and greeting. We have understood well by the tenor of your letters that you greatly desire to have true knowledge and perfect wisdom, which are much better than any kingdom because they may never be bought with any price. For this I commend you greatly knowing that you are a wise man. For an emperor without

f. 32v

wisedom es noghte lorde of his subiectis Bot his sugett<sup>r</sup> ere lordes of  
hy//ze wrate vn tith vs p<sup>r</sup>ying vs for to schewe zowe oure maners  
of lyffynge ilke a poynte eft<sup>r</sup> op<sup>r</sup>//p<sup>e</sup> whilke we halde impossible for  
to doo//ffor oure man<sup>r</sup> of lyffynge es full ferre dyu<sup>r</sup>se fra 30<sup>r</sup>s//ffor  
nop<sup>r</sup> we wirchipe p<sup>e</sup> goddes pat ze wirchipe//ne ledis p<sup>e</sup> lyfe p<sup>t</sup> ze lede  
and if I wrate zowe oughte of oure man<sup>r</sup> of lyffynge//ze may hafe na  
sauoure p<sup>r</sup> in be cause ze are besily ocupied w<sup>t</sup> dedis of armes//Neu<sup>r</sup>  
p<sup>e</sup> leff p<sup>t</sup> ze say nozte p<sup>t</sup> I layne oure lyfe fra zow for envy//als meki<sup>r</sup>  
as comez to my mynde at p<sup>t</sup>s tyme I sa<sup>r</sup>l writt vnto zow of oure man<sup>r</sup>s  
W ee Braymayns ledez a symple lyfe it a clene and p<sup>e</sup> wirchipynge  
of many goddez we eschu//we do na synnes ne we wil<sup>r</sup> hafe  
na mare pan reso<sup>n</sup> of kynde asches//A<sup>r</sup>l thynges we suffer  
it pat say we es necessary it ynoghe:p<sup>t</sup> es nozte ou<sup>r</sup> meki<sup>r</sup>//we tith na  
lande//ne eryes/ne sawes//ne zokes nop<sup>r</sup> ox ne horse in plughe ne i  
carte//Ne nett caste we nane in p<sup>e</sup> See//for to take fysche//Ne hun<sup>r</sup>  
ttinge ne fewlynge vse we nane//Mete it drynke hafe we ynoghe  
and op<sup>r</sup> mete seke we nane//bot p<sup>t</sup> p<sup>e</sup> erthe oure allere moder w<sup>t</sup> owtte<sup>n</sup>  
manes labo<sup>r</sup> brynges furthe//w<sup>t</sup> swilke metis we fi<sup>r</sup>l oure wambes  
whilke nuyes vs nozte ne na harme dose//And zit of swilke metis  
we fi<sup>r</sup>l nozte oure bodis to full//ffor amangez vs it es an vn semely  
thynges it an vn leefull to see a grete belyed man//And p<sup>r</sup> for ere  
we a<sup>r</sup>l oure lyfe tym w<sup>t</sup> owtte<sup>n</sup> sekene<sup>r</sup> it lyffe<sup>r</sup> lang it alwaye  
are in gude hele tith oure lyffes ende//we vse neu<sup>r</sup> mare na med<sup>r</sup>  
cyns ne sekis na helpe for p<sup>e</sup> hele of oure bodys//At a t<sup>r</sup>me of deede  
endes oure lyfes//for ane of vs leues na langere pan an op<sup>r</sup> Bot  
eft<sup>r</sup> p<sup>e</sup> order of p<sup>e</sup> birthe of man//p<sup>e</sup> t<sup>r</sup>me of deede comes tith ilke a  
man//Thare comez nane of vs at na fire for na calde//ne clathez  
comez p<sup>r</sup> nane apo<sup>n</sup> vs Bot alway we ga naked//We fulfi<sup>r</sup>  
neuer p<sup>e</sup> desyres of oure bodys//Thurgh pacyence we suffree a<sup>r</sup>l  
thynges//A<sup>r</sup>l oure inwarde enemys we slaa So p<sup>t</sup> we drede nane  
enemys w<sup>t</sup> owtte<sup>n</sup>//ffor lightlyer es a citee or a castelle take<sup>n</sup>  
p<sup>t</sup> es ensegged bathe w<sup>t</sup> inwarde enemys it w<sup>t</sup> owtte<sup>n</sup> pan p<sup>t</sup>  
pat es ensegged allanly w<sup>t</sup> owtwarde enemys//Bot p<sup>u</sup> empo<sup>r</sup>  
feghtes agayne<sup>r</sup> owtwardez enemys for fost<sup>r</sup> it nuresche thy<sup>n</sup>  
inwardez enemys p<sup>e</sup> whilke ere fendes of helle//we Bragmayns  
has slayne a<sup>r</sup>l oure inwardez enemys and p<sup>r</sup> for we drede nane  
owtwarde enemys ne nane helpe sekis for to hafe agayne<sup>r</sup> pan  
[nop<sup>r</sup> be See ne be land



f. 32v

wisdom is not lord of his subjects but his subjects are lords over him. You wrote to us praying us to show you our way of life, each point after the other, which we hold impossible to do because our way of life is completely the opposite of yours. We neither worship the gods that you worship nor lead the life that you lead. If I wrote you anything of our way of life, you might not appreciate it because you are busily occupied with deeds of arms. Nevertheless, so that you cannot say that I concealed our life from you due to envy, as much as I can recall of our ways at this time, I shall write to you about them.

We Brahmans lead a simple and a clean life, and we shun the worship of many gods. We do no sin nor will we have any more than our nature requires. We endure all things and we say that it is necessary and enough. We don't believe it is excessive. We till no land, nor plough, nor sow, nor yoke either ox or horse in plough or in cart. Nor do we cast any nets in the sea to take fish. Nor do we do any hunting or fowling. We have food and drink enough. And we seek no other food but what the earth, our mother, brings forth without man's labor. With such food as does not upset us or do us any harm we fill our stomachs. Yet with such foods, we do not fill our bodies too full since, among us, it is an inappropriate and unlawful thing to see a fat-bellied man. Therefore, we are all our lifetime without sickness and live long and always are in good health to our life's end. We never use any medicines or seek any help for the health of our bodies. Our lives end at a predetermined time of death because one of us lives no longer than another, but after the order of the birth of man, the time of death comes to each man. None of us come to any fire because of the cold. Nor do we wear any clothes but always go naked. We never fulfill the desires of our bodies. Through patience we endure all things. All our internal enemies we destroy so that we dread no external enemies, because it is easier for a city or a castle to be taken that is besieged both with internal and external enemies, than one that is besieged only with external enemies. But you, emperor, fight with external enemies by which you foster and nourish your internal ones, which are fiends of hell. We Brahmans have killed all our internal enemies, and, therefore, we dread no external ones nor seek to have any help against them

f. 33r

nob<sup>d</sup> be see ne by land Bot we ere alwaye sewre ynoghe/And lyffe3 w<sup>t</sup> owttē  
 any drede//Oure bodys we hi<sup>t</sup> w<sup>t</sup> leues of trees and p<sup>e</sup> fruyte of p<sup>a</sup>m we  
 ete//we ete mylke also and drynkes wat<sup>d</sup> of a gude ryuere or of swete  
 welles//we wirchipp<sup>e</sup> a godd and ti<sup>t</sup> hy alwaye we zelde louynge3//we  
 desire p<sup>e</sup> life of p<sup>e</sup> werlde p<sup>t</sup> es to come and vs liste nozte here p<sup>e</sup> thyng p<sup>t</sup>  
 t<sup>e</sup>nez to na pfett//we spekke nozte meki<sup>t</sup> Bot whe<sup>n</sup> we ere artede  
 for to speke//we say nozte bot p<sup>e</sup> sothe and onane we halde vs sti<sup>t</sup>  
 Reches luffe we nozte//Couetise es a thyng p<sup>t</sup> may nozte befilled  
 p<sup>e</sup> whilke ofte sythe3 brynge3 a ma<sup>n</sup> ti<sup>t</sup> a mescheuo<sup>l</sup> ende//wrethe ne envie  
 es p<sup>d</sup> nane amange3 vs//ne nane of vs es strangere p<sup>a</sup>m anob<sup>d</sup>//Of the  
 pouert pat we hafe we ere riche for we hafe it in comon//we strife  
 neu<sup>d</sup> mare/ne beres neu<sup>d</sup> wape<sup>n</sup>//we bere peesse ilka<sup>n</sup> ti<sup>t</sup> op<sup>d</sup> of  
 custom: nozte thurgh vertu//Domes hafe we nane amanges vs  
 for we do nane i<sup>t</sup> whare fore we schulde be called vn to dome a  
 law p<sup>d</sup> es p<sup>t</sup> es contrary til oure kynde//ffor we do na mercy bi cause  
 we do no thyng whare fore we sulde aske mercy//We do na labo<sup>r</sup>  
 p<sup>t</sup> ptenez to couetise or auarice//We giffe nozte oure bodyse to lechorye  
 We do nane ad vowtrye//ne we do na syn<sup>n</sup> whare fore vs sulde  
 nede to do penance//We fynde na fawte in na thyng ffore we  
 a<sup>t</sup> does that pat righte es//We dye na sodeyne dede ffor thurgh  
 foule dedis we corrupte nozte p<sup>e</sup> ayere//We vse na clathes pat  
 are littede of dyu<sup>s</sup>e coloures//Oure wiffes ne are nozte gayly  
 arayed for to plese vs//Ne w<sup>t</sup> p<sup>a</sup>m we comon nozte bi cause  
 of luste of lecherye bot bi cause of childre getynge//Oure wyffes  
 sekas na nob<sup>d</sup> clethyng//p<sup>a</sup>m p<sup>e</sup> forluke of godd hase granted  
 p<sup>a</sup>m//And whaa dare take apo<sup>n</sup> hy for to chaunge his wirkyng  
 an heghe sy<sup>n</sup> vs thynke it ware ti<sup>t</sup> any ma<sup>n</sup> for to p<sup>d</sup>smme to  
 do it//Baththis vse we nane ne warme wat<sup>d</sup> to wasche oure  
 bodys w<sup>t</sup> a<sup>t</sup>//p<sup>e</sup> So<sup>n</sup> mynistres vs hete//And p<sup>e</sup> dewe of p<sup>e</sup> ayer  
 ministrez vs moyst<sup>d</sup> ft wete//we hafe na thoghte of na thyng  
 ne we schewe na lordechipe a bowu<sup>n</sup> op<sup>d</sup> me<sup>n</sup> p<sup>t</sup> ere lyke vn  
 ti<sup>t</sup> vs//ffor a grete crueltee we halde it to cōstreyne a ma<sup>n</sup>  
 to serue vs//whayme kynde ft p<sup>e</sup> forluke of godd hase made  
 oure bro<sup>p</sup> als fre als we are//we brynne na stanes for to make  
 lyme off and p<sup>d</sup> w<sup>t</sup> to make vs howses at duette in and curiouse  
 palase3//ne vesse<sup>t</sup> make we nane//In caues or creuyce3 of  
 craggas we duelle//whare thare come3 na noyse of wyndes  
 [ne whare vs

f. 33r

neither by sea nor by land. But we are always safe enough and live without any dread. Our bodies we heal with leaves of trees, and the fruit of them, we eat. We eat milk also and drink water from a good river or from sweet wells. We worship a god, and to him we always yield praises. We desire the life of the world that is to come and do not desire to hear things that yield nothing. We do not speak much except when we are directed to speak. We say nothing but the truth, and soon we are quiet. We do not love riches. Covetousness, which often brings a man to a ruinous end, is a thing that cannot be satiated. There is no wrath or envy among us. None of us is stronger than another. In our poverty we are rich because we have it in common. We never fight nor bear weapons. We bring peace to each other by habit not by force. Judgments we do not make among us for we do no one ill for which we should be called to judge a law that is contrary to our nature since we give no mercy because we do nothing for which we should ask mercy. We do no labor that pertains to covetousness or avarice. We do not give our bodies to lechery. We do no adultery nor any sin for which we should need to do penance. We find no fault in anything, for we all do what is right. We die no sudden death since we do not corrupt the air with foul deeds. We use no clothes that are dyed with various colors. Our wives are not gaily adorned to please us. Nor do we have intercourse with them out of lecherous lust, but for procreation. Our wives seek no other clothing than the providence of god has granted them. It seems to us a high sin for any man to presume to change these actions. We do not bathe nor warm water to wash our bodies with. The sun provides us heat, and the dew of the air provides us moisture and wetness. We have no thought or desire for any kind of lordship over other men who are like us. We believe it a great cruelty to constrain to serve us a man whom nature and the providence of God have made our brother, as free as we are. We burn no stones in order to make lime from which to make ourselves houses and exquisite palaces in which to live. We make no vessels. We live in caves or crevices of crags, where no noise of winds comes,

f. 33v

ne whare vs thare drede na rayne//On þ<sup>e</sup> erthe we slepe w<sup>t</sup> owttē  
 any besyneff//Swilk howses we hafe in þ<sup>e</sup> wilke whils we lyffe  
 we duette and when we dye þay ere oure graues//we sayle nozte  
 in þ<sup>e</sup> See aboute na m<sup>o</sup>chandyse in þ<sup>e</sup> wilke þay suffre many pills  
 þ<sup>t</sup> sayles þ<sup>o</sup> in ft many m<sup>o</sup>uaylles can tell offe//The crafte of Eloquens  
 ft faire speche lere we nozte for to polische oure wordes Bot thurg<sup>h</sup>  
 þ<sup>e</sup> sympilneff þ<sup>t</sup> we hafe þ<sup>t</sup> suffres vs nozte to lye//Añ oure speche  
 we speke//Scoles of philosophres haunt wee nozte whase te<sup>m</sup>  
 chechynges es alway discordand ft na thyng certayne ne stabill  
 diffines bot for þ<sup>e</sup> mare ptye lyes//Bot þa scoles we haunte in þ<sup>e</sup>  
 wilke we lere to lyffe vertuosly and also thyng<sup>g</sup> þ<sup>t</sup> teches vs for  
 to do no wrange to no mañ Bot aft<sup>r</sup> verray right wisnesse to helpe  
 ilk mañ at oure powere//Plays lufe we nane//Bot if vs liste hafe  
 any disporte we take ft redez þ<sup>e</sup> lyfes ft þ<sup>e</sup> dedis of oure auncestres  
 and oure p<sup>o</sup>dicesso<sup>r</sup>s//And if we fynde any thyng in þa<sup>m</sup> þat es  
 cause of laughtre þ<sup>o</sup> at we wepe ft makes dole//Neu<sup>o</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> lesse we  
 be halde op<sup>r</sup> thynges of þ<sup>e</sup> wilke oure hertis ere gladdide and  
 grete lykyng has//þ<sup>t</sup> es at say//heueñ schyne w<sup>t</sup> sternes w<sup>t</sup>  
 owt nowm<sup>o</sup>//þ<sup>e</sup> soñ faire ft bryghte of whase bryghtneff añ  
 þ<sup>e</sup> werlde takes lyghte and hete//The See we Se alwaye  
 of p<sup>o</sup>po<sup>r</sup> coloure and when tempestez rysez þ<sup>o</sup> in it distruyes  
 nozte þ<sup>e</sup> land þ<sup>t</sup> es nere it as it does in 3oure pties Bot he  
 embracez it as his sist<sup>r</sup> and gase aboute it//And in þ<sup>e</sup> see we  
 se many dyu<sup>o</sup>se kynde of ffisches//Delphines ft porpasez  
 layke þa<sup>m</sup>//we hase lykyng also for to bihalde faire feldes  
 alou<sup>o</sup> floresched w<sup>t</sup> flores of þ<sup>e</sup> wilke a swete reflaire enters  
 in tiñ oure nose in þ<sup>e</sup> wilke a sensible saule hase maste delite  
 also we delit vs i faire places of woddez ft of swete welles  
 whare we here swete sangez of fewles//This customs hafe  
 we al way//þ<sup>e</sup> wilke ft þ<sup>u</sup> walde halde nozte bot a while//we  
 trowe þ<sup>u</sup> suld thynke þa<sup>m</sup> rizte hard Blame nozte me for  
 añ þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> req<sup>e</sup>rede me be þ<sup>t</sup> tres I send þ<sup>e</sup> wretyn//Neu<sup>o</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> leff  
 and it sulde nozt displese the//I walde tell þ<sup>e</sup> a littiñ of oure  
 doctryne þ<sup>e</sup> wilke makes oure lyfe to seme harde vn to þ<sup>e</sup>/3ee  
 hafe w<sup>t</sup> in a schorte while cōquered ft made sugete vn to 3o<sup>r</sup>  
 empire/Añ Asy//Europe//ft Affryke//as 3o<sup>r</sup> selfe hase sayde

f. 33v

and where we dread no rain. On the earth we sleep without any uneasiness. Such houses we have, in which to reside while we live, and when we die, they are our graves. We do not sail in the sea about any merchandise. Whoever sails in it suffers many perils and can relate many marvels. The skill of eloquence and beautiful speech we do not learn in order to polish our words. But through the humility that we have, which permits us not to lie, we say all we have to say. We do not attend the schools of philosophers, whose teaching is always discordant and does not certainly or stably define anything, but, for the most part, lies. But in the schools we do attend, we learn to live virtuously and also things that teach us not to do any wrong to any man, but with true propriety to help each man within our power. We love no plays, but if we desire to have any pleasure, we take and read the lives and the deeds of our ancestors and our predecessors. If we find anything in them that is a cause for laughter, we weep and grieve. Nevertheless, we see other things at which our hearts are glad and have great pleasure, that is to say, heaven shining with countless stars, the fair and bright sun from whose brightness all the world takes light and heat. The sea we see always as the imperial power. When tempests rise there it does not destroy the land that is near it as it does in your parts, but it embraces it as its sister and surrounds it. In the sea we see many different kinds of fish, dolphins, and porpoises play. We also like to see beautiful fields flourishing all over with flowers, with whose sweet scent filling our noses, a feeling soul has most delight. Also we delight in sweet wells and in beautiful forests where we hear sweet songs of birds. These customs, which you would not long maintain, we always have had. We believe you would think them very hard to bear.

Don't blame me for all you required me by your letters to send you in writing. Nevertheless, if it would not displease you, I would tell you a little of our doctrine which makes our life seem hard to you.

You have within a short while conquered and made subject to your empire all Asia, Europe, and Africa, as you have said.

## f. 34r

3e make þe lighte of þe soñ to faile//when 3e seke þe t<sup>m</sup>es of his course  
 thurgh werre//3e ete aȝ man<sup>e</sup> of thynges þ<sup>t</sup> comeȝ tiȝ hande//And 3our  
 vesages semeȝ as 3e ware fastande & hungry//3e slaa 3o<sup>7</sup> childe ma<sup>n</sup>  
 kande sacrafice of þaȝ to Mawmetes//3e sawe discorde bi twix kyng<sup>1</sup>  
 and thase þ<sup>t</sup> schulde be meke 3e stirre for to be prowde//3e make meȝ  
 to thynke þat grete space of landes suficeȝ þaȝ noȝte//And so þay  
 seke duellynge placeȝ of heuen<sup>1</sup>//Also thurgh 3o<sup>7</sup> goddes 3e do many  
 iȝ dedis//As þay didd þaȝ selfe//Ensample of Iubit<sup>o</sup> 3o<sup>7</sup> godd & of Pro<sup>n</sup>  
 serpyna þat 3e wirchipe as a goddeȝ//ffor Iubit<sup>o</sup> defouled many mens  
 wyfes//And pserpyna made many meȝ to do advowtry w<sup>t</sup> hir//ffull  
 wreched & full hye fules þay ere þat swilke goddes wirchipes//3ee  
 wiȝ noȝte suffer meȝ lyfe in paire awenȝ libertee//bot makes þaȝ  
 3o<sup>7</sup> thralles & 3o<sup>7</sup> sugetes//3e deme noȝte riȝtwisly//3e gerre 3o<sup>7</sup> iugeȝ  
 change 3o<sup>7</sup> lawes as 3ow liste//3e say many thynges þat sulde be  
 dōne//bot 3e do þaȝ noȝte//3e halde na maȝ wysse bot hy þ<sup>t</sup> hase Elo<sup>n</sup>  
 quence of speche//3e hafe aȝ 3o<sup>7</sup> witt in 3o<sup>7</sup> tungeȝ//And aȝ 3o<sup>7</sup> wysdome  
 es in 3o<sup>7</sup> mouthe//3e lufe golde & silu<sup>o</sup> & gaders þaȝ to gedir and de<sup>n</sup>  
 syres to hafe grete howseȝ & hye and grete mltitude of s<sup>u</sup>andez//3e  
 ete & drynke to mekiȝ//so þat oftymes 3o<sup>7</sup> stomake thurgh g<sup>e</sup>te repleccioȝ  
 es greued & many sekenef þ<sup>o</sup> thurgh 3e fall in & so ofte sythes dyes  
 be fore 3o<sup>7</sup> tyme//3e wolde eu<sup>o</sup> mare halde 3o<sup>7</sup> reches and aȝ thynges  
 þat 3e may gete//Bot aȝ thynges at þe laste leues 3ow//þe wysdoȝ  
 allanly of þe Bragmayns passeȝ aȝ 3o<sup>7</sup> witt & 3o<sup>7</sup> wysdoȝ//ffor &  
 we wele cōsedere þe Same moder þ<sup>t</sup> broghte forthe stanes & trees  
 of þe Same was bathe oure bygynnyng & 3o<sup>7</sup>s//3e honowre 3o<sup>7</sup> Sepul<sup>n</sup>  
 to<sup>7</sup>s curyously w<sup>t</sup> golde & sylu<sup>o</sup> and in vessette made of p<sup>o</sup>cyouse stanes  
 3e putt þe asse of 3o<sup>7</sup> bodys when þay ere brynned//And what may  
 be werre þaȝ for tiȝ take þe banes þ<sup>t</sup> þe erthe sulde hafe//for to ga  
 bryȝ þaȝ//And noȝte suffer<sup>o</sup> þe erthe resayffe his element þe wilke  
 he broghte forthe//We sla na besteȝ in þe wirchipe of goddeȝ//Nee  
 temples make we nane for to sett in ymageȝ of golde or of siluere  
 in þe name of false goddeȝ as 3e do//ne awters of golde and of p<sup>o</sup>ciol  
 stanes//3e hafe swilke a lawe for to honoure 3o<sup>7</sup> goddeȝ w<sup>t</sup> 3o<sup>7</sup> gudes  
 for þ<sup>t</sup> þay saȝ here 3o<sup>7</sup> p<sup>o</sup>yers//Bot we vndirstande & wate wele  
 þ<sup>t</sup> noȝ<sup>o</sup> for golde ne silu<sup>o</sup>:/ne for þe blode of calues nor gayte ne schepe  
 godd heres any maȝ//Bot for gude werkes þe wilke godd lufes  
 and thurgh þe wordes of deuote p<sup>o</sup>yere//Godd wiȝ here a maȝ for  
 þe worde//ffor thurgh worde we ere lyke to godd//ffor godd es worde  
[and þ<sup>t</sup> worde]

## f. 34r

You make the light of the sun fail when you seek the limits of its course through war. You eat all kinds of things that come to you, and your faces seem as if you were fasting and hungry. You kill your children, making sacrifice of them to false gods. You sow discord between kings, and those that should be meek you stir to be proud. You make men think that great acres of land are not enough for them, so they seek dwelling places in heaven. Also because of your gods, you do many evil deeds, as they did themselves. An example is Jupiter, your god, and Proserpina, whom you worship as a goddess. Jupiter defiled many men's wives, and Proserpina made many men commit adultery with her. Extremely wretched and complete fools they are who worship such gods. You will not allow men to live freely but make them your servants and your subjects. You judge not properly. You make your judges change your laws as you desire. You talk about many things that should be done, but you don't do them. You hold no man wise but him who has eloquence of speech. You have all your wit in your tongues, and all your wisdom is in your mouth. You love gold and silver and gather them together and desire to have great and tall houses and a vast number of servants. You eat and drink too much so that often your stomach is distressed from great excess and you have many illnesses because of it and so often die before your time. You would forever retain possession of your riches and all things that you might get, but all things finally leave you. The wisdom of the Brahmins alone surpasses all your wit and your wisdom. If we give it careful thought, the same mother that brought forth stones and trees, from this same one was both our beginning and yours. You honor your sepulchres exquisitely with gold and silver. In vessels made of precious stones you put the ashes of your bodies when they are burned. What is worse than to take the bones that the earth should have and go burn them and not allow the earth to receive its element which it produced. We kill no animals in the worship of gods. Nor do we make temples in which to set gold or silver images in the name of false gods as you do, nor do we make altars of gold and of precious stones. By law you must honor your gods with your goods so that they shall hear your prayers. But we understand and know well that neither for gold nor silver, nor for the blood of calves nor goat nor sheep does god hear any man, but for good works which god loves and through the words of devout prayers. God will hear a man because of his word, for through his word we are like god. For god is the word

f. 34v

and þat worde made all þe worlde and thurgh þt worde all thynges hase  
 beyng Menynge & lyfe//That worde wirchipe wee and luffes & honowres  
 Godd es a spirite//And he lufes na thyng//bot þat that es clene//whare  
 fore we halde 3ow full grete foles//that wenez 3o<sup>7</sup> kynde be heuenly  
 and þt 3e hafe communicaciō with godd//And neu<sup>d</sup> þe leſ files 3o<sup>7</sup> kynde  
 wt advowtries & fornicacions & seruyce of Mawmettis & false goddis  
 and many op<sup>d</sup> wikkede dedis ilke a day þis 3e do//þis 3e luffe//And  
 þ<sup>d</sup> fore when 3e ere dede 3e saſ suffere to<sup>7</sup>mentis wt owten<sup>d</sup> nowm<sup>d</sup>  
 3e wene þt godd will be mercyable vnto 3ow bicause þt 3e offere  
 hy blode & flesse of dyu<sup>d</sup>se bestes Bot we on þe cōtrarye wyse:luffes  
 clennesses bathe of Body & of saule//so þat we mowe hafe aft<sup>d</sup> þis  
 lyfe ioy þt neu<sup>d</sup> saſ hafe ende//3ee serue nozte a godd þt regnez  
 in heuen//Bot 3e do seruyce to many false goddis//ffor als so  
 many membrs also 3e hafe on 3o<sup>7</sup> bodys//Als many goddis 3e wir-  
 chipe & serues//ffor 3e calle a man þe leſ worlde//And rizte as  
 a man here hase many lymmes//So 3e say þ<sup>d</sup> are many goddes  
 in heuen//3e say Iuno es godd of þe hert//bi cause he was wonder  
 angry//And Mars 3e say es godd of þe breste//bi cause he was prynce  
 of Batells//Mercury 3e calle godd of þe tung//bi cause he was  
 wonder euloquent in spekyng//hercules 3e trowe be godd of þe  
 armes//Bi cause he did twelfe passande dedes of armes//3ee  
 trowe Bacus be godd of þe throtte//ffor he fande firste dronnkyneſ  
 Couetise 3e say es godd of þe lyuer//ffor he was þe firste lechoure  
 þt eu<sup>d</sup> was//And 3e say þat he hase in his hande a byrnand fyre<sup>m</sup>  
 brande whare wt he styrres þe luste of lechery//Cereris 3e calle  
 godd of þe wambe//bicause scho was þe firste ffynder of wheete//  
 And Ven<sup>d</sup> be cause scho was moder of lechery//3e say scho es godd  
 of þe p<sup>e</sup>uee membres of man & woman//Myn<sup>d</sup>ua bi cause scho was  
 fynder of many werkes//3e say wisdomes riste in hir and þ<sup>d</sup> fore  
 3e call hir godd of þe heued//And on þis wyse all þe body of man  
 3e deuyde in goddes//& na pty þ<sup>d</sup>offe 3e lefe in 3o<sup>7</sup> awen<sup>d</sup> powere//  
 Ne 3e trowe nozte that a godd þat es in heuen made 3o<sup>7</sup> bodys of  
 noghte//ffalse goddes 3e wirchipe þat saſ brynge 3ow to thra<sup>m</sup>  
 lledome & schame//& schenchipe//And to thay<sup>m</sup> 3e make sacrafice  
 & t<sup>i</sup>bute payes//Vn to Mars 3e offere a Bare//To Bacus 3e offere  
 a gayte//To Iune a pacoke//To Iubit<sup>d</sup> a Bulle//To Appollo a

[Swanne



f. 34v

and that word made all the world and through his word all things have being, meaning, and life. We worship that word and love and honor god as a spirit. He loves nothing but what is clean. Therefore, we hold you completely great fools who believe your nature is divine and that you have communication with god. And, nevertheless, defile your nature with adulteries and fornications and service to idols and false gods and many other wicked deeds each day that you do. This you love, and, therefore, when you are dead, you shall suffer countless torments. You believe that god will be merciful to you because you offer him the blood and flesh of various beasts. But, we, on the contrary, love cleanness both of body and of soul so that we might have, after this life, joy that shall never end.

You do not serve a god that reigns in heaven, but you do service to many false gods. As many limbs as you have on your bodies, as many gods you worship and serve, for you call a man the microcosm. Just as a man here has many limbs so you say there are many gods in heaven. You say Juno is god of the heart because she was very angry. And Mars you say is god of the breast because he was prince of war. Mercury you call god of the tongue because he was exceedingly eloquent in speaking. Hercules you believe is god of the arms because he did twelve surpassing deeds of arms. You believe Bacchus is god of the throat for he discovered drunkenness. Covetousness you say is god of the liver for he was the first lecher that ever was. You say that he has in his hand a burning firebrand with which he stirs the lust of lechery. Ceres you call god of the womb because she was the discoverer of wheat. Venus because she was mother of lechery you say she is god of the private parts of man and woman. Minerva because she was the inventor of many works, you say wisdom rests in her, and, therefore, you call her god of the head. In this way, all the body of man you divide among gods. You leave no part of it in your own power. You do not believe that a god who is in heaven made your bodies from nothing. False gods you worship who shall bring you to servitude and shame and disgrace. To them you make sacrifice and pay tribute. To Mars you offer a bear. To Bacchus you offer a goat. To Juno a peacock. To Jupiter a bull. To Apollo a

f. 35r

a swane//To venl a doufe//To Myn<sup>u</sup>a ane owle//To Cereris floure  
 To Mercury hony//And hercules 3e onowren w<sup>t</sup> floures ft grene brā  
 nches of treesse3//p<sup>e</sup> temple of Couetyse 3e eno<sup>n</sup>e w<sup>t</sup> rose3//Alle  
 3o<sup>n</sup> myghte ft 3oure triste 3e putt in þam þat may 3ow na thyng  
 helpe at nede//Now sothely 3e p<sup>y</sup> þam nozte to be 3o<sup>n</sup> helpers  
 Bot 3oure to<sup>n</sup>mento<sup>s</sup>//ffor it by houes nedis be þat als many  
 goddes als 3e wirchipe ft gyffe3 þam powere of 3o<sup>n</sup> tymes//Als  
 many to<sup>n</sup>mente3 3e suffere//Ane of 3o<sup>n</sup> goddes stirres 3ow to  
 fornyacio<sup>n</sup>//Ane op<sup>d</sup> to ete ft drynke to meki<sup>h</sup>//And an op<sup>d</sup> to  
 feghte ft stryffe//A<sup>h</sup> ere þay 3o<sup>n</sup> lordes and to þam 3e obey ft  
 serues and wirchippes//So þat wonder it es þat 3o<sup>n</sup> wrechið  
 bodys fayles nozte for þe many seruyce3 þ<sup>t</sup> 3e do to so many goddes  
 and gud rizte it es þat 3e s<sup>u</sup>e swilke goddes bi cause of þe many  
 wikkede dedis þ<sup>t</sup> 3e do//And for 3e wi<sup>h</sup> nozte cesse of 3o<sup>n</sup> i<sup>h</sup> dedis  
 þ<sup>d</sup> fore 3e s<sup>u</sup>e swilke goddes ti<sup>h</sup> 3o<sup>n</sup> awenn<sup>h</sup> harme//ffor eu<sup>d</sup> mare  
 þay desyre þat 3e do i<sup>h</sup>//If 3o<sup>n</sup> goddes here 3ow when 3e p<sup>y</sup>  
 to þam//þay do 3ow harme in 3o<sup>n</sup> cōscience//ffor þat that 3e p<sup>y</sup>  
 fore es i<sup>h</sup>//And if þay here 3ow noghte//þa<sup>n</sup> ere þay cōtraye  
 to 3o<sup>n</sup> desyres//Whare fore whethir þay here 3ow or þay here  
 3ow noghte//eu<sup>d</sup>mare þay do 3ow disesse//þise ere þa to<sup>n</sup>mente3  
 þat oure docto<sup>s</sup> talde vs offe//þ<sup>t</sup> here in this werlde to<sup>n</sup>mente3  
 3ow as 3e ware dede//ffor and 3e cōsyder wele//þ<sup>d</sup> may no ma<sup>n</sup>  
 suffere wers to<sup>n</sup>ment þa<sup>n</sup> 3e doo//ffor a<sup>h</sup> þe takens þ<sup>t</sup> oure docto<sup>s</sup>  
 telle3 vs ere in helle//We See þam in 3owe//þare are many paynes in  
 helle and 3e suffre paynes when 3e wake for to do advowtres  
 fornyacio<sup>n</sup>s ft thiftes Ma<sup>n</sup> slawghters//And namely þ<sup>t</sup> 3e bee  
 filled of werldly reches 3a ft of worldly reche<sup>f</sup>//ffor oure docto<sup>s</sup>  
 says//þ<sup>d</sup> es in helle so meki<sup>h</sup> thriste//þat it may neu<sup>d</sup> be slokend  
 and 3e haue so grete Couetyse of worldely reches þ<sup>t</sup> 3e may  
 neu<sup>d</sup> be full//þay say also þat in helle þ<sup>d</sup> es a hunde þ<sup>t</sup> es  
 callede Cerber<sup>l</sup> þe wilke hafe thre heuedes//And if 3ee  
 cōseder ryzte//3o<sup>n</sup> wambes ere lyke Cerber<sup>l</sup>//ffor meki<sup>h</sup> etyg  
 ft drynkkyng//þay say also þ<sup>d</sup> es in helle a man<sup>d</sup> of nedder  
 þat es called Idra//And 3e for þe many vice3 þ<sup>t</sup> 3e hafe bi cause  
 of 3o<sup>n</sup> full wambe3 may be callede Idra//Whare fore ft we  
 bi helde wele a<sup>h</sup> þe illes þ<sup>t</sup> are in helle þay due<sup>h</sup>e in 3ow  
[waa es 3ow]

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swan. To Venus a dove. To Minerva an owl. To Ceres flour. To Mercury honey. And Hercules you honor with flowers and green branches of trees. The temple of Covetousness you adorn with roses. All your might and your trust you put in them, who may not help you in need. Now, truly, you pray to them not to be your helpers but your tormentors since it must be that as many gods as you worship and give power over your limbs as many torments you suffer. One of your gods stirs you to fornication. Another, to eat and drink too much. Another, to fight and quarrel. All are your lords and to them you obey and serve and worship. It is a wonder that your wretched bodies do not fail for the many services that you do to so many gods. It is a good thing that you serve such gods because of the many wicked deeds that you do. Because you will not cease your ill deeds, therefore, you serve such gods to your own detriment since they always desire that you do wrong. If your gods hear you when you pray to them, they do you harm in your conscience, because what you pray for is evil. And if they do not hear you, then they are contrary to your desires. Therefore, whether they hear you or not, they injure you.

These are the torments that our learned men told us about that here in this world torment you as if you were dead. Don't you realize that no man suffers worse torment than you do since all the portents that our learned men tell us are in hell, we see in you? There are many pains in hell and you suffer pains when you wake in order to commit adulteries, fornications, and thefts, manslaughters, and particularly so that you may be filled with worldly riches, yes, and with worldly opulence. For our learned men say, there is in hell so much thirst that it may never be quenched. And you have such great covetousness of worldly riches that you may never be full.

They say also that in hell there is a hound that is called Cerberus, which has three heads. If you think about it in the right way, your stomachs are like Cerberus from much eating and drinking. They say also there is in hell a kind of viper that is called Hydra, and you for the many vices that you have, because of your full stomachs, may be called Hydra. Therefore, if we examine carefully all the evils that are in hell, they dwell in you.

f. 35v

waa es 3ow wreches þat swilke a mysbileue haldes//whare fore after  
 þ<sup>is</sup> lyfe//3e moñ suffere paynes w<sup>t</sup> owtteñ nowm<sup>d</sup>//Wheñ Alexander  
 hadd redd þ<sup>is</sup> ire//he was wonder wrathe//be cause of iniury of his goddez  
 Neu<sup>d</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> leff be lyfe he gart write anop<sup>d</sup> agayne of this teno<sup>r</sup>  
 K yng of kynges and lorde of lordez//Alex<sup>d</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> soñ of godd Amoñ  
 and of þ<sup>e</sup> quene Olympias to Dindim<sup>r</sup> kyng of þ<sup>e</sup> Bragmayns  
 gretyng//If añ be fuñ trew amanges 3ow þat þ<sup>u</sup> hase  
 sent wretyn in thir ires//þañ allanly 3e are gude meñ  
 in þis werlde//for as þ<sup>u</sup> says 3e do nañ ih//Bot wit þ<sup>u</sup> wele  
 for certayne//þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>is</sup> maner of lyffying cōmez nozte of vertu  
 bot of custoñ//Añ thynges þat we do 3e saye es synñ//And añ þ<sup>e</sup> craftez  
 þat ere amanges vs on þ<sup>e</sup> Same wyse 3e say þay ere Synes//3e wiñ  
 distroye añ þ<sup>e</sup> customs þat mañ kynde hedir to warde hase hadd ð  
 vsed//Owther 3e schew bi 3o<sup>r</sup> wordez þat 3e are goddez//or eñs  
 tiñ goddes 3e hafe envy//And þ<sup>d</sup> fore 3e say as 3e say//I may nozt  
 write to 3ow añ þ<sup>e</sup> order of 3o<sup>r</sup> lyffying//Bot als mekiñ þ<sup>d</sup> offe als  
 I may vnderstande at this tyme I sañ writte vn to 3ow//3ee  
 say 3e vse nozte for to tiñ þ<sup>e</sup> erthe ne sawe na corne ne plante  
 na vynes ne sett na trees na to make na faire howsez//And þ<sup>e</sup>  
 cause here of as it wele Semes es for 3e hafe na Ireñ whare of  
 3e myghte make 3ow tuyles for to wirke with añe//And þ<sup>d</sup> fore 3ow  
 by houes nedes ett herbes ð lede an harde lyfe ryzte as bestez  
 ffor 3e may nowþ<sup>d</sup> gette brede ne flesche ne fysche//Does nozt  
 wolves oñ þ<sup>e</sup> Same wyse þ<sup>e</sup> wilke wheñ þay may nozte gete  
 þaire fiñ of flesche þay fiñ þaire belys of þ<sup>e</sup> erthe//And it ware  
 lefuñ or lykande to 3ow to come tiñ oure cuntree//we sulde  
 lere na wisdom of 3oure nede//And þ<sup>d</sup> fore late 3o<sup>r</sup> hung<sup>d</sup> habyde  
 at hame in 3o<sup>r</sup> awenñ cuntree//þat mañ es nozte mekiñs at cōmend  
 þat alwayes lyffes in disesse//Bot he es gretly to cōmend þat in  
 reches lyffez attempally//Bot and meñ schulde be cōmendið þ<sup>t</sup>  
 are oppressed w<sup>t</sup> disesse//þañ sulde blynd meñ//leprouse meñ  
 ð op<sup>d</sup> swilke ou<sup>d</sup> añ op<sup>d</sup> be cōmendið//þ<sup>e</sup> blynde for he sees nozt  
 at desyre//þ<sup>e</sup> pou<sup>d</sup> for he hase nozte at do//And we walde make  
 oure duellynge in 3o<sup>r</sup> cuntree we sulde suffere pou<sup>d</sup>t ð wrechid<sup>n</sup>  
 nes rizte as 3e do//3e say also þat 3o<sup>r</sup> wyfes vse 3a prowde aray  
 for to plesse þaire husbandez//And þ<sup>e</sup> cause es for þay hafe na nop<sup>d</sup>  
[thyng for tiñ aray þā w<sup>t</sup>

f. 35v

Woe are you, wretches, that hold such false beliefs. Because of which, after this life, you must endure countless pains.'

When Alexander had read this letter, he was exceedingly angry because of the insult to his gods. Nevertheless, quickly, he wrote another back which said:

'King of kings and lord of lords, Alexander, the son of god Ammon and of the Queen Olympias, to Dindimus, King of the Brahmins, greeting. If all that you have written in these letters about yourselves be found true, then only you are good men in this world since as you say, you do nothing wrong. But understand well that this way of life comes not from strength but from habit. All things that we do, you say are sins, and all the skills that are among us in the same way, you say they are sins.

You wish to destroy all the customs that mankind up to now has had and used. Either you show by your words that you are gods, or else you are envious of gods and, therefore, you say as you do. I may not write to you about your whole way of life. But as much of it as I can understand at this time, I shall relate.

You say you do not engage in tilling the earth nor sowing any corn nor planting any vines nor setting any trees nor making any beautiful houses. And the reason for it, as it truly seems, is because you have no iron from which you might make yourselves tools to work with. Therefore, you must eat herbs and lead a hard life just as animals because you may get neither bread nor flesh nor fish. Do not wolves behave in the same way, which when they may not get their fill of flesh, fill their bellies from the earth? If it were lawful or pleasing to you to come to our country, we should learn no wisdom from your neediness. Therefore, let your hunger remain at home in your own country.

That man is not to be praised much that always lives in distress, but he is to be commended greatly, who lives moderately in riches. But if men should be praised who are oppressed by trouble, then should blind men, leperous men and other such, above all, be commended. The blind, for he does not see to desire. The poor, for he has nothing to do. If we would make our home in your country, we should suffer poverty and wretchedness just as you do.

You say also that your wives use no proud array in order to please their husbands, and that is because they have no other

f. 36r

thyng for till araye þam w<sup>t</sup>//Also 3e say 3e do nane advowtries ne for-  
nycacions//And þat es na meruaile//ffor whi how sulde þay hafe luste  
to lechery þat etes nozte//luste of lechery es nozte comonly:/bot yf  
it come of hete of þ<sup>e</sup> leuer or e<sup>h</sup>s of habudance of mete & drynke//Bot  
3e ete na thyng bot herbes & rote3 as 3e ware Swyne & drynkes  
wat<sup>r</sup> & vnnethes may 3e sloken 3o<sup>r</sup> hung<sup>r</sup> and þ<sup>r</sup> fore 3e hafe na<sup>n</sup> appi-  
tite to womē//3e hafe na liste to studie aboute lerynge//ne 3e seke  
na mercy ne does nane till op<sup>r</sup>//And all this 3e hafe in comon w<sup>t</sup>  
beste3//ffor rizte as beste3 hase nowþ<sup>r</sup> reso<sup>n</sup> ne discrecio<sup>n</sup>//ne hase na  
felynge of gude//rizte so þay hafe na delite in gode//Bot till vs  
resonable me<sup>n</sup> þat has free wi<sup>l</sup> of kynde ere many lykyngs & blan-  
ndeschynge3 granted//ffor it es impossible þat þis werlde wyde  
& brade sulde nozte hafe su<sup>m</sup> chaungynge of gou<sup>r</sup>nance//So þ<sup>t</sup> ne  
aft<sup>r</sup> heuyne<sup>f</sup> & sorowe//Ioy & myrthe sulde nozte folewe//ffor why  
manes wi<sup>l</sup> es variable & chaungeable//þ<sup>t</sup> chaunge3 w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> heuen a  
bowū//On þ<sup>e</sup> same wyse manes hert es dyu<sup>r</sup>se//ffor when þ<sup>e</sup> day es  
clere:manes hert es gladde & blythe//And when þ<sup>e</sup> day es derke//  
manes wittis are derke & du<sup>l</sup>le & heuy//Also me<sup>n</sup> chaunge3 thurgh  
dyu<sup>r</sup>se ages//ffor barnehed reioyse it in sympilne<sup>f</sup>//3outhede in  
p<sup>r</sup>sumptuosnes//And grete elde in stabilnes//ffor wha wi<sup>l</sup> luke  
eft<sup>r</sup> wysdome in a childe//In a zunge ma<sup>n</sup> stabillnes//or in an alde  
ma<sup>n</sup> wildenes//Many delitable thynges come3 till oure mynde ffor  
su<sup>m</sup> we see w<sup>t</sup> oure eghne//Su<sup>m</sup> we hafe thurgh herynge//Su<sup>m</sup>  
we fele thurgh smellyng//Su<sup>m</sup> thurgh tastynge//And Su<sup>m</sup> thurgh  
towchyng//Sumtyme we hafe delite i salutations & swete sange3  
& melodys of dyu<sup>r</sup>se Inst<sup>u</sup>mente3//Of þ<sup>e</sup> erthe we hafe al man<sup>r</sup> of  
gud fruyte3//Of þ<sup>e</sup> See we hafe habundance of fysche//And of þ<sup>e</sup>  
ayere delyte of fewles of dyu<sup>r</sup>se kyndis//If þ<sup>u</sup> abstene þ<sup>e</sup> fra all  
thies owthir it es for p<sup>d</sup>e or for envy//ffor p<sup>d</sup>e//þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> dispyse3  
swilke p<sup>r</sup>cyouse gifte3 ffor envy bi cause þay ere nozte gyffen 3ow  
as þat þay ere to vs//Bot eft<sup>r</sup> my<sup>n</sup> opynyō I deme//þat 3o<sup>r</sup> lyffynge  
and 3o<sup>r</sup> maners//cōmes mare of foundne<sup>f</sup> þa<sup>n</sup> of wysdo<sup>m</sup>//ffor  
se<sup>n</sup> 3e are me<sup>n</sup>//3e schulde hafe þ<sup>e</sup> vertus of a resonable creat<sup>r</sup>e  
and þat hafe 3e nozte//When Dindim<sup>l</sup> hadd<sup>a</sup> redd<sup>a</sup> þ<sup>s</sup> ire:/onane  
he wrate anop<sup>r</sup> to kyng Alex<sup>r</sup> of þ<sup>s</sup> teno<sup>r</sup>  
D yndim<sup>l</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> mayst<sup>r</sup> of þ<sup>e</sup> Bragmayns vn till Alexander gretyng  
we hafe vndirstand þ<sup>e</sup> teno<sup>r</sup> of þ<sup>s</sup> tres & þ<sup>l</sup> we ansuere we er nozte  
[lordez of þ<sup>s</sup> werld]

f. 36r

thing to array themselves with. Also you say you commit no adultery nor fornication. That is no marvel because how should they have lust to lechery, who eat nothing. Lust of lechery is not universal, unless it comes from heat of the liver or else abundance of food and drink. But you eat nothing but herbs and roots, as if you were swine, and drink water and scarcely may satisfy your hunger. Therefore, you have no appetite for women.

You have no desire to study about learning. Nor do you seek any mercy nor do any to others. All this you have in common with animals. For just as beasts have neither reason nor discretion nor any feeling of good, so they have no delight in good. But to us rational men who have free will, many pleasures and allurements are granted by nature. It is impossible that this world, wide and broad, should not have some variation so that after trouble and sorrow, joy and mirth should follow since man's will is variable and changes with the heaven above. In the same way, man's heart is variable. When the day is clear, man's heart is light and glad. When the day is dark, man's wits are dark and dull and heavy. Also, men change through different ages. Childhood rejoices in simpleness. Youth in presumptuousness. Great age in stability. Who will look for wisdom in a child? In a young man stability? Or in old age wildness? Many delightful things come to our mind. Some we see with our eyes. Some we hear. Some we smell. Some we taste, and some we touch. Sometimes we delight in salutations and sweet songs and melodies of various instruments. From the earth we have all kinds of good fruits. From the sea we have an abundance of fish. And from the air, pleasure in fowls of different kinds. If you abstain from all these, either it is for pride or for envy. If for pride, it is that you despise such precious gifts. If for envy, it is because they are not given to you as they are to us. But in my opinion, I judge that your way of life and your manners come more from foolishness than from wisdom. Since you are men, you should have the virtues of a rational creature, and that you have not.'

When Dindimus had read this letter, immediately he wrote another to King Alexander, which said:

'Dindimus, the master of the Brahmans, to Alexander, greeting. We have understood the tenor of your letters and thus we answer. We are not

f. 36v

Nozte lordes of this werlde/As we sulde eu<sup>d</sup> mare lyffe þ<sup>d</sup> in//Bot we  
 ere pilgrymes in þis werlde//And when dede cōme3 we wende tiȝ op<sup>d</sup>  
 habytacions//Oure synnez greuez vs nozte//Ne we duelle nozte in  
 þ<sup>e</sup> tabernacles of synners//We do na thyfte://And for þ<sup>e</sup> cōscyence þ<sup>t</sup>  
 we haue:/we gaa nozte furthe in openē://we say nozte þat we ere  
 goddes//ne nane envy hase vn to þam//Godd þ<sup>t</sup> made aȝ þ<sup>t</sup> es in  
 þ<sup>is</sup> werlde//he ordeyned many dyu<sup>d</sup>se thynges://ffor warne dy<sup>m</sup>  
 u<sup>d</sup>sitees ware of thynges://þ<sup>e</sup> werlde myzte noghte stande://Godd  
 gaffe mañ fre wiȝ:for to discerne of aȝ thynges þ<sup>t</sup> ere i þ<sup>e</sup> werld  
 and chese whilke hy lystē://whare fore he þ<sup>t</sup> leues þ<sup>e</sup> iȝ a chese3  
 þ<sup>e</sup> gude:nozte godd:bot goddes frende he may be called:/Be cause  
 þ<sup>t</sup> we lyffe contenently:And in q<sup>l</sup>ete a reste://3e say þ<sup>t</sup> we ere godde3  
 or elles þat we hafe envy to godde3://Bot this suspeccion þ<sup>t</sup> 3e hafe  
 of vs:ptenez to 3ow://ffor 3e þ<sup>t</sup> ere blawen full of þ<sup>e</sup> wynde of þ<sup>l</sup>de  
 3e aray 3o<sup>7</sup> bodys w<sup>t</sup> gloryoȝ clethyng//And on 3o<sup>7</sup> fyngers 3e putt  
 iowelȝ of golde a p<sup>d</sup>cyoȝ stanes://Bot i p<sup>y</sup> 3ow what profit does  
 þis 3ow://Golde and sylu<sup>d</sup> saues nozte a manes saule:/ne sustenez  
 nozte mens bodys://Bot we þ<sup>t</sup> knawes þ<sup>e</sup> verray pfitt of golde  
 and þ<sup>e</sup> kynd þ<sup>d</sup> offe://when vs thriste3 a gase to þ<sup>e</sup> ryuere for to take  
 vs a drynke if we fynde golde in þ<sup>e</sup> way we trede apōn it w<sup>t</sup> oure  
 fete://ffor golde nob<sup>d</sup> fille3 vs when we hung<sup>d</sup>:ne slokens oure  
 thriste ne it hele3 nozte a mañ þat es seke://If a mañ thriste  
 a drynke wat<sup>d</sup> it putte3 a way his thriste:/Also if a mañ hung<sup>d</sup> a  
 ete mete:/it does a way his hung<sup>d</sup>://Bot and golde ware of þ<sup>e</sup> same  
 kynde://Als soñ als a mañ hadd it://þ<sup>e</sup> vice of Couetyse suld be  
 slokynde in hy://Be þ<sup>is</sup> cause es golde iȝ://ffor ay þ<sup>e</sup> mare þ<sup>t</sup> a mañ  
 hase þ<sup>d</sup> offe þ<sup>e</sup> mare he couetes//Wikkede meñ are wyrchippede a  
 mange3 3ow://ffor comonly a mañ luffes hy þ<sup>t</sup> es lyke tiȝ hy selfeñ  
 3e say þ<sup>t</sup> godd takes nane hede tiȝ dedly thynges//And neu<sup>d</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> leȝ 3e  
 bygge temples://a makes autres in þam and settis vp Mawmettes  
 abown þam://And grete delyte hase when bestes ere offerde a  
 in þam://And at 3o<sup>7</sup> name es noysede://þis was done to þ<sup>l</sup> fader://  
 to thyñ Eldfader a tiȝ aȝ thi progenyto<sup>7</sup>s://And þ<sup>e</sup> same also es  
 highte vn to þ<sup>e</sup>://w<sup>t</sup> swilke wirchipes þay ere rewarded://þ<sup>t</sup>  
 knawes nozte þam selfe dedly//When Alexander hadd redd  
 þ<sup>is</sup> ire onane he sente anop<sup>d</sup> agayne and that was of this  
 teno<sup>7</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> whilk þat folowes



f. 36v

lords of this world as if we would live there forever. But we are pilgrims in this world. When death comes, we travel to other dwellings. Our sins do not grieve us. Nor do we dwell in the tabernacles of sinners. We do no theft. And because of the internal convictions that we have, we do not go abroad. We do not say that we are gods nor have any envy of them. God, that made all that is in this world, ordained many different things. If there were not a diversity of things, the world might not survive. God gave man free will in order to discriminate among all things that are in the world and choose whichever he desired. Therefore, he that leaves the evil and chooses the good, he may be called, not god, but god's friend.

Because we live with self-restraint and in quiet and rest, you say that we are gods or else that we envy the gods. But this suspicion that you have of us pertains to you because you who are blown full of the wind of pride, you array your bodies with glorious clothing and on your fingers you put jewels of gold and precious stones. But I ask you, what profit does this do you? Gold and silver does not save a man's soul nor sustain men's bodies. But we, who know the true profit of gold and the nature of it, when we thirst and go to the river to take a drink, if we find gold on the road, we tread on it with our feet because gold neither fills us when we hunger nor quenches our thirst. Nor does it heal a man that is sick. If a man thirsts and drinks water, it quenches his thirst. Also if a man hungers and eats food, it rids him of his hunger. But if gold were of the same nature, as soon as a man had it, the vice of covetousness would be quenched in him. For this reason is gold evil since the more that a man has of it, the more he covets.

Wicked men are worshipped among you because, generally, a man loves one who is like himself. You say that god takes no notice of mortal things, and, nevertheless, you build temples and make altars in them and set up idols above them and take great delight when animals are offered in them.

If your name is maligned, this was done to your father, to your grandfather, and to all your progenitors, and the same also is promised to you. With such worship are they rewarded, that do not know themselves mortal.'

When Alexander had read this letter, immediately, he sent another back the contents of which follow.

f. 37r

A       lexander þ<sup>e</sup> soñ of godd Amon ð of þ<sup>e</sup> quene Olympias kyng  
 of kynges ð lorde of lordez vnto Dyndyml kyng of þ<sup>e</sup> Brag<sup>m</sup>  
 mayns we sende//for als mekið als 30<sup>7</sup> duellynge es in  
 þat ptye of þ<sup>e</sup> werlde fra þ<sup>e</sup> begynyng whare na strangers  
 may com to 3ow bot if it be rizte fewe//ne 3e may nozte passe forthe  
 of 30<sup>7</sup> cuntree//bot als swa say 3e are parred in and na ferrere may passe  
 þ<sup>o</sup> fore 3e magnyfy 30<sup>7</sup> manere of lyffynge and suppose þat 3e are bly<sup>m</sup>  
 ssed be cause þat 3e er so spered in//þat if 3e walde neu<sup>o</sup> so gladly  
 passe furthe for to lere þ<sup>e</sup> customes þat op<sup>o</sup> men vse3//3e may nozte  
 and nyð 3e wið 3e//3ow by houe3 nedis suffere þat caytefftee þat  
 3e lyffe in//Whare fore it seme3 bi 30<sup>7</sup> techynge that þay þat liggez  
 in p<sup>o</sup>souñ are als mekið at comend als 3e//þ<sup>e</sup> whilke vn to þaire  
 lyues ende suffres Sorowe and nede and as me thynke//þ<sup>e</sup> gudnef  
 þat 3e ruse 3ow offe may wele be lykkened to þ<sup>e</sup> paynes of þā þ<sup>t</sup> ere  
 in p<sup>o</sup>souñ and so þat that oure lawe demes to be done tð wikked  
 men//3e suffere kyndely//And þ<sup>o</sup> fore hy þ<sup>t</sup> we halde wyse//3e  
 halde an Ebbere fule//Sothely me thynk 30<sup>7</sup> lyffynge es nozte  
 blyssed//bot wrechið and as it ware a chastying to 3owe//I Swere  
 3ow by oure goddez of myghte//þat ð I myghte come to 3ow with  
 an oste//I sulde gare 3ow leue 30<sup>7</sup> wrechið lyfe//And by come men  
 of armes//Als many of 3ow als ware able//Wheñ Alexander had  
 sent this ire tð Dindiml//he gart rayse vp a pelare of Marble a  
 wonder grete ð an heghe an gart writt þ<sup>o</sup> apouñ this title w<sup>t</sup>  
 tres of grewe of latyne and of þ<sup>e</sup> langage of Inde//I Alexander Philip<sup>p</sup>  
 soñ of Macedoyne aft<sup>o</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> discomfyto<sup>7</sup> ð þ<sup>e</sup> dedd of Dari<sup>l</sup> ð Por<sup>l</sup> come  
 on werre vn to this place

F       ra þeine kyng Alexander ð his Oste remowed ð come  
 in tð a felde þat was called Actea ð þare þay lused  
 a bowte þat felde was a thikke wodd of treesse berand  
 fruyte//of þ<sup>e</sup> whilke wilde men þat duelt in þ<sup>e</sup> Same  
 wodd vsede for tð hafe þaire fude whase bodyes ware grete  
 as geaunte3//And þaire clethyng ware made of skynnes of dyu<sup>o</sup>se  
 beste3//And wheñ þay saw Alex<sup>o</sup> Oste luge þare//onane þ<sup>o</sup> come oute  
 of þ<sup>e</sup> wodd a grete mltitude of þam w<sup>t</sup> lange rodde in þaire handez  
 ð bi gañ for to feghte w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> oste//And þam Alex<sup>o</sup> cōmanded þat añ  
 oste schulde sett vp a schowte at anes//And also sone als þ<sup>e</sup> wylde  
 [men herde þ<sup>t</sup> noyse

f. 37r

'Alexander, the son of god Ammon and of the Queen Olympias, king of kings and lord of lords, to Dindimus, King of the Brahmans, we send. For as much as your dwelling has been from the beginning in that part of the world no strangers may come to you, except a very few, nor may you go out of your country, but so to speak, you are confined and no farther may pass, therefore, you magnify your way of life and believe that you are blessed because you are so enclosed. Even if you would ever so gladly go out to learn the customs that other men use, you may not, whether you will or not. You must suffer that captivity that you live in. Therefore, it seems by your teaching that those who lie in prison are just as worthy of praise as you. These to their lives' end suffer sorrow and need. As I believe, the goodness that you boast of may well be compared to the pains of them who are in prison, so that what our law judges to be done to wicked men, you suffer naturally. Therefore, him whom we hold wise, you hold a shallow fool. Truly, it seems to me that your life is not blessed but wretched and, as it were, a punishment to you. I swear to you by our mighty gods that if I might come to you with an army, I should make you leave your wretched life and become men of arms, as many of you as were able.'

When Alexander had sent this letter to Dindimus, he had an extremely large and tall pillar of marble raised up and had written on it this inscription, in letters of Greek, of Latin, and of the language of India. 'I, Alexander, Philip's son of Macedonia, after the discomfiture and the death of Darius and Porus, came in war to this place.'

From there, King Alexander and his army left and came into a field that was called Actea. There they set up camp. Around that field was a thick forest of trees bearing fruit, which wild men, whose bodies were large as giants and who lived in the same forest, used for their food. Their clothing was made of skins of various beasts. When they saw Alexander's army camp there, soon there came out of the wood a large number of them with long rods in their hands, and they began to fight with the army. Then Alexander commanded that all the army should set up a shout at once. And as soon as the wild

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men herde þe noyse þay were wondere fered be cause þay had neu<sup>d</sup> be fore  
herde swilke a noyse//And than þay be gañ to flee hedir & thedir i þe wodd  
and Alex<sup>d</sup> & his men psued þam and slewe of þam vi<sup>c</sup> xxxiiii//And þay slew  
of Alex<sup>d</sup> knyghtes xxvii//In þat felde Alex<sup>d</sup> & his oste lenged iii dayes  
and vetailed þam of þat fruyte þt growed in þe wodd

F ra þeine þay remowed and come till a grete ryuer//& lugged  
þam þare//And as it ware abowte none//þare come apoi þā  
a wilde man als mekiñ als a geaunt//And he was rughe  
of hare añ ou<sup>d</sup>//And his hede was lyke till a swyne and  
his voyce also//And when Alex<sup>d</sup> saw hy//he bad his knyghtis

tak hyñ & bryng hy bi for hy//And when þay come abowte hy//he  
was na thyng fered//ne fledd nozte bot stodd baldly bi fore þam  
and when Alex<sup>d</sup> saw that//he comanded þt þay sulde take a zonge da-  
meseñ & nakkeñ hir & sett hir bi fore hy and þay did soo//And onane  
he ranne apoiñ hir romyand as he hadd bene wodd//Bot þe knyght  
wt grete deficultee reste hyr fra hy//And ay he romyed & made  
grete mane//And efte þay broghte hy till Alex<sup>d</sup> and sett hy bi fore  
hy//And Alex<sup>d</sup> wonderd gretly of his figure//And þan he gerte  
bynd hy till a tree & make a fyre abowte hy & brynne hy and  
so þay didd

F ra þeine þay remowed & come till anop<sup>d</sup> felde:in þe  
whilke þ<sup>d</sup> ware growand treesse of a wouderfull heghte  
and þay bi gañ for to sprynge vp at þe soñ rysynge and  
bi þe soñ settynge þay wyted a way in to þe erthe a gayne  
At þe firste houre of þe daye þay bi gañ to sprynge oute of þe erthe &  
so þay wex ay to myddaye and þan þay bi gañ to decresse//And by  
þe soñ settynge þay ware in þe erthe agayne//And was na thyng  
of þam sene bi fore on þe morne//þir treesse bare a fruyte wonder  
swete of reflowre bot þay bitt<sup>d</sup> of taste//When Alex<sup>d</sup> saw þt fruyte  
he bade a knyghte bryng hy þ<sup>d</sup> offe//And he went & tuk þ<sup>d</sup> offe and  
onane a wikked spirit smate hy and be lyfe he was dede//And  
þan þay herd a voyce in þe ayer þat said on þis wyse//What  
man so neghes þir treesse he sañ dye onane//þare was also in  
þat felde fewles wonder meke & tame//Bot what man so layde  
hande on any of þam onane þ<sup>d</sup> come fire oute of þam & brynt  
hy rizte greuosly

[þan þay remowed

f. 37v

men heard the noise they were very afraid because they had never before heard such a noise. Then they began to flee here and there in the woods. Alexander and his men pursued them and killed six hundred thirty-four of them. They killed twenty-seven of Alexander's knights. In that field, Alexander and his army lingered three days and provisioned themselves from the fruit that grew in the woods.

From there they departed and came to a great river and camped there. When it was about noon, there came upon them a wild man as big as a giant. He was hairy all over and his head and voice were like a swine's. When Alexander saw him, he commanded his knights to take him and to bring him before him. When they came around him, he was not afraid, nor did he flee, but stood boldly before them. When Alexander saw that, he order them to take a young girl and strip her and set her before him. And they did so. Immediately, he ran upon her, roaring as if he had been enraged. But the knights, with great difficulty, wrest her from him. And always he roared and made a loud moaning. And afterwards, they brought him to Alexander and set him before him. Alexander marveled greatly at his appearance. Then he had him bound to a tree and had a fire made about him and had him burned, and so they did.

They left there and came to another field in which trees of an amazing height were growing. They began to spring up at sunrise, and by sunset they vanished away back into the earth. At the first hour of the day, they began to spring out of the earth and so they grew always to midday, and then they began to decrease. By sunset, they were back in the earth and nothing was seen of them before morning. These trees bore a fruit exceedingly sweet smelling but bitter tasting. When Alexander saw that fruit, he ordered a knight to bring him some of it. This man went and took some and immediately a wicked spirit struck him, and, instantly, he died.

Then they heard a voice in the air that said, "If anyone gets near these trees, he shall die right away."

There were also in that field, birds extremely meek and tame. But if any man so much as laid a hand on any of them, immediately, there came fire out of them and burned him quite seriously.

f. 38r

T           han þay remowed fra þeine and come tiȝ a Mountayne  
bat was so hye þat þay ware viii dayes in gangyng ar þay  
myzte wyne to þe heghte þ<sup>d</sup> offe//And when þay come to þe  
heghte of it//þ<sup>d</sup> come a gaynes þam a grete mltitude of  
dragōns Serpentes and lyōns þe whilke turmentid Alex<sup>d</sup> ft his meñ  
reghte gretely//And at þe laste þay askaped þaire daungere//And  
went doune of þe Mountayne and come i tiȝ a vaylay þat was so  
myrke//þat vnnethes myghte ane of þam See anop<sup>d</sup>//In þat depe  
valay ware treesse growand of whilke þe fruyte ft þe lefes ware  
wonder sauory in þe tastynge and reuelis of wat<sup>d</sup> faire ft clere  
aghte dayes cōtenuelly þay saw na soñ//And at þe viii days end  
þay come to þe fote of a mountayne whare aȝ þe Oste thurgh a wik<sup>m</sup>  
ked thikk ayer ware so gretly disessed þt þay ware i poynte to  
hafe bene choked þ<sup>d</sup> offe//And when þay come a bowū on þe mountayne  
þay fande þe ayer mare soteȝ and þe lighte of þe day mare clere  
and þl þay ware wendand vpwarde on þis Mountayne Elleueñ xi  
days wt grete trauaile//And when þay come to þe hegheste of  
þis Mountayne þay saw on þe top<sup>d</sup> syde faire weder ft bryghte//  
And þaȝ þay went douñ of þis Mountayne and come i tiȝ a grete  
playne of whilke þe erthe was wonder rede//And in þis playne  
þ<sup>d</sup> ware grovande treesse wt owtenñ nowm<sup>d</sup> and þay passed noȝte  
a cubit in heghte ft þaire fruyte ft þaire lefes ware passandly swete  
as þay had bene fyges//And þay fande þare reuelis rizte many  
of clere wat<sup>d</sup> as cristalle//And it was als nureschand to manes  
body as it hadd bene mylke wt outeñ any op<sup>d</sup> mete//Thurgh þt  
ilk playne þay went fourty xl days and þaȝ com tiȝ wonder  
heghe Mountaynes and it semed as þe toppes had towched þe fir<sup>m</sup>  
mament//And þir Mountaynes ware als brant vp rizte as þay  
had bene walles//So þt þ<sup>d</sup> was na clymyng vp on þam//And at þe  
laste þay fande twa passages be twix þase Mountaynes of whilke  
þe tane streched to warde þe west//And þe top<sup>d</sup> towarde þe Este  
Thaȝ Alex<sup>d</sup> demed þt that dyuysyōñ be twix þase Mountaynes  
was made thurgh Noye flode//And þaȝ þay went by þt passage  
þt streched to warde þe Este Seueñ days//And on þe heghteñ viii  
day þay fande a Basilisc þt meñ calleȝ a Cocatrys a grete ft  
ane horrible//And bi cause of his grete elde he was fouȝ stynkand

f. 38r

Then they departed from there and came to a mountain that was so high that they were eight days in going before they might reach the top of it. When they came to the top of it, they were approached by a vast number of dragons, serpents, and lions, which tormented Alexander and his men very much. Finally, they escaped from their danger and went down the mountain.

They came into a valley that was so murky that they scarcely could see one another. In that deep valley were growing trees, of which the fruit and the leaves were very savory tasting. There were small streams of water bright and clear. Eight days straight they saw no sun. At the end of eight days, they came to the foot of a mountain where all the army, because of a dense fog, were so greatly distressed that they were on the verge of being choked by it. When they came above on the mountain, they found the air more delicate and the light of the day clearer. Thus they were moving upward on this mountain eleven days with great hardship.

When they came to the highest part of this mountain, they saw on the other side fair, bright weather. Then they went down from this mountain and came into a great plain, of which the earth was quite red.

In this plain, countless trees were growing. They didn't pass a cubit in height, and their fruit and their leaves were extremely sweet, like figs. They found there numerous streams of crystal clear water. It was as nourishing to man's body as if it had been milk without any other food. Through that same plain they went forty days and then came to exceedingly high mountains.

It seemed as if the tops touched the heaven. These mountains were as steep as if they had been walls, so that there was no climbing up on them. Finally, they found two passages between these mountains, one of which stretched toward the West and the other toward the East. Then Alexander judged that that division between these mountains was made by Noah's flood.

Then for seven days, they went by that passage that stretched toward the East. On the eighth day, they found a basilisk that men call a cockatrice, a large and a horrible one.

Because of his great age, he was foul stinking.

f. 38v

þis ilke Basilisc was so venymous//þat noȝte aȝ anely thurgh his stynke  
 bot also thurgh his sighte//Allane//whaym̃ so he loked on he sulde dy  
 onane//þaȝ þe Macedoynes and þe psyenes as þay passede thurgh þe strayt  
 way dyed thikk falde thurgh þe sighte of þat Basilisc//And when Alex<sup>d</sup> knyghtis  
 saw that þiȝ þay durste passe na forthir bot said amangeȝ þaȝ þe v<sup>d</sup>tue  
 of oure goddes ȝ þay es bi fore vs þat schewes vs þt we schulde ga na  
 forthir//Bot Alexander went bi hy ane vpp on an heghe cragge whare  
 he myghte See on ferrome fra hym//And þaȝ he saw this pestellenciȝ  
 beste þe Basilisc//lygg slepande in myddes of þe passage//þe kynde of hy  
 was þat als so sone als he felid a maȝ or a beste com nere hy for to open  
 his eghne ȝ stare appon þaȝ//And als many als he loked on solde su-  
 daynly falle douȝ ȝ dye//When Alex<sup>d</sup> had sene hy Be lyfe he went  
 douȝ of þe cragge and gart sett a merke þt na maȝ sulde passe and  
 þaȝ he gart a pavyȝ be made Seuen cubites of lenghte ȝ foure on  
 brede and on þe vtter syde þ<sup>d</sup> offe he gart sett a grete Mirroure and a  
 large//And at þe nethir ende of þe pavyȝ he gart nayle a burde þe lenthe  
 of a cubit for to couere wt his legges and his fete so þt na pty of hy  
 myȝte be sene//And þaȝ Alexander tuk þis pavyȝ in his handis and  
 went to warde this Basilisc and warned his men þt naȝ of þaȝ  
 sulde passe his t<sup>m</sup>es//And when he come nere þe basilisc þe basilisc  
 opynde his eghne//And wt a grete ire he bi helde þe Mirroure and  
 saw hy selfe þ<sup>d</sup> in//And of þe refleccioȝ of þe bemes of his sighte strykande  
 appon hy selfe//Sudaynly he was dede//And when Alexander knewe  
 wele þat he was dede//he called tiȝ his knyghtis and bad þaȝ come  
 see hyȝ þat slewe þaire felawes//And when þay come tiȝ hyȝ  
 þay saw þe Basilisc dede//And þaȝ þay comended ȝ p<sup>y</sup>ssed gretly  
 his hardyneȝ and his hye witt//And went ȝ brynde þe Basilisc  
 at þe cōmandement of Alexander

F ra þeine þay went tiȝ þay come to þe ferreste of þt waye  
 and ferrere myȝte þay noȝte wynȝ//ffor þare ware so  
 hye Mountaynes agaynes þaȝ and cragges like walles  
 þat þay myȝte passe no forþ//And þaȝ þay turned a  
 gayne and come to þe for saide playne and went by þat way þt stretched  
 to warde þe weste fyvstene .xv. days//And þaȝ þay lefte þat way  
 and turnede on þe lefte hande and so þay went foure score iiii<sup>x</sup> days  
 and at þe laste þay come tiȝ a Mountayne of adamande and at þe  
 fute þ<sup>d</sup> offe þ<sup>d</sup> hange chynes of golde//þis Mountayne hadd made

[of saphirs



f. 38v

This same basilisk was so venomous that not only through his stink but also through his sight alone, whomever he looked on, he would die immediately. Then the Macedonians and the Persians, as they passed through the narrow way, died in great numbers because of the stare of that basilisk.

When Alexander's knights saw that peril, they dared pass no farther but said among themselves, "The power of our gods is before us that shows us that we should go no farther."

But Alexander went by himself up on a high crag where he might see far away from him. Then he saw this pestilential beast, the basilisk, lying sleeping in the midst of the passage. His natural reaction was, as soon as he felt a man or a beast come near him, to open his eyes and stare upon them. As many as he looked on would suddenly fall down and die.

When Alexander had seen him, immediately he went down off the crag and set a mark that no man should pass. Then he had a large shield made, seven cubits in length and four in width. On the upper side of it he set a great, large mirror. At the lower end of the shield he had a board nailed, the length of a cubit to cover his legs and feet so that no part of him might be seen.

Then Alexander took this large shield in his hands and went toward this basilisk. He warned his men that none of them should pass his boundaries. When he came near the basilisk, the basilisk opened his eyes. With a great anger he beheld the mirror and saw himself in it. From the reflection of the beams of his sight striking upon him, he was suddenly dead.

When Alexander fully understood that he was dead, he called to his knights and commanded them to come see it that killed their fellows. When they came to him, they saw the basilisk dead. Then they commended and praised greatly his hardiness and his high intelligence and went and burned the basilisk by his order.

From there they went until they came to the farthest part of that road. They could not travel farther because there were such high mountains in front of them and crags like walls that they might pass no farther.

Then they turned back and came to the previously mentioned plain and went by that road that stretched toward the West fifteen days. Then they left that road and turned on the left hand and so they went eighty days. Finally, they came to a diamond mountain. At the foot of it, there hung chains of gold. This mountain had

f. 39r

of saphyres twa thowsande greez ft a halfe by þe wilke men ascendid  
 to þe sūmit of þe Mountayne//And þare Alex<sup>d</sup> ft his Oste lugeð þam  
 A Nd on þe morne Alexander Offerð sacrafice tið his goddez  
 and þam he tuk with hym xii. twelue Pryncez of þe  
 wyrchipfulleste þat he hade and went vp bi þe forsaide  
 greez:tið he come about on þe Mountayne//And þare he  
 fande a palace wonder faire and curiously wroghte and it hade  
 twelue zates and thre score ft teñ wyndows//And þe lyntafts bathe  
 of þe durs and of þe wyndows ware of fyn golde wele burnescht and  
 þat Palace was called þe howse of þe soñ//þare was also a temple  
 all of golde ft of p<sup>d</sup>ciol stanes and bi fore þe dores þ<sup>d</sup> offe þ<sup>d</sup> was a vyne  
 of golde berande grapes of charbucles of Rubyes Dyamandez and  
 many op<sup>d</sup> man<sup>d</sup>es of p<sup>d</sup>cyol stanes//þam kyng Alexander ft his p<sup>d</sup>ncez  
 went in to þe palace and fande þare a mañ liggand in a bedd of  
 golde and couerð w<sup>t</sup> a riche clathe of golde//And he was rizte a  
 mekið mañ and a faire//And his berde ft his heued ware als whitt  
 als any wolfe and hy semed lyke a Bischope//Als soñ als Alexander  
 ft his prynce saw þis alde mañ þay knelið doune on þaire kneef  
 and saluste hym//And he ansuerð ft sayde//Welcom Alexander  
 q he//I telle the þou sañ See þat neu<sup>d</sup> flescly mañ bi fore this  
 tyme sawe//And þu sañ here þat neu<sup>d</sup> erthly mañ herde are  
 and Alexander ansuerð ft sayð//Maste blyssed alde mañ q he how  
 hase þou knawying of me//ffor sothe q he//bi fore Noy flode cou<sup>d</sup>de  
 all þe erthe//knewe I bathe the ft thi dedis//I wate wele þou  
 desyres for to See þe haly treez of þe Soñ//And þe Mone//þe wilke  
 tellez thynges þ<sup>t</sup> ere to come//3aa for sothe q Alexander þer es  
 na thyng þat I desyre mare þam for to See þam//And he was  
 rizt gladd//þam saide þe alde mañ tið hy//And 3e be clene of flescly  
 dede w<sup>t</sup> women//þam es it leefuð to 3ow to see þam and to entir  
 in to þat haly place þat es a sette of godd//And if 3e be nozte clene  
 it es nozte leefuð to 3ow//3is sir sothely q Alexander we ere  
 clene//þam raise þe alde mañ vp of þe bedd þ<sup>t</sup> he lay in//And said  
 vn to þam//Puttez offe 3o<sup>r</sup> ryngez q he and 3oure clathes ft 3o<sup>r</sup> schone  
 and folowes me//And þay dyð so//And þam Alex<sup>d</sup> tuk w<sup>t</sup> hy tholome  
 and Antioch ft folowed þe alde mañ//And went thurgh þe wodð  
 þat was about on þe Mountayne closed with manes handez//þe

f. 39r

two thousand five hundred steps made of sapphires by which men ascended to the summit of the mountain. There Alexander and his army set up camp.

In the morning, Alexander offered sacrifice to his gods. Then he took with him twelve princes, the most honorable that he had, and went up by these steps until he came on top of the mountain. There he found a palace extremely beautiful and exquisitely wrought. It had twelve gates and seventy windows. The lintels both of the doors and of the windows were of fine, well-burnished gold. That palace was called the House of the Sun. There was also a temple all of gold and of precious stones. In front of its doors, there was a vine of gold bearing grapes of carbuncles, rubies, diamonds, and many other kinds of precious stones.

Then King Alexander and his princes went into the palace and found there a man lying in a bed of gold and covered with a rich cloth of gold. He was quite a large man and a handsome one. His beard and his head were as white as any wool, and he looked like a bishop. As soon as Alexander and his princes saw this old man, they knelt down on their knees and greeted him.

He answered and said, "Welcome, Alexander, I tell you, you shall see what never mortal man saw before. And you shall hear what never earthly man heard before."

Alexander answered and said, "Most blessed old man, how do you know me?"

"Truly," he said, "before Noah's flood covered all the earth, I knew both you and your deeds. I knew completely your desires to see the holy trees of the sun and the moon, which tell things that are to come."

"Yes, truly," said Alexander, "there is nothing that I desire more than to see them." And he was very glad.

Then said the old man to him, "If you are untainted by intercourse with women, then it is lawful to you to see them and to enter into that holy place that is a throne of god. And if you are not untainted, it is not lawful to you."

"Yes, sir, truly," said Alexander, "we are clean."

Then the old man raised up off the bed that he lay in and said to them, "Put off your rings and your clothes and your shoes and follow me."

And they did so. Then Alexander took with him Ptolemy and Antiochus and followed the old man. They went through the woods that were on top of the mountain enclosed by man's hands.

The

f. 39v

treeff of þ<sup>t</sup> wodd ware an hundreth C fote lange & hye//And þay ware  
 lyke lorers or Olyue treeff//And out of þam þare rañ rykyis & fynne  
 bawme//And as þay went thurgh þ<sup>t</sup> wodd þay saw a tree wondere  
 hye in þ<sup>e</sup> whilke þ<sup>d</sup> satt a mekiñ fewle þat tree hadd noþ<sup>d</sup> þ<sup>d</sup> oñ lefes  
 ne fruyte//þ<sup>e</sup> fewle þat Satt þ<sup>d</sup> oñ//hadd oñ his heued a creste  
 lyk tiñ a Pacokke & his beeke also crested//Abowte his nekke  
 he hadd fethirs lyke golde//þ<sup>e</sup> hynder of h<sup>y</sup> was lyk p<sup>r</sup>pure and  
 þ<sup>e</sup> tayle was owñded ou<sup>r</sup>thwert w<sup>t</sup> a colo<sup>r</sup> reede as rose & w<sup>t</sup>  
 blewe//And his fethers ware rizte faire schynand//Wheñ  
 Alex<sup>d</sup> saw þis fewle//he was gretely meruvailed of þ<sup>e</sup> faired  
 of h<sup>y</sup>//þañ saide þ<sup>e</sup> alde mañ//Alexander & he þis ilke fewle  
 þat þ<sup>u</sup> here seese es a fenix//And þañ þay went forþ<sup>d</sup> thurgh  
 þ<sup>e</sup> forsaid wodd//And come to thiese haly treez of þ<sup>e</sup> soñ & þ<sup>e</sup> mone  
 þat growed in myddez of þ<sup>e</sup> wodde//And þañ þ<sup>e</sup> alde mañ saide  
 tiñ Alexander//luke vp & he to zone haly treez and thynke in  
 thi hert what preuatee so þ<sup>e</sup> liste and þ<sup>u</sup> sañ hafe a trewe  
 ansuere//Bot luke þat þou speke na worde in opyñ//And þ<sup>d</sup>  
 by sañ þ<sup>u</sup> witt þat it es a gude spiritt þ<sup>t</sup> knawes thi thoghte  
 Thir twa treez were wonder hye//And þ<sup>e</sup> tree of þ<sup>e</sup> Soñ had  
 leues lyk fyne golde reed & faire schynande//And þ<sup>e</sup> tree of  
 þ<sup>e</sup> mone had lefes whitt als sylu<sup>d</sup> & faire schynande//And þañ  
 walde Alexander hafe Offrede Sacrafyce to þir treez Bot  
 þ<sup>e</sup> alde mañ walde nozte suffre hym bot said It es nozte  
 leuefull & he in þis haly place nowþ<sup>d</sup> to offre encense:ne to  
 slaa na bestez//Bot to knele douñ to þ<sup>e</sup> boles of þir treez & kysse  
 þam & p<sup>r</sup>y þ<sup>e</sup> soñ & þ<sup>e</sup> Mone to giffe trew ansuers//And þañ  
 Alexander spirred þ<sup>e</sup> alde mañ//in what langage þ<sup>e</sup> treez  
 sulde giffe þaire answers//And þ<sup>e</sup> alde mañ ansuerd & said  
 The tree of þ<sup>e</sup> Soñ & he answers owþ<sup>d</sup> añ in þ<sup>e</sup> langage of Inde  
 or eñs of grewe//And þ<sup>e</sup> tree of þ<sup>e</sup> Mone//begynnez w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> langage  
 of grewe & ende z w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> langage of Inde//And as þay stode  
 þus spekande:/Sudaynly þ<sup>d</sup> come a bryghte beme fra þ<sup>e</sup> weste  
 þat schane ou<sup>d</sup> añ þ<sup>e</sup> wodde//And þañ Alex<sup>d</sup> kneled douñ and  
 kyssede þ<sup>e</sup> treez and thoght þus in his hert//Sañ I cōquere  
 añ þ<sup>e</sup> werlde and eft<sup>d</sup>wardez w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> victorye wende hame to  
 Macedoyne tiñ my moder Olympias and my sist<sup>r</sup>s//And  
þañ þ<sup>e</sup> tre of þ<sup>e</sup> soñ

f. 39v

trees in that forest were a hundred feet long and high. They were like laurels or olive trees. Out of them there ran incense and fine balm.

As they went through that forest, they saw a tree exceedingly high in which there sat a large bird. That tree had neither leaves nor fruit on it. The bird that sat in it had on its head a crest like a peacock, and its beak was also crested. About its neck, it had feathers like gold, its hind part was purple and the tail was criss-crossed with a color red as rose and with blue. Its feathers were shining quite beautifully. When Alexander saw this bird, he was completely awestruck at its beauty.

Then said the old man, "Alexander, this same bird that you see here is a phoenix."

Then they went farther through the forest mentioned before and came to these holy trees of the sun and the moon that grew in the midst of the woods.

Then the old man said to Alexander, "Look up to the holy trees beyond and think in your heart whatever private matter you desire and you shall have a true answer. But see that you speak no word outloud. That way you shall know that it is a good spirit that knows your thought."

Those two trees were extremely high, and the tree of the sun had leaves like fine gold, shining red and beautiful. The tree of the moon had leaves white as silver and shining beautifully.

Then would Alexander have offered sacrifice to these trees, but the old man would not let him.

He said, "It is not right in this holy place, either to offer incense or to kill any animals, but to kneel down at the trunks of these trees and kiss them and pray the sun and the moon to give true answers."

Then Alexander asked the old man in what language the trees should give their answers.

And the old man answered and said, "The tree of the sun answers either entirely in the language of India or else of Greek. And the tree of the moon begins with the language of Greek and ends with the language of India."

As they stood thus speaking, suddenly there came a bright beam from the West that shone over all the woods.

Then Alexander knelt down and kissed the trees and thought thus in his heart, 'Shall I conquer all the world and afterward with the victory return home to Macedonia to my mother Olympias and my sisters?'

And

f. 40r

þaṇ þe tree of þe soṇ ansuerd softly in þe langage of Inde//And said þir  
 verse3//Tu dnator orbis:dñs siml ꝛ pater extas//Set patrū rignū  
 ꝑ tēpora nulla videbis//þat es at say//þou ert bathe lorde ꝛ fader  
 of alle þe werlde Bot þe Rewme of thy ffadyrs saḥ þu neu<sup>d</sup> see w<sup>t</sup> thyṇ  
 eghne//þaṇ by gaṇ Alexander to thynke how lange he sulde lyffe  
 and whate dedd he sulde dye//And þe tree of þe Mone ansuerd by þir  
 twa verse3//Anno completo Viues ꝛ mensib3 octo//De quo confidis tibi  
 mortis pocula dabit//þat es at saye//A twluemonthes ꝛ aughte  
 monethes saḥ þu lyffe//And þaṇ he þat þu traiste3 oṇ//saḥ giffe þee  
 a drynke of dedd//þaṇ bi gaṇ Alexander to thynke in his hert oṇ  
 þis wyse//Telle me now haly tree wha he es þat saḥ slaa mee//  
 And þaṇ þe tree of þe soṇ ansuerd by þir twa verse3// Si tibi pandat<sup>r</sup>  
 vir qui tua facta resoluēt//Illū confrynges ꝛ sic mea carmina  
 fallent//þat es at say//And I schew the þe manes name:þat saḥ vndo  
 thi dedis//þu wiḥ slaa hyṁ//And so saḥ my ꝑphycye fayle//And  
 þaṇ þe forsaide ald maṇ sayd tiḥ Alexander//Disese na mare þir  
 trees ꝛ he w<sup>t</sup> thyne askynges//Bot to<sup>ne</sup> we agayne as we come  
 hedir//And þaṇ Alexander ꝛ his twa prynce3 w<sup>t</sup> hy to<sup>ne</sup>d agayne w<sup>t</sup>  
 þe alde maṇ//And ay as he went he waped bitterly//bi cause of his  
 schorte tyme//And his prynce3 also waped rizte sare Bot he cōmanded  
 þaṁ þ<sup>t</sup> þay schulde nozte telle to na maṇ of his Oste þat that þay  
 hadd herde ꝛ sene//And when þay ware comen to þe forsaide Pa<sup>l</sup>  
 lace//þe alde said vn tiḥ Alex<sup>d</sup>//Torne bakke agayne ꝛ he//for it es  
 nozte leefull to na maṇ to passe forthire//If þe liste wende toward  
 þe weste//þu saḥ nozte traueḥe full lange are þu come to þe place  
 whare þe liste to bee//And when þe alde maṇ had said þir wordez  
 he went into þe Palace and Alexander and his twa prynce3 went  
 douṇ by þe forsaide greez ꝛ come to þe Oste  
 A poṇ þe morne Alex<sup>d</sup> ꝛ his Oste remowed þeine ꝛ went  
 agayneward fyftene days//And come agayne to þe  
 forsaide playne ꝛ þare þay lugged þaṁ//And þare at  
 þe entree of þa twa forsaide ways Alex<sup>d</sup> gart rayse vp  
 twa pelers of Marble and by twixe þaṁ he haude a table of golde  
 on þe whilke was wreten in þe langage of grewe hebrew of latyne  
 and of Inde//one this wyse//I Alexander Philipꝑ soṇ of Macedoyne  
 sett thir pelers here//Aft<sup>d</sup> þe dedd of Dariḥ kyng of Perse and of  
 Porḥ kyng of Inde//what maṇ so wiḥ passe forþ<sup>d</sup>//late hyṁ

[to<sup>ne</sup> one þe

f. 40r

then the tree of the sun answered softly in the language of India and said these verses:

Tu dominator orbis dominus simul et pater extas

Sed patrum regnum per tempora nulla videbis

That is to say, 'you are both lord and father of all the world, but the realm of your fathers shall you never see with your eyes.'

Then Alexander began to think how long he would live and what death he would die.

And the tree of the moon answered with these two verses:

Anno completo viues et mensibus octo

De quo confidis tibi mortis pocula dabit

That is to say, 'A year and eight months shall you live, and then he that you trust in shall give you a fatal drink.'

Then Alexander began to think in his heart in this way, 'Tell me now, holy tree, who he is that shall kill me.'

Then the tree of the sun answered by these two verses:

Si tibi pandatur vir qui tua facta resoluat

Illum confringes et sic mea carmina fallent

That is to say, 'If I show you the man's name, who will undo your deeds; you will kill him and so my prophecy will fail.'

Then the aforesaid old man said to Alexander, "Trouble these trees no more with your questions. But let us turn back as we came here."

Then Alexander and his two princes with him turned back with the old man. Even as he went he wept bitterly because of his short time. His princes also wept quite deeply. But he commanded them not to tell to any man of his army what they had heard and seen.

When they came to the palace, the old man said to Alexander, "Turn back again for it is not permissible to any man to pass farther. If you desire, turn toward the West. You shall not travel very long before you come to the place where you wish to be."

When the old man had said these words, he went into the palace, and Alexander and his two princes went down by the steps and came to the army.

In the morning, Alexander and his army left there and went back fifteen days. They came back to the plain mentioned before, and there they set up camp. There at the entry of the two previously mentioned roads, Alexander had two pillars of marble erected. Between them he had a tablet of gold set up on which was inscribed in the language of Greek, Hebrew, Latin, and India, in this way: 'I, Alexander, Philip's son of Macedonia, set these pillars here after the death of Darius, King of Persia, and of Porus, King of India. If any man will pass farther, let him

f. 40v

to<sup>ne</sup> one þ<sup>e</sup> lefte hand//ffor wha so to<sup>ne</sup>z one þ<sup>e</sup> ri3te hande he sa<sup>ll</sup>  
fynde many obstacez ft g<sup>e</sup>uancez þat sa<sup>ll</sup> pauent<sup>e</sup> lett his agayne  
cōmynge

F Ra þeine þay remowed thurgh þat playne and lefte  
base straye wayes//takand þ<sup>e</sup> way westeward þ<sup>e</sup> gayneste  
toward Macedoyne//And at þ<sup>e</sup> laste þay come ti<sup>ll</sup> a cuntree  
þat highte Prasiac//And þare þay lugeð þam//And  
when me<sup>n</sup> of þat cuntree herd of þ<sup>e</sup> cōmynge of Alexander//w<sup>t</sup>  
grete wirchipe þay broghte hy grete p<sup>r</sup>santez of swilk thynges  
as þay hadd in þaire lande þat es at say skynnes of fischez lyke  
vn to þ<sup>e</sup> skynnes of parden or of lyouns also:And lawmp<sup>y</sup> skynnes  
of Sex cubites lange//In þat cuntree was a noble citee a<sup>ll</sup> of p<sup>r</sup>cyol  
stanes made w<sup>t</sup> owte<sup>n</sup> lyme or sande sett apo<sup>n</sup> an hill//Of þ<sup>e</sup>  
whilke citee//A wirchipfu<sup>ll</sup> lady and a faire hadd þ<sup>e</sup> lordechipe//  
þis lady was wedowe and scho hadd three sōns//The firste of  
þam highte Candeol//þ<sup>e</sup> secund Marcipil//And þ<sup>e</sup> thirde hight  
Carator://To þis lady Alex<sup>d</sup> sent a lre of þis teno<sup>r</sup>

A lexander þ<sup>e</sup> So<sup>n</sup> of godd Amo<sup>n</sup> ft of þ<sup>e</sup> quene Olympias kyng  
of kynges ft lorde of lordes vn to quene Candace of Mero<sup>n</sup>  
ioy ft gretynge//We sende 3ow ane ymage of godd Amo<sup>n</sup>  
a<sup>ll</sup> of fyne golde//And þ<sup>r</sup>efore comez ti<sup>ll</sup> vs þat we may  
wende to geder to þ<sup>e</sup> Mountayne for to make sacrafyce þare to godd  
Amo<sup>n</sup>//Whe<sup>n</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> Qwene Candace hadd redd þis lre Scho sent  
hir embassato<sup>r</sup>s ti<sup>ll</sup> kyng Alex<sup>d</sup> w<sup>t</sup> grete presantez and with a  
lre of this teno<sup>r</sup>

C andace quene of Mero<sup>n</sup> vn ti<sup>ll</sup> Alexander kyng of kynges  
ioy//wele we knawe þat 3e hafe by reuelacio<sup>n</sup> of  
godd Amo<sup>n</sup>//þ<sup>t</sup> 3e schulde conquere Perse Inde and  
Egip<sup>t</sup>e and subiecte vn to 3ow a<sup>ll</sup> op<sup>r</sup> naciōs//And a<sup>ll</sup>  
þat 3e hafe done//nozte allanly was g<sup>r</sup>unted Bot also of a<sup>ll</sup> op<sup>r</sup>  
goddez//ti<sup>ll</sup> vs þ<sup>t</sup> hase faire saules ft bryghte it nede3 noghte to  
make sacrafyce to godd Amo<sup>n</sup> I þ<sup>e</sup> Mountaynes//Neu<sup>d</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> lesse bicause  
we wi<sup>ll</sup> nozte offende 3owerre maiestatee//We sende ti<sup>ll</sup> Amo<sup>n</sup>  
3oure godd A Coro<sup>n</sup> of golde and p<sup>r</sup>cyouse stanes//And te<sup>n</sup> chynes  
of golde sett fu<sup>ll</sup> of p<sup>r</sup>ciol stanes//And vn to 3ow we sende a hundrethe  
Besautez of golde//And twa hundreth papeiayes closed I cagez

[of golde



f. 40v

turn to the left because whoever turns to the right, he shall find many obstacles and grievances that shall perchance prevent his coming back.

From there they departed through that plain and left those narrow roads, taking the way westward as the most direct toward Macedonia. Finally, they came to a country that is called Prasiac. There they set up camp. When men of that country heard of the coming of Alexander, with much honor, they brought him great presents of such things as they had in their land. That is to say, skins of fish like skins of leopards or of lions, and lamprey skins of six cubits long. In that country was a noble city, entirely of precious stones made without lime or sand, set on a hill, of which city an honorable and fair lady had the lordship. This lady was a widow, and she had three sons. The first of them was called Candeolus, the second Marciplus, and the third Carator. To this lady, Alexander sent a letter which said:

'Alexander, the son of god Ammon and of the Queen Olympias, king of kings and lord of lords, to Queen Candace of Meron, joy and greeting. We send you an statue of god Ammon all of fine gold. Therefore, come to us that we may travel together to the mountain to make sacrifice there to god Ammon.'

When the Queen Candace had read this letter, she sent her ambassadors to King Alexander with great presents and with a letter like this.

'Candace, Queen of Meron, to Alexander, king of kings, joy. We know well that you have it by revelation of god Ammon, that you should conquer Persia, India, and Egypt and subjugate to you all other nations. All that you have done not only was granted by Ammon but also by all other gods. For us who have beautiful and clear souls, it is not necessary to make sacrifice to god Ammon in the mountains. Nevertheless, because we will not offend your majesty, we send to Ammon, your god, a crown of gold and precious stones, and ten chains of gold completely covered with precious stones. To you we send a hundred bezants of gold and two hundred popinjays enclosed in cages

f. 41r

of golde//C childer of Ethipes//CC Apes//CCCC Olyphantis XXXiiii<sup>xx</sup>  
 vnycornes//iii<sup>a</sup> panthers Skynnez of pardez & lyouns//CCCC and we  
 be seke zowre hye maieste þat ze wiþ notyfe vn tiþ vs bi zo<sup>7</sup> wirchipful  
 þres wheder ze haue ʒquered alle þe werlde and made it subiecte  
 vn to zow or nozte//Amangeþ hir embassato<sup>7</sup>s þat scho sent tiþ Alexander  
 þ<sup>o</sup> was a wonder crafty & a suteþ paynto<sup>7</sup>e//And hy scho charged þ<sup>t</sup>  
 he schulde besely by halde Alexander & p<sup>7</sup>tray his fygure I a pchemyñ  
 skynñ and brynge it to hir//And so he did//Alex<sup>o</sup> ressayued þe forsaide  
 gyftes reuerently and sent hir noble gyftes agayne w<sup>t</sup> hir embassato<sup>7</sup>  
 and when þay come hame þe paynto<sup>7</sup> take hir þe feigure of Alexander  
 p<sup>7</sup>trayed as I saide be fore//And when þe quene saw it Scho was  
 rizte gladde for scho desyred gretly for to see his fygure

A ft<sup>o</sup> þis ane of þe quene Soñes þat hight Candeol<sup>7</sup> went  
 furthe of þe Citee w<sup>t</sup> his wyfe and a fewe of his menzee  
 for to take þe sporte//And onane þe kyng of þe Bebrikes  
 knawynge þe fairehed of Candeol<sup>7</sup> wyfe:come appoñ

þañ w<sup>t</sup> a grete miltitude of meñ and slew many of Candeol<sup>7</sup>  
 menzee and reste hy his wyfe & went his way//And þañ Can<sup>o</sup>  
 deol<sup>7</sup> and his meñ þat ware lefte on lyfe went tiþ Alex<sup>o</sup> Oste  
 for to be seke hy of help agaynes þe kyng of Bebrikes//And  
 þe waches of þe oste take Candeol<sup>7</sup> & broghte hy bi fore Tholome<sup>7</sup>  
 þat was þe secundu psoñ aft<sup>o</sup> Alex<sup>o</sup>//And Tholome<sup>7</sup> spirred hy  
 what he was & what he did þare//I am q<sup>ue</sup> he quene Candace  
 soñ and þis day als I went w<sup>t</sup> my wyfe & a p<sup>uee</sup> menzee  
 for to take þe sporte þe kyng of þe bebrikes come apoñ vs w<sup>t</sup>  
 a grete miltitude of meñ and hase slayne many of my menzee  
 & reste me my wyfe//And þ<sup>o</sup> fore I am comeñ heder for to beseke  
 my lord þe Em<sup>po</sup> of helpe & socoure//When Tholome<sup>7</sup> had herd  
 þis onane he garte take kepe of Candeol<sup>7</sup> & went tiþ Alex<sup>o</sup>  
 tentis and wakkned Alex<sup>o</sup> & talde hy & talde ilk a dele  
 þat Candeol<sup>7</sup> had talde hy//And when Alex<sup>o</sup> hadd herde  
 his tale he badd hy gange agayne tiþ his tent and do  
 a corouñ oñ his hede and putt apoñ hyñ þe kyngeþ clothynge

f. 41r

of gold, one hundred children of Ethiopia, two hundred apes, four hundred elephants, six hundred and eighty unicorns, three thousand panthers and four hundred skins of leopards and lions. We implore your high majesty that you will notify us by your honorable letters whether you have conquered all the world and made it subject to you or not.'

Among her ambassadors whom she sent to Alexander there was an exceedingly clever and skilled painter, and him she commanded to study Alexander diligently and portray his figure in a parchment skin and bring it to her. So he did.

Alexander received the previously mentioned gifts reverently and sent noble gifts back to her with her ambassadors.

When they came home, the painter took her the portrait of Alexander, as I mentioned before. When the queen saw it, she was very glad, for she desired very much to see what he looked like.

After this, one of the queen's sons, who was called Candeolus, went out of the city with his wife and a few of his company for pleasure. Soon the King of the Bebrikes, knowing the beauty of Candeolus' wife, came upon them with a great multitude of men and killed many of Candeolus' company and took his wife from him and went away. Then Candeolus and his men who were left alive went to Alexander's army to beg him for help against the King of the Bebrikes.

The guards of the troops took Candeolus and brought him before Ptolemy who was second in command after Alexander. Ptolemy asked him who he was and what he was doing there.

"I am," he said, "Queen Candace's son, and this day, as I went with my wife and my own retainers to have some pleasure, the King of the Bebrikes came upon us with a large number of men and has killed many of my company and taken my wife from me. Therefore, I have come here to beg my lord, the Emperor, for help and aid."

When Ptolemy had heard this, immediately, he had Candeolus guarded and went to Alexander's tents and wakened Alexander and told him everything that Candeolus had told him.

When Alexander had heard his tale, he commanded Ptolemy to go back to his tent and put a crown on his head and put on the king's clothing

f. 41v

and sett hym in the kynges trone & say vn to Candeolus þt he was kyng  
 Alex<sup>d</sup>//And bidd an of thi meñ q he feche vn to þe Antyochus//And late  
 hym bryng me to þe in steedd of Antyochus//And when I come bi for thee  
 telle me bi fore Candeol? aȝ þat he talde the//And aske me consell  
 als I ware Antyochus what es beste to do in þat mat<sup>d</sup>//Tholome? went  
 and didd aȝ als Alex<sup>d</sup> badd hȝ//And he asched Alex<sup>d</sup> in stedd of Antyochus  
 be fore Candeolus what was beste to do//And Alex<sup>d</sup> ansuerd & sayde  
 on herand Candeolus//wirchipfull Empo<sup>r</sup> q he if it be plesynge  
 to 3o<sup>r</sup> maiestee I wiȝ go w<sup>t</sup> Candeol? þis same nyghte to þe kyng  
 of þe Bebrikes//And comande hȝ one 3o<sup>r</sup> by halue þat he ȝelde Candeol?  
 his wyfe agayne//And if he wiȝ noȝte do soo I saȝ late hȝ witt/þat  
 ȝe saȝ sende a grete powere to his Citee & bryne it vp stikke & stourre  
 When Candeol? hadd herde hȝ say þus//he kneled vn tiȝ hȝ & said  
 AA wirchipfull Antyochus q he wele walde it seme þe for to be a kyng  
 for þe hye witt and þe manhede þat es in the//Than kyng Alex<sup>d</sup> tuke  
 w<sup>t</sup> hȝ a grete powere and went apoñ þe same nyghte w<sup>t</sup> Candeol?  
 vn to þe Citee whare þe kyng of þe bebrikes lay and when þay come  
 to þe citee þe waytes cryed apoñ þaȝ and askede what þay ware  
 and Alex<sup>d</sup> ansuerd & sayd//Candeol? q he es here w<sup>t</sup> ane Oste of meñ  
 and þe cause of his cōmynge es to be restorede agayne of his wyfe þe  
 whilke 3o<sup>r</sup> kyng raveste a way fro hym þis same day//And my lord  
 kyng Alex<sup>d</sup> cōmandez ȝow þt ȝe delyu<sup>d</sup> hir anone or sewrely we saȝ  
 brynne this citee & ȝo<sup>r</sup> selfe are we passe hethyȝ//And when þe meñ  
 of þe citee herde this//þay ware ferde ynoghe and onane went to þe  
 kynges palace & brakke vp þe ȝates//& tuke Candeol? wyfe & delyu<sup>d</sup>  
 hir tiȝ hir lorde//þaȝ Candeol? kneled douȝ tiȝ Alex<sup>d</sup> & saide vn tiȝ  
 hȝ//AA my dere frende q he wirchipfull Antyoch? Blyssed mot þu be  
 for þis grete gudnes þt þu hase schewed mee//And I be seke the nowe  
 þt þu wiȝ vouchesaffe for to wende w<sup>t</sup> me vn to my moder quene  
 Candace þt scho may rewarde þe for þis þat þu hase done for me//And  
 when Alex<sup>d</sup> herde this//he was riȝte gladde//ffor he had gretly de-  
 syrede for to See quene Candace & hir citee also and þan he sayd  
 Goo we q he to þe empo<sup>r</sup> and asche hȝ leue//And þay did soo and when  
 he had leue//he went w<sup>t</sup> Candeol?//And as þay went to gedir  
 þay come tiȝ heghe mountaynes þt reched vp to þe clowdes  
 and apoñ þaȝ þ<sup>d</sup> growed trees of a wonderfull heghte lyke to  
[þe cedres]

f. 41v

and set himself in the king's throne and say to Candeolus that he was King Alexander.

"Command one of the men," said he, "to fetch Antiochus to you. Let him bring me to you instead of Antiochus, and when I come before you, tell me in front of Candeolus all that he told you. As if I were Antiochus, ask my counsel, what is best to do in that matter."

Ptolemy went and did everything as Alexander commanded him, and he asked Alexander in Antiochus' stead in front of Candeolus, what was best to do.

Alexander answered and said on hearing Candeolus, "Glorious emperor, if it is pleasing to your majesty, I will go with Candeolus this same night to the King of the Bebrikes and command him on your behalf that he give back to Candeolus his wife. If he will not do so, I shall make him understand that you shall send a tremendous force to his city and burn it up stick and stake."

When Candeolus had heard him speak so, he knelt to him and said, "Ah, honorable Antiochus, it would be proper for you to be a king because of the high intelligence and the courage that is in you."

Then King Alexander took with him a great force and went on the same night with Candeolus to the city where the King of the Bebrikes lay. When they came to the city the guards cried out to them and asked who they were.

Alexander answered and said, "Candeolus is here with an army of men, and the reason for his coming is to be restored again with his wife, which your king ravished away from him this same day. My lord, King Alexander, commands you that you deliver her immediately or surely we shall burn this city and you before we pass from here."

When the men of the city heard this, they were afraid enough and instantly went to the king's palace and broke open the gates and took Candeolus' wife and delivered her to her lord.

Then Candeolus knelt down to Alexander and said to him, "Ah, my dear friend, honorable Antiochus. May you be blessed for this great goodness that you have shown me. I implore you now that you will condescend to come with me to my mother, Queen Candace, so that she may reward you for what you have done for me."

When Alexander heard this, he was quite glad because he had greatly desired to see Queen Candace and also her city. Then he said, "Let us go to the emperor and ask his permission." They did so and when he had leave, he went with Candeolus.

As they went together, they came to high mountains that reached up to the clouds. Upon them, there grew trees of an amazing height like

f. 42r

vn to cedres þat bare appylls of Inde rizte grete Of þe whilk Alex<sup>d</sup> wōnderde hy gretly//þay saw also þare vynes growe w<sup>t</sup> wondere grete bobbis of grapes//for a mañ myzte vnnethez bere añ of þaṁ þ<sup>d</sup> were also trees þ<sup>t</sup> bare nuttez als grete als gourddez//And þare ware also many apes//ffra þeine þay went it come to þe citee of quene Candace//And when Candace herd tell þ<sup>t</sup> hir soñ Candeolus and his wyfe ware comande and ware safe it sounde//And at a messangere of kyng Alex<sup>d</sup> come w<sup>t</sup> þaṁ scho was wonder gladde and onane scho arayed hir ryally as a quene suld be//And sett apoñ hir hedde a crouñ full ryche all of golde sett full of p<sup>d</sup>cyouse stanes and went furthe w<sup>t</sup> hir lordes to þe zates of hir palace for to mete hir soñ Candeol<sup>l</sup> and Alex<sup>d</sup> messang<sup>d</sup> This quene was a wondere faire lady it a semely//And when Alex<sup>d</sup> saw hir//hy thoghte als he hade sene his Moder Olympias//hir palace was wonder ryatte it p<sup>d</sup>cyouse and all þe ruffe þ<sup>d</sup> of schane w<sup>t</sup> golde it p<sup>d</sup>cyouse stanes//Thaṁ quene Candace tuke Alex<sup>d</sup> bi þe hande//And ledd hy vp til hir chambir whare þare ware beddes arayed w<sup>t</sup> þe fyneste clathes of golde þat myghte be getyñ and þat chambir was all of golde it p<sup>d</sup>cyous stanes þe whilke are called Onychyns it þe burdez it þe bynkes of euo<sup>r</sup> it Smaragdez it Amatistes//þe Pelers of þe Palace ware alle of Marble//And þar ware grauen in þaṁ cartes of werre þ<sup>t</sup> Semeð to mannes sighte as þay hadd bene rynand//And Olyphauntes tredand meñ vnder þare fete//vnder nethe þat Palace rane a wat<sup>d</sup> wonder swete it clere as any cristalle þat day Alex<sup>d</sup> ete w<sup>t</sup> quene Candace it hir childire

A poñ þe morne quene Candace tuk Alex<sup>d</sup> by þe right hande it ledd hy in til hir bedd chambir and nane w<sup>t</sup> þaṁ Bot þay twa allaṁ//þis chambir was cou<sup>d</sup>de all ou<sup>d</sup> w<sup>t</sup> in w<sup>t</sup> golde it p<sup>d</sup>sio<sup>l</sup> stanes//And it schane w<sup>t</sup> in as it had bene þe Soñe//And oute of þe chambir scho ledd hy in til a w<sup>t</sup> drawyng chambir made of cypref//þis chambir was sett apoñ foure wheles by crafte of clergy//And twenty xx<sup>ti</sup> Olyphauntis drewe it whedir as scho wolde hafe it//And when Alex<sup>d</sup> it þe quene ware entrede in to þat chambir: onane it stirredd it by gañ for to remowe//And þaṁ Alex<sup>d</sup> was astonayde it meruaylled hyṁ gretly it said vn to þe quene//ffor sothe it he it þir meruailis ware in oure cuntree þay ware rizte cōmendable it mekiñ worthy to  
[be p<sup>r</sup>ysede]

f. 42r

cedars that bore very large apples of India about which Alexander marveled a great deal. They saw there also, vines growing with extremely large bunches of grapes so that a man might scarcely carry one of them. There were also trees that bore nuts as large as gourds. There were also many apes. From there, they went and came to the city of Queen Candace.

When Candace heard that her son Candeolus and his wife were coming and were safe and sound and that a messenger of King Alexander came with them, she was very glad. Immediately, she arrayed herself royally as a queen should be and set upon her head a very rich crown, all of gold completely covered with precious stones, and went out with her lords to the gates of her palace to meet her son Candeolus and Alexander's messenger.

This queen was a very beautiful and noble lady. When Alexander saw her, he felt as if he had seen his mother Olympias.

Her palace was quite royal and precious and the entire roof of it shone with gold and precious stones. Then Queen Candace took Alexander by the hand and led him up to her chamber where there were beds arrayed with the finest cloths of gold that could be found. That chamber was entirely of gold and precious stones which are called onyx stones and the tables and benches were of ivory and emeralds and amethyst. The pillars of the palace were entirely of marble, and there were engraved in them carts of war that seemed to man's sight as if they were moving, and elephants treading men under their feet. Underneath that palace ran a stream extremely sweet and clear as any crystal. That day Alexander ate with Queen Candace and her children.

In the morning, Queen Candace took Alexander by the right hand and led him into her bed chamber, and no one was with them, just the two of them alone. This chamber was covered all over inside with gold and precious stones. It shone within as if it were the sun. Out of this chamber she led him into a drawing room made of cypress. This room was set upon four wheels by scientific skill, and twenty elephants drew it wherever she would have it. When Alexander and the queen entered into that chamber, immediately it stirred and began to depart.

Then Alexander was amazed and marveled a great deal and said to the queen, "Truly, if these marvels were in our country, they would be quite commendable and very worthy to

f. 42v

to be p<sup>r</sup>ysede The quene ansuerde//pou saise sothe Alexander ¶ scho:pay ware  
mare cōmendable amangez þ<sup>e</sup> grekez þa<sup>n</sup> amangez vs//And also sone als  
Alexander herde hys name be neuenede:/he was gretly trubblede  
and his vesage bi ga<sup>n</sup> to waxe pale and his chere to change//And  
than the quene said efte vn to hy Alexander ¶ scho for to schewe  
þ<sup>e</sup> mare verrayly þat þ<sup>u</sup> ert Alexander cōm with me//And þa<sup>n</sup> scho  
tuk hy by þ<sup>e</sup> hande & leedde hy inti<sup>l</sup> anop<sup>r</sup> chambir and schewed  
hy þare his awen<sup>n</sup> ffygure p<sup>r</sup>trayed in a pchemyn<sup>n</sup> skyne//And when  
Alex<sup>d</sup> saw þat//he wex pale & wanne & bi ga<sup>n</sup> to tremblee//And þa<sup>n</sup>  
þ<sup>e</sup> quene said vn ti<sup>l</sup> hy Alex<sup>d</sup> ¶ scho//Where fore ert þ<sup>u</sup> ferde & why  
chaungez þ<sup>u</sup> chere//Thou þat hase destroyed a<sup>l</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> werlde Cōquero<sup>r</sup> of  
Perse of Inde of Medee//And Many op<sup>r</sup> rewmes & landez//Now arte  
pou w<sup>t</sup> owttē scheddyng of blode fallen in þ<sup>e</sup> dawngere & in þ<sup>e</sup> handez  
of quene Candace vnausyly//And þ<sup>d</sup> by may þ<sup>u</sup> wele knawe þat a manes  
hert sulde on na wyse be enhanced in p<sup>d</sup>e for if a<sup>l</sup> it bee þ<sup>t</sup> ofte tymes  
grete pspitee fa<sup>l</sup> to ma<sup>n</sup>//Sodaynly fallez adversitee ti<sup>l</sup> hy when  
he leste wenes//When Alexander herde þis he biga<sup>n</sup> to grayste w<sup>t</sup>  
þ<sup>e</sup> teethe and to torne his hede hedir & thedir//And quene Candace saide  
vn ti<sup>l</sup> hy<sup>m</sup>//Whare to angers þ<sup>u</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> ¶ scho & troubles thi selfe//what may  
now thi grete Impia<sup>l</sup> glory//thi witt//& thi Mighte serue the offe//  
Alexander ansuerde & said//ffor sothe ¶ Alex<sup>d</sup> resonably I am angry at  
my selfe bi cause I hafe na swerde here//¶ þ<sup>e</sup> quene I supposse þ<sup>u</sup> hadd a  
suerde now what walde do þ<sup>d</sup> w<sup>t</sup>//Sothely ¶ he bi cause I hafe wilfully  
betrayed my selfe vn to þ<sup>e</sup>//ffirste I solde sla þ<sup>e</sup> and þa<sup>n</sup> I dowte it nozt  
I sulde be slayne for þ<sup>e</sup>//Now for sothe ¶ scho þis was wisely & ma<sup>n</sup>  
fully sayde Neu<sup>d</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> le<sup>f</sup> be na thyng heuy//ffor as þ<sup>u</sup> delyuerde my  
so<sup>n</sup> wyfe Candeol<sup>r</sup> oute of þ<sup>e</sup> daungere of þ<sup>e</sup> kyng of þ<sup>e</sup> Bebrikes Swaa  
sa<sup>l</sup> I delyu<sup>d</sup> the oute of þ<sup>e</sup> daungere of thy<sup>n</sup> enemys þat þ<sup>u</sup> hase here  
ffor I say þ<sup>e</sup> in certayne and it ware knawē þat þ<sup>u</sup> ware here vn to  
my menzee onane þay walde slaa þ<sup>e</sup> by cause þ<sup>u</sup> slewe Por<sup>r</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> kyng  
of Inde ffor my so<sup>n</sup> wyfe Carator was his dought<sup>r</sup>//And when scho  
had said þis Scho tuk Alexander bi þ<sup>e</sup> hande & ledd hy forthe i ti<sup>l</sup>  
hir forchambire and said vn ti<sup>l</sup> hir sōns//My dere sōnes ¶ scho  
I p<sup>r</sup>y 3ow late vs make þis knyghte of Alex<sup>d</sup> gud chere and schew hy<sup>m</sup>  
a<sup>l</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> humanitye þ<sup>t</sup> we ca<sup>n</sup> ffor Alexander hase schewed vs grete fren<sup>d</sup>  
dechipe and grete gudne<sup>f</sup>//And þa<sup>n</sup> hir zongeste ansuerde & said//Moder  
[¶ he sothe it es



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be praised."

The queen answered, "What you say is true, Alexander. They would be more commendable among the Greeks than among us."

As soon as Alexander heard his name mentioned, he was greatly troubled. His face began to grow pale and his mood to change.

Then the queen said again to him, "Alexander, in order to show more truly that you are Alexander, come with me."

Then she took him by the hand and led him into another room and showed him there his own portrait on a parchment skin. When Alexander saw that he grew pale and wan and began to tremble.

Then the queen said to him, "Alexander, why are you afraid, and why does your mood change? You who have destroyed all the world, conqueror of Persia, of India, of Media, and many other realms and lands, now are you, without shedding of blood, fallen without warning into danger and into the hands of Queen Candace. And by that may you fully understand that a man's heart should not be consumed with pride. Even if it happens that great prosperity often comes down to man, adversity comes suddenly to him when he least expects it."

When Alexander heard this he began to grind his teeth and to turn his head from side to side.

Queen Candace said to him, "For what purpose do you anger and upset yourself? How may your great imperial glory, your wit, and your might serve you now?"

Alexander answered and said, "In truth, I am reasonably angry with myself, because I have no sword here."

Said the queen, "Suppose you had a sword now, what would you do with it?"

"Honestly," he said, "because I have willfully betrayed myself to you, first I should kill you and then, doubtless, I would be killed because of you."

"Now, in truth," she said, "this was wisely and manfully said. Nevertheless, don't be bothered at all. Just as you delivered my son Candaeolus' wife out of danger from the King of the Bebrikes, so shall I deliver you out of the danger of your enemies whom you have here. I say to you, certainly, if it were known to my company that you were here, immediately, they would kill you because you killed Porus, the King of India. My son Carator's wife was his daughter."

When she had said this, she took Alexander by the hand and led him out into her anteroom and said to her sons, "My dear sons, I ask you to let us entertain this knight of Alexander and show him all the kindness that we can since Alexander has shown us great friendship and great goodness."

Then her youngest answered and said, "Mother,

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¶ he sothe it es þat he es a messangere of Alex<sup>o</sup>s & a knyghte of his and þat  
 he delyu<sup>o</sup>de my broþ<sup>o</sup> wyfe oute of þ<sup>e</sup> handez of þ<sup>e</sup> kyng of þ<sup>e</sup> Bebrikes and  
 broghte hy & hir hame vn tili vs bathe safe & sownde//Neu<sup>o</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> lesse my  
 wyfe constreynez me for to do Antyochus to dede bi cause of þ<sup>e</sup> dede of hir  
 ffadir Porl whilke Alex<sup>o</sup> slewe//So þat Alex<sup>o</sup> may hafe Sorowe for his  
 knyghte//¶ quene Candace þan lefe son//what wirchiþ may we get  
 þ<sup>o</sup> offe//if we slaa this knyghte þus t<sup>y</sup>tourusly//And þan Candeolus  
 sayde w<sup>t</sup> a grete Ire//þis knyghte ¶ he Saued me & my wyfe &  
 broghte vs hedir safe & sonde//And als saffe saþ I hafe hy a gayne  
 tili his lorde or I saþ be dede þ<sup>o</sup> fore//And Carator ansuerde & saide  
 Broþ<sup>o</sup> ¶ he what says þu//with þu þ<sup>t</sup> aythere of vs here slaa op<sup>o</sup>//In  
 gud faythe broþ<sup>o</sup> ¶ he it es nozte my with ne my liste//Neu<sup>o</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> leffe  
 if it be thi liste//I am redy//rather þan þis knyghte be dedde//And  
 when þ<sup>e</sup> quene saw þat hir sones walde ayther of þam slaa op<sup>o</sup>  
 scho was wonder sary and tuk Alex<sup>o</sup> on syde and saide vn tili hy  
 preualy//AA kyng Alex<sup>o</sup> ¶ scho whi with þu nozte schewe thi witt and  
 helpe thurgh thi wisdom þat my sones slaa nozte ayther of þam  
 op<sup>o</sup>//And Alex<sup>o</sup> answerde and said late me goo speke w<sup>t</sup> þam ¶ he  
 and scho lete hy goo//And he went to þam and sayde vn to Carator  
 ffor sothe Carator ¶ he I late þ<sup>e</sup> wite þ<sup>t</sup> if þou slaa me þu saþ wynne  
 bot lyttli wirchiþe þ<sup>o</sup> offe//ffor I say þ<sup>e</sup> kyng Alex<sup>o</sup> hase many worthyer  
 knyghtis w<sup>t</sup> hy þan I am//And þ<sup>o</sup> fore he with hafe littli sorowe  
 for my dede//Trowes þu þat and Alexander hadd lufed me wele þ<sup>t</sup> he  
 walde hafe sent me hyder to be killed amange 3owe//Bot if þou  
 with þat I beken the Alexander þ<sup>e</sup> slaere of þ<sup>i</sup> wyfe fader & bryng  
 hy bi for the//Swere me þat whatt so I asche þ<sup>e</sup> þu saþ g<sup>u</sup>unte mee it  
 and I sure þ<sup>e</sup> bi þ<sup>e</sup> faythe of my body I saþ bryng Alex<sup>o</sup> in to þis palace  
 be fore þ<sup>e</sup>//And when Carator herde this//he was rizte glade and  
 trowed þat that Alex<sup>o</sup> said//And so ware þ<sup>e</sup> twa broþ<sup>o</sup> pesede and  
 highte Alex<sup>o</sup> þat his askyng sulde be fulfilled als ferforthe als  
 paire powere reched if so ware þ<sup>t</sup> he helde couenant//þan quene  
 Candace leedd Alex<sup>o</sup> on syde & sayd vn tili hy in p<sup>e</sup>uatee//wele ware  
 me ¶ scho myghte I ilke day hafe þ<sup>e</sup> p<sup>o</sup>sent be fore myn eghne  
 as I hafe myn awen childere//ffor thurgh the sulde I ou<sup>o</sup>come  
 all myn Enemys//And þan gaffe Alex<sup>o</sup> a Coroun of golde sett full  
 of p<sup>o</sup>cyous dyamandez//And a mantiþ Impiaþ of a clathe of golde

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it is true that he is a messenger of Alexander's and a knight of his and that he delivered my brother's wife out of the hands of the King of the Bebrikes and brought both him and her home to us safe and sound. Nevertheless, my wife constrains me to kill Antiochus because of the death of her father, Porus, whom Alexander killed, so that Alexander may grieve for his knight."

Then Queen Candace said, "Dear son, what honor may we get by it if we kill this knight so traitorously?"

Then Candeolus said with great anger, "This knight saved me and my wife and brought us here safe and sound. And as safe shall I return him to his lord or I shall die trying."

Carator answered and said, "Brother, what's that you say? Do you want each of us here to murder the other?"

"In good faith, brother," he said, "it is not my wish or my desire. Nevertheless, if it is your desire, I am ready, rather than have this knight be dead."

When the queen saw that her sons would each one kill the other, she was extremely upset and took Alexander aside and said to him privately, "Ah, King Alexander, why won't show your wit and help with your wisdom so my sons do not kill each other?"

Alexander answered and said, "Let me go speak with them." And she let him go.

He went to them and said to Carator, "In truth, Carator, you should know that if you kill me, you shall gain but little honor from it because, I tell you, King Alexander has many worthier knights with him than I am. Therefore, he will have little sorrow for my death. Do you believe that if Alexander had loved me well that he would have sent me here to be killed among you? But if you wish that I summon Alexander to you, the slayer of your wife's father, and bring him before you, swear to me that whatever I ask you you shall grant it to me. I assure you by the faith of my body, I shall bring Alexander into this palace before you."

When Carator heard this, he was quite glad and believed what Alexander said. So the two brothers were at peace and promised Alexander that his request should be fulfilled as far as their power reached if he held to the agreement.

Then Queen Candace led Alexander aside and said to him in private, "It would be good for me if, each day, I would have you with me as I have my own children because with you I would overcome all my enemies." Then she gave Alexander a crown of gold completely covered with precious diamonds and an imperial mantle of a cloth of gold

f. 43v

w<sup>t</sup> sternes wofen<sup>n</sup> þ<sup>o</sup> in and sett full of p<sup>o</sup>cyouse stanes//And þa<sup>n</sup> scho kyssed  
 hym & op<sup>o</sup> p<sup>o</sup>uee thynges didd ti<sup>l</sup> hy//And badde hy goo i hir blyssynge  
 T han kyng Alexander and Candeolus//went furthe a<sup>l</sup>l that

daye///And come ti<sup>l</sup> a grete spelūc and þare þay herberde  
 þa<sup>n</sup>//And Candeolus saide ti<sup>l</sup> Alexander//In this spelūc  
 ¶ hee þat þ<sup>u</sup> here seez a<sup>l</sup>l goddez ere wount for to ete and  
 halde þaire consai<sup>l</sup>//And þa<sup>n</sup> onane Alex<sup>o</sup> made sacrafycez ti<sup>l</sup> his  
 goddez and enterde in to þ<sup>e</sup> caue by hy ane//And þare he sawe a myrke  
 clowde & i þat myrkne<sup>l</sup>//he sawe as it ware bryghte sternes and  
 amangez þase sternes he saw a grete godd sitt and his eghne lyke  
 twa lant<sup>o</sup>nes//And when<sup>n</sup> Alex<sup>o</sup> saw hy<sup>n</sup> he was so fered þ<sup>t</sup> he was  
 as it hadd bene in a transynge//And þa<sup>n</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> godd said vn to hy<sup>n</sup>  
 haile Alexander ¶ he//And Alex<sup>o</sup> ansuerde & said//lorde ¶ he what  
 art þou//I am ¶ he Senson chosis//þ<sup>t</sup> gou<sup>o</sup>nez þ<sup>e</sup> kyngdom of þ<sup>e</sup> werlde  
 and þ<sup>t</sup> hase made me<sup>n</sup> Sugett<sup>l</sup> vn to the//And þ<sup>u</sup> hase bigged þ<sup>i</sup> selfe  
 many ryalle citeez Bot temple walde þ<sup>u</sup> nane make i þ<sup>e</sup> wirchippe  
 of me//And Alex<sup>o</sup> ansuerd & said//lorde ¶ he & þ<sup>u</sup> wi<sup>l</sup>l graunt me  
 þat I sai<sup>l</sup> w<sup>t</sup> pspitee come in to Macedoyne I sai<sup>l</sup> ordeyne the a  
 temple þ<sup>o</sup> sai<sup>l</sup> nozte be swilke anop<sup>o</sup> in a<sup>l</sup>l þ<sup>e</sup> werlde//And he ansuerd  
 agayne & saide ffor sothe ¶ hee Macedoyne sai<sup>l</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> neu<sup>o</sup> see w<sup>t</sup> thy<sup>n</sup>  
 eghne//Neu<sup>o</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> lesse walke Innermare & luke what þ<sup>u</sup> seez//Alex<sup>o</sup> þa<sup>n</sup>  
 went forthirmare & saw anop<sup>o</sup> myrke clowde and saw a godd sitt in  
 a trone lyke a kynge and Alex<sup>o</sup> said vn ti<sup>l</sup> hy//lorde ¶ he what art  
 þ<sup>u</sup>//I am ¶ he þ<sup>e</sup> begynnynge of a<sup>l</sup>l goddez and Serapis es my name  
 I sawe the in þ<sup>e</sup> lande of liby//& nowe I see þ<sup>e</sup> here//Serapis ¶ Alex<sup>o</sup>  
 I beseke þ<sup>e</sup> telle me wha it es þat sai<sup>l</sup> sla me//Quod Serapis I talde  
 þ<sup>e</sup> bi fore þat and þ<sup>e</sup> cause of a manes dede ware knawen vn ti<sup>l</sup>  
 hy he solde dy for sorowe//þ<sup>u</sup> hase bygged a glorio<sup>l</sup> citee agaynes  
 þ<sup>e</sup> whilke many empo<sup>o</sup>s sai<sup>l</sup> fighte//þare in sai<sup>l</sup> thi graue be made  
 and þ<sup>o</sup> in sai<sup>l</sup> þ<sup>u</sup> be beried//And þa<sup>n</sup> Alex<sup>o</sup> come oute of þ<sup>e</sup> caue  
 and tuke his leue at Candeolus and went ti<sup>l</sup> his Oste

O ne þ<sup>e</sup> morne he remowed his Oste and come ti<sup>l</sup> a valay  
 þat was full of grete serpentes þ<sup>e</sup> whilk hade  
 in þaire heuedis Grete smaragdez Thir Serpentez

[lyffed a<sup>l</sup>l]

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with stars woven in it and set entirely with precious stones, and then she kissed him and did other private things to him and commanded him to go with her blessing.

Then King Alexander and Candeolus traveled on all that day. They came to a great cave, and there they took shelter for themselves.

Candeolus said to Alexander, "In this cave, all the gods are in the habit of eating and holding their council."

Then right away, Alexander made sacrifices to his gods and entered into the cave by himself. There he saw a dark cloud and in that darkness, he saw what appeared to be stars, and among those stars he saw a great god sitting with his eyes like two lanterns. When Alexander saw him, he was so afraid that he seemed as if he were in a trance.

Then the god said to him, "Hail, Alexander."

And Alexander answered and said, "Lord, who are you?"

"I am," said he, "Sensonchosis, who governs the kingdom of the world and who has made men your subjects. You have built yourself many royal cities, but no temple would you make to worship me."

Alexander answered and said, "Lord, if you will grant me, that I shall, with prosperity, come into Macedonia, I shall prepare a temple for you. There shall not be another like it in all the world."

He answered again and said, "In truth, you shall never see Macedonia with your eyes. Nevertheless, walk farther on and see what you see."

Alexander then went farther and saw another dark cloud and saw a god sitting in a throne like a king. Alexander said to him, "Lord," he said, "who are you?"

"I am," he said, "the beginning of all gods, and Serapis is my name. I saw you in the land of Libya and now I see you here."

"Serapis," said Alexander, "I implore you to tell me who it is that shall kill me."

Said Serapis, "I told you before that if the cause of a man's death were known to him, he would die from distress. You have built a glorious city against which many emperors shall fight. There shall your grave be made, and there shall you be buried."

Then Alexander came out of the cave and took his leave of Candeolus and went to his army.

In the morning, he removed his army and came to a valley that was full of huge serpents, which had in their heads large emeralds. These serpents

f. 44r

lyffede all wt gyngerer and pepir þat growede in þe valaye//And ilke a  
 3ere þay feghte to gedir and many of þam slae3 op//Off þe forsaide Sma-  
 ragdes tuk Alex<sup>d</sup> sum wt hy Of þe gretteste þat he couthe gett

F Ra þeine þay remowed & come in till a place in þe wilke  
 þ<sup>d</sup> ware beste3 þat hade one ilke a fote twa clees as swyne  
 hase and þase clees ware three fote brade wt þe wilke  
 þay smate Alex<sup>d</sup> knyghtes//þay had also heuedes lyke swyne &  
 tayles lyke lyouns//þ<sup>d</sup> ware also amange3 þam grypes þe wilke  
 smate knyghtes in þe vesage3 reghte felly//þay ware so strange  
 þat ane of þam wolde bere awaye an armed knyghte & his horse  
 also//þam kynge Alex<sup>d</sup> rade hedir & þedir amange3 his men and  
 comforthed þam and badd þam feghte manly agaynes þam  
 wt speres and wt arowes and so þay did Bot þ<sup>d</sup> was slayne of  
 Alexander knyghtes CCviii

A Nd fra þeine þay remowed and come till a grete ryu<sup>d</sup>  
 þe wilke was twenty furlange on brede fra þe ta  
 banke to þe top//And on þase bankes þ<sup>d</sup> growed redis  
 wonder grete and hye Of þase redes garte Alex<sup>d</sup> make bates  
 & anoynte þam wt terre & talgh of beste3//And badd his knyghtis  
 row ou<sup>d</sup> þe wat<sup>d</sup> in þase bates//And þay did soo//And when þe  
 of þe cuntree herde tell of þe comynge of Alex<sup>d</sup> & his Oste//þay  
 sent hym gyftes of swylk thynges als was in þaire cuntree  
 þat es at say Grete sponge3 bathe whitte & p<sup>r</sup>pure & schelles  
 of þe See so grete þ<sup>t</sup> an of þam walde halde twa pekkes or  
 three//þay sent hym also Wormes þat þay drew owte of  
 þat ryu<sup>d</sup> grettere þan a manes thee and þay ware swett<sup>d</sup>  
 of taste þan any fysche//þay gaffe hy Cukstoles all rede  
 þat ware of a wonderfull gretnef//In þ<sup>t</sup> ryu<sup>d</sup> ware woman3  
 þat ware wonder faire & þay hade on þam mekil here þ<sup>t</sup>  
 rechedd dou<sup>n</sup> to thaire fete//þir women when þay saw  
 any straunge men swyme in þat ryu<sup>d</sup>//owp<sup>d</sup> þay drowned  
 þam in þe wat<sup>d</sup> or ell3 þay walde lede þam to þe rede3.  
 þ<sup>t</sup> growed on þe wat<sup>d</sup> bankes and garre þam lye by þam  
 ay till any lyfe was in þam//þe Macedoynes psued þam  
 & tuke twa of þam and broghte þam till Alexander

f. 44r

lived all on ginger and pepper that grew in the valley. Each year they fight together and many of them are killed. Alexander took with him some of their emeralds, the largest that he could get.

They left there and came into a place in which there were beasts that had on each foot two claws like swine. These claws, with which they killed Alexander's knights, were three feet wide. They also had heads like swine and tails like lions. There were also among them griffins which struck knights in the face quite cruelly. They were so strong that one of them could bear away an armed knight and his horse also. Then King Alexander rode here and there among his men and comforted them and commanded them to fight manfully against them with spears and with arrows. So they did, but there, two hundred and eight of Alexander's knights were killed.

From there they left and came to a great river, which was twenty furlongs in width from one bank to the other. On these banks there grew extremely large, high reeds. With these reeds, Alexander had boats made and prepared them with tar and tallow of animals. He commanded his knights to row over the water in those boats. They did so.

When the folk of the country heard of the coming of Alexander and his army, they sent him gifts of such things as were in their country, that is to say, large sponges both white and purple and shells from the sea so large that one of them would hold two pecks or three. They also sent him worms that they drew out of that river, larger than a man's thigh. They tasted sweeter than any fish. They gave him entirely red mushrooms that were of an amazing size.

In that river were women that were quite fair, and they had so much hair that it reached down to their feet. These women, when they saw any strange men swim in that river, either they drowned them in the water or else they would lead them to the reeds that grew on the water's banks and make them lie by them as long as there was any life in them. The Macedonians pursued them and caught two of them and brought them to Alexander.

f. 44v

And þay ware als white as any snawe and þay ware ten fote lange  
and þaire teethe ware lyke dogge teethe

E       fft<sup>r</sup> this Alexander went and closed in a man<sup>r</sup> of folkes þat  
are called Gog & Magog with in þ<sup>e</sup> hillez of Caspy//þis  
folkez were of þ<sup>e</sup> ten kynde3 of isrl and þay ware leedd  
owte of þaire awen<sup>n</sup> land bi a kyng of pse be cause of þaire syñez and  
halde<sup>n</sup> in thralledo<sup>m</sup>//And þay asched Alex<sup>r</sup> leue for to wende furth  
of þat cuntree//And Alex<sup>r</sup> gert spirre þ<sup>e</sup> cause of þaire thralldo<sup>m</sup> and  
he was encensed þ<sup>t</sup> be cause þay hadd forsake<sup>n</sup> þaire goddez lawe  
þat es at say godd of isrl and wirchipe<sup>d</sup> calues & op<sup>r</sup> Mawmettes  
pare fore þay ware ledd oute of þaire awen<sup>n</sup> lande & halde<sup>n</sup> in thralldo<sup>m</sup>  
and þat pphetes had pphicied be fore þ<sup>t</sup> þay sulde neu<sup>r</sup> come oute  
of thraldo<sup>m</sup> bi fore agayne þ<sup>e</sup> day of dome//And þa<sup>n</sup> Alex<sup>r</sup> ansuerde  
& said þ<sup>t</sup> he sulde sperre þa<sup>m</sup> I<sup>n</sup> mare seurely//And þa<sup>n</sup> he garte  
close a<sup>ll</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> entreez w<sup>t</sup> stane & lyme & sand Bot a<sup>ll</sup> þ<sup>t</sup> he garte make  
on þ<sup>e</sup> day was fordone o<sup>n</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> nyghte//And whe<sup>n</sup> Alexander saw þ<sup>t</sup> ma<sup>n</sup>es  
laboure myghte nozte stande in stede//he bi soghte godd of Isrl þat  
if it ware his liste þat þay habade pare þat he walde close þa<sup>m</sup> in  
and þ<sup>e</sup> nexte nyghte aftir ilk a cragge fette till op<sup>r</sup> and so þ<sup>r</sup> may na  
thyng passe in nor owte//And þ<sup>r</sup> by it seme3 þat it es nozte goddez wi<sup>ll</sup>  
þat þay come oute Neu<sup>r</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> lesse abowte þ<sup>e</sup> Ende of þ<sup>e</sup> werlde þay sa<sup>ll</sup>  
breke oute and do meki<sup>ll</sup> Schathe & slaa many me<sup>n</sup>

F       Ra þeine þay remowed & come to þ<sup>e</sup> grete See Occeane In þat  
See þay sawe ane Ile a litti<sup>ll</sup> fra þ<sup>e</sup> lande//And in þat Ile  
þay herde me<sup>n</sup> speke grewe//And þa<sup>n</sup> Alexander cōmande<sup>d</sup>  
þat su<sup>m</sup> of his knyghtis sulde do off þaire clathes and swyme  
ou<sup>r</sup> to þ<sup>e</sup> ile//And þay did soo//And als sone als þay come in þ<sup>e</sup> See þare  
come gret crabbes vp oute of þ<sup>e</sup> wat<sup>r</sup> & pullede þa<sup>m</sup> downne to þ<sup>e</sup>  
grounde & drowned þa<sup>m</sup>

T       hanne remowed þay fra thethy<sup>n</sup> and went ay Endlange  
þ<sup>e</sup> See syde to warde þ<sup>e</sup> solstice of wynt<sup>r</sup> trauellande  
x<sup>l</sup> days and at þ<sup>e</sup> laste þay come to a reede See and þare  
þay lugede þa<sup>m</sup>//þare was faste by a Mountayne wonder hye  
One þ<sup>e</sup> whilke Alexander went vp//And whe<sup>n</sup> he was abow<sup>n</sup> on þ<sup>e</sup>  
heghte þ<sup>r</sup> offe//hy thoghte þ<sup>t</sup> he was nerre þ<sup>e</sup> ffirmament þan þ<sup>e</sup> erthe  
þa<sup>n</sup> he ymagyned in his hert swilk a gyn<sup>n</sup> how he myghte make

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They were as white as any snow, and they were ten feet tall. Their teeth were like dog's teeth.

After this, Alexander went and closed within the hills of Caspia a people who are called Gog and Magog. These folk were of the ten tribes of Israel. Because of their sins, they were led out of their own land by a king of Persia and held in servitude. They asked Alexander's permission to move out of that country. Alexander asked the cause of their servitude.

He was incensed that because they had forsaken their god's law, that is to say, the god of Israel, and worshipped calves and other idols, they were lead out of their own land and held in servitude and that prophets had prophesied before, that they should never come out of servitude until just before the day of judgment.

Then Alexander answered and said that he would close them in more severely. Then he closed all the entries with stone and lime and sand. But all that he had made in the day was destroyed in the night. When Alexander saw that man's labor might not stand in place, he implored the god of Israel that, if it were his desire that they remain there, he should close them in. The next night, each crag fell against another so that nothing might pass in or out there. Because of that, it seemed that it was god's will that they not come out. Nevertheless, near the end of the world, they will break out and do much evil and kill many men.

From there, they left and came to the great ocean. In that sea they saw an island a little way from the land. On that island they heard men speak Greek. Then Alexander commanded some of his knights to take off their clothes and swim over to the island. They did so. As soon as they came into the sea, there came huge crabs up out of the water and pulled them down to the bottom and drowned them.

Then they departed from there and went continuously along the seaside toward the winter solstice, traveling forty days. Finally, they came to a red sea, and there they set up camp. There was nearby a very high mountain on which Alexander went up. When he was at its summit, he thought that he was nearer the heaven than the earth. Then he imagined in his heart a scheme -- how he might make

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grippes bere hy vp in to þe ayere and onane he come doune of þe Montayne  
 and garte come bi fore hym his Maistre wrightes and comandid þam  
 þat þay sulde make hy a chayer and trelesse it w<sup>t</sup> barrez of Ireñ one  
 ilk a syde so þt he myzte Sauely sitt þ<sup>d</sup> in//And þañ he gart brynge foure  
 gripes and tye þam faste w<sup>t</sup> Ireñ cheynes vn to þe chayere and in þe  
 ou<sup>r</sup>mare pty of þe chayere he gart putt mete for þe grippes and þañ he  
 went and Sett hym in þe chayere and onane þe grippes bare hy vp in  
 to þe ayer so hy þat Alex<sup>d</sup> thoghte all þe erthe na mare þañ a flure þ<sup>d</sup>  
 meñ thresschez corne//And þe See lyke a dragoñ abowte þe erthe//þañ  
 sodaynly a specyall vertu of godd vmbilapped þe grippes þat gart  
 þam discende doune to þe erthe in a felde:teñ.x. day io<sup>n</sup>nee fra  
 þe Oste and he hadd na hurt ne na schathe in þe chayere Bot w<sup>t</sup>  
 grete disesse at þe laste he come till his Oste

A ft<sup>d</sup> þis Alex<sup>d</sup> ymagened in his hert þat he walde know þe p<sup>e</sup>  
 uates þat are in þe see//And onane he gart come bifore hym  
 all þe Maist<sup>d</sup> glasyers þat ware in þe Oste//And comandede  
 þam to make hym a grete toune of passandly clere glasse  
 þat he myghte thurgh it clerely See all man<sup>d</sup> of thynges þat ware  
 w<sup>t</sup> owten it//And when it was made he gart trelesse it al abowte  
 w<sup>t</sup> owten w<sup>t</sup> barres of yreñ and feste þ<sup>d</sup> to lang cheynes of yreñ  
 and gart a certane of þe strangeste ft maste tristly knyghtes þat langed  
 vn till hy halde þir cheynes//And þañ he went in to þe toune ft  
 gart pykke wele þe entree whare he went in and þañ late it  
 douñ in to þe See//And þare he sawe dyu<sup>d</sup>se schappes of fisches of  
 dyu<sup>d</sup>se colo<sup>r</sup>s//And suñ he sawe hafe þe schappe of dyu<sup>d</sup>se beste3 here  
 one þe lande:gangande on fete as beste3 dose here ft etande  
 fruyte of treesse þt growez on þe See grunde//þir beste3 come till  
 hy Bot onane as þay saw hy thorowe þe glasse þay fledde fra hy  
 he sawe þ<sup>d</sup> also many op<sup>d</sup> meruaylous thynges þe whilke he walde  
 tell na man bi cause meñ walde noghte hafe trowed þam

if he had talde þam and at a certayne houre þase þat he hadd  
 assyngned be fore his knyghtes drewe hy vp oute of þe See

F Ra þeine þay Remowed ffolowande þe bankes of þe Rede  
 See and lured þam in a place whare þare ware wylde  
 Beste3 that hade on þaire heuedis hornes lyke vn to

[sawes

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griffins bear him up into the air. Soon he came down from the mountain and had his master builders come before him. He commanded them to make him a chariot and trellis it with bars of iron on each side so that he might sit safely in it. Then he had four griffins brought and tied securely with iron chains to the chariot. In the outermost part of the chariot, he had meat put for the griffins. Then he went and set himself in the chariot. Quickly, the griffins bore him up into the air so high that Alexander thought all the earth no more than a floor where men thresh corn and the sea like a dragon about the earth. Then suddenly a special force of god took hold of the griffins that forced them to descend down to the earth in a field, ten days' journey from the army. He was not hurt or harmed in the chariot, but finally, with great hardship he came to his army.

After this, Alexander imagined in his heart that he would know the secrets that are in the sea. Right away, he had all the master glassmakers that were in the army come before him and commanded them to make him a great barrel of exceedingly clear glass so that he might see clearly through it all kinds of things that were outside of it. When it was made, he had it trellised completely around the outside with bars of iron and long chains of iron fastened to it. He had certain of the strongest and most trustworthy knights that belonged to him hold the chains. Then he went into the barrel and had the door where he entered sealed with pitch and then had it lowered into the sea. There he saw various shapes of fish of different colors. Some he saw had the shape of various animals here on the land, going on feet as animals do here and eating fruits of trees that grew on the sea floor. These creatures came up to him, but, as soon as they saw him through the glass, they fled from him. He saw there also many other marvelous things which he would tell no man because men would not have believed it if he had told them. At a certain hour, those knights, whom he had assigned before, drew him up out of the sea.

From there, they departed, following the banks of the Red Sea, and set up camp in a place where there were wild beasts that had on their heads horns like

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sawes and þay ware als scharpe als swerde3//And with thire  
horne3 þay slewe ʔ hurte many knyghtis of Alexanders ʔ cloue  
þaire cheldes in Sonder//Neu<sup>o</sup> þe lesse Alex<sup>o</sup> knyghtis slew of þam  
CCCCli

A Nd fra þeine þay remowed and come i tiht wilderneff bi twex  
þe reed See and Araby whare grete multitude of Pepir growed  
and þare ware many grete nedders w<sup>t</sup> hōrnes on þaire hedes  
lyke tuppe horne3//w<sup>t</sup> þe whilke þay smate Alexander knyghtis riht  
felly Off þase nedderes slew þe Macedoynes a grete pty  
P eine þay remowed and lugged in a place whare many rynocephales  
ware þe whilke hade heuedes ʔ manes lyke horse3//And þay  
hade grete bodys//And wonder grete teethe and lange and  
oute of þaire mouthes þay schotte flawme3 of fyre//And when þay  
saw þe Oste luge þare þay come ʔ assaylled þam//And Alex<sup>o</sup> ran  
hyder and thedir amange3 þe oste and comforthed his knyghtes and  
bad þam feghte manly w<sup>t</sup> þase monstres//And so þay didd Neu<sup>o</sup>  
þe lesse þe ware a grete mititude of his knyghtis slayne of þase beste3  
Bot of þe Rynocephales þe was slayne an hugge mititude  
P An þay remowed fra þeine and come in tiht a champayne cuntree  
and lugged þam þare//And lay þare a certane days//Bi cause  
of his horse Buktyphalas þat feht seke þare//of þe whilke sekeneff  
he dyed//And when Alex<sup>o</sup> saw hy dedd he made grete dole for  
hy and weped for hym rihte sare ffor he hadd borne hy in many  
a Batelle and broghte oute of many pehts//And þe fore when he  
was dede Alexander gart doo aboute hy grete exequyes and gart  
make hy a full riche toumbe ʔ a hye and didd hy þe in and made a grete  
citee þare//þe whilke in mynde of his horse he gart call Buktyphalas  
Ra þeine þay remowed and come tiht a ryuere þe was called  
cytan or Deciracy whare men of þe cuntree broghte hym v<sup>m</sup> Olyphantes  
and v<sup>m</sup> cartes of werre//And fra þeine þay remowed ʔ come tiht kynge  
Zerses palace//And in þat Palace þay fand bedde3 of clene golde  
many a thowsande//þare ware also grete fewles white als doufes  
þe whilke had knawyng be fore of a seke man wheder he schulde  
lyffe or dye ffor if þay by helde þe seke man in þe vesage:he schulde  
mende ʔ fare wele//And if þay to<sup>n</sup>ed þa awaywarde w<sup>t</sup> owten  
[doute he schulde dye

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saws. They were as sharp as swords. With these horns, they killed and injured many knights of Alexander's and split their shields into pieces. Nevertheless, Alexander's knights killed four hundred and fifty-one of them.

They left there and came into a wilderness between the Red Sea and Arabia where a great multitude of pepper grew. There were many huge vipers with horns on their heads like ram horns with which they quite cruelly struck Alexander's knights. The Macedonians killed a large number of these vipers.

Then they departed and set up camp in a place where many rhinoceroses were which had heads and manes like horses. They had huge bodies and extremely large and long teeth. Out of their mouths, they shot flames of fire. When they saw the army camp there, they came and attacked them. Alexander ran here and there among the troops and comforted his knights. He commanded them to fight manfully with those monsters. So they did. Nevertheless, a vast number of his knights were killed by those beasts. But a great multitude of the rhinoceroses were killed.

Then they left there and came into a plain, level country and camped there. They lay there several days because of his horse, Bucephalus, that fell sick there, of which sickness he died. When Alexander saw him dead, he grieved a great deal for him and wept for him quite intensely for Bucephalus had borne him in many a battle and brought him out of many perils. Therefore, when he was dead, Alexander held a large funeral ceremony and had a very rich and noble tomb made for him, and he enclosed him in it. He built a great city there, which, in memory of the horse, he called Bucephalus.

From there, they departed and came to a river that was called Citan or Deciracy, where men of the country brought him five thousand elephants and five thousand carts of war.

They left there and came to King Xerxes' palace. In that palace they found many thousand beds of bright gold. There were also great birds, white as doves, which had prescience of whether a sick man should live or die because if they looked at the sick man in the face, he would recover and be fine. If they turned away, without

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And if þay to<sup>n</sup>ed hy þe bakke w<sup>t</sup> owtte<sup>n</sup> dowte he sulde dye  
 F Ra þeine þay remowed and come to þe grete Citee of Babiloyne  
 and wanne it oo werre and slew þe kyng þ<sup>d</sup> offe & þe Captayne  
 also//And þare he duelled vn till his lyffes end and þat was

Bot vii Seuen Monethes//In þat mene tyme Alex<sup>d</sup> sent a ðre till  
 Olympias his Moder and till his Mayst<sup>d</sup> Arestotle latand þam  
 witte of þe Bate<sup>l</sup>s and þe dyssese þat þay Suffred bathe wynt<sup>d</sup>s and  
 Somers in Inde and op<sup>d</sup> cuntreez//And also of þe Bate<sup>l</sup>s þat þay had  
 hadd w<sup>t</sup> dyu<sup>d</sup>se Monstres//And þam Arestotle wrate anop<sup>d</sup> ðre till Alex<sup>d</sup>  
 agayne þe whilke was of this teno<sup>r</sup>

U N till Alexandere þe grete kyng of kynges Arestotle sendez  
 ioy and seruyce//Whe<sup>n</sup> I hade redde 30<sup>r</sup> wyrchipfull ðres  
 I was gretly astonayd ffor whilke cause I desyre with  
 all my<sup>n</sup> hert for to fynde louyng þ<sup>t</sup> I myghte zelde vn to  
 þe I take witne<sup>ss</sup> at oure goddez þat for þe passande hardenesse of þ<sup>i</sup>  
 hert & þe grete auento<sup>r</sup>s þat þou hase put þe in//þ<sup>u</sup> erte wele worthy  
 for to be loued & p<sup>r</sup>ysede//ffor þ<sup>u</sup> hase sene & assayed thynges þ<sup>t</sup> neu<sup>d</sup>  
 man or þ<sup>s</sup> durste assaye//Whare for thankynge & louyng I zelde  
 to þe makere of all þis wyde werlde þat swylke victoryes hase  
 grantede vn to þe//ffor þ<sup>u</sup> hase ou<sup>r</sup>commen all & nane hase ou<sup>r</sup>comen  
 þe fful blyssede are all thy prynceþ þat hase bene obeyande vnto  
 þe and helped þe in all thi disseses

A ffitir þis Alex<sup>d</sup> gart make in Babyloyne a wonder curio<sup>l</sup>  
 trone of golde//þ<sup>d</sup> was nozte swilke anop<sup>d</sup> i þe werlde  
 ffor þe grekez broghte so meki<sup>l</sup> golde oute of pse & oute of  
 Inde//þat it ware wonder for to tette//þis ilke toure was  
 twlue cubyteþ hye and by twelue greceþ me<sup>n</sup> ascended þ<sup>d</sup> too and  
 þase greeþ ware all of golde þis trone was wonderfully wroghte  
 and sett apou<sup>n</sup> twelue ymageþ of golde//þe whilke trone þe forsa<sup>i</sup>d  
 ymageþ helde vp w<sup>t</sup> þaire hende//And on þase twelue ymageþ ware  
 wreten þe names of þe twelue prynceþ of Macedoyne//þe sett of  
 þe trone was of a Smaragde//& þe sydez þ<sup>d</sup> off ware of Topazes  
 & in ilkan<sup>o</sup> of þe greeþ ware sett dyu<sup>d</sup>se man<sup>er</sup>s of p<sup>r</sup>cyouse stanes In þe  
 sūmyt of þis trone þ<sup>d</sup> was sett a ruby//þ<sup>t</sup> schane on þe nyghte as it  
 hade bene þe Mone//In þis trone also was þ<sup>d</sup> sett on ilke a syde  
 dyu<sup>d</sup>se ymageþ on þe whilke ware wreten bathe in latyne & in grew

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doubt he should die.

From there, they departed and came to the great city of Babylon and conquered it in war and killed its king and its captain also. There he lived until the end of his life, which was but seven months.

In that time, Alexander sent a letter to Olympias, his mother, and to his teacher, Aristotle, letting them know of the battles and the distress that they suffered both winters and summers in India and other countries. Also of the battles that they had had with various monsters. Then Aristotle wrote another letter back to Alexander, which said:

'To Alexander, the great king of kings, Aristotle sends joy and service. When I had read your honorable letters, I was greatly amazed, because of which, I desire with all my heart to find praise that I might give to you. As our gods are my witness, for the extreme courage of your heart and the great adventures that you have put yourself in, you are well worthy to be loved and praised because you have seen and tried things that this man has never dared try. For such gratitude and praise, I yield to the maker of all this wide world who has granted you such victories since you have overcome all, and none has overcome you. Fully blessed are all your princes that have been obedient to you and helped you in all your struggles.'

After this, Alexander had an exceedingly exquisite throne of gold made in Babylon. There was none other like it in the world because the Greeks brought so much gold out of Persia and out of India, that it would be too fantastic to relate. This same throne was twelve cubits high and men ascended by twelve steps. These steps were entirely of gold. This throne was wonderfully crafted and set upon twelve gold statues, which held up the throne with their hands. On these twelve statues the names of the twelve princes of Macedonia were written. The seat of the throne was emerald and the sides of it were topaz and in each of the steps were set different kinds of precious stones. On the top of this throne, a ruby was set which shone on the night like the moon. On each side in this throne, different images also were set on which were inscribed both in Latin and in Greek

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verseȝ þt contened all þe names of þe rewmes & cuntreeȝ þt Alexandere  
had ȝquered and ware sugetes vn tiȝ hy

A ft<sup>o</sup> þis Alexander gert make a corou of golde sett full of all man<sup>o</sup>  
of p<sup>o</sup>cyouse stanes and gert wryte apoñ it a tytlye in grew & in  
latyn//Ortus & occas:Aquilo michi seruit & auster//þt es at  
saye//Est & Weste:Northe & southe dose seruyce vn to me//In the  
mene tyme whils Alex<sup>o</sup> was in babyloyne//A womañ was delyu<sup>o</sup> of a  
knaue childe þe whilke fra þe heuede to þe nauyȝ hadda schappe of mañ  
& was borne dedd//And fra þe nauyȝ downwardeȝ//it had lykneȝ of  
dyu<sup>o</sup>se besteȝ and was qwykke//þis Monstre was taken & broghte tiȝ  
Alexander//And als soñ als he saw it he meruaylled gretly þ<sup>o</sup> off and  
gart come bi fore hyñ a þhr þat couthe of wiche crafte & aschede  
hy what it sygnifyed//And when þe þhr saw it he syghede & sare  
wepand sayde vn to hy//Sothely wirchipfull empo<sup>o</sup> q he þe tyme  
cōmeȝ nere that þu saȝ passe oute of this werlde/Telle me q Alex<sup>o</sup>  
whare by þu knawes þat//And þe philosophre ansuerde & sayde//My  
lorde q he þe halfe of þis Monstre þat hase þe schappe of mañ & es  
dedd//be takens þt þu saȝ passe out of þis werlde & þat in haste//And  
þe top<sup>o</sup> pty þat hase þe lyknes of dyu<sup>o</sup>se besteȝ & es on lyfe//be takynges  
þe kynges þt saȝ come aft<sup>o</sup> þe//Bot þ<sup>o</sup> saȝ nane of þañ be lyke vn to  
þe na mare þañ a beste es lyke vn tiȝ a mañ//When Alexander  
herde þis he was wonder heuy//And sare wepand he sayde on this  
wyse//O alȝmyghty Iubit<sup>o</sup> q he what menez it þat my days saȝ  
be so schortte//Me thynke þat it had bene semely þat I had leffed  
langere for tiȝ haf endid thynges þt are in my thoghte//Bot for  
als mekiȝ als it es noȝte plesande vn to þe//I be seke the þt þu  
rasayffe me when I saȝ passe hethen als thyñ awenñ seruante

I N this mene tyme//þ<sup>o</sup> was in Macedoyne a lorde þat highte  
Antpat<sup>o</sup> þe whilke of langetyme be fore hadda casteñ for þe dedde  
of Alex<sup>o</sup>//And wt many op<sup>o</sup> þat he hadda cōfedred vn tiȝ hyñ  
he cōspyred for to brynge it tyȝ ende//bot he myghte neu<sup>o</sup>  
come aboute þer with//ffor Olympias Alex<sup>o</sup> moder//wrate vn  
tiȝ hy ofte sythes and warned hy þt he scholde be warre wt Antipr  
& his childe and here fore was Antypater wonder sary//So  
apoñ a tyme he vmbythoghte hy þt he myghte neu<sup>o</sup> come aboute  
wt his p<sup>o</sup>pose for to slaa Alex<sup>o</sup> bot if it ware thurgȝ enpuysonyng  
[and þañ on a day]



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verses that contained all the names of the realms and countries that Alexander had conquered and subjected to him.

After this, Alexander had a crown of gold made which was completely covered with all kinds of precious stones and had an inscription written on it in Greek and in Latin: *Ortus et occasus, aquilo michi seruit et auster*. That is to say, East and West, North and South serve me.

In the meantime, while Alexander was in Babylon, a woman gave birth to a male child, which, from the head to the navel, had human form and was born dead, and from the navel downward, it had the likeness of various beasts and was alive. This monster was taken and brought to Alexander. As soon as he saw it, he marveled greatly at it and had a philosopher who understood witchcraft come before him. He asked him what it signified.

When the philosopher saw it, he sighed and, weeping intensely, said to him, "Truly, glorious emperor, the time comes near when you shall pass out of this world."

"Tell me," said Alexander, "how you know that."

And the philosopher answered and said, "My lord, the half of this monster that has the shape of man and is dead signifies that you shall pass out of this world in haste. The other part that has the likeness of different beasts and is alive signifies the kings who shall come after you. But none of them will be anymore like you than a beast is like a man."

When Alexander heard this he was extremely troubled and, weeping painfully, he said, "Oh, almighty Jupiter, what does it mean that my days shall be so short? I think that it would have been proper that I had lived longer in order to have completed things that are in my thoughts. But since it is not pleasing to you, I implore you that when I shall pass from here you will receive me as your own servant."

In the meantime in Macedonia, there was a lord that was called Antipater, who had for a long time planned for the death of Alexander. With many others that he had allied to him, he conspired to bring into effect. But he might never bring it about because Olympias, Alexander's mother, wrote to him often and warned him that he should beware of Antipater and his children. Because of this, Antipater was extremely vexed. So in time, he decided that he might never accomplish his purpose to kill Alexander, unless it would be through poisoning.

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and so apoñ a daye he went till a Soteñ leche//And boghte of hym a man<sup>d</sup>  
 of drynke made of puysoñ//pat was so felle & so ranke þt þ<sup>d</sup> myghte no  
 vesselle halde it Bot a vessell made of Ireñ and þ<sup>d</sup> in he putt it//And  
 þañ he gaffe it his soñ Cassandre and bad hy bere it till his broþ<sup>d</sup>  
 Iobas and byð hy q he gyffe it to kyng Alex<sup>d</sup> in his drynke when  
 he seez his tyme//This ilk Iobas was a faire zong mañ & was  
 duellyng with Alexander//And gretly by luffede & cheriste of hy  
 Bot so it be felle apoñ a tyme þat Alexander smate Iobas on  
 þe heued w<sup>t</sup> a warderere for na trespasse//whare fore Iobas was  
 gretly angred and greued at Alexander and cōsented till his dede  
 and tuke þe puysoñ of his broþ<sup>d</sup> þat was ordeyned for Alex<sup>d</sup> dede  
 þat luffed hym so mekil

A Nd apoñ a daye Alex<sup>d</sup> gart ordeyne a grete reuelle i Babyloyne  
 and called þ<sup>d</sup> too all his prynce3 oñ ilke a syde//And as he  
 satt at þe mete ymange his Prynce3 he was wonder  
 mery & gladde & iocund and reheted his lordez & p<sup>er</sup>yed þañ  
 þt þay schulde be mery//þañ Iobas þat serued þe kyng of his  
 coupe tuke of þe puysoñ a porcyoñ and putt it vnder þe nayle  
 of his thowme and broghte þe coppe to þe kynge full of wyne  
 and as he gaffe it to þe kynge:he lete þe puysoñ falle i þe wyne  
 p<sup>er</sup>ualy and als sone also þe kyng hadd dronken þe puysoñ//Sudaynly  
 he gaffe a grete scryke and lened hy downñ to warde þe rizte  
 syde ffor hy thoghte reghte als a mañ hadd Smyten hym to þe lyuere  
 w<sup>t</sup> a suerde//Neu<sup>d</sup> þe lesse he feyned & for bare a while & suffred  
 a grete penance and when he myzte na langare habyde:he  
 rase vp fra þe burde and saide till his lordez & his knyghtes  
 lordyngis q he I p<sup>er</sup>y zow sitt 3e stiñ & etez & drynke3 & bee3  
 mery//Bot þay ware gretly troubbled and rase vp fra þe  
 burdez and stode w<sup>t</sup> owten for to See þe ende//And Alexander  
 went in till his chambir gretly to<sup>er</sup>mentid and soghte a fethir  
 for to putt in his throtte for to garre hy hafe a vomet of þe puysoñ  
 þt he hadd resayffed//And Iobas þat was cheffe of all this hye  
 tresoñ gatt a fethir & enoynt it w<sup>t</sup> þe same puysoñ & broghte  
 it till Alexander and he tuk it & putt it i his throtte and belyfe

[þe puysoñ vexed hy

f. 47r

So one day, he went to a skillful doctor and bought from him a kind of drink made of poison that was so dangerous and so rank that no vessel could hold it but a vessel made of iron, so he put it in one.

Then he gave it to his son Cassander and commanded him to bear it to his brother Jobas and "Tell him," he said, "to give it to King Alexander in his drink when he sees his chance."

This same Jobas was a fair, young man and was living with Alexander and greatly beloved and cherished by him. But it so happened one day that Alexander hit Jobas on the head with his staff for no reason. For which, Jobas was greatly angered and upset at Alexander and consented to his death. From his brother, he took the poison that was prepared for the death of Alexander, who loved him so much.

One day, Alexander had a great revel prepared in Babylon and called to it all his princes from every realm. As he sat at the meal among his princes, he was very merry and glad and jovial and cheered his lords and implored them to be merry. Then Jobas, who served the king from his cup, took a portion of the poison and put it under the nail of his thumb and brought the cup full of wine to the king. As he gave it to the king, he secretly let the poison fall into the wine. As soon as the king had drunk the poison, suddenly, he gave a great shriek and leaned down toward the right side, for he thought someone had just struck him to the liver with a sword. Nevertheless, he dissembled and endured a while and suffered a great torment.

When he could no longer stay, he rose up from the table and said to his lords and his knights, "Sirs, I beg you to sit still and eat and drink and be merry."

But they were greatly troubled and rose up from the tables and stood outside in order to see what would happen. And Alexander went into his chamber terribly tormented and sought a feather to put in his throat to make him vomit up the poison that he had received. Jobas, who was chief of all this high treason, got a feather and dipped it in the same poison and brought it to Alexander. He took it and put it in his throat. Immediately

f. 47v

þe puyson vexed hy ay mare & mare//And þañ Alex<sup>d</sup> bade ane gange  
 & open þe Palace Gates þat ware on Eufirates banke and alle þ<sup>t</sup> nyzte  
 he woke in grete paynez & tourment//And aboute mydnyzthte he  
 rase oute of þe bedde þat he lay in and putt oute þe lyghte þat brynt  
 by fore hy and for he myghte noghte ga vp rightez he creped  
 one hende & one fete doune to warde Eufiratez for tiñ hafe  
 drowned hy selfe þat þe strenth of þe wat<sup>r</sup> myzth hafe borne  
 hy a way whare neu<sup>d</sup> mañ solde hafe fuñ hy//And Rosañ his  
 wyfe folowed as faste as scho myghte//And when scho come to  
 hy scho felle apoon hy & enbraced hy in hir armes & said vn  
 tiñ hy//Allas my lorde Alexander ¶ scho wiñ þ<sup>u</sup> now leue me  
 & gaa slaa thi selfe//And scho wepe þat it was dole to See and  
 Alexander ansuerde & sayde I be seke þe Rosañ ¶ he þat ert  
 so dere to me & so swete late nane wit of myñ Endynge  
 if all it be þ<sup>t</sup> we may na langare hafe ioy to gedir//And þañ  
 Rosañ ledd Alex<sup>d</sup> agayne to his bedd and layde hir armes aboute  
 his nekke and kyssede hy many a tyme and Sare wepand said  
 vn tiñ hy//AA my swete lorde ¶ scho if þine ende be nowe  
 comen ordayne firste for vs or 3e passe heþine and onane he  
 called vn tiñ hy Iobas & bade hy feche vn tiñ hy Semyon  
 his notary//And when he was comen he garte bere hy down  
 in to þe haulte and he garte come by fore hy all his prynce3  
 & bade his Notary wryte his testament bi fore þañ all on þis wyse  
 A Restotle oure dere Maist<sup>r</sup> we comande the & p<sup>r</sup>yse the  
 þat of oure awen tresor þ<sup>u</sup> sende to þe p<sup>r</sup>ste3 of Egipt  
 þat ministrez in þe temple whare in oure body sañ  
 be beryed & entered I<sup>a</sup> besandez of golde//Also I wiñ that  
 Tholome<sup>3</sup> þat es kepare of oure body be 3o<sup>r</sup> Gouverno<sup>r</sup> and forgetis  
 noghte my laste wiñ Bot lates my testament be alway bi  
 for 3o<sup>r</sup> eghne so þat it be fulfilled & noghte forgetyñ//My wiñ  
 es also þat if Rosañ my wyfe be delyu<sup>d</sup> of a knafe childe þat  
 he be 3o<sup>r</sup> Empo<sup>r</sup> and gyffe3 hy what name so 3ow liste and if  
 scho be delyu<sup>d</sup> of a mayden childe//þañ es it my wiñ þat the  
 Macedoynes chese þañ a kynge and þat my wyfe be lady of  
[all my mobles]

f. 47v

the poison plagued him still more and more. Then Alexander commanded someone to go and open the palace gates which were on the bank of the Euphrates. All that night, he woke in great pains and torment. About midnight, he rose out of the bed that he lay in and put out the light that burned in front of him. Since he could not walk upright, he crept on hand and on foot down toward the Euphrates in order to drown himself so that the current of the river might have carried him away where man would never have found him.

Roxane, his wife, followed as fast as she could. When she came to him, she fell on him and embraced him in her arms and said to him, "Allas, my lord Alexander, will you now leave me and go kill yourself?"

She wept so much that it was a pitiful sight, and Alexander answered and said, "I beg you, Roxane, who are so dear to me and so sweet, let no one know of my ending if, after all, it happens that we may no longer have joy together."

Then Roxane led Alexander back to his bed and laid her arms about his neck and kissed him many times and, weeping painfully, said to him, "Ah, my sweet lord, if your end is now coming, arrange matters first for us before you pass from here."

Soon he called Jobas to him and commanded him to bring to him Simeon, his notary. When he came, he had himself carried down into the hall and had all his princes come before him. He commanded his notary to write his testament before them in this way.

'Aristotle, our dear teacher, we command you and implore you that from our own treasure you send to your priests in Egypt, who minister in the temple where our body shall be buried and interred, one thousand bezants of gold. Also I will that Ptolemy, who is our bodyguard, be your governor. Don't forget my last will, but let my testament be always in sight so that it is fulfilled and not forgotten. My will is also that if Roxane, my wife, bears a male child that he be your emperor. Give him whatever name you desire. If she bears a female child, then it is my will that the Macedonians choose a king for themselves and that my wife be lady of

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all my mobles//Also I will þat Tholome<sup>l</sup> be kyng of Egipt and  
 þat he tak tith his wyfe Cleopat<sup>r</sup> þat my ffader wedded sūtyme  
 here bi fore//And þat he be lorde & prynce ou<sup>r</sup> all þ<sup>e</sup> lordez of þ<sup>e</sup> Este  
 euen vn to Bact<sup>an</sup>//Also I will þat my broþ<sup>r</sup> Arride<sup>l</sup> be kyng  
 of þ<sup>e</sup> Pelopones Also þat Cleopat<sup>r</sup> be kyng of Perse//Mellagere  
 kyng of Ethiopy//And Anthioch<sup>l</sup> be kyng vn to þ<sup>e</sup> landez of Gog  
 & magoge//Arestez kyng of Inde//lissymac<sup>l</sup> lorde of Seleuce  
 lythamōn kyng of hungary//Caulus kyng of Ermony//Illic<sup>l</sup>  
 kyng of Dalmace//Symeon<sup>l</sup> my Notary will I be kyng of Capadoce  
 & Pamphily//Cassander & Iobas be lordez vn to þ<sup>e</sup> Ryuer þ<sup>t</sup> es  
 called Soth<sup>l</sup>//Antipater þaire ffader be kyng of Cicile//Wheñ  
 this testament was in wrytynge bi fore Alex<sup>r</sup> Sodeynly þ<sup>r</sup> come  
 a thonnere & a leuennynge & ane erthedouñ rizte a hedol so  
 þat all babyloyne qwoke þ<sup>r</sup> w<sup>t</sup>//And than thorowte all Babyloyne  
 þ<sup>e</sup> noyse rase þat Alex<sup>r</sup> was dede//And þañ all þ<sup>e</sup> Macedoynes rasse  
 hallely and come armed to þ<sup>e</sup> Palace and cryed on þ<sup>e</sup> prynce<sup>z</sup> & said  
 vn to þañ Sothely & þay bot if 3e onane schewe vs oure Empo<sup>r</sup>  
 we sañ slaa 3ow ilk ane//And wheñ kyng Alex<sup>r</sup> herde swilke  
 noyse he askede whate it ment and þ<sup>e</sup> prynce<sup>z</sup> ansuerde & sayde  
 þ<sup>e</sup> Macedoynes & þay are comen armede hedir be fore þ<sup>e</sup> 3ates & says  
 sekerly bot if þay see 3ow þay sañ sla vs alle are þay passe hepine  
 and wheñ Alex<sup>r</sup> herde þ<sup>is</sup>//he badd his knyghtis þat þay scholde take  
 hy vp and bere hy in to þ<sup>e</sup> consistorye and þay did soo and þañ he  
 garte open þ<sup>e</sup> Palace 3ates þat þ<sup>e</sup> Macedoynes myzte come by  
 fore hy and þañ kyng Alex<sup>r</sup> be gañ to comend þañ of þaire strenth  
 & þaire grete doghtynes and charged þañ þ<sup>t</sup> þay scholde be in pesse  
 & reste ilkane w<sup>t</sup> op<sup>r</sup>//þañ þ<sup>e</sup> Macedoynes sare wepande sayde  
 vn tith Alex<sup>r</sup>//AA wirchipfull & þay ordayne & telle vs are 3e passe  
 heyne whañ 3e will þat be oure empo<sup>r</sup> eft<sup>r</sup> 3ow/And Alex<sup>r</sup> ansuerd  
 & sayde/AA my dere knyghtis & he wheñ I am dede whayñ so 3e  
 will chese//be 3o<sup>r</sup> empo<sup>r</sup> eft<sup>r</sup> mee/And þay ansuerde//lord & þay we  
 be seke 3owe þat 3e will graunt vs//Pdric to be oure Empo<sup>r</sup>//I vouche  
 wele saffe & Alex<sup>r</sup> þat Pdric be 3o<sup>r</sup> Empo<sup>r</sup>//Gers hy come be fore mee  
 and wheñ he was comen by fore hy he gaffe hy þ<sup>e</sup> kyngdome

[of Macedoyne]

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all my personal possessions. Also I will that Ptolemy be King of Egypt and that he take as his wife, Cleopatra, whom my father wedded sometime ago and that he be lord and prince over all the lords of the East as far as Bactria. Also I will that my brother, Arrhidaeus, be King of the Peloponnesians. Also that Cleopater will be King of Persia. Meleager, King of Ethiopia. And Antiochus will be king to the lands of Gog and Magog. Aretes, King of India. Lysimachus, Lord of Seleucia. Lythamon, King of Hungary. Caulus, King of Armenia. Illicus, King of Dalmatia. Simeon, my notary, I will, shall be King of Cappadocia and Pamphylia. Cassander and Jobas will be lords to the river that is called Sol. Antipater, their father, will be King of Cilicia.

When this testament was in writing before Alexander, suddenly there came thunder and lightning and a very hideous earthquake so that all Babylon shook with it. Then throughout all Babylon, the rumor rose that Alexander was dead.

Then all the Macedonians rose as one and came armed to the palace and called for the princes and said to them, "Truly, unless you quickly show us our emperor, we shall kill each one of you."

When King Alexander heard such noise, he asked what it meant. The princes answered and said, "The Macedonians have come armed here before the gates and say unless they see you, they surely will kill us all before they pass from here."

When Alexander heard this, he commanded his knights to take him up and carry him into the consistory. They did so. Then he had the palace gates opened so that the Macedonians might come before him. Then King Alexander began to praise them for their strength and their great bravery and commanded them to be in peace and rest, each one with the other.

Then the Macedonians, weeping painfully, said to Alexander, "Ah, glorious one, appoint and tell us before you pass from here, whom you wish for our emperor after you."

Alexander answered and said, "Ah, my dear knights, when I am dead, let whomever you will choose be your emperor after me."

They answered, "Lord, we implore you to grant us Perdiccas as our emperor."

"I agree completely," said Alexander, "that Perdiccas shall be your emperor. Have him come before me."

When he had come before him, he gave him the kingdom

f. 48v

of Macedoyne w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> Empo<sup>r</sup>chipe//And he gaffe hy also Rosañ for to  
 be his wyffe and p<sup>r</sup>yed hy þat he walde be gude & gentill till hir  
 and þañ he kyssede a<sup>ll</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> lordez & þ<sup>e</sup> knyghtis of Macedoyne ilkane  
 aft<sup>r</sup> op<sup>r</sup>//And sighed and weped wonder sare//þare was þañ so g<sup>e</sup>te  
 dole & wepynge//þat it was lyke a thonere//ffor meñ Supposez  
 þat nozte allanly meñ made Sorow for þ<sup>e</sup> dede of so worthy ane  
 Empo<sup>r</sup>//Bot also þ<sup>e</sup> soñ and a<sup>ll</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> op<sup>r</sup> planetis and element<sup>r</sup> were troubled  
 A Prynce of Macedoyne stode nere Alex<sup>r</sup> bedd þ<sup>t</sup> highte  
 Seleuc<sup>r</sup>//& w<sup>t</sup> grete dole & wepynge he sayd//AA þ<sup>u</sup>  
 wirchipfull empo<sup>r</sup> & he what sa<sup>ll</sup> we do when þ<sup>u</sup>  
 ert dede//Philippe þ<sup>i</sup> fader gouerned vs wele & a<sup>ll</sup>e oure  
 rewme Bot þ<sup>e</sup> gentilnes & þ<sup>e</sup> largesse of the na tunge may  
 te<sup>ll</sup>//And þañ Alex<sup>r</sup> sett hy vp in his bedd and gaffe hyñ  
 selfe a grete slappe on þ<sup>e</sup> cheke and by gañ for to wepe rizte  
 bitt<sup>r</sup>ly and in þ<sup>e</sup> langage of Macedoyne he sayde on þis wyse  
 ffu<sup>ll</sup> waa es me vnhappy wreche & he þat eu<sup>r</sup> I was borne to mañ//ffor  
 now Alexander dyes and Macedoyne sa<sup>ll</sup> waxe ay lesse & lesse and  
 emenische day bi day//Tha<sup>ñ</sup> a<sup>ll</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> Macedoynes w<sup>t</sup> an hye voyce and  
 bitt<sup>r</sup> wepynge sayd vn till hy//Bett<sup>r</sup> it ware till vs & þay for to dy  
 w<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> þañ for to se þ<sup>e</sup> dy in oure p<sup>r</sup>sence//ffor wele we wate þ<sup>t</sup> after  
 þ<sup>e</sup> dede of the þ<sup>e</sup> kyngdo<sup>m</sup> of Macedoyne es vn done for eu<sup>r</sup>e//Allas  
 oure wirchipfull Alexander why lefes þ<sup>u</sup> vs here and wende<sup>r</sup> away  
 be thyñ ane//Withowteñ thi Macedoynes//Tha<sup>ñ</sup> kyng Alexander  
 alway sighand & wepand said vn to þa<sup>m</sup>//AA my dere Macedoynes  
 & he fra this tyñ forwarde sa<sup>ll</sup> neu<sup>r</sup> 30<sup>r</sup> name hafe lord chipe ou<sup>r</sup>  
 þ<sup>e</sup> Barbarenes//And þañ þ<sup>e</sup> Macedoynes cryed and sayde//O wirchipfull  
 lorde & þay þou ledd vs in to Perse//Arraby//And Inde and vn to the  
 werldez ende//And in to what cuntree þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>e</sup> liste wende//Why lorde  
 fleez þ<sup>u</sup> now fra vs//lede vs w<sup>t</sup> the whedir so þ<sup>u</sup> gase//þa<sup>m</sup> kyng  
 Alexander sent to þ<sup>e</sup> temples of Appollo in Athenes many riche iowels  
 and on þ<sup>e</sup> same wyse till a<sup>ll</sup> op<sup>r</sup> Tēples//And þañ he cōmanded þ<sup>t</sup> when  
 he ware dede//þay schulde enoynte his body and enbawme it w<sup>t</sup>  
 riche oynement<sup>r</sup>//þ<sup>e</sup> whilke kepis menes bodys ī graues w<sup>t</sup> owtteñ  
 corrupciouñ//þa<sup>m</sup> he badde Tholome<sup>r</sup> þ<sup>t</sup> he scholde a C<sup>m</sup> besantes  
 of golde//& þ<sup>r</sup> offe gere make hy a tombe in Alexander//And onane  
 [as he had]



f. 48v

of Macedonia with the emperorship. He gave him also Roxane to be his wife and asked him to be good and gentle to her. Then he kissed all the lords and the knights of Macedonia one after the other and sighed and wept very bitterly. There was then such immense sorrow and weeping that it was like thunder. Men believe that not only men were sorrowful for the death of so worthy an emperor, but also that the sun and all the other planets and elements were grieved.

A prince of Macedonia, who was called Seleucus, stood near Alexander's bed and with immense sorrow and weeping he said, "Ah, you glorious emperor, what shall we do when you are dead? Philip, your father, governed us well and all our realm, but no words can convey your gentleness and generosity."

Then Alexander set himself up in his bed and gave himself a great slap on the cheek and began to weep quite bitterly, and in the language of Macedonia, he said, "I am completely unhappy and wretched that I was ever born a man because now Alexander dies and Macedonia shall grow ever less and less and diminish day by day."

Then all the Macedonians with a loud voice and bitter weeping said to him, "It would be better for us to die with you than to see you die in our presence since we fully realize that after your death, the kingdom of Macedonia is undone forever. Allas, our glorious Alexander, why do you leave us here and go away by yourself without your Macedonians?"

Then King Alexander continually sighing and weeping said to them, "Ah, my dear Macedonians, from this time forward your name shall never have supremacy over the barbarians."

Then the Macedonians cried and said, "O glorious lord, you led us into Persia, Arabia, and India, and to the world's end, and went into whatever country that you desired. Why, lord, do you now flee from us? Lead us with you wherever you go."

Then King Alexander sent many rich jewels to the temples of Apollo in Athens and did the same to all other temples. Then he commanded that when he was dead, they should anoint his body and embalm it with rich ointment, which keeps men's bodies in graves without corruption. Then he commanded Ptolemy to take one hundred thousand bezants of gold and from that have a tomb made for him in Alexandria. And quickly

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as he had cōmanded hy þus one seeand þam aȝ he swelt//And  
 þam his prynceȝ lifte vp his body//And did aȝon his clethyng of  
 astate and putt a riche Coroū on his heued//And sett hy i þe empo<sup>r</sup>s  
 chayer þe whilke twelue prynceȝ drewe w<sup>t</sup> þaire bresteȝ fra  
 Babiloyne tiȝ Alexander//Tholome<sup>?</sup> went alway bi fore þe chayere  
 wepande & sayande one þis wyse//ffull waa es me My lord Alex<sup>d</sup>  
 waa es me//ffor i aȝ thi lyfe slew þu neu<sup>d</sup> so many meȝ as þu dose  
 nowe aft<sup>d</sup> þi dede//Aȝ Alex<sup>d</sup>s knyghtis also//weped & made grete  
 dole & sayde on þis wyse//waa es vs wreches whatt schall wee  
 now do aft<sup>d</sup> þe dede of oure lorde Alexander//whedir shall we now  
 gaa or whate ptye may we now chese//whare schall we now get  
 any helpe tiȝ oure lyfelade//One þis wyse þay went wepand  
 aft<sup>d</sup> Alexander//tiȝ þay come tiȝ þe citee of Alexander//And þare  
 þay beryed hy in a tōmbe þat was rizte hye and wonder curyouslye  
 wroghte//þis tombe was aȝ of fyne golde sett full of p<sup>r</sup>cyous stanes  
 and on þat tombe þ<sup>d</sup> was sett xxx ymages of golde wonder  
 craftily made

A            alexander was a maȝ bot of a comon stature//w<sup>t</sup> a lang  
 nekke//ffaire eghne//& glad//his chekes ruddy//And aȝ  
 þe remenant of his lymes ware faire & semely & lyke  
 vn tiȝ a lorde//he ou<sup>d</sup> come aȝ meȝ & neu<sup>d</sup> was ou<sup>r</sup>comeȝ  
 The lenthe of his lyffe was xxxii zere twa & thritty zere & seuē  
 monethes ffra þe twentyȝ zere of his birthe he gaffe hy to werre  
 and in twelue zere he cōquered aȝ þe werlde and made subiect vn  
 tiȝ hy alkyȝ nacyōs//Seuē monethes he ristede hy//he was borne  
 on þe vii kl of Ianuary//And dyed on þe vii kl of August//he byggid also  
 in his lyfe//xii grete citeez þat hider to wardez bene enhabyt and  
 þise are þaire names//ffirste Alex<sup>d</sup> þ<sup>t</sup> es called yprysilicas//þe secūȝ  
 Alexander es called Bepypor//þe thrid Alexander es callede  
 Sithia//þe ferthe Alexander es called Bicontristi//þe fifte Alex<sup>d</sup>  
 es called þerauctoȝ//þe Sext Alex<sup>d</sup> es called Buctiphaloȝ//þe seuent  
 es called vnder þe ryu<sup>d</sup> of Tygre//þe aghtend New Babiloyne//þe nyend  
 Aptreadaȝ//þe tend Messagetes//þe elleuend Ipsyacoȝ//þe twelfed  
 es called Egypt    Explicit Vita Alexandry magni coquestoris

Here endeȝ þe lyf of gret Alexander ȝq<sup>e</sup>ro<sup>r</sup> of aȝ þe worlde

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just as he had given him the command, looking at them all, he died. Then his princes lifted up his body and put on his royal clothing. They put a rich crown on his head and set him in the emperor's chariot which twelve princes drew with their breasts from Babylon to Alexandria.

Ptolemy went always before the chariot weeping and speaking in this way, "I am completely grief-stricken, my lord Alexander. I am unhappy because in all your life you never killed so many men as you do now after your death."

All of Alexander's knights also wept and made great mourning and spoke in this way, "Miserable wretches are we. What shall we now do after the death of our lord Alexander? Wherever shall we now go or what part may we now choose? Where shall we now get any help for our way of life?"

In this way they went weeping after Alexander until they came to the city of Alexandria. There they buried him in a tomb that was very noble and very exquisitely made. This tomb was entirely of fine gold completely covered with precious stones. On that tomb there was set thirty statues of gold very skillfully made.

Alexander was a man but of a common stature with a long neck, fair, glad eyes, ruddy cheeks, and all the rest of his limbs were handsome and proper like a lord. He overcame all men and never was overcome. The length of his life was thirty-two years and seven months. From the twentieth year of his birth, he gave himself to war. In twelve years, he conquered all the world and made all nations subject to him. Seven months he rested himself. He was born on the December twenty-fifth and died on July twenty-fifth. In his life he also built twelve great cities that have since been inhabited. These are their names:

The first Alexandria is called Yprysilicas.  
 The second Alexandria is called Bampor.  
 The third Alexandria is called Scythia.  
 The fourth Alexandria is called Bicontristi.  
 The fifth Alexandria is called Theraucton.  
 The sixth Alexandria is called Bucephalon.  
 The seventh is called Under the Tigris River.  
 The eighth is New Babylon.  
 The ninth is Aptreadam.  
 The tenth is Massagetas.  
 The eleventh is Ipsyacon.  
 The twelfth is called Egypt.

Explicit Vita Alexandri magni conquestoris

Here ends the life of Alexander the Great, Conqueror of all the world.

## TEXTUAL NOTES

## TEXTUAL NOTES

## f. 1r

l.5 Anectanabz] The scribe regularly, but inconsistently, underlines proper names throughout the text. I have followed his underlining.

l.5 ynoghe] This is the first of many initial "y"s that are written as "p"s. See note to f. 2r, line 26.

l.8 tē=dirdǫ] "tē" ends a line and is hyphenated by the scribe with a "=" sign to indicate its continuation on the next line. The scribe does this usually throughout this text when he breaks a word at the end of a line.

l.1] This is the first blank left for illumination. It is about a half-column wide and twelve lines high. There are ten such blanks left for illumination in this MS. Each is approximately half-column wide, and they range in length from 10-12 lines high. The blanks appear on ff. 1r, 2r, 2v, 3v, 6r, 7r, 22v, 24r, 26r, and 26v.

l.14 p<sup>e</sup>] This is a scribal self-correction. He has written "p<sup>e</sup>" over "a."

l.18 Buktiphalas] MS. is smudged over the "iph." It is difficult to tell, but it appears that the scribe wrote "Buktif" and then corrected "f" to "ph."

## f. 1v

l.1 oute] Using the editorial caret mark, the scribe has inserted "oute" between "strekede" and "nekke." The use of the editorial caret to mark the position of words initially omitted in the line is the general practice of this scribe. In some instances, he writes the word or letter interlinearly -- just above the line with the caret mark normally just below the line at the proper position of that word or letter. Other times, he writes the word or words marginally -- in the left margin with caret(s) both accompanying them in the margin and at their place in the line. On ff. 8r, 18r, and 35r, he uses the right margin. Unless the scribe has deviated from this practice, I will give only a cursory remark to indicate what word(s) the scribe has initially omitted, and whether they were added interlinearly or marginally.

CW Ƿ he p<sup>t</sup> spekes to p<sup>e</sup>] These are "catchwords" and appear frequently in a similar position in the MS. The scribe has set them off by indenting them in the same way as in this transcription

-- a left bracket of sorts blocking off and underlining the catchword(s). There are only 19 without catchwords in the prose Alexander. These folios are 1r, 2r, 3r, 6r, 7r, 8v, 23r, 25r, 26r, 29r, 29v, 33v, 38r, 39r, 41r, 43r, 44r, and 46r (see Appendix B).

#### f. 2r

l.2 schale] This spelling is unusual for Thornton. Generally, this is spelled "schall" or "sall."

l.2] This is the second blank left for an illumination. It is apparently a half-column wide and twelve lines high. As was the case with the first, there is no illumination or marginal notation within or without this blank.

l.26 op<sup>7</sup>] This is the first of many "p"s that are written as "y"s. See note to f. 1r, line 5 the reverse phenomenon.

l.30 qwe<sup>ne</sup>] Interlinear self-correction of the first "e" of "qwe<sup>ne</sup>" between "w" and "n."

l.33 p<sup>e</sup> p<sup>t</sup>] The sense wants a noun like "knyghtes" between these words, or "pase" for the "p<sup>e</sup>."

#### f.2v

l.15 at] The sense requires "pat" here so "at" may be a scribal error.

l.13] This is the third blank left for illumination. It is apparently a half-column wide and eleven lines high. Again, no illumination or notation fills the space.

#### f. 3r

l.22 Scho] The last letter looks like an "e" corrected to "o," and "scho" is the form that appears twice more on the same folio and throughout this text.

l.29 of] The sense requires "p<sup>e</sup>", which the scribe has not written here.

l.36 may] The scribe has neglected to write the nominative pronoun "I" that the sense requires.

## f. 3v

l4] This is the fourth blank left for illumination. It is approximately a half-column wide and twelve lines high. Although there is no illumination in the space, someone has used the space to practice making the letter "y".

l.21 þ<sup>o</sup>] The sense requires "es" here, but it is not written in the manuscript.

Cap 1] This is the first decorated capital. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("s"). There are 104 capitals drawn in the prose Alexander. If the "Q" which fills an illumination blank on f. 6r is counted, it is the largest drawn capital with the smallest being only 2 lines high. Out of these 104 capitals, there are 29 which remain undecorated. These occur on ff. 12v, 14v, 15v, 17v, 18v, and 43v-49r, the last being the folios of quire C. For color and a full description of each capital see Appendix A.

## f. 4r

Cap 2] This is the second decorated capital. It is five lines high and has a marginal designator ("ff").

l.22 þis] "þis" appears to be an afterthought. It is crammed in the space between "of" and "hert." The "of" also looks a bit crammed.

l.26 xv] The numeral "xv" is underlined but not "crossed through" as Westlake asserted (1913:14). The scribe frequently, but inconsistently, writes both the roman numeral and the word for the number.

l.30 þat] The sense calls for "hight" before the god's name, but it is not written.

## f. 4v

Cap 3] This is the third decorated capital. It is five lines high and has no visible marginal designator.

l.24 ꝥ Alex<sup>o</sup>] Marginal self-correction of "ꝥ Alex<sup>o</sup>" with the editorial caret sign after "sothe."

## f. 5r

l.1 be] Even with the catchwords on the previous folio, the scribe here repeats the last word of the previous line.

l.22 to] The sense seems to require the possessive pronoun "my" before "cōmandemēt," but it does not appear in the MS.

l.32 a] MS. is badly smudged and illegible after "a" and before "p̄t." One would presume that "ne" follows in the space after "a."

l.36 xxx<sup>m</sup>] The scribe has used the Latin abbreviation for "thousand," the single bar placed above the roman numeral. He has added a peak in the middle of the bar. Since this is technically complicated to reproduce, I have chosen to use another Latin abbreviation for thousand common to the later Middle Ages (Cappelli: 45-47).

CW cedoynes] The scribe writes "the macedoynes" at the top of f. 5v. Although apparently catchwords, "p̄e macedoynes" on f. 5r are broken in the MS. as shown.

#### f. 5v

l.36 a baiste:// [and] l.37 wordes://] For unknown reasons, the punctuation has been darkened, filling in the space between the diagonals. Perhaps the scribe or a later hand tried to change the ":///" to "://." See the note for f. 9v, line 6.

#### f. 6r

l.4 meñ] This word is written over what appears to be "hy."

l.15 Tyryens] It is difficult to tell from the facsimile whether the scribe has corrected "e" to "y" or whether he has squeezed the "y" between the two "e"s to read "Tyreyens. A cleanly written "Thebienes" on f. 13r, l.19 would seem to indicate that the "e" in "Tyryens" has been corrected to "y" (see "Thebyens" on f. 12r, l.35)

Cap 4 and I5] This is the fourth decorated capital and the fifth blank left for illumination. It is approximately a half-column wide and twelve lines high. The decorated capital "Q" that fills the blank is an anomaly both physically and dialectally. Since it fills a full size illumination blank, it is the largest decorated capital. There is no marginal designation for a "Q" as there is with most other decorated capitals nor is the "Q" needed to complete the word "when" which follows. I have found no other place in this text where "qwh" appears when "wh" will suffice dialectally (cf. f. 3v where "When" follows the illumination blank).

l.36 of citee] The sense wants "p̄e," but it is not written.



## f. 6v

l.27 *pis*] This word is clearly written here even though sense requires "*pus*."

l.31 *see nane*] Scribe repeats these two words on the same line.

## f. 7r

l.6 *fadres*] The "r" is written over an "e."

l.7 *pat*] The sense wants "he" after "*pat*," but it is not written.

l.6] This is the sixth blank left for illumination. It is about a half-column wide and eleven lines high. As shown, "*hic incipit*" has been written in the blank. In the left margin, the scribe has written "*rex eq<sup>t</sup>ās*."

l.13 *cite<sub>3</sub>*] The "3" appears to be written over an "e." Scribe apparently wrote "*citee*" and then changed it to "*cite<sub>3</sub>*."

Cap 5] This is the fifth decorated capital and the first historiated one. It is four lines high. The face of a king appears in the middle of the "D." There is a marginal designator ("D").

l.37 *by*] A later hand has written a few words in the bottom margin. The ink is so faded (in facsimile) that it is impossible to transcribe these with any certainty, and these are blotted on the facing page.

## f. 7v

l.1 *by*] There are no catchwords at the bottom of f. 7r, and the scribe repeats his last word from there at the top of f. 7v.

l.3 *bisne*] There is a mark on the line between "*bisne*" and "a" that resembles the modern comma but is connected to both the "e" at the end of "*bisne*" and the "a." It may be as simple as the desire of the scribe to keep pen to paper. However, another mark, more distinct than this, separates the next item in this series. Westlake's edition (p.21) prints "f" between "*bisne*" and "a" even though it is clearly not this scribe's ampersand.

Cap 6] This is the sixth decorated capital. It is five lines high and has a marginal designator ("W").

## f. 8r

l.3 *to*] Marginal self-correction of "to" with the editorial caret sign after "*es*."

l.16 sent] Marginal self-correction of "sent" with the caret sign after "empo<sup>7</sup>."

l.24 ꝥ said] Marginal self-correction of "ꝥ said" with the editorial caret sign after "agayne."

Cap 7] This is the seventh decorated capital. It is five lines high and has a marginal designator ("A").

l.29 schynes] Marginal self-correction of "schynes" in the right margin. The caret sign follows "pat."

#### f. 8v

l.23 ꝑ<sup>t</sup>] "ꝑ<sup>t</sup>" has been cancelled by diagonal lines drawn through both letters with two dots diagonally on either side of the "p."

l.32 ꝑ<sup>e</sup> lett<sup>o</sup> of Alexander] The scribe has placed this heading after Alexander's letter to Darius instead of before it. It is in red in bookhand rather than cursive. A flourish appears at the end of this heading apparently for further enhancement.

Cap 8] This is the eighth decorated capital. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("W").

#### f. 9r

Cap 9] This is the ninth decorated capital and the second historiated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("D"). The picture within is that of an old, bearded king, Darius, obviously.

l.11 op<sup>o</sup>re] The scribe has written "y<sup>o</sup>" over a "u." What he intends is "op<sup>o</sup>," but what he has first written is "oure." This suggests eyeskip to "oure empire," which almost immediately follows.

Cap 10] This is the tenth decorated capital. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("T").

Cap 11] This is the eleventh decorated capital and third historiated one. It is four lines high and has a margin designator ("D"). The picture within closely resembles that of the other historiated capital on this leaf.

l.35 hase] The scribe has written "hase" although subject-verb agreement demands "hafe." The variation between these similar letter forms is not unusual for this scribe.

CW ware to ꝑ<sup>e</sup>] A much later hand has written a now illegible word in the lower margin of this leaf.

## f. 9v

l.6 ://] On this and the following two folios, the scribe (or someone else) has gone back over the double virgules ("//") and darkened the center to make them all singles. I have chosen to represent them as doubles to avoid confusion with those that were originally singles. The same bold stroke occurs at the space between the "A"s and "l"s of "Alexander," in the hollow or between the "D" and "a" of "Darius," and on these and on other capitals throughout ff. 9v, 10r, and 10v.

Cap 12] This is the twelfth decorated capital. It is four lines high and has no marginal designator still visible.

Cap 13] This is the thirteenth decorated capital. It is five lines high and has no marginal designator still visible.

Cap 14] This is the fourteenth decorated capital. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("t").

## f. 10v

l.1 ꝥ he þ<sup>t</sup> hase] The scribe repeats "ꝥ," the last word from f. 10r's regular line of text, and then adds the catchwords.

l.5 Alexander] Textual consistency would demand "ansuerd" between "Alexander" and "ft."

l.9 while//] This is the second of the three final instances of the double virgule being darkened to make a single. This one is the clearest illustration of the double virgules being "filled in." The bold strokes on capitals continue throughout this folio.

l.11 of] The sense requires "his" between "of" and "cōmynge," the first word on l.12. Thornton frequently commits errors of omission or repetition at or near line boundaries.

l.15 of þ<sup>e</sup> selfe] The indefinite article here seems in error for "it."

l.25 come] The scribe has crossed out "went" before "come."

l.33 whare] The "W" of "whare" is written over "þ<sup>d</sup>."

## f. 11r

A smaller, neater more orderly writing begins at the top of f. 11r. Thornton is the scribe, but his hand is much more careful here using broader, darker strokes. This may suggest a change of pen and/or ink. Since it's new paper stock, perhaps it holds the ink

differently. Note also the reverse change for f. 6v and f. 7r, where stock K yields to stock E paper. 6v and 11r look very similar. This suggests the inner four sheets may have been treated a little differently. 7r has the first historiated capital.

#### f. 11v

l.7 <sup>is</sup>] The "is" is written over an "e."

Cap 15] This is the fifteenth decorated capital and the fourth historiated one. It is five lines high and has a marginal designator ("A"). The drawing inside the "A" is of a knight with a staff.

#### f. 12r

Cap 16] This is the sixteenth decorated capital. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("A").

The scribe's handwriting changes after the decorated capital "A," becoming much smaller and more cramped.

l.32 <sup>am</sup>] The scribe has crossed out "to g<sup>ce</sup>" between "<sup>am</sup>" and "till."

l.33 <sup>distruyed</sup>] The scribe has written the "y" over a first "e" in "distruyed."

l.35 Thebyens] See note to f. 6r, line 15.

#### f. 12v

Cap 17] This is the seventeenth capital, and the first left undecorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("t").

l.18 Alexander] Some capital "enhancement" (see note to f. 9v, line 6) begins again here and continues sporadically to the end of this folio and on ff. 13v, 14r, 14v, 15v, 16r, 17r. On f. 17r, it only occurs in the lines before the historiated capital "D"). No tampering with the double virgules occurs on any of these folios. This could be the rubricated "A"s and "D"s that Owen notes in the facsimile edition (1975: xv). These pages were not checked for color in Vaughan's perusal of the original for the capital index.

l.22 <sup>profitede</sup>] There is a botched and ink-stained "p" before "profitede."

## f. 13r

Cap 18] This is the eighteenth capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("A"). It has no crossbar.

Cap 19] This is the nineteenth capital, decorated. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("W").

## f. 13v

Cap 20] This is the twentieth capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("A"). It is also missing the crossbar.

l.9 sauetee] The scribe appears to have written the "u" over an "e". The "e" is ink-blotched and dotted over the downstroke of the "u." This makes the word first appear to be "saeietee." Two of the Scottish spellings for "safety" listed by the OED are "saifte" and "saiftie." One would expect the Scottish or Northern form from Thornton. These two Scottish forms make the reading of an "i" inviting. Without the "f," however, I have to read "suetee." Westlake (1911:35) notes that the scribe has written a "u" over "another letter" making "sautee." Without explanation he ignores the undisturbed "e." The OED shows both "savete" and "savte," but neither ending with a double "e."

Cap 21] This is the twenty-first capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("t").

## f. 14r

l.7 whare] The scribe repeats "whare." The use of "whare so ev" on line 15 (and *passim* in the prose *Alexander*) demonstrates the scribe's knowledge of this form. This would indicate that a double "whare" is in error and not needed to express the concept of "anyplace at all."

Cap 22] This is the twenty-second capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("W").

l.29 ft] Interlinear self-correction of "ft."

l.31 take] The scribe has written "sa" between "take" and "ensample," then crossed it out.

## f. 14v

l.1 and] In spite of the catchwords on f. 14r, the scribe has repeated "and," the last word of the last line of that folio.

l.8 dyu<sup>7</sup>se] The scribe has written the "y" over an "e."

l.9 lordes] Thornton wrote and cancelled "af" between "lordes" and "of."

l.11 werre] The scribe has written the second "r" over an "e."

Cap 23] This is the twenty-third capital and the second left undecorated. It is five lines high and has a marginal designator ("I").

Bottom Margin] In the bottom margin of this folio, another hand has written "ff," "Ssen," and "Sen."

#### f. 15r

l.29 for to do] The scribe has repeated "for to do" on the same line.

Cap 24] This is the twenty-fourth capital, decorated. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("f").

#### f. 15v

l.19 ryuere] The "y" of "ryuere" is written over an "e."

Cap 25] This is the twenty-fifth capital and the third undecorated. The smallest capital, it is two lines high and has a marginal designator ("I"). There are three other two-line capitals on 17v, 21v, and 36r. All these are at the bottom of a page. Otherwise, three-line capitals are the minimum.

#### f. 16r

l.1 chyftaynes] The first "y" appears to be either written over an "i."

l.13 perched] The scribe has written first the "h" over an earlier "e."

l.31 þe] The scribe has written both a "t" for "þt" and an "e" for "þe." It is extremely difficult to tell (in facsimile) which was written over which. Both words make sense in the context of this sentence with the "þe" being more likely.

#### f. 16v

l.1 þan he cōmandede] The catchwords on the bottom of f. 16r read "he cōmandeð" following "and" at the end of the last line. On the top of f. 16v, the scribe adds "þan" and exchanges the flourish on final "ð" for a final "e."

l.7 pa<sup>i</sup>re] The scribe has superscripted the "i" as an afterthought/correction to "pare." The spacing of the other letters and the size of the "i" make this clear.

l.9 Bactria<sup>n</sup>] The capital "B" is surmised from line 14 rather than here. It looks like a correction from "S" to "B." The form is not that of Thornton's other capital "B"s.

Cap 26] This is the twenty-sixth capital, decorated and the fifth historiated one. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("a"). Within the frame of the letter is the helmeted head of a young knight, presumably the prince of Darius who appears in the accompanying text. It is missing the crossbar.

Cap 27] This is the twenty-seventh capital, decorated. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("T").

l.29 he] The scribe writes "he" twice, here and at the start of line 30.

#### f.17r

Cap 28] This is the twenty-eighth capital, decorated and sixth historiated one. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("D"). Inside the frame of the letter is the head of an old king. The crown is mostly obscured or faded, but the face is like that of the other historiated capital "D"s, i.e., the head of Darius.

Cap 29] This is the twenty-ninth capital, decorated, and seventh historiated one. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("A"). Inside the frame of the letter is the face of a young king, presumably Alexander. The face and most of the decoration is much faded. It is missing the crossbar.

l.31 p<sup>e</sup>] The "p<sup>e</sup>" is written over an "e" at the end of "for."

#### f. 17v

l.8 Sepine] This is another instance of "y" for "p." The context requires an adverb of subsequent time. However, this form does not appear anywhere else in the prose Alexander.

Cap 30] This is the thirtieth capital and the fourth left undecorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("A"). This and the following undecorated capitals are smeared.

Cap 31] This is the thirty-first capital and the fifth undecorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("T").

Cap 32] This is the thirty-second capital and the sixth undecorated. It is two lines high and has a marginal designator ("P").

f. 18r

l.1 þt] The scribe has written the "t" over an "e."

l.4 leff] The scribe writes a final "ff" instead of his usual "sse." Apparently, he is using the flourish at the end to signify the missing "se."

l.4 greuo] The "r" is written over an "e."

l.5 inIury] The scribe has "dotted" the first and second "i" even though the second one is capitalized.

Cap 33] This is the thirty-third capital and the seventh undecorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("T").

l.11 To] Between "To" and "kyng", the scribe has written and then crossed out "Rodorius."

l.21 þat at 3e may halde] This may be a repetition (dittography) of the nearly identical phrase in l.20, "þat at 3e may no3te halde." It doesn't make sense as it stands. However, perhaps "þan" before "þat" has been written in error. If one deletes "þan" (which appears again after this phrase on l.21), then the statement is logical.

Cap 34] This is the thirty-fourth capital and the eighth undecorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("I").

l.36 hyṁ] Marginal self-correction of "hyṁ" in the right margin with the caret sign after "bidd."

f. 18v

CW tilh hyṁ & pay hy t'butel] There is (at least) one leaf missing after this folio. These catchwords and the story are not continued on f. 19r.

f. 19r

l.1 mltitude] The scribe's hand on this leaf is much less cramped, less controlled than on the previous ones. The letters are thinner and less uniform (even for Thornton). It verges on sloppiness.



Cap 35] This is the thirty-fifth capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("t"). The style of "T" and the decoration differ from the preceding forms and decoration (see Appendix A).

#### f. 19v

l.1 foresaid watere] The catchwords on f. 19r read "foresaid wat<sup>r</sup>." Before writing these words on the top of f. 19v, the scribe has written, "to þe," repeating the last two words of f. 19r, "to the."

l.12 seluen] The "u" of "seluen" is written over an "e."

Cap 36] This is the thirty-sixth capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("T"). This "T" is in the style of the rest of the "T"s in the prose Alexander, but the decoration is a combination of the standard found in this text and that of Cap 35 on f. 19r.

l.23 gretynge] The "r" has been written over an "e."

CW by þe forluke of godd] There is (at least) one leaf missing between f. 19v and f. 20r. The catchwords on f. 19v do not repeat on f. 20r, and the content of the letter is quite different from the one we leave on f. 19v.

#### f. 20r

l.1 oure] The handwriting returns to that of the earlier leaves. It is more controlled, tighter, and darker. Again, we find a quire change and a paper stock change here. 20r is written on paper stock with the K watermark as was 6v and 11r discussed above. This is also a quire boundary (A/B).

Cap 37] This is the thirty-seventh capital, decorated. It is five lines high and has a marginal designator "I."

l.25 þair] The sense requires "þay."

#### f. 20v

Cap 38] This is the thirty-eighth capital, decorated. It is four lines long and has a marginal designator ("A"). Again, this is missing the crossbar.

l.31 þe] The scribe has inserted interlinearly "þe" between "of" and "ffader," and added the caret mark below.

## f. 21r

Cap 39] This is the thirty-ninth capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("A"). Its crossbar is missing.

1.29 pspitee] The scribe uses the wrong abbreviation, "p," instead of "p̄," for the initial letter (cf. 21v, 1.3).

## f. 21v

1.3 he] The scribe has written the "h" over a "p."

1.7 as] The sense wants "p̄" at the end of this line.

1.22 it] The scribe has written "it" above the line and between "if" and "be." He has not added a caret mark.

Cap 40] This is the fortieth capital, decorated. It is two lines high and has a marginal designator ("A").

## f. 22r

1.9 Smara<sup>g</sup>d] The scribe has inserted the "g" between the "a" and "d" with a caret mark to show position. The "g" sits above the "a."

1.12 wtte<sup>n</sup>] There is a hole in the MS. between "nozte" and "wtten." The beginning of a "w" appears after "nozte" and the end of an "o" connected to "wtten." Given the scribal spelling elsewhere, it is clear that "w<sup>t</sup> owtten" should be read here.

1.13 ane] The hole, as noted above, cuts between the "w" and the end of an "a" on this line. The "a" is connected to "ne." The missing letters probably are "as" forming "was ane."

1.16 it] Interlinear insertion self-correction made between "heres" and "on" with the caret mark below.

1.21 that] The last word of this line, "that," is either erased or almost completely faded.

1.37 p<sup>r</sup>ferred before] In the margin directly below "p<sup>r</sup>ferred before," another hand has written "p<sup>r</sup>ferred befor."

## f. 22v

17] This is the seventh blank space left for illumination. It is approximately a half-column wide and ten lines high. No marginal notes or designators are visible.

l.17 lorde] After "lorde" and finishing out the line, the scribe has written and then scratched out "t lorde of þe psyenes."

Cap 41] This is the forty-first capital, decorated. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("P").

#### f. 23r

l.2 emp<sup>7</sup>] There is a stain on the MS. over the "p."

Cap 42] This is the forty-second capital, decorated. It is five lines high and has a marginal designator ("P").

#### f. 23v

l.2 weddyng<sup>7</sup>] The MS. reads as shown. Since the "7" used is obviously out of place here, the scribe may have intended a superscript "e" for a final "e" or more likely skipping ahead to "Alex<sup>7</sup>" or "doght<sup>7</sup>" which follow closely after.

Cap 43] This is the forty-third capital, decorated and the eighth historiated one. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("A"). A cask with a tree growing from it fills the hollow of the letter. This follows the wedding of Alexander and Roxane and the subsequent eight days of "solempnytee." It is missing the crossbar. The marginal "A" is of a somewhat different form than usual.

l.23 sayde] After "sayde," the scribe has written "thus" and then crossed it out in favor of "one this wise." This may suggest that he is indeed translating as scholars have assumed.

l.25 b.] There is no visible evidence in the facsimile of a faded "i" or "y" after the "b." Instead, it seems clear that the scribe has written "b."

l.34 batayle] The scribe has written the "y" over a first "l."

#### f. 24r

Cap 44] This is the forty-fourth capital, decorated and the ninth historiated one. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("P"). The face of an older king [Porus] fills the hollow of the letter.

#### f. 24v

Cap 45] This is the forty-fifth capital, decorated. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("W").

l.13 streng<sup>the</sup>] The scribe has squeezed the second "t" above the line between "g" and "h."

l.8] This is the eighth blank left for illumination. It is about a half-column wide and eleven lines high. There are no marginal notes or designators.

l.33 agaynstand] Marginal correction of "agaynstand" with a doubled caret sign after "nozte."

#### f. 25r

l.1 thi] At the top of this folio, the scribe has repeated the last word of f. 24v and the three catchwords. When he rewrote the catchwords he changed the orthography from "wiete þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>i</sup>" to "witte that thi."

Cap 46] This is the forty-sixth capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("W").

#### f. 25v

Cap 47] This is the forty-seventh capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("S").

l.9 he fande] The scribe repeats "he fande" at the end of this line and the next (lines 9 and 10). The error is explained by dittography. There is another "he fande" that is split between lines 10 and 11, i.e., the "he" ends line 10 and the "fande" begins line 11. This suggests a copying error rather than translation (see note to 23v, l.23 above) although he could be interruption and then retranslation.

Cap 48] This is the forty-eighth capital, decorated. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("ff").

#### f. 26r

Cap 49] This is the forty-ninth capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("K").

l.9] This is the ninth blank left for illumination. It is approximately a half-column wide and twelve lines high. In the left margin beside the blank, the scribe has written "Regina regalibus cū dūabz Astantibz."

## f. 26v

l10] This is the tenth and final blank left for illumination. It is more than a half column wide and thirteen lines high. There are no marginal notes or designators.

l.33 cone] MS. but the scribe obviously intended "come."

## f. 27r

Cap 50] This is the fiftieth capital, decorated. It is six lines high and has a marginal designator ("I"). Like the capital on f. 19r, this, too, is more elaborate and of a different style than the other capitals, decorated. The letter form is not Thornton's normal "I". The style of decoration matches that of the capital on f. 19r.

l.11 Oste.] The period mark is clearly made but may not be an intentional mark of punctuation. It may be merely a stray pen mark.

l.18 wyldē] The scribe has written the "y" over an "h."

## f. 27v

l.9 Than] The sense wants "he" or "Alexander" to follow here.

Cap 51] This is the fifty-first capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("A").

## f. 28r

l.1 that þay walde one na wyse] At the top of this folio, the scribe repeats the catchwords from f. 27v and adds "that" from the last line of text on f. 27v.

l.14 Beste] The scribe has deleted "of" before "Beste."

Cap 52] This is the fifty-second capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("A").

l.22 hys] The scribe has written the "y" over an "e."

l.25 by] The scribe again has written the "y" over an "e."

## f. 29r

l.1 to þ<sup>e</sup> oste] The scribe repeats not only the catchwords from f. 28v but also the last two words of the regular line.

Cap 53] This is the fifty-third capital, decorated. It is four lines high. Note that the marginal designator is "t" not "p." "T" would be the correct capital since the subsequent letters are "han."

Cap 54] This is the fifty-fourth capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("ff").

Right Margin] In the right margin (from about ll. 19-24) the name, "Robert louson," appears.

#### f. 29v

l.2 strike] MS. probably should read "strake."

Cap 55] This is the fifty-fifth capital, decorated. It is five lines high and has a marginal designator ("ff").

#### f. 30r

Cap 56] This is the fifty-sixth capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("T").

Cap 57] This is the fifty-seventh capital, decorated. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("A").

#### f. 30v

Cap 58] This is the fifty-eighth capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("ff").

l.14 pty of] The scribe repeats "of" at the beginning of the next line.

Cap 59] This is the fifty-ninth capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("A").

#### f. 31r

Cap 60] This is the sixtieth capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("A").

l.7 Inde] It appears as if the scribe made a capital "y" or "p" for "y" and then erased it to make an "I."

Cap 61] This is the sixty-first capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("W").

Cap 62] This is the sixty-second capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("ff"), partly faded or worn.

l.32 ymang] This spelling occurs only here and on f. 47r, line 15. The scribe normally writes "amange3" (see l.35). The "p" is used here in place of the initial "y" as noted earlier.

l.35 mo~no~de] The second "o" seems to be a correction for an "e." The "d" also looks suspiciously like a correction but is written so heavily that no letter can be discerned beneath it.

#### f. 31v

Cap 63] This is the sixty-third capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("ff").

Cap 64] This is the sixty-fourth capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("ff").

l.31 ypotaynes/] Although double virgules separate the other two items in the series, the scribe has written a single virgule after "ypotaynes" and before "t." The "t" looks almost like a "w" here.

l.37 {beginning of line}] The scribe has started to write a "g."

Bottom Margin] Another hand has written something in the bottom margin of this folio. The words or letters are too faded to accurately describe.

#### f. 32r

Cap 65] This is the sixty-fifth capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("k").

Cap 66] This is the sixty-sixth capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("D").

Bottom Margin] The same "other" hand has been practicing writing in the bottom margin of this folio. There are some indistinguishable letters ending in "d" with this grouping written two more times below. There are also "ff", four separate "f"s, and a few smaller, raised marks following the last of the "f"s.

#### f. 32v

Cap 67] This is the sixty-seventh capital, decorated. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("W").

## f. 33r

l.35 vs] The scribe has written and then cancelled or blotted a letter or word between "vs" and "howses," possibly an "h."

## f. 33v

Bottom Margin] In the bottom margin, there is more "practicing" by a hand other than the scribe. This consists of the capitals "P," and "H," as well as the words "Ameñ" and "Do ffor." This hand adds some decoration and flourish to the capitals, but none is similar to the capital, decorateds in the text.

## f. 34r

l.2 of thynges] The scribe has written "thynkes" then corrected it to "thynges" by correcting the "k" to "g."

l.31 sett] The scribe appears to have changed a "c" to "s" here.

## f. 34v

l.23 þ<sup>e</sup> lyuer] The scribe has written the "y" of "lyuer" over the "e" of "leuer." He seems also to have dotted his "y," not uncommon in this text.

## f. 35r

l.11 þat] The scribe has cancelled the beginning of a "w" between "þat" and "3o<sup>7</sup>."

l.20 þa] The "þ" has been written over an "n."

l.24 in 3owe] Marginal self-correction of "in 3owe" in the right margin with the caret sign after "þa<sup>m</sup>."

l.31 þ<sup>o</sup> es] The scribe has written "þ<sup>o</sup> es" twice between "also" and "in helle" on the same line.

## f.35v

Cap 68] This is the sixty-eighth capital, decorated. It is five lines high and has a marginal designator ("k").

l.9 Bot wit þ<sup>u</sup> wele] The scribe has written "Bot wit þ<sup>u</sup> wele" twice. This one falls at the end of line 9. The second begins



line 10. The phrase and the preceding punctuation (//) on line 9 looks lighter than the rest of the line. It is as if he left his work, perhaps with pen or ink problems, and upon returning simply committed the error of dittography on the new line.

#### f. 36r

l.1 araye þam] Note the expansions of the catchwords abbreviated on f. 35v -- "aray þā." At the top of f. 36r, they read "araye þam̄."

Cap 69] This is the sixty-ninth capital, decorated. It is two lines high and has a marginal designator ("D").

#### f. 36v

l.1 Noʒte lordes of this werlde] The scribe has repeated not only the catchwords from f. 36r but has added the last word of the last regular line of text capitalizing it here as he would for a new page.

#### f. 37r

Cap 70] This is the seventieth capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("A").

l.14 þā] It appears as if the scribe began to write "þam" but, to save space, added the macron and stopped the "m" in mid stroke. I see this rather than "þāi" for two reasons. First, "þāi" would be unusual in this text, and second, the macron is much more scribbled than normal, like an afterthought. But I cannot entirely discount the possibility of "þāi."

l.17 Ebbere] Between "Ebbere" and "fule," the scribe has written and has scratched out "foū."

Cap 71] This is the seventy-first capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("ff"), which is partially cut off. Only the top of the first "f" is visible.

#### f. 37v

Cap 72] This is the seventy-second capital, decorated. It is five lines high and has a marginal designator ("ff").

Cap 73] This is the seventy-third capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("ff").

l.26 so] "so" sits just outside the frame of the text in the left margin. While Thornton frequently extends his writing beyond the right margin, this is an oddity, and seems to be a later correction.

l.29 pay] The sense wants "ware" between "pay" and "bitt<sup>7</sup>."

#### f. 38r

Cap 74] This is the seventy-fourth capital, decorated and the tenth historiated one. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("T"). It has a dragon within the hollow of the letter and also the head of another at the end of the tendril that curls above the top line of text.

#### f. 38v

l.4 pat] Interlinear correction of "pat."

l.13 pe] Between "pe" and "cragge," the scribe has written a "ge" and an "S," all of which have been scratched out.

Cap 75] This is the seventy-fifth capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("ff").

l.35 iiii<sup>xx</sup>] The Roman numeral "xx" actually sits on top of the "iiii."

#### f. 39r

Cap 76] This is the seventy-sixth capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("A").

l.34 dyd] The scribe first wrote "de" then changed the "e" to "y" to read "dyd."

#### f. 39v

l.1 pt] The scribe first wrote "pe" then changed it to "pt."

l.25 treez] The scribe has written first "te" then changed the "e" to "r" to read "treez."

#### f. 40r

l.2 dnator] The MS. has a flourish off the "r" could be interpreted as an abbreviation for "rum" (cf. Cappelli: xxiv). This form occurs only once in this text and is grammatically incorrect.

"Dominatorum" is genitive plural and "Tu," which it should agree with is nominative singular. Therefore, I have chosen not to reproduce it.

l.4 ffadyrs] The scribe has written the "r" over an "e."

Cap 77] This is the seventy-seventh capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has no visible marginal designator.

#### f. 40v

Cap 78] This is the seventy-eighth capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("ff").

Cap 79] This is the seventy-ninth capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("a"). It has a missing crossbar.

Cap 80] This is the eightieth capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("C").

l.34 chynes] The scribe has written the "y" over an "e."

#### f. 41r

l.1 iiii<sup>xx</sup>] Again, the actual position of the "xx," is atop the "iiii."

Cap 81] This is the eighty-first capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has no visible marginal designator. There is a double crossbar.

l.30 ꝥ talde hy] "talde" appears three times between this line and the next. "talde hy" accounts for two of those occurrences. The awkwardness of the structure here may be due to dittography.

#### f. 41v

l.4 bi fore] The scribe has written and has scratched out "Antyoch?" after "bi fore."

l.24 ynoghe] Interlinear insertion of the "o" in "ynoghe."

l.35 tiſſ] The scribe has written and has cancelled "an" after "tiſſ."

**f. 42r**

l.1 vn to cedres] Note that the catchwords from f. 41v read "p<sup>e</sup> cedres" while f. 42r begins "vn to cedres."

Cap 82] This is the eighty-second capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has no visible marginal designator.

**f. 43r**

On f. 43r red tickings abound on capitals and line divisions. The line divisions (double virgules) are "filled in" in very much the same way as the ones on ff. 9v-10v. This folio begins Quire C. In this final quire of the Alexander, this and all subsequent capitals have been drawn but not decorated. The lack of decoration will be given no further individual notation.

**f. 43v**

Cap 83] This is the eighty-third capital. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("T"). In the left margin, near the marginal "T," another hand has tried to copy the form of the drawn capital "T."

l.9 myrkneff] The "m" has been written over a "c."

Cap 84] This is the eighty-fourth capital. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("O").

l.33 grete] After "grete," the scribe has written "ð pe" then scratched it out in favor of "serpentes."

**f. 44r**

This folio is one of the most difficult to read. The ink was either originally too light (and now faded) or too heavy and blotted. Letters are either incomplete or over-inked throughout. According to Horrall's list of watermarks, this folio as well as ff. 47 and 48 have watermarks that cannot be identified. She doesn't indicate whether these unidentified watermarks are the same. The appearance of f. 47r is like this one but not ff. 47v or 48r/v.

Cap 85] This is the eighty-fifth capital. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("ff").

Cap 86] This is the eighty-sixth capital. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("A").

l.20 þ<sup>e</sup> {end of line}] The sense wants "folke," but it has not been written.

## f. 44v

Cap 87] This is the eighty-seventh capital. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("E").

l.11 thralldo[m] This appears to be a correction as the ink is much darker than the rest of this page and the word goes much further into the right margin than any others on this leaf.

Cap 88] This is the eighty-eighth capital. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("ff").

Cap 89] This is the eighty-ninth capital. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("T").

l.34 One] "One" is the word written, but the style of the capital "O" differs significantly from all previous ones. The "O" of "Occeane" just eleven lines earlier on this folio represents the standard for this scribe. This anomalous "O" is repeated below on f. 45v (line 9, "Off"). See the discussion of this in "Nota Bene."

## f. 45r

Cap 90] This is the ninetieth capital. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("A").

Cap 91] This is the ninety-first capital. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("ff").

## f. 45v

In the first three lines, the scribe's hand is larger and the strokes broader and thicker. In modern terms, it looks as if the scribe changed his extra fine point pen for a medium point one.

Cap 92] This is the ninety-second capital. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("A").

Cap 93] This is the ninety-third capital. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("P").

Cap 94] This is the ninety-fourth capital. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("P").

Cap 95] This is the place for the ninety-fifth capital. The scribe has left a marginal designator ("ff") but no space for the capital. Although no capital was drawn due to lack of space, I do count this as the ninety-fifth capital (by intention).

l.28 a] After "a," the scribe has written "reu?", changed the "e" to "y," and then scratched out the lot in favor of "ryuere."

## f. 46r

At the top of this folio, the scribe has rewritten more than half of the last regular line of text from f. 45v, changing it from "And if þay to<sup>7</sup>ned þā awaywarde w<sup>t</sup> owtte<sup>7</sup>" to "And if þay to<sup>7</sup>ned hy þ<sup>e</sup> bakke w<sup>t</sup> owtte<sup>7</sup>." This suggests a retranslation after leaving the text and returning. He follows with the catchwords, but these are altered orthographically. The catchwords from f. 45v read "doute he schulde dye" while on f. 46r, they are redone as "dowte he sulde dye."

Cap 96] This is the ninety-sixth capital. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("ff").

l.6 Olympias] The scribe has written the "i" over a "y," which he has attempted to blot out.

Cap 97] This is the ninety-seventh capital. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator "V," but the capital drawn is "U."

Cap 98] This is the ninety-eighth capital. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("A").

l.24 trone] At the beginning of this line the scribe has written "toure" and then cancelled it and written "trone."

l.26 toure] This time the scribe has written "toure" and left it uncorrected to "trone."

l.27 grece3] The letters between the "g" and the "ce3" are blotted, but the shape indicates "re" should be read.

l.32 þ<sup>o</sup> off] After "off," the scribe has written "of" then crossed it out.

## f. 46v

Cap 99] This is the ninety-ninth capital. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("A").

Cap 100] This is the one hundredth capital. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("I").

## f. 47r

l.1 and so apo<sup>7</sup> a daye] The catchwords on f. 46v read "and þa<sup>7</sup> on a day" while the top of f. 47r reads "and so apo<sup>7</sup> a daye."

Cap 101] This is the one hundred-first capital. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("A"), the side of which is all that is left visible.

## f. 47v

Cap 102] This is the one hundred-second capital. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("A").

## f. 48r

l.6 Ethiopy] The scribe has dotted the "y" here.

## f. 48v

Cap 103] This is the one hundred-third capital. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("A").

l.15 wyse] After this line, the scribe's hand once more becomes smaller and more controlled but still not as much as it was in that part of the text which precedes f. 43r.

l.34 scholde] The sense requires something like "take," but it has not been written.

## f. 49r

l.4 paire breste3] Between these two words, the scribe has started and cancelled either a "p" or the beginning of some other letter.

Cap 104] This is the one hundred-fourth capital. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("A") now barely visible in the far left edge of the margin.

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## **APPENDIX A**



APPENDIX A  
Capital Index

The capital numbers [Cap No] correspond to the numbers given in the textual notes. Marginal designators, when they appear in the manuscript, are given under Mar Desg below. The information about color was gathered by Miceal Vaughan in his work with the original. The first color, usually red, is the color of the letter form, and the subsequent colors ["with purple", etc.] are those of the decoration.

| <u>Cap No</u> | <u>Folio</u> | <u>Mar Desg</u> | <u>Cap</u> | <u>Description</u>                                                                                                                                                                               |
|---------------|--------------|-----------------|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1             | 3v           | s               | S          | 3-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, double loops bottom, single loops right, tendrils, red with purple                                                                        |
| 2             | 4r           | ff              | F          | 5-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, right and possibly bottom, double loops top, tendrils, red with black and brown                                                           |
| 3             | 4v           |                 | I          | 5-line, multi-layered thin-line border, single loops bottom and right, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                                 |
| 4             | 6r           |                 | Q          | 12-line, border entirely scalloped, hollow filled with leafy design, tendrils cover most of the left margin, red with purple                                                                     |
| 5             | 7r           | d               | D          | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, double loops top, bottom, and right, triple loops left, King's face in hollow [Darius], much shorter tendrils, red with black, first historiated capital |
| 6             | 7v           | w               | W          | 5-line, multi-layered thin-line border, single loops bottom, double loops right, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                       |
| 7             | 8r           | a               | A          | 5-line, multi-layered thin-line border, double loops top and right, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                                    |
| 8             | 8v           | w               | W          | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, single loops bottom and right, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                                 |

|    |     |   |   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|----|-----|---|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 9  | 9r  | D | D | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, triple/double/single loops top, bottom and right, scallops left, king's face in hollow [Darius], tendrils, red with purple, second historiated capital                            |
| 10 | 9r  | T | T | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, triple/double loops top and bottom, single loops right, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                                 |
| 11 | 9r  | D | D | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, double loops top and bottom, single loops right, scallops left, king's face in hollow [Darius], tendrils, red with purple, third historiated capital                              |
| 12 | 9v  |   | W | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, single loops bottom and right, short scallop left, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                                      |
| 13 | 9v  |   | A | 5-line, multi-layered thin-line border, single loops bottom and right, scallops left, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                                           |
| 14 | 9v  | t | T | 3-line, multi-layered thin-line border, single loops bottom and right, scallops left, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                                           |
| 15 | 11v | A | A | 5-line, uncrossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, double loops top and right, single loops bottom, full figure of a knight in armor with a staff, tendrils, red with purple, fourth historiated capital |
| 16 | 12r | A | A | 4-line, crossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, double loops right, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                                           |
| 17 | 12v | t | T | 4-line, red, undecorated                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 18 | 13r | A | A | 4-line, uncrossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops bottom and right, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                              |
| 19 | 13r | w | W | 3-line, multi-layered thin-line border, single loops bottom and right, scallops left, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                                           |
| 20 | 13v | A | A | 4-line, uncrossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and right, double loops top, tendrils, red with black                                                                                                  |

|    |     |   |   |                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|----|-----|---|---|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 21 | 13v | t | T | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, triple/double loops top and right, double/single loops bottom, short tendrils, red with black                                                    |
| 22 | 14r | W | W | 3-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, double loops bottom, single loops right, longer tendrils, red with purple                                                                        |
| 23 | 14v | I | I | 5-line, red, undecorated                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 24 | 15r | f | F | 3-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and bottom, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                                             |
| 25 | 15v | I | I | 2-line, red, undecorated                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 26 | 16v | a | A | 3-line, uncrossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and right, double/single loops bottom, face of helmed warrior [Darius' prince], tendrils, red with purple, fifth historiated capital |
| 27 | 16v | T | T | 3-line, multi-layered thin-line border, short scallop left, double/single loops top and bottom, single loops right, tendrils, red with purple                                                           |
| 28 | 17r | D | D | 3-line, multi-layered thin-line border, short scallop left, double loops bottom, top and right, old king's face in hollow [Darius], tendrils, red with purple, sixth historiated capital                |
| 29 | 17r | A | A | 3-line, uncrossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops bottom, young king's face in hollow [Alexander], tendrils, red with purple, seventh historiated capital                |
| 30 | 17v | A | A | 4-line, red, undecorated                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 31 | 17v | T | T | 4-line, red, undecorated                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 32 | 17v | P | P | 2-line, red, undecorated                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 33 | 18r | T | T | 4-line, red, undecorated                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 34 | 18r | I | I | 4-line, red, undecorated                                                                                                                                                                                |

|    |     |   |   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|----|-----|---|---|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 35 | 19r | t | T | 4-line, T-shape unusual for this text, acanthus leaf border continuing into acanthus tendrils, small scallops right, black with black outline and blue, brown, and green diagonal bars and shading [most elaborate design for this text] |
| 36 | 19v | T | T | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border but with leaves on tendrils and in hollow which compare with acanthus leaves on f. 19r, scallops left and bottom, double loops right, black with black outline, much less shading                 |
| 37 | 20r | I | I | 5-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and right, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                                                                               |
| 38 | 20v | A | A | 4-line, uncrossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and right, double loops bottom, single loops top, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                           |
| 39 | 21r | A | A | 4-line, uncrossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, right and bottom, single loops top, long tendrils, red with black                                                                                                    |
| 40 | 21v | A | A | 2-line, crossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and bottom, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                                                                   |
| 41 | 22v | P | P | 3-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and right, single loops bottom, long tendrils, red with purple                                                                                                                     |
| 42 | 23v | P | P | 5-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, double loops bottom and right, long tendrils, red with purple                                                                                                                     |
| 43 | 23v | A | A | 4-line, uncrossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and right, cask with tree growing from it fills the hollow [Alexander's marriage to Roxane], tendrils, red with purple, eighth historiated capital                    |
| 44 | 24r | P | P | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, double/single loops right and top, single loops bottom, king's face in hollow [Porus], tendrils, red with purple, ninth historiated capital                                       |

|    |     |    |   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|----|-----|----|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 45 | 24v | W  | W | 3-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                                                                                 |
| 46 | 25r | W  | W | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, double loops bottom, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                                                            |
| 47 | 25v | S  | S | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, double/single loops top, bottom and right, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                                      |
| 48 | 25v | ff | F | 3-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and bottom, double loops right, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                                                  |
| 49 | 26r | K  | K | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, double loops bottom and top, single loops right, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                                |
| 50 | 27r | I  | I | 7-line, acanthus leaf border, tendrils with acanthus leaves trailing over the top line of text and down approximately two-thirds of the left side [cf. Cap 35], black with black, with green and brown diagonal bars and shading |
| 51 | 27v | A  | A | 4-line, crossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops top, bottom and right, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                                  |
| 52 | 28r | A  | A | 4-line, uncrossed A, multi-layered thin-line, scallops left and right, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                                                                 |
| 53 | 29r | t  | P | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops bottom and right, tendrils, red with purple [note marginal designator "t" and "han" following but "P" is drawn]                                              |
| 54 | 29r | ff | F | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops bottom, double loops side, tendrils run into tendrils of "P" above                                                                                           |
| 55 | 29v | ff | F | 5-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops bottom, double loops right, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                                        |

|    |     |    |   |                                                                                                                                        |
|----|-----|----|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 56 | 30r | T  | T | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, double loops top, single loops bottom and right, tendrils, red with purple      |
| 57 | 30r | A  | A | 3-line, uncrossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops bottom and top, tendrils, red with purple             |
| 58 | 30v | ff | F | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, double loops bottom and right, tendrils, red with purple                        |
| 59 | 30v | A  | A | 4-line, uncrossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops bottom, double loops right, tendrils, red with purple |
| 60 | 31r | A  | A | 4-line, crossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops bottom, double loops right, tendrils, red with purple   |
| 61 | 31r | W  | W | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops bottom and top, double loops right, tendrils, red with purple      |
| 62 | 31r | ff | F | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and top, double loops right, single loops bottom, tendrils, red with purple      |
| 63 | 31v | ff | F | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops bottom, top and right, tendrils, red with purple                   |
| 64 | 31v | ff | F | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and right, single loops top and bottom, tendrils, red with purple                |
| 65 | 32r | k  | K | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops right, tendrils, red with purple                                   |
| 66 | 32r | D  | D | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops top and bottom, double loops right, tendrils, red with purple      |
| 67 | 32v | W  | W | 3-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops top, bottom and right, tendrils, red with purple                   |

|    |     |    |   |                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|----|-----|----|---|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 68 | 35v | k  | K | 5-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops top, bottom and right, tendrils, red with purple                                                                      |
| 69 | 36r | D  | D | 2-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops bottom, single loops left, top and right, tendrils, red with purple                                                                      |
| 70 | 37r | A  | A | 4-line, crossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and top, double loops bottom and right, tendrils, red with purple                                                        |
| 71 | 37r | ff | F | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and right, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                                |
| 72 | 37v | ff | F | 5-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, small scallop right, single loops bottom, tendrils, red with purple                                                                |
| 73 | 37v | ff | F | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, double loops right, single loops top, double/single loops bottom, tendrils, red with purple                                        |
| 74 | 38r | T  | T | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and top, single loops bottom, dragon-like creature within hollow and at end of tendrils, red with purple, tenth historiated capital |
| 75 | 38v | ff | F | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and right, double loops bottom, tendrils, red with purple                                                                           |
| 76 | 39r | A  | A | 4-line, uncrossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and right, double loops bottom, tendrils, red with purple                                                              |
| 77 | 40r |    | A | 4-line, crossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and right, triple/single loops top, tendrils, red with purple                                                            |
| 78 | 40v | ff | F | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and right, triple/double loops top, single loops bottom, tendrils, red with purple                                                  |
| 79 | 40v | a  | A | 4-line, uncrossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and right, tendrils, red with purple                                                                                   |

|    |     |    |   |                                                                                                                                          |
|----|-----|----|---|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 80 | 40v | C  | C | 4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops bottom, uneven loops top, double loops left and right, tendrils, red with purple        |
| 81 | 41r |    | A | 4-line, crossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and bottom, double loops top and right, tendrils, red with purple       |
| 82 | 42r |    | A | 4-line, crossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, double loops right, double/single loops top, tendrils, red with purple |
| 83 | 43v | T  | T | 4-line, red, undecorated                                                                                                                 |
| 84 | 43v | O  | O | 3-line, red, undecorated                                                                                                                 |
| 85 | 44r | ff | F | 3-line, red, undecorated                                                                                                                 |
| 86 | 44r | A  | A | 3-line, red, undecorated                                                                                                                 |
| 87 | 44v | E  | E | 3-line, red, undecorated                                                                                                                 |
| 88 | 44v | ff | F | 4-line, red, undecorated                                                                                                                 |
| 89 | 44v | T  | T | 3-line, red, undecorated                                                                                                                 |
| 90 | 45r | A  | A | 4-line, red, undecorated                                                                                                                 |
| 91 | 45r | ff | F | 3-line, red, undecorated                                                                                                                 |
| 92 | 45v | A  | A | 3-line, red, undecorated                                                                                                                 |
| 93 | 45v | p  | P | 3-line, red, undecorated                                                                                                                 |
| 94 | 45v | P  | P | 3-line, red, undecorated                                                                                                                 |
| 95 | 45v | ff |   | [no space left for capital but marginal designator indicates intention]                                                                  |
| 96 | 46r | ff | F | 3-line, red, undecorated                                                                                                                 |
| 97 | 46r | V  | U | 4-line, red, undecorated [note marginal designator is "V" but capital drawn is "U"]                                                      |
| 98 | 46r | A  | A | 4-line, red, undecorated                                                                                                                 |
| 99 | 46v | A  | A | 3-line, red, undecorated                                                                                                                 |



|     |     |   |   |                                                                                                    |
|-----|-----|---|---|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 100 | 46v | I | I | 4-line, red, undecorated                                                                           |
| 101 | 47r | A | A | 3-line, red, undecorated                                                                           |
| 102 | 47v | A | A | 3-line, red, undecorated                                                                           |
| 103 | 48v | A | A | 3-line, red, undecorated                                                                           |
| 104 | 49r | A | A | 4-line, red, undecorated<br>[only the extreme right edge<br>remains of the marginal<br>designator] |

## **APPENDIX B**

APPENDIX B  
Catchwords in the Prose Alexander

The first folio number in each pair gives the catchwords from the bottom right margin of that folio. The next folio number in each pair gives the corresponding words from the first line of text on the following folio. Folios without catchwords have already been listed in the textual notes. Quire boundaries are marked for easy reference.

**Folio    Catchword(s)**

|     |                                              |
|-----|----------------------------------------------|
| 1v  | ƿ he þ <sup>t</sup> spekes to þ <sup>e</sup> |
| 2r  | ƿ he þ <sup>t</sup> spekes to the://         |
| 2v  | semble a grete Oste                          |
| 3r  | semble a grete Oste                          |
| 3v  | went to þ <sup>e</sup> walles                |
| 4r  | went to þ <sup>e</sup> walles                |
| 4r  | ende be                                      |
| 4v  | end be                                       |
| 4v  | wonneñ by nane                               |
| 5r  | be wonneñ by nane                            |
| 5r  | cedoynes                                     |
| 5v  | the macedoyñs                                |
| 5v  | gart make                                    |
| 6r  | garte make                                   |
| 6v  | in þ <sup>e</sup> whilke                     |
| 7r  | in þ <sup>e</sup> whilke                     |
| 7v  | mekih byte3 meñ no3te                        |
| 8r  | mekih byte3 meñ noghte                       |
| 8r  | þañ he                                       |
| 8v  | þañ he:/                                     |
| 9r  | ware to þ <sup>e</sup>                       |
| 9v  | ware to the                                  |
| 9v  | agayne w <sup>t</sup> his oste               |
| 10r | agayne w <sup>t</sup> his Oste               |
| 10r | he þ <sup>t</sup> hase                       |
| 10v | ƿ he þ <sup>t</sup> hase                     |
| 10v | whare þay fand                               |
| 11r | whare þay fande                              |

11r mery  
 11v mery//  
  
 11v make a crye  
 12r make a crye  
  
 12r by þ<sup>e</sup> whilke  
 12v by þ<sup>e</sup> whilke  
  
 12v and when þir messag<sup>rs</sup>  
 13r and when thire Messang<sup>rs</sup>  
  
 13r oure citee  
 13v oure citee  
  
 13v he hadd said on þis wyse  
 14r he hadd saide on this wise:/  
  
 14r he ansuerd  
 14v and he ansuerd  
  
 14v bot a 3ong mañ  
 15r bot a 3ong mañ  
  
 15r w<sup>t</sup> his oste  
 15v w<sup>t</sup> his Oste  
  
 15v chiftaynes  
 16r chyftaynes  
  
 16r he cōmanded  
 16v þan he cōmandede  
  
 16v oure landez  
 17r oure landez  
  
 17r for to be  
 17v for to be  
  
 17v of þ<sup>e</sup> agaynes  
 18r of the agaynes  
  
 18r sþmyt hy  
 18v sþmytt hy  
  
 18v till hym & pay hy t<sup>b</sup>ute  
 19r on a hye place [missing folio between 18v and 19r]  
  
 19r foresaid wat<sup>r</sup>  
 19v to þ<sup>e</sup> foresaid watere

- 19v by þ<sup>e</sup> forluke of godd [Quire A ends]  
 20r bett<sup>o</sup> vs es for [Quire B begins and missing folio  
 between 19v and 20r]
- 20r þus p<sup>e</sup>uely  
 20v thus p<sup>e</sup>ualye
- 20v wheñ Alex<sup>o</sup>  
 21r Wheñ Alexander
- 21r þaṁ oure lorde  
 21v þaṁ oure lorde
- 21v make þ<sup>t</sup> was  
 22r make þ<sup>t</sup> was
- 22r þ<sup>e</sup> Seuent  
 22v þ<sup>e</sup> Seuent
- 22v þaṁ ft lede þaṁ  
 23r þaṁ ft lede þaṁ
- 23v piḥs and þ<sup>o</sup>fore  
 24r piḥs//And þ<sup>o</sup>fore
- 24r a strayte lande  
 24v a strayte lande
- 24v wiete þ<sup>t</sup> þ<sup>i</sup>  
 25r wele witte that thi
- 25v of nedders  
 26r of nedders
- 26v w<sup>t</sup> 3ow  
 27r w<sup>t</sup> 3ow
- 27r if 3e saḥ  
 27v if 3e schall
- 27v þay walde oṇ na wyse  
 28r that þay walde one na wyse
- 28r fered  
 28v fered
- 28v oste  
 29r to þ<sup>e</sup> oste//
- 30r he gert pche  
 30v he garte pche
- 30v 3e schall see aḥ þir olyphant<sup>o</sup>  
 31r 3e schall see aḥ þir Olyphantes

31r of gud cōforthe  
 31v of gude cōforthe  
  
 31v to Dindim? þ<sup>t</sup> was  
 32r to Dindim? þat was  
  
 32r wisdom  
 32v wisdom  
  
 32v nob<sup>o</sup> be See ne be land  
 33r nob<sup>o</sup> be see ne by land  
  
 33r ne whare vs  
 33v ne whare vs  
  
 34r and þ<sup>t</sup> worde  
 34v and þat worde  
  
 34v Swanne  
 35r a swane//  
  
 35r waa es 3ow  
 35v waa es 3ow  
  
 35v thyng for till aray þā w<sup>t</sup>  
 36r thyng for till araye þam w<sup>t</sup>  
  
 36r lordez of þ<sup>i</sup>s werld  
 36v Noȝte lordes of this werlde/  
  
 37r meñ herde þ<sup>t</sup> noyse  
 37v meñ herde þ<sup>e</sup> noyse  
  
 37v þaṇ þay remowed  
 38r Than þay remowed  
  
 38v of saphirs  
 39r of saphyres  
  
 39v þaṇ þ<sup>e</sup> tre of þ<sup>e</sup> soñ  
 40r þaṇ þ<sup>e</sup> tree of þ<sup>e</sup> soñ  
  
 40r to<sup>ne</sup> one þ<sup>e</sup>  
 40v to<sup>ne</sup> one þ<sup>e</sup>  
  
 40v of golde  
 41r of golde  
  
 41v þ<sup>e</sup> cedres  
 42r vn to cedres  
  
 42r be p<sup>y</sup>sede  
 42v to be p<sup>y</sup>sede

42v    ȝ he sothe it es [Quire B ends]  
 43r    ȝ he sothe it es [Quire C begins]  
  
 43v    lyffed̄ aȝ  
 44r    lyffede aȝ  
  
 44v    grippes  
 45r    grippes  
  
 45r    sawes  
 45v    sawes  
  
 45v    doute he schulde dye  
 46r    And if þay toʒned hȝ þe bakke w<sup>t</sup> owtteñ dowte he sulde dye  
  
 46v    and þañ on a day  
 47r    and so apoñ a daye  
  
 47r    þe puysoñ vexed hȝ  
 47v    þe puysoñ vexed hȝ  
  
 47v    aȝ my mobles  
 48r    aȝ my mobles//  
  
 48r    of Macedoyne  
 48v    of Macedoyne  
  
 48v    as he had̄  
 49r    as he had̄

## VITA

Julie A. Chappell was born May 30, 1950 in Lawrence, Kansas. She attended Lawrence High School and graduated in 1968. She received her undergraduate degree in English and American Literature from the University of California, San Diego in La Jolla, California in June of 1983. She received a Master's Degree in English from the University of Washington in 1986 and entered the doctoral program there in that same year.