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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

by

Julie Chappell

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of the requirements for the degree of

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Chairperson of Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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

by Julie Chappell

Chairperson of the Supervisory Committee: Professor Miceal Vaughan
Department of English

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 Wynere 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.
In presenting this dissertation in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctoral degree at the University of Washington, I agree that the Library shall make its copies freely available for inspection. I further agree that extensive copying of this dissertation is allowable only for scholarly purposes, consistent with "fair use" as prescribed in the U.S. Copyright Law. Requests for copying or reproduction of this dissertation may be referred to University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106, to whom the author has granted "the right to reproduce and sell (a) copies of the manuscript in microform and/or (b) printed copies of the manuscript made from microform."

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July 24, 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 Wynne 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). 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 pergamen" (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 hat Mercy passeth alle thynge, 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 scriveners, 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.²

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 widespread 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.
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 II, 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 "b" is drawn and decorated, followed by "han." The marginal designator is a "t." On f. 45v, there is a marginal designator "ft." 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 Chaundler (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 mititude 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 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 Prelis I³. 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 Prelis, I¹, I², and I³, 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 I³
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 I³ texts. These are the only incunabula for the I³. Though Ross totals 45 Latin I³ 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 I³ called the I³a (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 I³a 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 I³ recension...[and] any significant variation...must be explained in terms of a lost interpolated version of I³" (1976:626). Duggan's method for discounting Hamilton's assumption is to collate ten manuscripts of the I³ recension with both the prose Alexander and the Wars of Alexander. In doing so, Duggan demonstrates that "the textual tradition of the I³ 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\(^3\) recension.

When Ross was preparing his extensive study, there was no critical edition of *Historia de Preliis* I\(^3\). In 1975, Karl Steffens published his *Die Historia de preliis Alexandri Magni Rezension J\(^3\).* This is a critical edition based on nineteen Latin I\(^3\) 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\(^3\) 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\(^{2a}\) as the source for the prose *Alexander*.

Steffens' edition also demonstrated the differences between the Latin I\(^3\) 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 13 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, ã, ã). 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 13 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. 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 "$pmage\tilde{\gamma}\$" instead of "$ymage\tilde{\gamma}\$" and "$y^9\$" occurs on several occasions instead of "$p^9\$." This imposition was judged less obtrusive than the disruption of a line reading "$pmage\tilde{\gamma}\$" instead of "$ymage\tilde{\gamma}\$," 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 $^1$ in "$pa^4re\$" 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 tiih," and "w't owtteff." 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. It has not always been enough. In Steffens' edition of the Latin Historia I, we read about "King Nicolaus of Aridorus" (p.20). In Thornton, he is "King Nicoht of ArridoUs" (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 "Aneccanabus" 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 "Tholomei" (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).


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.


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 form 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.¹

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 Southampton (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).² 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 Horrell: 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 Percyvall, 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/decimators 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$^3$ 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$^3$
is illustrated.$^3$

He acknowledges that some decorated vernacular versions of the
Latin I$^3$ 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$^3$ is illuminated, Ross believes that some other lost
manuscripts were. Ross further tells us that all the incunabula of
the I$^3$ 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$^3$ 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 I³ 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 I²" (1963: 61). Ross (1963: 62) also notes an I³ Italian prose Alexander with 41 miniatures which he relates again to a Historia de Preliis I². He believes that the late antique picture cycle came to the West in the Historia de Preliis I². He contends that its appearance, in part, in one manuscript of the I³ group establishes a good probability that it must have been contained in other manuscripts, both Latin and vernacular, of the I³ group (cf. Ross: 53). Consequently, the more abundant information we have from the I² illuminated manuscripts seems relevant in a discussion of the prose Alexander, which comes from the I³ 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 I² redaction. Given Ross' connections for the I² and the I³ 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 bᵉ pphicye of Daniel" (l.40). At the top of f. 7r, they exchange a few "gyftez," 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 eqtāns." 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 "aI ßfolkey 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 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 ñ dũabũ atantibũ." 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 I³. 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 I² 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 I² and I³ 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.\(^4\) 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 I³. What I have discovered is not so much historical truth as a closer connection between the prose Alexander and the Latin manuscripts of the I³ 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 cf 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 þe temple ð
aH þe citee may be seen" (ll.7-8) is not named. Proper names
might prove a useful tool in determining the relationship of the
I³ manuscripts both Latin and vernacular. Certainly, this brief
comparison leads us closer to patently rejecting the existence of
another distinct branch of the I³ 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."
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.

-  (um)  ft  (et)
-  (un)  t  (us)
-  (me)  -  (ra/a)
-  (me)  -  (ur)
-  (ne)  *  (ro)
-  (ne)  0  (are/ander/er/re)
-  (de)  =  (-)
-  (te)  7  (con)
-  (gge/ge)  3  (es/s/us)
-  (ub)  5  (an/am)
-  (he)  2  (en/em)

-  (lett)  6  (er)
-  (lie)  1  (ri)
-  (mm)  =  (mille)
-  (nn)  c  (centum)

-  (pp)
-  (ym)
-  (in)
-  (om/on)
-  (um)
-  (per/par)
-  (Per/Par)
-  (pro)
-  (es)
-  (quod)
-  (ser/sir)
-  (sse)
THE MIDDLE ENGLISH TEXT
INTERLEAVED WITH THE MODERN ENGLISH TRANSLATION
dowë in to þe dyke and thare he seithe & was að to frusched & þañ Alex' said vn to hy one this wyse:ffals wrecche ðe he þæ sumeth to tell þynge þat ere to con ðæste ðæ ou were a þephyte and knewe þe þæ muteþ of heueþ
Now may þe see that þe lyky/And þe fore þe arte worthy to hafe swilke a dede and þañ Aneclanby ansuerþ & said;/I wyte wele ynovge ðe he þe I scholde die swylke a dede/Talde I noshte lange ðæ to þe that myn awenþ som și schulde sære me;/Whi ame I thi som þe þe Alexander;/Saa for sothe ðe Aneclanby
I gat the;/And w þat wære he ydale þe gaste;/And þañ Alexander herte þe- dira oð his ffader;/And he tak þy vp on his bakke and bare þy to þe palæce and when þe moder Olympias saw hy;/Scho said vn tilh hy;/Scon þe scho what es that;/Als thi foly hase made it þe he so it es and þahe he gert berye þy wirchipfully

In the mene tyme a prynce of Macedoyn
draghte þe kynge a horse vn temed a grete
and a faire & he was tyeð oð ilke side wþ
chynes of Irenæ:for he walde wery með
and ete þæ;/This ilke horse was calleð
Buktiphalaþ bi cause of his vgly lukynge
ffor he had a heueð lyke a buðe & knottis
in his front/as þay had bene þe bygynynge
of hörnes;/And when þe kynge saw þe bew-
tee of this horse;/he said till his þurðdis

Takeþ this horse and putteþ hy in a stable and makes barreþ of yrenæ
before hy that thefeþ and opþ mysoðers þe saþ he done to dede may
be putt in tilh hy:to be sære of hy and þay didþ sco;/In þe mene
tyme þe kynge Philipæ had ane answere of his goddess;/that hee
schulde regne nexte að þe:the while myghte ryde that wyld
horse wþ owteþ harme;/So it seith þe Alexþ þe while he was þañ
twelue þære alde weye strange & ðære hardy & was wyse and
discrete:for he was wele leræd & coþand in að þe seuen sciences
þe while þe two philosophres haþ teched hy þat es to say:;/Are-
stotle & Callistene;/And one a day as Alexander passæd for by þe
place þære als þe fore saide stode;/he luðed in be twene þe barreþ
of yrenæ and saw bi fore þe horsemens hend & seide þe opþ of þaire
membris ligandæ scatered þære & thare and he þæ grete woner
þe off;/And he putt in his hande bi twene þe barreþ;/And þe horse
...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 hande and he kneled douȝ on his kneeesse:And bi helde Alexander in þe vesage langly:/And Alexander ynderstode wele þe wiȝ of þe horse and opyned the barre3 and went into þe horse and streked hym softly on þe bakke wȝ his riste hande:/And belyfe þe horse were wonderly meke till Alexander and riste as a honde wiȝ couche when his maistȝ bidde hym so dide he till Alexander and Alexȝ lukede be sidȝ hym þe sawe a sadiȝ a brydeȝ hyȝe thare and he tuke þe dyrȝ þe oȝ hym þe leppe on his bakke:Á rade furthe oȝ hym:/And when the kyngge Philippȝ sawe hym do so:/he said vn till his hym:Á Mi soȝ Alexander þe:áþ þe ansurers of our goddeȝ ere fulfilede in the:Áffor when I am dede Þou moȝ regne aþtourȝ me:/And Alexander ansuerȝ þe:Á I þought þe father þe: he ordeyne me horse þe meȝ for I gaa seke dedeȝ of armeȝ:Áffor soþe þe kynȝe wȝ a glade chere:/Take þe a hundreȝ horse and xi thosandeȝ poudȝ of golde:And take wȝ the of þe worthiȝe蠊te kynȝȝe þat langeȝ to me and wendis furthe:/And he dida so:/And he tuke wȝ hym also a philosophere þat highe Eufestȝ while he trysted mekiȝ in:/And twelue childre þat he chose to be his playfers and went furthe and come in till a contreh þat es called Poliȝ ponȝ:/And when the kynȝe of þe land herȝ teȝ he þwike meȝ were entred:Á to his rewme in swilke arayȝ:/he rayseȝ a gret Oste and come agaynes Alexander for to feghte wȝ hym:/And when he come nerehandȝ hym he said vn till his hym:/Tell me þe:Á he what þȝ erȝ:/And Alexander ansuerȝ:Á I am Alexander þe þe soȝ of Philippȝ kynȝe of Macedoyne:/And what hopeȝ þȝ þe I be þ þe kynȝe till hym:/And Alexander ansuerȝ:Á þou erȝ kynȝ of Arridoȝ þe he:/Neuȝ þe lessu if aþ I do þȝ þrchippe þat i calle þ þe kynȝe:empȝe þe nathyȝe þ of:ffor meȝ seeȝ oftȝ tymes meȝ þe er in heghest astate coȝ to lawe degree þe meȝ þe er in lawe degree come till heghest astate:Áþou saȝ riste wele þ þe kynȝe:/Take hede to thyȝ awȝ selȝe:/And Alexȝ ander ansuerȝ þe:Á he:Á Ca heþ a way fra me þe he for þȝ caȝ say noghte to me ne I hafe noghte at do wȝ þ:/And þu þe kyng was worder wrathe:/And said till Alexander luke on me:Á þhe þ spakes to þ
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

Philipp, he spekes to thee:/ffore I swerre the be my ffader hele & I anes spitte in thi face p. schale dye:/And w. pat he spitte at Alexander & said:
Take þe pare þe biche whelpe þat þe seme3 till hafe:/And Alexander stepped furthe & said vn till hy:;/ffor þe he has dysised me by cause I ame liti:;I swerre þe bi þe pete of my ffader & by my moder was wanne in þe while I was consayued of godd Amã þat þe schaal see mee are oughte lange in þe rewme:/redã to feghte w. & owþ I schaal wyñ þi rewme w. dynte of swerð & brynge it vnder my sbiecçion or þe schaal make me subiecte vn to þe:/And pare þay assignede day of Batehe & ayther of þe went hame fra op

And agaynes þe day of Batehe Alexander bi ascens & ordynance of kynge Philippe gadiñ. a grete Oste & went to the place þe: Batehe was assigned and fanç alt redy pare kynge Nicoã and his oste:;And þay trumped vp appoñ bathe þe þies and bigaõ to feghte. & many meñ ware alacõ ce bathe þe ayde3 Bot at þe laste Alexander hade þe felde õ take kynge Nicoã & gart smytte of his heued & went I tiñ his land & conquered it and his knyghtes went and corouned hy kynge þe off and sythe he went hame tiñ his fader kynge Philippine and fanç hy sittanõ at the mete at a bridale:/ffor he had put a waye fra hy his wyfe Olympias Alexander Moder and take3 hy an op pat highte Cleopatra:/And Alexander went in to þe hauhe and said vn to þe kynge Philippi ffader þe I þow pat for a rewarde of my firste ioºne þat I hafe now made:3ee graunte me to take my Moder Olympias agayne vn to þow & do to hir as awe to be done to a quæste rathere þan I gyffe hir to anoþer kynge:so þe I be noþte youre enemy for euº;/ffor this wedº dysng þat þe hafe now made here es vnlefulº:/whan he hadd said thir wordes ane of þe þe satt at þe kynge burde whose name was lesias ansered õ said to þe kynge:/lord þe he þe schaal hafe a soñ of Cleopatra and he schaal regne aftº:;/Alexander that was gretyly greuede at his wordes and w. a wardere þe he hade in his hande he went tiñ hy and kellede hy:/whan kynge Philipp sawe this he was gretyly stirred and rase vp & gatt a swerde
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
Alexander went to war to have some trouble; bot there he fell down and ay he drew a mare he fell to the earth right as he was far. And Alexander said of him: "Philippe, I am now so that I am worse worse, within thirty years hence the strength to stand on the fetes. And all these are so distraught, and the brydale letted. And Alexander went aboue on him and cast down his blade with the men fell and drank his ware appointed and took Cleopatra and schotte his out at his haunce. And the kyng Philippine for sorrow he took til he fell there seke. And a little afterward Alexander went till hy for to set the hy to comfort the hy and said of him: "Philippe, he if it be no gentle, I call. He be of very gentle two, I said the myn advice. It is fully my desaile that you receive agayn vn to the my lady my Moder Olympia and at his place there ne take na heynnes to the for: for vn kyndely me thinke it did and vnadely that he drew his sword for to smytte me. And when Philippine herd his words his hert tendred he bigane to wepe; And Alexander went till his Moder Olympia and said of him: "Be no gentle, ferde P he ne be no gentle heuy to my fader for if aliche thy trespass be of no gentle knoweth new. He lesse he erthe in pty to blame. And when he had sayde thus he led hir furthe to the kyng Philippine and he took and kiss, hir and thus was scho receisde vn till hy agayne.

After this come messengers from Dariel. Philippine asked hy tribute; and Alexander answered to this messengers and said: Saise to Dariel: 30 lorde Q he see. He tyme that Philippine so was waxen of age, hen he ay es waxen barayne and consumed awaye and so es Dariel pryued of his trybute and ther messengers herd thir wordes. He had grete wonder of him.

Of all wit and wisedome of Alexander: In he mene tyme to thynges come to kyng Philippine that Ermonye while he was soget vn till hy; was rebelle he and raysse agaynes hy; And he garte

[assemble a grete Oste]
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

sembe a grete Oste and sent Alexander thedir þe to feghite wþ þam and to putt þam agayne vnder his subieccioun: //Alexander than went wþ this Oste till Eromony þe broghte it agayne i subieccioun as it was bi forc: //And þa þe mene tyme whille he was þare a lorde of Macedoine þe whilke highte pansamy: a st borough me ða þa balde suget vn to Philippe and hade of lange tyme couette for to hafe þe quene Olympias consipredede agaynes þe kynge and come with a grete multytude of folke appoþ þe kynge to for do hy and when tythynge þere of come to kynge Philippe he went to mete hy in þe fele þe a fewe men: //And when he sawe þe grete multytude þat pansamy hade wþ hy he turnde ða þe felle þa and Pansamy þe aed aft þy and ouþhied þy and strake þy thurghe wþ a spere and sitt þe þe he were greusely wonde þe dyed þyte alsone but he laye halfe dede in the waye: //And than þe Macedoynes þe wenede he hade bene dede made mekiþ sorowe: //And when þis ioþnee was done Pansamy was gretly empþede þoff þe went into þe kyngeþ palace for to take þe qwene Olympias ote of it and hafe hir with þy: //And eue þe same tyme Alexander come fra hermony þa sawe swylke trouble þe styrrynge in the rewme and hyed þy faste to warde þe kyngeþ palace and when Olympias herþ teþe þat Alexander hir soþ had þe victorre of his enemys þe was comande nere: //Scho went furthe of þe palace at a preuee posterne to mete hir soþ and to welcome hy hame: //And alsone als scho come nere hy scho criede appoþ þy þe said: //AA my soþ Alexander whare es þe gþ ce þe fortune þat oure goddes highte the þas es to say þat þu scholeþ alwaye ouþ come thyþæ neþemys þe noþte he ouþ come þat Pansamy hase one þuþ wyse slaeþ thi þfader: //And alsone the worde come to Pansamy þe Alexander was comande: //And he went furthe of palace for to mete hyþ: and also faste als Alexander sawe þy þe he oute wþ a swerþ and clafe his huced ðo þe tethe þe slewe hyþ: //And ane of þe Oste said þiþ Alexander: //Philleþ þe þiþ þe lyes dede in þe þe feleþ: //And þan Alexander went thedir that he laye and saw hy eueþ at þy þyingþ: //And þe he begaeþ faste for to wepe: //And Philleþ luked appoþ þy þe said AA my dere soþ Alexander þe wþ a glade herþ may now dye for þþ þuþ so þe hase venged my dede þe eueþ wþ
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 Olympia, 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, Olympia, 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 Olympia 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

The word he salde gaste: // And Alexander wirchifuly gert by be entered. When kynge Philippe was entered: // Alexander went and sett by I his t'ne and gerte calle by fore by alle folke that was gadered thedir lordez & op. and saind vn to pa on bys wyse: // Me I he of Macedoyne: of Tracy and of grece by halde p' figure of Alexander and puttez oute of 30' hertes drede of alle 30' enemys for sekezly and 3e will take gude hertis to 3ow thurghe helpe of oure goddis 3e chaft hafe ou'hande of all youre neightebours and 30' name schant spredez ou' alle the werlde: // And for ilk ane of yow this hase armes that makes it redy and he pat hase nane come to my palace & I saiz gerrre delyu hym all hym nedis and ilk a maiz make by redy to yer werre: // And when yer lordez and knyghtis ware of grete age herd thir wordes pay answere Alexander & said vn till hym: // lorde I thaye we hafe fueke youre fader a longe tyme & traueld with hym in his werres & pare fore we ere now so brysse d' armes no myghte lefte in vs for to suffre diseas pat ofte tymes fallas to me of werre ffor we ere strekez in grete age: // And for if it be plesynge vn to 3ow we consaile 3ow it we be sekez 3owe that 3e chese 3ow 3ong lordez & 3ong knyghtes pat ere listy meiz & able for to suffre diseas for to be we 3ow: // for here we giffe vp all armes if it be 30' will & forsakes paiz for eu: // And paiz Alexander answere & said I will rather ye he chese pay sadnesse of an alde wyse men than pou vn asey lightenesse of 3ongmen ffor 3ongmen ofte tymes trystand to meiz I thaire aveniz doghtynes thurghe aveniz foly ere meschued & Bot alde meiz wirkes aiz by consaile & by witte I he had said thir wordes: // All meiz alowed his bie witte and hally pay assented to by for to do his lyste S one aft Alexander assemblede a grete Oste & went bi Schippe to wardez Italy and als he come by Calcedoyne he assayled it restre strangely and be folke of Calcedoyne [went to wailes]
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
went to the walls of Citee and defendeth manly. Bot at the laste
Alexander waith the Citee: And fra the thythen he Schippede in till
Italy and alsone als pe Romaynes herd of his comynyge pay were
wonder ferde for hye: And the grete lorde of lande tike
fourty thousands of besandez and fcorunes of golde and went
vn till hye: and presant hym wth paith and bysoughte hye he
scholde onyte werrey appross ne do paith na harme: And
than Alexander tuke trybut of Romaynes and of alle the
fолkes duelt bi twixe that a pay weste Occean: And whilke
regione es callyd Europe & lefte paith in gude pesse
ra the thythen he Schippede in till Affric in thee
whilke he fande bot fewe pay rebelled agaynes hy
and pay fore als swa saye eue eodeynly he cоquerid
it & broghte it vnder his subieccio: And fra
Affric he went by Schippe till ane lle pay es callyd
frontides for to consaile wth a godd pay called Amoа and
as Alexander & his men went to warde pay tike tempel of pay for
sald godd pay mett in waye a grete hert whilke Alex
bad his men sla wth arowes: And pay schott at hy: bot nane
of paith myghte hitt hi: and paith Alexander tuke a bowe
schotte at hi: hitt hi: and paith Alexander went
in to tempel make sacrafyce of pay hert vn to godd Amoа
and by soughte hi pay he schulde gyffe hy ansuares wheг
Alexander hade made his yers pare to godd Amoа he
went wth his Oste till a place pat highte Taphoresey
In pay whilke were xv feftene gude townes & pay hade
twelwe grete reuers pat rane in to see and at entré
of paith in to See was drawen ou grete chynes of gryne
and thare Alexander made Sacrifice till his godde: And
on same nyghte a godd pat Serapis apperid vn till
hy in his slepe cled in riche clothyng in one horrible
forme & a dredeful and said vn till hye: Alexander may pay
take pay's monytayn on schulder & bere it a way
Alexander how myghte any man do pat and Serapis
ansuered & said Righte as pay Montayne saith neu pay owtes
ende be
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
en so thi name & thi dedes schal be made mynde of to the worldes end: / And that Alexander p"yed hy p"e wasde p"aycye hy what kynd dede he scholde die: / Serapis ansered and said it es nought spedfull till a maie to knawe his paysnfull endynge ffor if he knewe it pauen"e he scholde neu"e hate Joye in his hert Neut p"e lese bi cause p"e hase p"e yede me to telle p"e I sahe say the aft p"e dryne p"e schal take thi dede ffor I thi yotte p"e sahe make thy Tablet endynge: / Bot spire me no p"e tyme ne p"e houre when it schal be ffor I wille on na wyse telle it to the: / ffor whi goddes of p"e este p"e of p"e werde sahe telle the alle thi werde: / wheh Alexander wakkene of his dreme he was rehte heuy and sent p"e mastede substance of his Oste to p"e Cite of Askaloth and bad p"e habide hy thare and hy selfe & a c"tane of menye w"t hym habade & thare he garte make a Citee & called it Alexander aft "h"s awen" name I n the mene tyme p"e Egipciena herde of p"e comynge of Alexander & pay went agaynes hy & sbyttyt p"e vn till hy & resayffed hy wirchipfully and wheh Alexander come in till Egipte he fand new ymage of a kyng made of blake stane curiously cor"uehe and he askede p"e Egipciena whose ymage it was and pay ansered & sahe: It es p"e ymage p"e pay of Anectanab3 that was kyngy of Egipte noste lange sythe was gane p"e wyseste & p"e worthieest p"e en"e was p"e in: / ffor sothe p"e Alex Anectanab3 was my ffader and p"e he knelid doue with grete requenes & kyssed p"e ymage ffrathymh he went w"t his Oste to Surry But p"e Surriens a gayne stude hy and fadge hy & avan many of his knyghtes Neut p"e leste Alexander had be victorie and p"e he went to Damasek & Ensegede it & wanne it and fra thymh he went to Sydoth & wanne it: / And p"e he went vn to p"e Citee of Tyre and layde Ensegege abowe it and p"e Ensegege he laye many a day and thare his Oste suffred many dysseses ffor p"e Cite was so strange in it selfe by cause of p"e ground p"e it was sett apohe and by cause of grete towres & many p"e ware abowe it and also bi cause it was so enclosed w"t the See pat it myghte noghte lightly be [wonted by name]
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
be wonne by nane assawte://Alexander þan vbmbithoghte hy
one what wyse he myghte best co to for to destryuy þis citee
and he gerte make a grete basteil of thee and sett it apoð sch
ippes in þe see euð ðayynes þe cete so þ þ myghte no schippe3
come nere the haues for to vetaile þe citee or suppoð it wþ
með by cause of þo basteile:/In þe mene tyme Alexander Oste
hade grete defawte of vetyles and þan he sent ired vn to
Iadus þat at that tyme was bischoppe & gouernoure of þi
ieves and þ yede hy for to suppoð hy wþ soð menæ and also
þat he walde sende sun ðe vetailes for hy & his Oste and he
scholde pay for þa wþ a glade dere:/And þ he scholde also
sende hy the tribute þ he scholde gyf þe Daril þ empower of Perse
for hy ware bettæ he said hafe his frenchipe þan þ frenchipe
of Daril The Bischoppe þan of þo iewes answere þ messangæs
þ broughte hy þo ired & said:/I hafe þ he made ath to Daril
þe while he leffe Þ I schall neuð bere armes agaynes hyæ and
þ fore I ne may notte do agaynes myþ æthe:/The Messangæs
þan went til¼ Alexander þ talde hy þe bischopes answere and
he was greued þ ð said:/I make myþ avowe þ he vn til¼
oure goddes þat I schall take swilke vengeance on þo iewes
þat I sað make þan to knawe whethir it es bettæ to þan
to be obelant vn to cæmandemst or vn to þo kynges of Pae
and he callede a Duke þe highte Melagere and wþ wþ menæ of
armes and badd þan gaa in to þe vale of losaphat þe whilke
was full of bestæ þ bryng of these bestæ to þe Oste for to
vetaile þan wþ and ane Sampson þat knewe þ cuntre
wele was þaire gyde:/þay went wþ þo vale and gadirdæ
to gedir cate þ owte nombr þ be gaa for to dryfe oð
þan and he þ was lorde of þo cuntre Theosellæ bi name raydæ
seæ a grete multitude of folke and mett þan þaughte wþ
þan þ slewe many of þan Bot Melagere þ his felaws
at þe tyþ had þ bettæ:/And a þe highte Caull went baldly
to Theosellæ þ smate of his heued:/Aþ this was done bot
a litiþ fræ þo citee of Gadir and þan Bertyne lorde of þo citee
seand this was gretyly sturred and ischedewe owte of þo citee
þ wþ xxx feghtyng menæ and sett vp a schowte apoð þ ma
[cedoynes]
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
the macedoyns aile at anes that aile b° erthe trembled w° aile://And when b° Macedoyns saw that grete multytude of folke co° appo° b° pay were reste ferde and b° Melagere walde have sent a Messang°e to b° laire lorde Alexander for to come & socoure b° bot he myyte fyn° na ma° b° pat walde vndertake b° Message://Than thir twa batalles mett Same° & faughte to gedir and thare was Sampson° slaen and Bertyne and b° Macedoynes w° b° grete multitude of b°aire enemys were dreue® abakke and lyke for to be dreue® abakke & discomfit® & one of b° grekkes b° highte Arites seynge b° meschefe b° pay stode In° wan® h° owte of the Bataile & went in alle b° haste pat he myghte tillb Alexander & talde hy b° b° grekkes b° Macedoyns ware in poynte to be mescheuede but if he suppoellde b® b° titterre://And than Alexander lefte b° segge of Tyre and went w° his Oste to b° vale of Iosaphat and fand his me® ri®te harde by stadde w° b°aire enemys://And he & his Oste vmbylapped alle b°aire enemys & daunge b°m dou® & slewe b® ilke a moder so® & when he had so done he turned agayne vn to Tyre & fande the Bastelle pat he hade made in b° See dong®e® doune to b° gronde://for also® als Alexandere was gane fra Tire to b° vale of Iosaphat Bala® b° was lorde of Tyre ischewid® oute of b° cizie w° the® folke b° of & assaile® the bast®® manfully & tuk it & dange it doune & when Alexander sawe that he was gretly an gerde & his hert wonder heuy & so ware alle b° Macedoyns & the grekes In so meki® they ware nerehand® in dispere for to wy® b° cizie & ware in poynte to hafe rifen® v® b° segge & one b° myghte nexte suande Alexander als he laye & slept dremy® pat he had® in his hand® a grape b° whilke hy thoghte he keste doune vnder his fete & trade b° one & alsone b° ra®® oute of it a grete dele of wyne://And when Alexander wakned® he called till® hy® a Philosophre & talde hy his dreme & b° Philosophre ansuerde he balde® he® lefe noste® to enseenge Tyre for b° grape b° he® helde in thi hand® & keste vnnder thi fete & trade b° one es b° Cizie of Tyre b° whilk b° sa®® wyn® thurgh streth®® & trede it with thi fete & b° fore he na thynge a baste://when Alexander herd® thire wordes://he was gretly c®ford®® & vmbthoghte hy® one whate wyse he myghte gette thi Cizie:and than® he

\[\text{gart make} \]
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 Bertyn 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
garte make anob thaste in see grettere & hyere and strangere pan to\nwas: for it was hiree pan heighest towe of citee. And his bast\ne he was tyede w't a hundrethe ankers: pan Alexander gert armede\nmei & wele & wente by hy ane vp apo this basteHe and\nbad all his mei pan pay schulde make pan redy for to feghte & to giffe\nassawte to citee and alsome as pay sawe hy entire in to citee pay\nscholde all at anes presse to pan wall; and slame ou pan wall; baldely & wyi pan citee; //And when all mei were redy hee\ngerte smyte soundere pan cabills pan bad He was tyed w't pan wawes\nof citee; //And pan Alexander deluyerlye\nstert apo wall; where Balaan stode and rai apo hy & swed hy\nand keste hy ou pan wall; in to citee; //And when pan Mace\ndoyns & pan grekes sawe Alexander entir in to citee pay schouted\nto pan wall; all at anes and slame ou pan wall; on ob\nwyse w't owtei any resistence: //for pan Tyrreis was so ferde by cause\nof dedde of Balaan paire Dduc pat pay ne durste noghte t'ne agayne\nne defende pan wall; //And o that this wyse was pan citee takei and do\nungei doun to citee erthe: //ffe pan segge of Tyre Alexander & his mei\ngent to citee of Gaza and assailed it & w't schort;e while pay wa\nit; //And fffra thethyi hyed hym towardes Ier for to ensege it\nWhen pan Bishchope of pan Iewes herde\ntele pat Alexander was comand\ntoward Ier he gert cahi bi fore\nyi all pan Iewes pan ware pan citee\nand talde pan pan tytshynge pan ware\ntalde hy; and sytheme he comand\npan pat pay schulde com to pan tple\nand be pare in praydne ffastynge\nand wakynge & I sacrifis makyg\nvnto godd bi sekand hy of helpe &\nsocoure and pay di sooc; //And on pan\nyghte nexte aft when pan Bisc\nhoppe had made his sacrifis and was lyane in prayers he\nfei on slomeryng and ane angenHe appere\nvntill hy and sayde\nBe noyte ferd; he bot swyte the gere araye honestly all pan strenes\nof citee and caste open the gatea and warne all pan folke pan pay\naray pan in whitte clethynge and thi selte & alle pan prestis\nrequestei pow solemnely and to morne areli wendei furthe\nof pan citee agayne Alexander in processioue; ffor hy by houe3
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 to 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
regne & be lorde of alle p° werlde; Bot at p° laste p° wrette of godde saithe falke apôn hye; when p° bischoppe wakened of his slepe; he called till hy p° iewes and talde þa his reuelacion and bad þan so aß als þan angelle hade schewed hye; And þan die so; ffor þan arayed p° strete3 of þe cetee and cledde þan in whitte clysnyng; And the bischope & þan prestis reueste þan and bathe thay and alle þe folke went furthe of þe citee till a place whare þe temple & aß þe citee may be seen; And þare þan habade þe comynge of Alexander; And when Alexander come nere þis foresaid place and sawe be for hye swilk a multitude of folke cledæ alle in whitte and þe p° p°ste3 arayed solemnly I riche vestymentis and þe byschope also in his pontyfye cales and a mytir one his heued and þan apôn a plate of golde whare one was wryten þe name of grete godde Tetrag°maton; he coman dek aß his meñ þat þay schuld be haldæ þan by hyen hy and habyde till he com to þan; And he lighte off his horse and went bi hye ane to þe iewes; And knelid þo to þe erthe and wirchippede þe hye name of godde þe he saw þare wryten apôn þe bischopes heued; And þan alle þe iewes knelid þan and saluate Alexander and cried aß wel a voyce:lyffe þay grete Alexander lyffe the gretteste Empe°r of þe werlde; lyffe he þat saith ouc°coð aß meñ and noyte be ouc°comen; Prynce maste gloruous and maste worthy of aß þe þanec3 þe regne on apôn erthe; when þe kyngœ3 of Surry saw þis þay hadð grete wonder þe off; And a prync of Alexander þe highte Prænoð saide vni till Alexander; Mi lorde þe Empe°r þe we mervellè vs gretely þe þan when aß meñ wirchipped3 and lowte3 wirchipped3 here þe bischope of þe iewes; And Alexander answereþ; I wirchipe noytek hym þis þe Bot godde whase state he þan senteþ; ffor when I was in Macedoynes and vmbithoghte me oð what wyse I myste cœquere Assaye I saw hy slepandæ in swilkæ habite þæ in swylke araye and he lete as he sett noytek by me bot went baldly furthe bi me and for I see nane in swilkæ arrayæ bot hym; I suppose it be þat I saw in my slepe; And þare fore I trowe þat þurgh þe helpe of godde I saith ouc°coð Daryus þe kyng of Perse and his grete pryde for do and aß thyngæ þat I caste in my hert for to do it es þis fulœ triste þat þurgh his helpe I saith fulœ it and wele bryng it to end; And þis es þe cause I wirchipped hye; And when he hadæ said þis thay wordes he went in to þe citee ðe þe bischope & þe þanste3 and went in to þe temple þat Salamoœ made and as þe bischope teched hye he Offreœ sacrafice vni to godde; And þe bischope tuke Alexander in handæ a buke of þe þiphicye of Daniel [in þe whilke
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.
in \( \Delta \) while he fande wretyn \( \Delta \) pat a ma\( \Delta \) of Grece sulde distruy \( \Delta \) powere of Perse: //And Alexander was reghte gladde supposynge \( \Delta \) it was by selfe: //And \( \Delta \) he gaffe \( \Delta \) bischoppe \( \Delta \) ob \( \Delta \) preste \( \Delta \) grete gyfte \( \Delta \) riche \( \Delta \) \( \Delta \) cyous: //And badd \( \Delta \) bischoppe asche of hy what so he walde and the bischoppe askede pat he walde giffe \( \Delta \) leve to vse \( \Delta \) same lawes \( \Delta \) pat \( \Delta \) faders vse \( \Delta \) bi fore \( \Delta \) and it \( \Delta \) he graunte \( \Delta \) it: //And \( \Delta \) \( \Delta \) bischoppe askede pat walde giffe \( \Delta \) Iewes \( \Delta \) ware in Medee \( \Delta \) \( \Delta \) in Babylone leve for to vse \( \Delta \) lawes \( \Delta \) \( \Delta \) he graunte \( \Delta \) hy \( \Delta \) \( \Delta \) \( \Delta \) ob \( \Delta \) thynge \( \Delta \) pat he walde asken: /

Alexander than \( \Delta \) went fra yere \( \Delta \) lefte thare Andromac his Message and hy selfe \( \Delta \) \( \Delta \) his Oste went to \( \Delta \) ob \( \Delta \) cite \( \Delta \) ware \( \Delta \) lande of Indee and at lke a citee \( \Delta \) \( \Delta \) he come to he was wirchipfully ressayued: //In \( \Delta \) mene tame \( \Delta \) Surryens \( \Delta \) fled \( \Delta \) fra Alexander went to Peres and talde \( \Delta \) emp \( \Delta \) Daril how Alexander hadde done to \( \Delta \) \( \Delta \) Daril spire of thay \( \Delta \) of his stature \( \Delta \) \( \Delta \) of his schappe and \( \Delta \) pay schowed hym \( \Delta \) trayed in a \( \Delta \) skyn \( \Delta \) \( \Delta \) mage of Alexander: //And alsone als Daril sawe it he dispysed Alexander by cause of his litihere stature and be lyfe he gerte a ire and sent it till Alexander: //And \( \Delta \) \( \Delta \) sent hy a handba \( \Delta \) ob \( \Delta \) certane lape \( \Delta \) in scorne: //And \( \Delta \) \( \Delta \) is \( \Delta \) teno \( \Delta \) of \( \Delta \) ire \( \Delta \) \( \Delta \) he sent till hy D arl kynge of kynge and lord of \( \Delta \) \( \Delta \) erthely lordes eue \( \Delta \) like vnto someschynande \( \Delta \) \( \Delta \) godde \( \Delta \) of Perse \( \Delta \) till Alexander oure \( \Delta \) we send \( \Delta \) we hafe vn \( \Delta \) derstanden now on late whare of we muelle vs gretely \( \Delta \) \( \Delta \) ent so rayse \( \Delta \) de and vayne glorye \( \Delta \) hase semble to gedir a company of robbos and thefe \( \Delta \) oute of \( \Delta \) weste pties and caste \( \Delta \) for to co \( \Delta \) till oure pties supposynge thurgh \( \Delta \) \( \Delta \) for to ou \( \Delta \) sett and constryne grete myghte \( \Delta \) \( \Delta \) vntue of \( \Delta \) pcyens whose strenghte \( \Delta \) may neuer sloke \( \Delta \) ne ou come suppose \( \Delta \) gadirde \( \Delta \) sembl to gedir all \( \Delta \) \( \Delta \) worlde for for I do \( \Delta \) \( \Delta \) \( \Delta \) wele to wiete \( \Delta \) myghte nerehand alsose nommer \( \Delta \) stines of heue \( \Delta \) \( \Delta \) \( \Delta \) folke of \( \Delta \) empire of Perse Oure godde also by
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 overset 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
by whay aly bese werlde es gourned & sustenad prysses & cömende
oure name passyng aly ob nacyons://Bot noste wē standynge lyas þou as
a littill binse a dwerghe a halfe maß & ortes of alle meß desyrand
ou passage lyttlessee riȝte as a mouse crepeȝ oute of hir hole:so
lyas erþ crepeȝ out of þe lande of Sethyns://wensyne wē a few rebawde
lyas cõquire & optene lyas landes of Perse brade & lange & to ryotte
fayle the in thayw as myesse douse in þe house whare na cattes
er:/:Bot I þat p∧aly hase as pied thi gatez:/wenn þu weneȝ mooste
seurely for to sertelte abwote I saft sterte apoyn þu & take þer://
so in wrechidnes saft thidayes fouly hafe aþ ende:/:A grete fforly
lyas dide for to take apoyn the swhyke a þu sumpcyon It ware full
fayre to þu if þu mygheþ bi ourle lefe wē oure beneuolence occupie
aþ anely þu rewme of Macedoyne yeldynge þu for tiþ vs yerely
a certane tribute://aþ þu couetid þuþe oure empire://paþe faw
it es gude þat þu lefe thi fonned þu posse we henle a gayne
fayle the in thi moder kneþ://And lo I sende the here a littill battle
wē þu whilke als a childe þu my may play þe://ffor þu erþ bot a childe
I þu þe mare semely þuþu þu lefe use childeþ gammes://pan dedes of armes
We knawe wele thi pouert and thi node and þu þu hase vnnethes
whare wē þu þu may sustene þu caytynfe coð:/:wenn þu þu saft to
brynge vnder thi sublieccion the empyre of Daril://I say the þy
my þadder saule//þat in the rewme of Perse þu es so grete plente
of golde þat þu it were gadirde to gedir on a hepe It schulde passe
þu clerenes of þu soñ whare wone we cömende the and straitely enm-
iöynge þu þu leue thi folke pride and thi vayne glory & tourne
hame agayne to Macedoyne://And if þu wiþ noste seoc://we saft
sende to þu a multitude of meñ of armes swile þe an saw þu neuþ þu
whilke saft take þu and hynge þu hye oþ a gebett as a trayto:77 and a
mayst:78 of theefes:79 And noste as þu soñ of Philippe
W
heñ þu Messanges þat were sent fra Daril come to kyng
Alexander þay cyaffe by the irses and þu bahte & ob cer-
tane Iapes þat þu empô77 sent by in scorne://And Alexþu
tuke þu irses and gert rede it openly bi fore alle meñ
and Alexander knychte° when þay herde þu tene° of þu
irses ware gretly astonayde and wonder heuy://And when Alexander
sawe þa so heuy by cause of þu ire he saide vn to þa:/:AA my
worthy knychte° þe he are 3e fered for þu prowde wordeþ þu are
contened in Daril irses wate 3e noghte wele þat hundez þu berkes

mekiþ bytes3 meñ noste
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.1

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
mekið byte3 meñ noghte so some als doë3 hunde3 þe cõme3 one meñ wë
owten berkynges://we drowe wele þe ire sayes sothe of some thynge3
þat es to saye of þe grete plente of golde þe Daril sais he hase://And þe
fore late vs manly feghte wë hy and we sañ hafe þe golde://ffor
þe grete multitude of his golde als me thyneke schulde gare vs be
balde and hardy for to fighte wë hy manly://Wheñ Alexander hañ
saide thir worde3://he bade his knyghtis take þe Messangès of Daril
and bynd þare hande3 bi hynde þan f lede þan furthe to the
galowes & hynge þan://And þay tuke þe Messangès & bande þan
and begañ for to lede þan furthe to þe galoweswarde and þan þe messagès
bigañ for to crye rewfully vntiñ Alexander & sayd://AA wirchipfuñ
lorde & kynge þ þay whate hafe we trespase þwe schañt be hängede
for oure kynes dedis://And þan kynge Alexander ansered://þ worde3
of 30° Emo37% he gers me do þis þat sent 30w vn to me as vn to a
theeffe as þë ire whilke ze brughte witnesse3://AA lorde þ þay oure
emopo37 sent thus to 30w://for 30° powere & 30° myghte was vnknaeweis vn-
tiñ hy Bot we be seke 30w late3 vs gas://And we schañ mak aknaeis
untiñ hy 30° grete glory 30° ryaltee & 30° noblaye://þan kynge Alexander
badæ his knyghtis lowse þan and brynge þan vntiñ his hauile to
þe mete://And thare he made þan a grete feste & a ryalte://And as
þay satt at the mete://pir Messangès saide vntiñ Alexander lorde
þ þay if it be plesyng to 30° hye mailestee Sende3 with vs a thowë
sand of doghty meñ of arme3 and we sañ deleyû þan þe Emo37 Daril
and Alexander anserue agayne & saide Sittes stiñ þe he f makes 30w mery
ffor I teñ 30w in certayne://for þo betrayinge of 30° kynge I wïñ
noghte graunt 30w a knyghte wë 30w://Apoñ þo morne Alexander
gart write a ñre vnto Daril whare ofte þe tene37 was this
A
exander soñ of Philippe & of qwene Olympias:
vn to Daril kynge of þe land þat schynes wë þo godès of Perse
we sende://if we graythely & sothestaly be haldre
oure selte þe es na thynge þe we here hafe þat we
may bi righte cañte ours bot añ it es lent vs for
a tyme ffor aile we þat ere whiredë aboute wë þe whole of for-
tune now ere we brughte fra reche into pouter://Now fra myghte
& iøy in iñ Soorwe & heuynesse://& agaynwarde37; And now fra heghte
we are plungein to lawnesse://pere fore þare schulde na mañ
þat es sett in hye degreetriste to mëkið in his hyenese that thrugh
pride & vayne glorye he schulde despyse þe dedis of op0 meñ lesse
þan he
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
heð pis ire were nested//Alexander called till pis Messengers of Persie and gaffe heð riche gyft and by tukke heð irre and bade heð bere it to paire lorde://And heð Alexander asme his Oste and by gað for to wende towards Persie://When pis Messengers of Persie come to heð pay talde hy of heð grete ryaltee of kyng Alexander
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
and take by the letter a pat Alexander sent by: //And be empowred garte rede by: //And when he herd by rede he was wonder wrathe: //And sent a ire belyue vn till twa grete lorde3 that hadd be gouynance of be empire vnnder by sayande to by on this wiese

D  
ariel kyng of kynges and lorde of lorde vntil grete trewe legen Fwmkt Antyochus: greynge and ioy: //we here tell
pat Alexander Philippe soene of Macedoyn es so hege rayse de in prude pat he es rebelle agaynes vn/ a es commen intill Asye and hase distroyed it vttlerly: //And till hy thynke notste this yngoge: //bot he be pouse hy for to come nere vs an do be same till opere cuntre3 of our empire as he hase done tym Asye: //whare fore we comande yowe opaye of 30 legance pat ye semble be grete men: //be worthy of our empire wte opere of our trewe legende and I aff be haste by be may gaze & countsone childe takande hy and bryngande hy bi fore our pensence: pat we may lasche hy wyde als a wanton childe schulde be: //And clethe hy in poure: so sende hy till his Moder Olympia was chasteyede: //for it seme3 notste to be a feghter: bot for to vse childe gamme3

T  
hire twa lorde Primkt and Antyochus when pat pay hadde redde this ire of be empowred pay wrate agaynes vntill on this wyse: //Vn to Daril kyng of kynges grete godde Fwmkt Antiochus seruycse pat pay kass do: //To 30 hegte maiste we make it akneweth pat be childe Alexandre whilke ye speke off hase all vttlerly distroyed 30 cuntree: //And we semed a grete mytyde of folke and faughte wy hy: bot he hase discomfite vs and we were payne for to flee: //for vnethe myghte any of vs wynde awaye wy be lyfe: //pale fore we pat ye say ere helpers vnto yowebeske3 30 hye maiste that ye sende suon socoure till vs 30 trewe legende: //When Daril hadde redde b's ire: b come anop messang till hy: //And talde by pat Alexander and his Oste hade luggede pat appoyn the wat of strume: //And when Daril herd be he wrate anop ire vntill Alexander of whilke b's was be tenor

D  
ariel kyng of kynges and lorde of lorde vn till oure fuynede Alexander Thorowte alle be werde be name of Daril es prayseyed k commenst: //Oure godde3 also hase it wretene in thaire bukes: //how than durate be be so halde for to passe so many wat3 and se3 Mountayne & craquer: for to werraye agaynes oure royalle maisteede: //A grete wirchip me thynke it [ware to be]
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,
ware to the if þou myghte mawgre oura hefe I possessiouð þa kyngdom of Macedoyne all aely wþ owttæn mare Thare fore the es bett amendment þa of thi mysedid þan we take swilke wrek þe op ðe með take biane þþ by Señ aice þa erthe wþ owttæn oura lordchiphe may be callede wedowe Torne a gayne þþ fore we cæsaile þþ I to thyþ awesæ cuntree:Are oura wreteth and oura wrek faþe apoð þþ:Neu þþ lesse þþ oura wirchippe & oura geste noblaye be sufþwhat knawed to þþ:We sende the a malefulh of cheseeboðe sede in takennyg þþ of:/Luke if þþ may nombir & tehe all þir cheseeboðe sedeþ & if þþ do þat þære may þþ folke of oura oaste be nowmerð:And if þou may noþte do þat oura folke may noþte be nowmerð:/pare fore tþnee hame agaynke into þþ cuntree and lefe þþ foly þat þþ hase by guð:And take namare apoð þþ swilke a þþ sumpciosæ for I teþ þþ we haffe með of armes wþ ote nowmære

W

heæ þþ Messangæs of Daril come tiþ Alexander þay tuk hy þþ þre and þþ malefulh of cheseeboðe sedeþ:Alexander þæ þæ gerte rede þþ lettþ:And sythe he putt his hand in þþ male and tuke of þþ cheseeboðe sedeþ & putt I his mouthe & chewed it þæ said I see wele þþ he þat he has many með bot þay are riþte softe as this sedeþ are:/In þþ mene tyme þþ come a Messangæ tiþ Alexander fra Maþ cedoyne:And talde hy þat his Moder Olympias was grefe seke:/And Alexander herð þis:/he was woner heuy;/Neu þþ lesse he wrate vn to Daril a þre þat spakke this wyse

A

alexander þþ soþ of Philippe þ of qwene Olympias vn to Daril kyngæ of Peræ we sende:/we do þþ wale to wietæ þat we hafe herde certaine tythyngeþ whilst gæra vs a gayneþ oura wâl do þat we now saþ saye Bot trow þþ noþte þþ we for fere or dowe of thi þþ de þþ vayne glorye tþne hame agaynke now tiþ oura awesæ cuntre:/Bot aþ aely for to vesett oura Moder Olympias whilst lygges grefe seke:/Bot wete þþ wale wþ in schorne tþ we schaþ hastæ vs agayne wþ a grete nowmære of fresche knyghtis:/And riþte als þou sent vs a malefulh of chesee boðe sedeþ:/So we sende þþ here a liþiþ þepþ:ffor þþ schulde witte þþ riþte as þþ scharanes of þis liþiþ þepþ/passeþ þþ mutliðof þþ cheseeboðe sedeþ riþte so þþ grete mutliðof þþ payenes saþ he ouþ comeþ wþ a fewe knyghtis of Macedoyne

T

his þre be kende Alexander to þþ knyghtis of Daril and þþ þep also þþ þate þære þæ to þþ empoþ:And he gaffe þæ þre grete gyfta and riche and sent þære furture:/And þæ þæ he tþned þagayn wþ his oaste
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
Agayne wy wilke highe Amorca and he was prynce werres in Araby and lay pare wy a grete multitude of mef in a—
wayte of Alexander's Ostc;/And whef he herde teH of /codyng of
Alexander he reded hy for to kepe hy;/And whef pay mett pay faught
to geder af paye daye fra pay morne till pay cuef;/And so pay did aH pare
three dayes;/And pare was so mekiH folke dede in pat bataile;/pay
paye sone were eclipte /w pay drew his lighte vggande for to see so me—
kiH scheddyng of blude Bot at pay laste pay pcyenes ware so thikke falde
felled to pay grounde pat payre prynce Amorca t'neH pay bakke /fledH
and vmenfey myghte wynH a waye and a fewe w hy;/So hastily
fledH Amorca pat he come nerehand alsone to Darif as his messagHs
did pay come fra AlexH and fand Darif haland pay ire in his hande pay
AlexH sent hyH and spirende what AlexH did w pay chessebolle sede3
and pay messagHs ansuerd / said;/he tuk of pay chessebolle sede3 pay
and chewed of pay / said;/I see wele pay he pat Darif hase many
meH bot pay are wonder softe;/And then Darif tuk of pay pep pay
AlexH sent and putt in his mouthe and chewed it and wheif he
feliH pay strenghe of it and pay grete hete;/he syghede sare and
said;/AlexH knyghtis pay he are bot fewe bot and paye wil als strange
in pay selfe as his pep es in it selfe pay saif fynde nane in his
werle pay may agaynestande pay; And pay ansuerde Amorca / said
for sothe lorde pay he ye say sothe Alexander hase few knyghtis
bot pay ere strange pat hase slaefi my knyghtis pay ware so many
so pay unnethe3 myghte I eschape oute of payre hande3;/AlexH
if aife he hade pay victorye of his enemye he bare hy neuf pay hier
pay fore ne empHde hy no3te pay of Bot bate pay pcyenes / the Ma—
cedoyns pay ware slaefi he gert brynge to berye3;/And pay he
come w his Ostc into CeciH where many Cite3 submyt pay vii
tiH hy;/And of that reweH pay went w hy3/xviiH feghtynge
men;/And fra thenyH he come tiH Yeaury pay whilke w owten
any agayne standyng was yoleH vn tiH hy;/And AlexH went vp
apoH pay Mounte TaurH and fande pay a Cite3 pat mef was called
dpolylis and thare he tuk w by a certaine of mef of armes
and went so thurgh Asye and w of many Cite3; /And so he come / to
frrigie and went into pay temple of pay sof and thare he made Saka—
cyce to pay sof /fra thenyH he come to a reureH pay es called
Stamandra and pare he said tiH his mef; /Blyste mote ye be pay
he pay hase
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 Stanandra. There he said to his men, "Blessed must you be
f.10v

Τ he β hase getyn ι comendacions & β p"ysaynge3 of ι gude docto" homerι
and one of his meι anserde & said Mι lorde kyng Τ he;Me thinke
I may sauely writte ma p"ysynge3 & louynge3 of the ιαν homeri did
of ιαν β distruyed β Citee of Τrayane ffor β hase done 1 β tyme
ma wirchiptulḥ thynge3 ιαν euβ did ßay//And Alexander & said
Me ware leuβ Τ he be a wyse manes disciple/παn for to hafe ιαν louynge3
of Achilles;//After this he remouede wτ his Oste in to Macedoyne
& fande his Modir Olympias wele couerδ of hir sekenes;//And sug-
go"nede πare wτ hir a while//And that he ordeyned hyn for to wende
agayne in to ßay;//And keste hir for to logge at a Citee β meι
calle3 Abandryan δ The meil of ιαν Citee when ßay herde telle of
couynge//ßay Sperede β yates of ιαν citee and watchede ιαν citee
ane like a syde;//And whei Aαxβ saw πat//he went & assaillede ιαν
citee and ιαν burges3 of ιαν citee whei ßay sawe β ιαν citee was noste
strange ynoche of ιαν selfe for to agaynstande ιαν assawte of πaire
enemys//ßay cede till Aαxβ & saide//kyng Aαxβ Τ ßay we spered
noste ιαν yates of citee to pat entent for to agaynstande thet://Bot
allanly for ιαν drede of Darι kyng of Perse ιαν whilke as it was tolde
till vs es p"possede for to sende his meι hedir for to destreye vs
τ oure citee//And ιαν Aαxβ said vn to ιαν agayn//Iffe 3e wil ῎
Τ he β we distruy 3ow noghte open3 30" yates//And when I hafe
made an ende wτ Darι παυ said I come agayne & speke wτ 3owe
and παυ ιαν Citayenes opened ιαν yates//ffra thetheiß ßay went
to Cомнoliche//and fra thethyn to Bihoγ//And so to Caldipe//Syne
ßay come till α a grete reuere whare Aαxβ Oste hadde grete
defaute of vetaieiδ//And παυ his knyghtis murnede gretely and
said//Oure horses Τ ßay fayles3 vs ay mare δ mare//Aαxβ anser δ
& said AA my doghty knyghtis Τ he pat 3itt hedir toward3
hase in werres3 sufferd many přis & mekiβ disesse ere 3e nowe
in despeyr of 30" hele for ιαν failynge of 30" horse3//Sa∫ we noste
gete horses ynowe and we lyffe & hafe qwert and if we dye
we sa∫ hafe na nede of horse na ßay may do vs na ppheθe//haste
we us β fοre in αβ pat we maye to β place whare we sa∫
gete horses wτ owtteθ nowmθ//And vetaieiδ also bathe for oure
selfe & for oure horses3//when he hadd αβ saide ßay went furthe
and come till α a place β es called luctus β es to say wepynge
[where βay fand]
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 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 Commoliche. 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 Luclus, that is to say "weeping,"
whare þay fande vetails yngoge and mete yngoge for þaire horse ffра
thethyn þay remoued & come til a place þe hatt Trigagntes and þare
þay lugged þam//And Alex went into a temple of Apollo//whare a la
he aghteled to have made Sacrifice and have had answere of that godd
certane thynges þe he walde hafe aschede:bot a woman þat hizte
xacora while was preste of þe temple talde Alex: //þe það was
noyte þe tyme of answere//On þe Morne Alex came to þe temple & made
his sacrifik: //And Apollo said til þe Alex told us þe he //And Alex
ansuered & said:/Now þe þa calle me hercules //I see wele
þa til thy answere ere false: //ffra thethy Alex went til a
citee þat es called Thebea and said vn to þe folke of þe citee [Sende3
me furthe //he fourde hundreth knychtis wele armad for to wend w:
vs in suppolleyng of vs //And when þe Thebens herde þir worde3: pay
spered þe yates of þe citee for to agaynestande Alex: //And went to
þe walle3 and cled lowde þat Alex myghte here //Alexander þat þay
bot if gaa thethy fra vs //we sað do the a velany & thi knychtis
also //When Alex herde this //he smyled & saide/þe Thebeens
þe þat ere so mekið prayseg & cõmended of strenghe //Spere
3e 30° yates þa saise þe wille feghte w: me //þe es na dogheys mañ
of armes þat couetey for to haue wirchif and loos //þat wille close
hyw w: in walles bot fightes w: his enemys manly in þe felde
When he hadde saide þir worde3: he bad þe fourde thowsandez
archers sulde gaa about þe citee w: þaire bowes & lay apoð
þa w: arowes þat stode apoð þe walle3 //And he had two hundreth
mañ of armes ga to þe walles and myne þa doune //And a
hundreth he hadde take fyrebrande3 & gaa to þe yates & bryne
þam //And he ordeyned ob þe fourde hundreth mañ for to bett douñ
þe walles w: Sewes of werre Engynes and Gouines & ob mañ
of Instamentes of werre and hy selve and þe remenant of þe oste
lay ner þa to socoþ þam when þay hadde neðer Andr be lyfe
fra þay hadde gyffe assawte: to þe citee: þe yates ware brynt
& mekið folke was slayne w: in þe citee: //Sun w: arowes aun
w: stanes of Engynes / þeffire also by gaa for to sett in howsæ3
w: in þe citee & rayse a grete lowe //In þe Oste of Alex was þe
same tyme a mañ þe while highe Cicesterl a grete enemy
to þe citee //he when he sawe þe citee bryne made righte
mery
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
mery // Bot a mañ of the citee þ highte Hismoñ when he saw his cuntree þus gates be destroyed come and felhe one knees be fore Alexander and bigañ for to syngye a sange of Musyke & of Murnyge wþ an Instrument of Musike // Supposyng þ þ by for to drawe Alexy herte to Mercy & styrre hy to hafe rewthe on þa citee // Alexy he helde hym & sayde Maist þ þ he whare to syngye þe me þis sange; AA lorde þ hismoñ to luke yfhe I myȝte styrre þ herte to hafe mercy oþ þa citee // And þa Alexander was wonder wrathe and bad dynge þæ walles of þa citee douñ to þa harde erthe // And when þa pay had so done þa pay remoued & went þaire way and ane of þ þ wortheiste meñ of þa citee þa whilke hyghte Clitomarus went wþ þa in çpany // Bot þ Thebeen þ ware lefte aftire þa birynge of þa citee went to þa temple of Apollo and askede weþ euþ mare þaire citee sulde be repairende agayn // Apollo ansuerde þa saide // he þat schaïþ bygge þis citee agayn; saïþ hafe thre vice寿ories // And when he hase geten þre victories // he saïþ onane come & repaire þ this citee and bigge it agayn also wele als euþ it was

A lexander fra þa citee of Thebe went to Corynthe and þare come tilh hym certane lorde þ þynd hy þat he walde come & see a wrestylhyng // And he graunted þa

and to þis Ilke wrestylhyng þ þ come folke wþ owtëf

nownþ // And wheiþ þa meñ were gadirde Alexander saide whilk of þowe þ þa saïþ gaa & begynþ þis playe // Clitomarus þa of whym I spakke bi fore kneled bi fore þa kynþ þ saideþ // lorde þ þ he & ze wolle vouche saffe to giff me leue I will begynþ // And Alexander bad hy ga to // And Clitomarus went in to þa place and þa first mañ þ come in his hande at the first to ne he threwe hy wideopeþ and Alexander said vn tilh hy // Caste thre meñ þ þ þ saïþ he corouned þa þa come anoh þ a mañ to Clitomarus and vnnethe þ he come in his hande when he was caste þ wydeopeþ // And one þa same wyse he ÿuede þa thirde // And þa Alexander gart sëtt oþ his heuende a þçious corouñ and þa kynþ þ unde þ spirredre hy what his name was My name þ þ he es wþ owtëf citee when Alexander herde þ þ he saide vn tilh hy Thou noble wirstill þ þ he whi arte þa calde þ þ owtëf citee // Wurchifull empoþ þ þ he for þat þe werede þ þ empoþ dydene I hadde a citee fullof folkeþ & of reches Bot now sene þe come to this astate & þis dignytee I am spoylede þ þuede of my citee // And wheiþ herde this he wiste wele þat he ment of þa citee of Thebe // And þa he garte his þgeanteþ

[make a crye]
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
make a crye that hadde gifte Clit:marl leue for to repairelle p. citee of thebee//ffra Corinthe Alex. and his oate removed till a citee pat highte
platea of p. whilke a maist pat highte Scrassagas was prynce and Alex. went to p. temple of Diane and fande p. arare a woma5 preste
p. whilke was a mayde 8 scho was arraied lyke p. ste3 of pat tyne
and when sawe Alex. scho saide vn till hy//Alex. quod scho p. arte
welcome//pou schaH conqueure all p. werlde//One p. morne Scrassagas
went to p. same temple and alsone als p. p. ste sawe hy scho saide vn
till hy Scrassagas p. scho what that w. in a schorte while p. schaH be p.ueH of p. lordchip p. now habe//And when he herde pis he was
righte wraithe w. hir & saide//pou arte noyte worthy p. he for to be
p. ste here//Alexander come to p. siste3daye and p. phiciped hy gude//
And to me p. sais p. I schaH lose all my lorde chipes//And scho ansered
& saide//Be3 noyte angry to me p. scho for all pis buse be fulfilled
and nathynde p. of lefte ne ouhhippede//A lttih aft p. it fette p. Alex.
was gretly angrede at Scrassagas and tuke fra hym his lordchip
a Scrassagas went to p. cite of Athenes and sare wepande he com-
plenede hy to p. citayenes of Athene5 & talde p. how p. Alex. had
p.ueH hy of his lordchip//And p. p. Atheneanes war wonder
toward Alexander//And made grete soste & manace p. pay schokH
ryse agaynes hy//bot if he restorede Scrassagas agayne till hy
his lordchip//Alexander removed his Oste fra platea to p. citee
of Athenes//And wheH herde telle p. p. Athenenex ware wraithe
till hy wraite & manaced hy he wrath vn to p. a tre pat spak
one this wyse

A

alexander p. son of Philippe and of qwene Olympias vn to the
Athenenes g. tyng/ffra p. tyrne pat ourre ffadir was dedde
& we were sett in p. Trone of his dignytee//we went into
maste pty salde p. vn till vs w. owte3 stresse//ffra p. citee of Rome
to p. weste see occyane//AHe meH submyttte p. vn till vs//p. w. ourre awenH
fre w. we hafe tak3 p. till ourre g. ce/And thase p. walde noyte
sbmitted p. till vs w. faiuennes//we hafe diatrueyd p. & paire cite3
and douenge p. down to p. erethe//And now pis op3 daye as we went
fra Macedoyne & passed thurg Asye:bi p. cite of Thebe//p. Thebyens
derseynes vs & lete as pay sett noyte by vs//Bot onane we garte paire
pryde faile and destruyed bathe p. & thaire citee/And p. fore we
write vn to 3ow:that 3e sende vs te5 philosophes p. he wyse

(by p. whilke)
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
by he whilke we may be encensede and conselled: //for ob. thynge wyl we nane anke 30w Bot alle anely 3e halde vs for 30lorde: & 30l kynge: //And 3f 3e wyl noste shmytt 3owe vn tih vs 30w buse ob. be st'ngere pa. we or eis ab. mytt 30w to 30l lordchip 3. be st'ngere pa. 3ures T he Athenyenes red. pa. ire and pa. pay biga. to crye one highthe/And ane pay highte Eschille stode vp amange pa. and said: //It es fully my conseil: pa. he 3. we os na wise assent worde3 of Alexander//Alle 3. folke pa. 3. was gadirde pa. prayed 3. philosophe Demostines 3. he walde tell pa. his conseile as touchynge 3. mat.//And he stude vp 3. had. a. me. be sti.//And pa. he said: vnto pa.//Sira pa. he 3. p. y 30w takes tent vn to my worde3 3. herkenes gudly what I said: say: //If 3e fele 30w of power for tih a gayne stande Alex 3. to suprize hy pa. feghtes w. hy manly and obeys noste tih 3. his worde3: //And if 3e suppose 3e be noste strange ynoghe to feghte w. hy//pa. here3 hy. and obeys vn tih hy. 3e knawe wele 3. als oure eldirs telles vs: //3erses was a grett kynge 3. a myghty and many victories he gatt://And neu. 3. lesse 1 Ellada he suffrede grette meschefe//Bot he this Alexander has done many batailles in 3. whilke he suffrede neu. diseese bot alwaye had 3. ou. hande//3. Thiriennes 3. p. y 30w ware noste balde knyghtis and strange and a. paire lyfte hade bene excercysede 1 armes://And what profitede pa. paire strenghe//pa. Thebienes also 3. were so wyse and so grette excyse hadde 1 armes fra 3. firste tyme 3. 3. citee was bygynde where off eyede paire grette witt pa. and paire grette strength when Alexander assailede pa.//1. Poliponiens faghte w. Alex 3. bot pay myghte na while agaynestande his me. of armes Bot also paire ware discofet and slae////It es noste vnkna. vn to 30we how many citee castelles & townnes for fere abmittis pa. vn tih hy. w. owteteth any assawte gyffyg pairefore it es noste my conseile pat 3e be heuy ne wrath the tih Alex 3. for Scrasag 3as for a. men knawes wele pat Alex 3. es a wonder wyse ma. & a warre 3. a ma. 3. gou. es hy by reso. and 3. fore 3e may wele wete he walde noste putt Scrasag 3as oute of his lordchiphe apo. lesse pa. forfett vn tih hy://when 3. Athenyenes had herde 3ir worde3: pay cōmēdiā gretly the conseile of Demostines and they ordeyne a corou. of golde 3. weght of 4. pounde and sent Messang 3as 3. w. and w. t. bute vn tih Alexander bot philosiphers sent pay na. 

(and when 3ir messang 3as)
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 Tyrrians, 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 Scipios of Sardinia 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 Scipios of Sardinia 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.
and when thre Messangers come tihi Alexan dre pay gaffe by the coroues and 
dre tribute the Athynenes sent hym and talde by the pay had highte hym a grete nowm of cattell and when Alexan dre had herd the 
vnder stode wele dre conceit of Eschilius dre cecelit of Athynenes to agaynestand hym and also dre conceit of Demostenes that cecelit dre contrary and the he wrote a ire to dre whare of the Tenoure was this

A lexander dre soif of Philippe and quene Olympias for dre name of kyenge with we noste take apon vs be fore we have oure enemys vnder oure subleccioe to dre Athynenes gretyng it es noste oure entent to come in 30th citee vs oure oaste Bot allanly to come if dispuyte with 30th phrs and to asche the certane questyons Oure p"poss was also to hafe declared for oure trewe legge3 and oure gude ffrenede Bot 30th dede3 pues dre contrary as it done vs tihi vnderstanunde Oure godde3 we take to witne3 the whilke of 30y so ryse3 agayne3 vs we sa5 take swilke wrette apon hy p"p op mei sa5 take enample p" by Bot 3e als schrewes and euie mei eu one trowe3 ill and thynkes ill wate 3e noste wele dre Thebienes p" raise agaynes vs hado saire mede als pay disserued And 3e haffand in vs a wrange consayte blam3 vs ffor we putt Scrasagges outside of his Office whilke forfett gretyly agaynes our maeiste We sent vs to 30w bi ire for the philosophres bot 3e noste knawande oure grete powere & oure myghte despsyed oure maundement and waide noste fulliit it Neu p" les if ait 3e hafe offendiagaynes vs hider towarde and bene disobeyande tihi oure maeistee we forgiff 30w ait 30th gilt and dre gualence pat 3e hafe do9 vs So pat 3e be obeyande vn tihi vs fra this tyme forward Comforthes 30w p"fore & bee3 mery for of vs 3e schaff hafe na greuance ne na disesse be cause 3e did aft dre conceit of Demostynes

W hen dre Athynenes herd dre ire reda pay ware ri3te gladde//

And the Alexander & his Oste went fra thethyn vs to Lacedoyne Bot lacedouns waide one na wyse obey

vn tihi Alexan dre bot said ilkani of the 3i3i3i op/latt vs noste be lykke dre Athynenes For pay pat drede dre Manaschynge and dre boste of Alexan dre bot late vs schewe oure my3te and oure strenghge and manly defende foure citee
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 Scrassageras 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
oure citee agayn hy//When pay hadde saide pay Spered b^e yates of b^e citee fase and went manly to b^e walles//And a grete novem of b^e tuke b^e shippey & went to b^e See a grete manly//to feghte w^t Alex^e are he come to lande//And when Alex^e saw this he sent a ire to b^e Sayand on this wyse
A alexender b^e sofn of Philippe and of b^e quene Olympias
vn to b^e lacedouns we sende//we conseil yow b^e b^t that 30^e elders hose lefte yow ye kepe hale & sound in saetee & lyfere yoste 30^e hende ou^e hie to b^e thynge y^e ye may yoste recche to//And if ye desire for to hafe ioy of 30^e strenther/dose swa b^e ye be worthy to hafe wirchipe of vs//pate fore we comande yow pat ye turne agayn w^t 30^e schippey and leue b^e & gase to lande by 30^e awen^e fre will or seikly I saith sett fire in that b^e bryne b^e and if ye dispise oure comandem^t blame3 na ma^e bot 30^e selfe;if we wreke vs one yowe
T he lacedouns red^e b^e ire and when it was red^e pay ware wonder heuy yoste forthi pay redied b^e to feghte Bot Alex^e arryued in an op^e coste and come to b^e citee are pay wiste & vmblypped b^e citee one ilke a syde and assaillede it straungly dange b^e lacedouns of b^e walles & slewe many of b^e & wounded many and sett fyre in paire schippey & brynt b^e remanant of b^e b^e ware lefte appo^e lyfe when pay saw this grete meschefe come oute of b^e citee vn tih Alex^e & felle dou^e at his fete & be soughte hy of mercy & of g^e//And Alex^e ansered//I come to yow b^e he make & mylde;/bot in pat degre ye walde yoste reassayfte me b^e fore now are 30^e schippey bryn^e & 30^e citee dist ruyed & 30^e Folke slayne;warned I yoste be fore b^e ye schule yoste heue 30^e hande ou^e hye to b^e sternes to b^e whileke nane enerthly ma^e may wyn^e ffor what so eu^e clymbe; hier pay his fete may wyn^e to su^e halde;/he saith falle onane dou^e to b^e grounde//And b^e fore es b^e a comone puerbe;/bot wha sa hewes to hie;b^e schippey with falle in his egh ye wende hafe done tih vs as 30^e elders didde suteyme tih kyngge Jerses3/bot 30^e wenyng desayued yow ffor 3e myghte yoste agayn stande vs when we assaillede yow//when
[he hadde said ou^e b^e wyse
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
he had saide on this wise: he gaffe þa leue to gaa where þay wade: And the he remoued the thyne & went to warde Cicily and when þo empow Daril herc alle of þe comynge of Alexander he was gretly abaste: And sent aþ all his prynceþ Dukes & Erles & op grete lorde & went til a consaille: And he saide vn to þam: //I see wele þ þat he this Alexander þat gase thus abowte werrayand waxe gretly in wirchipe and ay where he come he hase þe victory: //I wende he had bene a theeffe & a robbow þat hadde went til cunteþ þere wayke & feble and durste noste agayne stande hy & robbed þam & spoyled þam. Bot now I see wele he es a doghty ma of armes & a noble werrayo: //And ay þe mare þi I hafe depraued hy & despysed hy: þe mare ryse þis name þ & his wirchipe: //I sent hym a balle a toppe & a scourge for to lere barne laykys: bot hy þat I calle þat a disciple: he sem þ a mayst & where so eu he gase: //fortune gase w þy: //pare fore vs byhoue to trete of oure hele þ of oure pople & pute a waye aþ þe & aþ folys namare despisse Alexander saynge þ he es noghtes by cause we are empo of Perse for his littillnes waxes and oure gretnes decrees: //I hafe/grete dowte þ godde þorluke helpe þy so þat while we ere a bowte & wene þ to putte þy oute of Ellada we be spoyled by þy of þe rewme of Perse W heð Daril had saide thir wordes his broder Coriather answerd & said: // þa hase here Þ he gretly magnified & cōmendid Alexander in that þat þ sais he mare feruent for to come in to Perse þa we in til Ellada and þ fore if it be plesynge vn to þa maiestee vse þe man's of Alex & so saþ wele & peysablye wold þo empire & cōquere many op rewmes //Alexander when he gase to bataile and saþ feghte: //he lates of his prynceþ ne his op lorde gaa be fore þy selfe come by hynde: //bot he gase bi fore þam aþe and so rīse þis wirchif þis name: //Quod Daril wheþþ awede me to take ensample at Alexander or Alexander at me: //A prynce answerde þ saide: //Alexander quod he es a warri ma þ a wyse þe trespaste in na degr þ þo fore he duse manly by hym selfe aþ þat he doe þor he hase take þo fo me of þ þe lyouþ: //whore by kawes þ þat Þ Daril and [he answerd]
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 Coriander
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
and he answereth & saide whate tyme & he I was sent to Macedoyne for til aske the bute of kyng Philippe I saw bi his figure & his wise ansereth that he schuld be a passyng man bathe of witt & of dounder. Thare fore if it be plesyng vn to 30 y I consel & sende til a all p he landes & cuntrye that lange to 300 empire but es to say to Parthy://& Medy://& Appollamy://& Mesopotamy:// Italy://& Bactri//& And til a all p remenant for pere er subiectes vn to 30 y a hundreth:C and fifty L of dy welfare folke//To p all lorde of all thire I rede ye sende commandyng b all p my come to yow in all p haste bat may with a all p me that may gett whilk ere able to ga to werre//And when my semblde to geder late vs be seke our goddis of helpe//And p Alexander when he see5 swilk a mitute of folke agaynes by his hert saile hys & his mens also//& And owb he saile for fere tene hame agayne till his awen cuntrye or ehe submytt by vy to 30 y//& And p answereth anob p prynce & sayde//This es a gud concele & he bot it es notice pfitable//wate p noyte wele bat a wolfe chases a grete fale of schepe & gerse p sparple//Righte so and p wysdome of p gukes passe 3 ob p nacyons

In this me ne b Alexander Semblem a grete mul[titude of folke to p nowm of CC of feghtynge mens & remewe to warde Perse & come til a reure bat es called Mocions of whilke p wat was wonder calde & faire & clere//& And Alexander had a grete lyste for to be bathede p in and went in to it & bathed hy & waschede hy p in and also so hy he fell & a feu & a heued werke p w & so p he furere wonder ihy//& And when p Macedoyns saw shere lorde so grefe seke shay were weder heuy and rebate drede & said a mange3 selfe//& And Daril quod shay wete p our lorde Alexander be pus seke//he saile come & falle apon vs sodanyly & for do vs ilkai//ffor & we had a p hele of our lorde Alexander we had comfort ynothe & drede no nacyon//Than kyng Alexander calle til a hy his phicisene bat higthe Philippe & bade hy ordeyne hym a Medcyne for his sekeness//bis ilk phicisien was

[bot a young man]
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, Apollonia, 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
bot a yong mañ bot he was a passyng kûnyng mañ and a soteh
in all þo poynytès þat langed to phisic//And he highte Alex\p\ pat a
certane drynke he sulde onane make hy all hale//Nowe
feH it þo was w\p\ Alex\p\ a prynce þo highte Þmeniþ \k\ was lorde
of hermony This prynce hade grete envy to þ\p\s phiscienne
bi cause þ\p\ Alex\p\ luffede hy so passandy wele \k\ belyfe he wrate
tiH Alex\p\ and warned hym þo he schulde be warre w\p\ philipp
his phiscienne and on na wyse resayfe þ\p\ drynke þat he walde
gyffe hy ffor he said þo Darîl had highte to gyffe hy his do-
ght\k\ to wyffe \k\ his kyngdom aft\k\ his diseesse if awa ware
þat he myghte be any crafte make ane ende of hy\k//whe\p\ Alex\p\ hadde red\p\ s t\k\ he was na thynge trubled//so meki\p\,
he tristede of þ\p\ conscience of his phi\p\ /In þo mene tyme þ\p\s
phi\p\ come tiH Alex\p\ w\p\ þo forsaid drynke and Alex\p\ tuk þ\p\s
dryanke in a hande \k\ þo forsaid t\k\ in his oh\p\ hande and bi held\p\
þ\p\ Phi\p\ / w\p\ vesage r\p\ste scharpely//To whomo þ\p\ Phi\p\
saide//wirchipful Empo\p\ \p\ he be na thynge fered bot
dryanke þ\p\ medcyne baldely and þ\p\ onane Alex\p\ tuk this
dryanke \p\ schewed Philippo þo t\k\ and whe\p\ Philippo had
red\p\ t\k\ he said tiH Alex\p\ Now for sothe my lorde \p\ he
I take oure goddes to witnes \p\ þat I ne am noste gilty
of this treso\p\ þat here es wrets\p\ //Alex\p\ þa\p\ was all hale
als eu\p\ he was \k\ called vn tiH Philippo his phi\p\ \k\ embraced
hy in his armes \k\ said Philippo \p\ he knawes þ\p\ how meki\p\
luffe \k\ triste I hafe in the ffirste I dranke thi medcyne
\k\ syne I shewed þo t\k\ þ\p\ was sent me agaynes the Mi
lorde \p\ Philippo I be seke 3ow þ\p\ ye wolle vochesaffe to send aft\p\ my\p\ accuso\p\ and do hy come bi fore 30\p\ p\p\sence þat þ\p\s t\k\ 3ow and hase lered me for to do swilk a hi treso\p\s
Be lyfe þa\p\ gerte Alex\p\ send aft\p\ Þmeny for to come vn tiH hy
and gerte þo sothe be serched \k\ fande þat he was worthy þo dede
and þa\p\ gert girde of his heued\p\ f
ra beine kyng Alex\p\ remowe\p\ his Oste tiH hermony
þo mare \k\ onane he c\p\suered it \k\ put it vnder his
subieccion//And fra þeine he t\p\uaile\p\s many a day
\w\p\ his oste
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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wē his Oste//And at pe laste come till a cuntre wonder drye & fuhr of creuesce of cauerne; & alde cisterne, where na watō myghte be för-
deō//And ffrē peine pa bay passede thurfē a cuntree paat es called
Andrias//to pe Reuere of Euphrates//And per paay lugede paē//paan
Alexander garte brynge many gretē treēs for to make a bryggē of
ouē paat watō appen schippeē & garte tye paē. Sameē wē chenys
of Ireō & ireō naylecē//And whenē pa briggē was all reddy; he badde
his knytghtes wende ouē appen it Bot whenē paay saw pe gretē reuē
ryne so swiftely & with so a gretē a byrrete·thay dred paē pō paē
bryggē schulde fahe//for paay supposede pe chenys schulde breke be
cause of gretē weghtē//And when Alexander saw paē dредandē
on this wyse he gert hirde meō pō were paare kepandē kateē wende
ouē be fore & warndeē pō paē Oste schulde folowe paē//Bot 3it pō
knytghtis ware ferde pē durate noghtē wende ouē//Thāē was Alexē
riēte wrathe & callede vn tilē hy all his prynceē & gretē lordeē
and firste he went hy seife ouē pō brygē pē all his prynceē folowē
hy & sytheē all pō Oste//Twa grete ryuers ryynes thurfē/Medee
Mesopotamy & Babiloine//pē es to say Tygre & Euphrates//And soo
rynneē in to pe ryuere of Nīll//When Alexē & all hyē Oste ware past
ouē euphrates//he gert amyte sonder pō bryggē paat he hadē gert make
bifore & dissolute ilke pece pō off fr obē & when his knytghtis sawē
that: peay ware reghete heuy & mē handē gretēly pō fore & saidē emanges
paam seifē//what saēē we now doē peay when we are harde by staddē
wē oure enemys & walde flee ffor ouē pēs reuere may we noyte wynē
and when Alexē pcyuedē paat mē·moure of his folke he said vn to paē.
What es paat pē he paat 3ē say a mangeē 3ow If it fahe pō we flee owte
of pō bataile//Sothely I late 3ow wele wite paat pis is pō cause whi
I garte for do pis bryggē pō I gert make://ffor thi paat owpē we schule
feghte manēly or eēē if walde flee we schule all pische at anes
and all drykke of a cuppe//ffor whi pē victorie es noyted arretēd to
paē paat fliegē//Bot to paē pō habydeē or folowē on pē chace//ffar
fore comforthē 3ow weleē & besē balde of heritē//And thynke it bot
a playe stalworthy to feghte//ffor I say 3ow sekerly://we ne schalē
neuē see Macedoynē be fore we hafe ouē comeē all ouē enemys
and paē wē pē victore we saēē tourne hame agaynę
I N pis mene tyme kynge Darīl gadirde a gretē multitude of
meē agaynęes Alexander & ordeyneē ouē paē fyvehundreth
[chiftaynes
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
chyftayne of grete lorde and lugged hym wē his menē apoē pe reuer of Tygre//And one a day thir twa kynges wē paire bather Ostes mett to gedir apoē a faire fele and faughte to gedir wonder egerly Bot sone Darils menē hadd pe werre & yode to grounde thikkefalde slayne in pe felde//And when pe remenauete saw pat//pay tuk pe to pe flighte In Darils ostes was a mē of pe: A doghety & a balde:to whaym Daril highte for to giff his doghtē to wyfe if so were pat he myghte by any way sla kynge Alexander//This mē gatt hy clothynge and armo 7 like vn to pe macedoynes and went a mæge pe as pe saghte ay till he come by hynd kyng Alex 7//And also mē als he come nere hy; he lifte his swerd on heghte & lete flye at hy wē aht pe myghte pat he hade and hitt hy on pe heued so ferce pat he perched his bacennett and drewe pe blode of hy//When Alex knyghtis saw that;pay take hy anone & broghte hy before Alexander//And Alex supposyng pe he hadde bene a macedoyn saide vn till hy//Wirchifull mē P he & doghety & strange what sayed pe at me for to giff suylke a strake//knowe pe nostre wele pat it was I Alex 707 helpere & 307 allere quande//And pcyene anserē & said wiete pe wele wirchifull empō 7 P he I ne ame na macedoyn:bot I am a mē of Perse:And this dede I did: //for kyng Daril made me a pmysse of his doghetir to wife if I myghte brynge hy thē heid: //Than kyng Alexander called bi for hy aht his knyghtis and askede pe what pe thoghte was for to do wē this mē: //Suē anserede & saide pe thoghte it beste to gerre smyte of his heid Suē for to putt hy to pe fire for to brynge Sū to gare drawe & hang hy and when Alex had herde paire concei//he anserē & said:Sirs P he what wrange or what defawe caē 7e fynde i pe mē Seē he hase besied hy till obey till his lorde cōmandement and at his power fulfilledd it//whilke of 7ow so demē hym worthy to be dedde//es worthy I tymfe cōmyng to hafe pe same dome//ffor if I cōmande ane of 7ow for to ga & sla Darils//pe same payne that 7e dome pe mē for to suffre://ware 3ē worthy for to suffre 307 selfe of Darils if 7e myste be getēē & the cōmanded.
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 an 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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pan he commanded pat he schulde wende hame to his felawes w't owte any harme. When Daril herde p's his lordes ware slayne in grete nowm he gadered a grete multitude of knyghtis and of fote meñ and went vp on a hill pat es called Tau'risil and thare he made his mustre of his meñ Supposynge p't he schuld ou'come Alex thurg'a multitude of folke. Bot alsoñ als pay mett w't par're bathere osteñ and bigañ for to fighete Daril meñ fleda and hy selfe alsoñ. And Alex p'sue ed hym vn to p'n citee of Bactriañ and par're he luged hy and offerde Sacrifice till his goddeñ. And on p'n morne he garte assaila p' citee and wanne it on werre. And in p' cheffe place p' of he sett his trone and all þir op' citeñ pat were abowte it he wanñ pæ o werre & putt pæ vnder his sbiecjoñ in þis ilke citee of Bactriañ he fande treso' w't owteñ nowm and also his moder and his wyfe

And in p' mene tymen while Alex lay at Bat'n: p' come a prynce of Daril oste vn till Alex & said vn till hy' wirchipful empo' Þ he I hafe a lang tymen bene a knyghte of Daril and done hy grete ðuyce: And still to this day I had neu' na reward of hy'/ And p'fore if it like vn to powr' maieste: take me teñ thousands of 30' meñ of armeñ. And I hete 30w for to brynge to 30' hande kyng Daril & p' maste pte of his oste'/ And when Alex had herde þis'/ he said vn till hy'/ ffrenden Þ he/ I thanke þ' mekiñ of thi faire pay' Neu' þ' lesse I late þ' wite my meñ wif nóyte beleue þat þ' wif eghete agaynes thyñ owenñ peple/ in p' mene tymen a prynce of Daril oste sent vn till hy a leñt' of whilk þ's was þ' teññ

O Daril grete kyng of kynges/ his lordes whilke he have ordeyned cheftaynes vn' er hy Senden meke ðuyce Of tymes be fore this hafe we wreteñ to 30' maiste and now agayne we wratte vnto 30w & lateñ 30w wite þat þ' macedoynes & kyng Alex' as wode lyouns ere enterde [oure landes]
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
oure lande3 and aH oure strentches as a wilde raueschande beste he hase destroyed: aH oure knyghtes slayne//And oppressed we are w^t so grete t^bulat^ons:pat we na longare suffre his mawgree ne his malece bere//whare fore mekly we be seke 30^v benyngne maieste pat 3e wil^ drawe to yours mynde oure meke fuyce and swilke socoure vouchsafoe to send^ va//pat we put off and agaynestande p^v violence & p^v malice of oure fore said enemys//When Daril had redde p^s tre/onane he gert writte a leettir to kyn Alexander sayand on p^s wyse

\[\text{Daryus kyng of Perse and kyng of kynges vn to my} \]
\[\text{aH} \]
\[\text{uande Alexander I say//Now late p^v es cOmeR} \]
\[\text{tilH oure eres:tythynges:pat p^v wene} \]
\[\text{3} \]
\[\text{to euesR thi} \]
\[\text{littilhede tilH oure heghe magnificece Bot SeH it es impos} \]
\[\text{sible tilH a heuy asseV} \]
\[\text{owtteR wenges or O} \]
\[\text{p^v} \]
\[\text{instrumentes} \]
\[\text{of flying:for to be lifte vp to p^v sternes:} \]
\[\text{//late noste thyR hert} \]
\[\text{be raysede to hye in p^d} \]
\[\text{de for p^v victories p^t p^v hase gete} \]
\[\text{s//we hafe wele herd teH pat p^v hase done gentilly and shewed} \]
\[\text{grete humane} \]
\[\text{tye tilH oure moder oure wyfe & oure childre} \]
\[\text{and p^v fore I late p^v wele wite pat als lang als p^v dose wele} \]
\[\text{to paH bou saH fynde me nane enemys to the//And if p^v do iH} \]
\[\text{to paH p^v saH hafe p^v enemysy of me and pare fore spar} \]
\[\text{paH noght bot do to paH as p^v listy//ffor somtyme p^v saH} \]
\[\text{see & fele p^v sentence of our^v ire lighte apoiH thi heghe p^d} \]
\[\text{de when Alexander hadH redde p^s tre he wrrte hy anoH} \]
\[\text{agayne} \]
\[\text{whare off p^v teneR} \]
\[\text{was this} \]

\[\text{A} \]
\[\text{lexander p^v soH of Philippe & qwene Olympias to} \]
\[\text{Daril kyng of Perse we write://P^d} \]
\[\text{de & vayne glorie} \]
\[\text{hase oure godde3 aH way hateH:And take3 vengeance} \]
\[\text{of dedly menH p^v takes apoiH paH p^v name of immortale} \]
\[\text{tye Bot p^v als I wele see cesse3 noste 3itt hider to for to blasfeme} \]
\[\text{in aH pat p^v may//Bot of that pat p^v blamel3 me for p^v benyng} \]
\[\text{nytee that I schewed p^v moder p^v wyfe & p^v childre:p^v} \]
\[\text{ert moved on a lewed fantasey ffor I late p^v wele wyte I did it noste} \]
\[\text{[for to be} \]
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 understand 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
for to be thanked of the ne for to hafe thi Beneuolence /Bot it come of a gentlines of oure awened hert fownded in vertu//Of thee victories also whilke þe forluke of goddæ has sent vs ere we na thynge enpdeded//ffor we knawe wele þat oure goddis alwaye helpes vs//whilke þe ilk a daye dispyses þ setteth at noyte//And this sañH be þe laste lettþ þat I sañH writte vn to þe//Be ware if þu wille ffor I say the sekerly I come to þe onane//þis tre gaffe Alexander to þe messangþs of Daril and many geten gifteþ þe wþ//Seyme he sent anopþ tre till his prynceþ þ his lordeþ of þis tene"7

Alexander þe son of Philippe & of þe quene Olympias vn to þe prynceþ þe lordeþ vnnder oure abieccioñ i Capa" doce:iIn laodiceor ellawhere duelland:gretynge//k
gude g"ce we charge now þ cõmandeþ now at"tly þat ilkañ of 30w ordayne vs in all þe haste þe may I" nete hydes barked þ send þañ till Alexander þat we and oure knyghtis may gère make vs of þañ clethynge þ schoes//And wþ cameles þe haue at Alexander//gerre caru þañ to þe watþ of Eufrate In þis mene tyme a prynce of Daril Nostande by name wrate to Daril on þas wise T o Daril þe wirchipful grete goddæ//his spuande Nostandæ law seruyce Me aughte noyte to sende swylk tythyngeþ to 30° ryalle maiestee//bot grete nede gers me do it//pare fore þe it knawed vn to 30° he lorchipe þat twa grete prynceþ of 30°s & I//hase foghten wþ kynge Alexander//And hy es falleñ þe victorie þ slayne he hase thir twa worthy prynceþ & mekiñ obþ folke and I fleed g"uosly wonded//And many worthi knyghtis of 30°s hase for sakeñ 30° lorchipe & ioyned þañ till Alexander oste þe whilk he hase wirchipfully and hase gifteñ grete lordchipes of 30°s//And when Daril had reda þe þre he sent in haste till Nostandæ and cõmanded hy for till ordeyne a grete Oste:And manfully agaynestande þe folk of Macedoyne he sent also a þre to Porus kyng of Ynde þying hy to helpe hy agaynes Alexander and Poril wrate agayne þe þas manere P Orl kyng of Ynde vn to Daril kyng of Persæ grettyg ffor þou hase þe þed vs to come to the I helpynge [of þe agaynes
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
of the agaynes thyn enemys/We late the wete þe we are redy &
always have bene for to coþ to helpe yow/Bot as at þa tyme we
are letted to coþ to yow/be cause of grete seknesse þe we ere stadd-
in/Neuþ þe leþ sekely it es rytte heuy vn tiþ vs & greuþ vn
tiþ here of þe grete injury þat es done vn tiþ yow & þe for
we late yow wite þat wþ in schorte tyþ we saþ come for to helpe
yow wþ teþ legyþns of knyghtis/Bot when Rodogorius Daril
moder herþ telþ þe Daril hir soþ ordayneþ hy for to feghte a
gayne wþ kynge Alexander scho was rytte sory and wraþ a þre
vn tiþ hy þat contenþed this sentence
T
o kynge Daril hir moste bilouþe soþ Rodogoriþ
his modir sendeþ greþyn þ ioy I hafe understandeþ
þat ye hafe assemblede 307 meþ þ mekiþ obþ folke also
for to feghte eft sones wþ Alexþ/Bot I late þe wite
it wiþ availe þe na thynge þfor þoghe ye hade gadirde to gedir
alle þe meþ in þe werde duellyþ/þit ye ware vnable to agayne
stande hy þfor þe foreluke of godþ mayteneþ hy þ vphaldeþ
hy/And þe fore dere soþ it es my conseþ 307 heghenesse of herte
þe leþ þ fall allwheþe fra 307 glory and bene faurable to þe gret-
nes of Alexþ/þfor betþ it es to for ga þat at ye may noþte
halde þ haffe in pesse þan þat at ye may halde/þan for too
couett aþ and be excluded þ for ga aþ/When Daril rede þ
þe he was greþly troubledþ and weþeþ bitterly cõmandþ
vnþþ his mynde his moder his wyþ þ his childe
I
n the mene tyme kynge Alexþ remoweþ his oste/And drew
cnere þe cite of Susis in þe whilke Daril was lengandþ the
Same tyme so þat he myste see aþ þe heghhe hilleþ þat
ware abownþ þe citeþ/þan Alexþ cõmanded aþ his
meþ þat ilkþ of þam sulþ cutte dowþe a brawneþ of a
tree and bere þam furtþ wt þam þ dryfe before þam aþe
manþe of bestþ þe þay myste fynde in þa way/And when the
Pcyenes saw þam fra þe heghhe hilleþ þay wondred þam
gretþly/And Alexþ come wþ his oste to þe citeþ of Susis and
lugþn hy þere be syde þe citeþ/And theþ he calþ þis pryþceþ
þ his obþ lordeþ and said vn to þam/late vs þ he send a mes
sangere to kynge Daril & bidd þaþ owþ þ þ þ feþte wþ vs or eþe
[shmyt hy}
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
asmytt hy vn till vs The nexte nyghte aft" God" Amo" appe-
rede vn till Alex" in his slepe bryngan" hy t" fig"re of Mercuri-
& a mantill & anop" man"e of garment of Macedoynne &
said vs till hy"/Alex" soîn h" hee"/eu" mare when b" hafe nede
saï I helpe the"/And b" fore luke b" sende noghtede to Darit" pat
messangere b" b" spake off"/ffor I will b" b" thi selfe clothe thee
w" my figure & wende their b" selfe if ahe it be pilol for to do
Drede b" na thynge for I sai" be thi helpe so b" b" sai" hafe na man" of
dissesse"/On b" morne when Alex" rase fra slepe/he was gettly
coforthed of his dreme & called till hy his prynce3 & talde ilo
alle his dreme & pay assentede ahe pat he schulde wende to
Dariit in his proipr soîn"/And onane he called vn till hy ane of b" b
prynce3 b" while highte Emulus this prynce was a wyghte maï
& an hardy & wonder trewe till Alex"/And b" Alex" bad hy lepe
one a horse & bryng w" hy a nop" horse & follow hy"/And he didd so
and whei pay come to gedir to b" wat" of Graunte pat in b" langage
of Perse es called Struma pay fande it frosoï ou" & Alex" onane chauged he wede & lefte b" foresaid prynce w" twa horse
at b" wat" syde & hyselfe w" b" horse b" he satt apoï went ou"
b" wat" apoï b" ysp3 towarde b" citee of Susin"/And his prynce
besoghted hy b" he walde suffre hy wende w" hy ne pauent" any
diesesse feile hy by b" waye"/And Alex" ansumer& & sayde"/habyde
me here & he"/ffor he sai" be my helpere who in dremes I sawe
appere vn to me"/This like wat" whiley I spake of bi fore"/Ahe
b" wynt" sesoi like a nyghte was frosoï ahi ou":bot tymely
in b" mornyngs ales sone als b" warme soïn smate apoï it b" alo
it dissoleuied agayne & raif wonder swiftely b" brede of b" wat"
e b" space of a furlang"/When Alex" come to b" citee of b" citee
the Pcen when pay saw hy hadd grete wonder of his figure
& wende hy hadd a goda & onane pay asked hy what
he was"/And he anseured & said"/he was a messangere sent fra
kyng Alex" to paire lorde Darit & be lyfe pay broughte hy til hy
Dariit when Alex" come bi fore hy said vn til hy"/Whethy& ert b" b
he I ame Q Alex" sent vn to b" fra kynge Alexander to wiete
where to b" taries to come till hy to gyffe hy batele"/Owthir
come & feghte manfully w" thynge enemys or ehis submitte b"
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..."
on a hye place & cõforthed his mens & said vn to þaƿ/þaƿ mititude of þaƿ sciœnes ð he may noȝte be euend to þaƿ mititude of þaƿ gœckes ffor sewrly we are ma þan þay/And if þay were ane hundreth sythes maa than wee/late noȝte ȝoȝ hertis faile ȝow þaƿ fore ffor I telhe ȝow a grete mititude of flyes may do na harme þi th a fewe waþes/And wheþ þaƿ Oste had herde thire wordes þay cõmeþ dide hy halelely wþ a voyce

[haƿ þaƿ emoþ] Daril removed his oaste and come to þaƿ reuÞe of Graunt on þaƿ nyghte and went ouþ on þaƿ ysȝ and þar he lugged hy The Oste of Daril was wonder grete and strange ffor þay hadd in þaire oaste Xþ cartes ordyndþ ffor þaƿ werre and grete mititude of Olyfantes wþ towres of tree oþ þaƿ stufed wþ feghtynge meþþ/And sone apouþ a day thir twa kynges wþ þaire oestþ mett sameþ on a faire felde/Daril wþ his mens and Alexþ wþ his mens/Than Alexþ lept apoþ his horse þþ highte Buctiphalas and rade furthe bi fore all his oaste and houed in þþ myddes waye bi twen þþ twa Osteþ/And wheþ þþ pcyenþ saw hy þay had grete wonder of hy and ware rȝte ferde for hy by cause he was so vggly/neuþ þþ lesse þay trompedþ vp & went to warde Alexþ/And sone þþ bateþ ȝocynþ & faghte to gedir ferselþ and many mens dyed on ayþer pyt þþ was so thikke scotþ of arowes þþ þþ ayer was couerde as it had bene wþ a clowde Some faghte wþ swerdeþ Ŝþ wþ speres Ŝþ wþ axes & suþ wþ arowesþþ felde lay full of folke Ŝþ dede suþ halfe dede & suþ greuously wonded þay bего for to feghte at þþ soñ ryþynge and faghte to þþ soñ settyng Bot þþ dyed many ma of þþ pcyenþ þaƿ þþ dide of Macedoyns and wheþ Daril sawe his mens faile so thikke in þþ felde he lefte þþ felde & fledþ and þþ pcyenþ seynþ that/þþ fledþ also Bot þaƿ þaire cartes of werre rane amange þþ pcyenþ & slewe of þaƿ folke wþ owte nowþ & namely of fote mens ffor by þat tyme it was myrke nyghte and þay ne myȝte noȝte see for þi th eachewe þaƿ when Daril come to the
...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
to þe foresaid wattere he fande it frosee and ouþ he went//And whee þe he was ouþ þe opþe lordes of þe sce went appoþe þe ys þe grete a mititude þat þay couerde þe ys þe fra þe taa banke to þe top þat a grete brede þæ þan onane þe ys þe brake als some als Daril was paste ouþ þat all þe ware on þe ys þe ware pischte ilk a moder soþ and drownede in þe watœ//þe remau-þt whee þay come to the watœ//pay myste noste wynde ouþ//And þæ þe Maccwone Þæ come þe dange þiþ downe//In this batelle þu was slaæþ of þe pcyenes CCCœ wæþ owte þæ þat were drownede//kyng Daril fled þe to þe cïee of Susis & went in till his palas þe fæhe downe to þe grounde//t sighæone þæ wæþ was a sare hert//he said þeis wordes//Allas full wæ es me vnhappy þwiche þat euþ I was borne ffor þe irre þiþ indignacion of heueþ es faelleþ one mee//ffor I Daril þat lifte my selueæ vp to þe sternæ//Now am I þroghte lawe to þe ærthe//Now es Daril þæ conquerede Þæ þe Este nacyons & made þæ suþcete þæ þæþutures vn til þy fayne for to flee fra his enemies þæ subyttæ þy vn to þæ//And it were knaweþ vn to þe wrecched maþ what schulde falle til þy þæ þæ wardeæ he schulde hafe littyþ thoughte of þe tyme þu sentt bot one þæ tyme to come solde his thoȝte be//In a þoynte of a daye it fales þat þu meke es rayseþe vp to þu clowdþæÞ þu þæ prouðe es þutt to noste//And whee þæ he hede saide þhir wordes he rase vp & satt þæ wrate þe irre þu til Alexander sayande one þis wyseæ

T

iþ his lorde Alexander kyng of Macedowe Daril kyng of Perse greyþæ þæ þoþ we haue welðe vnþrandæþæ
by þat that we haue herde of yowæ and sene//þat þee
hafe in yow grete wyseðæ æ a hye wittæSo þu noyte
allanly þe knawe thyngeþ þu æ þu uþent or passeþe bot also þyngeþ þat ere for to come and þuþfore æþ þyngeþ þat þe doþæ do it wæþ owteþ any lacre or repreþæ//Neuþ þu þesse haþææ in mynde þat riþæ as weðe
ware þæ ðe þece æ þone þæ þenæææ of þæ þeshæ womanæ//And þuþfore
rayse þyngeþ 30ª hertæ æ hye bi cause of 30ª þrownæþæ æ 30ª doghte
dedis so þat þe for getæ 30ª lastæ ende//ffor ofte tymeæ we see þat þu latteræ endæ of a manæ discordes wæþ þu þu þirste//It successeþ til þa
warryouro for to getæ þu victoireþ of his enemys þoþæ æ þe scæwe
noyte æþ þu þalæ þat he may//Remembre yow of þu þirchipfulæ
kyng þerseæ ouæ þrene þæ progenyæþ þat many victorieæ gat æ schæne
in æþ þepþeeþæ//Be þore he rayseþæ his hertæ in þuþ þande mesure//
aþe þu þirchippe þat þæ hæþ æ þone þæ þoræ æ þu þirchipæ æ þu þu victoireæ þæ þæ haþæ getæ
(by þu forlukæ æ godæ)
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, "Alas, 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...
betti vs es for to dy manly in þe felde þan for to see þe mescheffe of oure pople & þe dissolacioun of oure rewme//Whare fore hafand reward and compassion of oure disessa we be seke yow þat ye late oure þeres sattei in 30" hert & helpe for to succo" vs now at oure nede//hafand in youre mynde þe grete noblaye of oure þegenytos//And I seure yow þe giffe ilke a fote maþ þe come wþ yow//thre pece5 of golde//And ilke a horse maþ fyve pece5 of golde and also mete & drynke ynogethe to yow & aþ 30" meþ//And where so ye lugge yow//We schalle fynde yow a hundreth & fourscore tenete curiously wroghte//And also we schall gyffe yow Alex' horse Buktyphalas and aþe appairaii & þe araye þe langes tillt Alex' hallely schall be 30"s and also aþ þe apoylle of his folke sañt be dalte a mange3 youre folke//Where fore we beseeke yow þat also soñ als this tre come to yow//ye haste yow tillt vs in aþ þe may//ffor wite ye wele for certaynhe//that riȝte als he done tillt vs//so he þe pose hy in tymte cõmyng for to do to yowe

In the men tymte certane meñ of Dariil went fra hy & come tillt Alexander & talde hy þat Dariil þe posede hy for to feghte wþ hy eftesones and had sent tillt Forl kynge of Indre for to come in grete haste for to helpe hy//Wherei Alex' herd þes be lyte he removed his Oste to warð Dariil thynkand in his herte þe he wolde on na wyse take apoñ hy þe name of Empo" before he hâd woni Dariil and his rewme one werre//And wheñ Dariil herde of þe cõmyng of Alex' he dreed hy gretly & þe pcyenes also//Bot þere was two prynce5 of Dariilof þe whilke þe tane hightes/Bisso//& þe toþ/ARIOBARANTES//thir twa wheñ þair herdi of þe cõmyng of Alex' cõšyred to gedir for to slaa þaire lord Dariil supposyn for tillt hafe a grete thanke of Alex' and a grete reward for þaire dede//And aþer of þe ware sworne tillt ob'//And than they went to þe kynge palace & come I tillt his chamber wþ drawen swerdes in þaire hande3 and fand Dariil bi hym ane//And wheñ Dariil saw that he trowed wele þe þay wolde sla hyw//And said vn to þas//Dere frende3 hedir to wære3 hafe I called yow my ðuñde3//bot now I calle yow my lordes what ayles yow at me þe 3c with sla me//hase Alex' cheriste þe macedoynes mare þas I hafe done yow//hafe I noste sorow & disese ynogethe of enemysse wþ owteþ//bot if þe çòspire agaynes me for to sla me wþ owteþ gîlt//I say for sothe & 3e sla me

[bus pæuely]
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
thus pusahaanły//And Alexº may gete sow//he wiþ take mare cruell ven- 
geance one sow//thaþ on any theues//for sothely it es na cóþ 
the ne lykgyn tilh ane Empo² m‘theread wº his awenº 
mefh//Bot pay were na thyng stirredre to petee//ne tendernesse// 
ne mercy//thurg his wordes Bot went tilh hy and wº grete cruelnesse 
smate hy ¶ al to magled hy and went faste þaire wyse ¶ lefte 
hy for dede 
A
nd whenº Alexº herc teþ þþ Daril was slayn//he went 
ouº þº watº of Graunt and aþ his Oste wº hy and come 
to þº cetee of Susia//And alsone als þº pcyenes saw hy 
Thay Opened þº yates of þº cetee & rescheyued hyº 
wº grete wirchipe//And whenº þº Prynceþ þat slewe Daril wiste 
þº Alexº was comeº Ìh to þº cetee þay went ¶ helde þasº í hidils 
ay tilh þay myyte gete knaweynge of Alexº wi¼//As towchand 
þat þat þay hadd done to Daril//Alexº þasº went in to þº kynges 
Palace and as he went þº in he merueyld hy gºly of þº biggyng 
þº off//ffor Citz þº kyng of Perse gert bigg it ryally//And the 
pament þº offe was made of stanes of dyuºse colours & þº walle 
þº enueround wº fyne golde & þº cyol stanes & sternes lyke to 
þº firmament and pevers of golde þat bare vp þº werke//Whenº 
Alexº saw aþ this curiol werke he meruaidº hy gretly//And thasº 
he went to þº chambre þare Daril laye halfe dede//And alsone 
als he saw hyº//he hadº grete rewthe & compeßion of hy and 
he take offe his awenº mantiþ & couººº wº ¶ went ¶ graspēd 
his wondes and wepid for hy riȝte tenderly & saidº vn til hy 
Rise vp ¶ Daril ¶ he ¶ be of gude comforthe//And als frely 
as euº þº reioysede thȳnº Empire so mot þº zitt do//And be als 
myghty ¶ als gloryyez als euº þº was//=I were the here by 
oue mystye goddes & by þº faythe in my body//þº here I resigne 
vn to the all þyn empere desyrande soueraygly for to hafe 
þº lyfe of the as þº soº of þº fader ffor sekerly it es vnfittandº 
& unsemy tilh ane empº for to be reioysede of an obº empºs 
mescheffe & disease whenº fortune hase forsakeº hy//Tehe 
me ¶ what þay are þº hase thus fareº wº the and I sewre þº 
als I am trew manº I saþ venge the to þº yttereste and 
[wheº Alexº
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."
f. 21r

When Alexander had said this & meekly spake sore wepand: // Daril putte furthe his hande & layde his arme aboute Alex nekke & kyssed his breste his nekke & his hande & saide thir worde: thare that here folowe:

A dere sonn Alex & he: Alas thi hege witt knowes wele alt this werle es corupt & sett in malice: // if for, alt thynge: alt thynge: knawende fra he begynynge & hafand felyng of wirkyng: for to come: // made mañ in that wyse at begynynge nathynge in hy stable ne faste: // So alt thynge: pat ere passande & weredly fra he he faile of gouvurance turnes also siel hy in cōtrarye: // if godde hadde ordeyned alt thynge: easy to mañ & alwaye wotte: chaungynge sent hy papite: // mañ schulde he lyftede vp so his in pryde & in vayne glorye he solde noȝte arett alt his wele fare & his welthe vn to godde: / bot tīl his awenaw desertt & his awenaw vertu: // And so schulde meñ gaa fra paire makare: // On y & to syde if he hege wyssed: of godde hadde made werde of pat wyse he al illes & infelicytes felh apoñ mañ wotte: any man of gudene: // so many frelese sulde folow kynde of mañ/bat we schulde alt be drawe: in to glider of disparacioun so he solde hafe na triste in gudnes of godde: // And fore grete godde wolde so wisely skifte alt thynge: where a mañ full of felicitee thurgh his hege pride will noȝte knawe his makere / fra heghte of pride in to pitte of mekenes & lawnes he moñ be plunged: // So he pat thurgh pride & felicite forgat his godde thurgh fallynge in wrecchin: & disesse hafe mynde of his godde: Reghte als y may see bi me my dere soñ Alex // was rayseede vp so hye in pride & vayne glorye thurgh recesh & papite pat felle vn to me / pat I trowed noȝte he I was goddes creature bot goddes ffeale: // And mañ thurgh blyndene of pride I couthe noȝte see that / but now thurgh scharpene of mekenes & mescheffe I see clere & knowes: // Bot if it hadde pat any mañ be vmbilappede wotte grete infilcitee / so pat he despairand of grace of godde: //Supposes na remedy ne nane lukes efter: // {bān} oure lorde
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 in 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,
pa theoure lorde godde rayse3 hy vp to pe heghte of pspitee//so pe pa3 he
pat bi cause of wretchednes & in felicitee my3te no3te see godde ne knawe
hy//thurgh felicete & pspitee knawse pat he pe may bryng a ma3 to
lawe state//may rayse a ma3 ti33 hegte degree//And he pat may rayse
a ma3 ti33 hegte degree//may putt hy to lawneff agayne when hy lyst
and pe fore so3 late no3te thy hert ryse to hye in pde for pe victoryes
pat godde base sent the//if aúh pe may do now whate pe list//ri3te as
were a godde//Bot alway thynke on thy laste ende//ffor pe ert a
dedly ma3//And ilk a daye if pe be halde graythely pe may see thy
dedd bi fore thy33 eghne//Consedirs pe no3te how oure lyffe may be
lykkened to pe werke of Eranes pat so sotelly makes paire webbes
Bot also3 als a liti33 blaste of wynde pusses soppe pa3 pay breke
& falles to grownde//Be halde & see how glorif I was 3ist day
& how wretchede I ass to day & how law I ass broghte//I was
lorde nerehande of aúh pe werlde & now I hafe na power of my3
awen3 selfe//Now I be seke the so3 pat pe will bery me w3 thy
benyng handes//And suffre for to come to my3 exe3se bathe pe
Macedoynes & pe payenes//And fra this tyme forwarde3 pe empire
of Macedoynes & pe empire of Perse be bathe ane//haffe recomend
vn to the my Moder Rodogo3 & trete hir wirchipfuly as thy3
awen3 Moder and I be seke pe also pat pe be Mercyable to My wyfe
and if it be lykynge to pe//take Rosan3 my doghet3 to thi wyfe//ffor
semely it es pat ye be ioynde to geder pat er come3 of so wir-
chipful pe gnito3 for pe of kyng Philippe and scho of kyng Daril
and of 3ow twa may a wirchipful3 & a noble fruyte sprynge//
And ri3te as he had saide thir worde3 he swelt in Alexander armes//
kyng Alex3 pa3 aft3 custo3 was for to bery empo3s gert araye
Daril body als raly as he couthe//And w3 aúh pe solemnyte and
wirchip pe myghte be done/he helped hy selfe for to bere pe bere
sare wepande and gert pe Macedoynes & pe payenes gaa bi fore
pe bere//The payenes also weped wondre faste no3te allany
for pe dede of Daril bot for petee of paire hertis pe pay saw Alex3
wepe so enterely//And when Daril was beried Alexander went
agayne to pe palace
A
and one pe morne Alexander went and sett hy in a trone aúh
of golde & pe cyol stanes//the whilke Cyril sumtyme gert

make pe was
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 Rodogoria. 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
make b was kyng of Perse/And the Macedoynes and b Payenes sett apoñ his hede a coroune b was Daril b whilk was so p'cious p't meñ knewe nane like it in na lande//ffor aH b palace schane thurgh bryghteneñ b p'cyous stanes p'at were sett b in//And b trone was aH of golde & of p'cioñ stanes & b sege b offe was vii Seven cubeteñ hege fra b grounde//And a grece of Seven greeñ was made b to whare by kynges ascended b to//And thir greeñ were made wonder craftyly & curously//The firste gree was of ane Amatist//The seconde gree was of a Smarañ//The thredñ gree was of a Topaz//The ferthe gree was of a g'nat//The fiftœ was of ane Adamande//The sextœ was of fyñ golde//And the Seuent was of Clay//And thay ware noñte witten g'te causeñ ordeyned one pis wyse//ffor b first gree w ane amatist for amange aH op' stanes it hase this vertu//that it represses & haldeñ doune b fumositee of wyne & b myghte b offe//& suffers noñte a manñ p'at beres it oñ hy be troublesñ in his witt/ne i his mynde thurgh drownkeneñ//And on b same wise solde like a kyng be of p'fite witt & mynde//& thurgh nane occasiõ do na mysse//The seconñ gree was of a Smaragñ b whilk clarifyeñ & kepeñ b sighte of hy b beres apoñ hy and so schulde a kyng hide cler sighte of his hert//wyßely for to see & discerne that p'at es spedfuñ & p'itable bathe for hy selfe & for b comoñ profit//The thirðœ gree was of a Topaz b whilk es so clere b & a manñ bi halde hy selfe b in it sañ seme till hy as his hede ware to'ndede downwardeñ//And his fete vpwardeñ//And it be takenes b a kyng schulde alway take hede till his laste ende The ferthe gree was of a Granat whilk passeñ aH manere of precioñ stanes in reedneñ betakenes b a kyng suld be scham' fuññ for till consent till any thynge b es vnlefuñ//The fiftœ was of ane Adamande//b Adamande es so harde p'at it may noñte be brokeñ nowññ with yrecñ ne w'ñ stane//bot if it firste be enoynted w'ñ gayte blode//On b same wyse a kyng suld be of so grete constance & sadneñ b for na prayere ne for na worldly gude he solde noñte bewgh fra b way of ryght- wisneñ The sextœ gree was of fyne golde for rîñte as golñ passeñ aH manñ of metalñ in bewtee & in p'cioñste//rîñte so a kyng awe to be p'ferred before op' meñ & gouñnoñ of p'ñn

b Seuent
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.
f. 22v

\[\text{Seu}nt\ was\ of\ Clay:thi\ \text{pat}\ entent\ \text{pat}\ a\ \text{ma}\ \text{pat}\ es\ rases\ vp\ to\\text{dignyte}\ of\ a\ kyng\ sulde\ alway\ vmbythynk\ hym\ \text{pat}\ he\ was\ made\ of\ erthe:at\ \text{pat\ laste}\ to\ \text{eri the he sa}h\ agayn/When\ Alexander\ was\ sette\ apo\ this\ trone\ corounde\ w\ his\ diademe\ &\ \text{Macedoynes}\ &\ \text{paynes}\ standing\ abowe\ hy:be\ fore\ \text{ahe}\ he\ gert\ write\ a\ tre\ thi\ \text{ahe\ cuntree}\ \text{pat}\ was\ of\ this\ teno/}

\text{Alexander\ the sof\ godd\ Amon\ &\ qwene\ Olypias\ kynge\ of\ kynges\ &\ lorde\ of\ lordes://thi\ ahe\ Dukes:Princes/Erles\ Baro\s\/maisters\ &\ thi\ ahe\ \text{folke3}\ of\ perscicio\ &\ grace//Sen\ it\ es\ ple-

\text{yna\ godd\ \text{pat}\ I\ sitt\ one\ \text{trone}\ of\ Daril\ &\ be\ lorde\ of\ \text{payenes\ gete}\ cause\ I\ sahe\ for\ to\ be\ reioyst\ g"ely\ \text{offe}e//ne\ were\ it\ for\ \text{gret\ miti-
tude\ of\ folke}\ \text{ere}\ slayne//Bot\ sen\ it\ so\ es\ \text{pat\ godd\ hase\ ordyne}\ me\ to\ be\ 30\ lorde\ and\ 30\ gou\no//pare\ for\ es\ we\ comande\ 30\ //\text{pat\ in\ like\ thurghowte}\ lordechipe\ of\ pse//3e\ ordayne\ prynce3\ &\ gou\no\a\ as\ \text{was\ in\ Daril\ tyme//to\ \text{whike}\ we\ comande\ 30\ \text{pat}\ ye\ be\ obeyande//As\ ye\ before\ tymes\ hafe\ bene//And\ that\ \text{pay\ do\ rihte\ thi\ like\ a\ ma\ at\ bare\ powere\ also\ it\ es\ our\ will\ &\ our\ comande\ ment//Pat\ like\ a\ ma\ wele\ &\ reioysce\ paysably\ his\ landes\ &\ his\ possession\ we\ comande\ alse\ \text{pat\ fra\ this\ lande}\ of\ pse\ vtin\ Ellada\ &\ fra\ thethy\ to\ Macedoyne\ be\ redy\ way\ &\ open//so\ \text{pat\ like\ a\ ma\ \text{pat\ will\ may\ passe\ bathe\ in\ and\ owte\ w\ mercandyse\ or\ any\ ob\ erandes}\ \text{pay\ hafe\ at\ do\ and\ own\ &\ pese\ be\ vn\ to\ 30\ e//}

\text{P\ an\ gert\ Alex\ ahe\ me\ be\ still\ &\ said\ one\ this\ wyse//whilke\ of\ 30\ so\ slew\ my\ enemy\ Darilcomes\ forthe\ to\ me\ &\ I\ sahe\ giffe\ yow\ worthy\ mede\ &\ onable\ wirchipe\ do\ pa\a\ I\ swere\ bi\ our\ godde\ \text{pat\ ere\ almyt\ &\ bi\ my\ mo\ biloued\ Moder\ Olypias}\ \text{pat\ sahe\ giffe\ pa\a\ worthy\ mede//When\ Alexander\ had\ saide\ thir\ words//\text{payenes\ wepede\ wonderly\ sare//And\ that\ pa\a\ twa\ ma\ mortirer\ Bissou\ &\ Aryobaryant\ come\ bi\ fore\ Alex\ &\ sayde\ vn\ thi\ hy//Wirchipful\ emp\ P\ \text{pay\ we\ ere\ these}\ \text{p\ slew\ Daril\ thyne\ enemy\ w\ our\ awen\ hende//And}\ when\ Alex\ saw\ \text{pa\a}\ he\ bade\ his\ knyghtes\ be\ lyfe\ ga\ &\ take\ pa\a\ &\ bynde\ (pa\a\ &\ lede\ pa\a\)
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
f. 23r

pañ & lede pañ to Daril grafe and pare smytte of paire heuedes//And than bay answerd & saide vn tilh Alex&/AA wirchipfuñ emö/ P bay swore pañ noyte tilh vs bi oure goddes & ere almyhty:& bi pañ hele of thi Moder Olymias pañ pañ solde gerre do vs na harme bot pañ pañ solde giff vs a worthi reward//And Alex saide agayne vn to pañ. So aughte me wele for to swere for to gette knawyng of pañ slaers of Daril//ffor I solde neu hafe getyn knawyng pañ ofte had I noste sworne so//And sitt I sañ safe myñ athe wele yneghe//ffor it was alway myñ entent pañ if I myñte wete what bay ware pañ solde hafe swilke a rewarde ffor bay pañ slaes paire awenñ lorde it es a takeñ pañ bay wuñ hafe na conscience to sla anopp mañ//And wheñ pañ payenes herde this bay by gañ to prayse Alex & to cûmende hy & blisse hy as he had bene a godða//pañ kyn Alex gert hede thà twa homycydes And añ pañ rewne he sett in goußnance of certayne lorde/Amanges op pañ wàs ane alde lorde was eme to Daril pañ whilke highte Climitl pañ was gretly luffede wñ pañ payenes and Alex at pañ request of añ the payenes ordeyned hy for to be chefe goußnoß vnder hy of añ pse and one pañ morne Alex sett hy in his trone wñ his corounñ on his heide and eft pañ biddynge of Daril he cûmande to brynge bi fore hy Rosañ Daril doñgh ñ wñ a corounñ ñ hir hede sett fuñ of pçiol stanès and pare as pañ mañ was of pañ payenes he tike hir to his wyfe and made hir to sitt wñ hy in his trone ñ cûmand añ meñ to wirchipe hir als qwene and pañ pañ payenes were wonderly glade ñ onane pay brynse paire goddes bi fore Alex & bi gañ to wirchipe hy ñ loue hy rîgte als he had bene a godða & saíd vn tilh hy halley wñ a voyçe//Pou thi selfe es a godða ffor that pañ es plesande tilh oure goddes alway pañ dose//And wheñ Alex saw this//he was gretly troubled ñ rîgte ferde & saíd vn to pañ//Wirchipfuñ ajrþ P he//I pñ y yow pañ ye wirchipe me noste as a godð for sothely I am as ye are a corupteble ñ a dedly mañ and in me pañ es na pçel of the god hede//And ñ fore I besëke yow causeß of this wirchipe pañ ye do me ñ an gert Alexander write a ire tilh Olymias his moder ñ tilh Arestotle his maistß makand mercywß of añ pañ baß tayttß ñ pañ disesseß pañ he hadß sufferd in pse and of the grete reches pañ he fande pare of pañ whilke he ñ að his meñ ware made riche and also he wrate vn to pañ
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 Climeus. 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
pat pay scholde make grete solempnytee lastyng aghte dayes be cause of pay weddyngs of Alex* & Rosani Daril doghter//And so did Alex in Perse w* payed macedoynes & payenes many a daye A

fft this kyng Alex* Sembled a grete Oste bathe of Macedoynes & of payenes and went towarde Inde for to werre apon Porl kyng of Inde pay whilke ordeynede hy for to come & helpe kyng Daril And when Alex* was entered in til Inde he went thurgh wildirnes & waste cuntree where in ware grete reuers and many grete caues & cauerne and paal Alex* his meath wax wery & irkede riȝte sare//And pay prynces of Macedoyne & of grece murmourede amange paal gretyly & saide ilka til til op//It myyte hafe sufficea til vs pay we hafe ou sett kyng Daril & cōrqred pay kyngdo to Oste Whare to seke we forthare in til Inde//pay whilke es fuH of wilde beste3 and leues oure aunen landes//Ne pay Alexander nane op pay thynges desyre3 bot for to wende abowte and thurgh werre to brynge ah pay werlde vndere his subieccio//ffor werre & debate inresche3 his body//so ferfurth pat & he ristede any lange tyme w* owtein werre riȝte ays it were for defaute of mete he schulde faile & dye leue we hy b*fore and t"ne we agayne vn til til oure aunen cuntree and late hy wende furthe w* the payenes if he will//When Alex* herde pis://he garte ah pay Oste habide//And he went and stodde I ane heghe place amange paal & sayde thus one this wise//De* partis 30w in twaa so pat pay payenes be by paal selfe And pay Macedoynes and pay grekes b. paal selfe//And when pay hadde so done//Alexander saide to pay Macedoynes and the grekes//AA myne aunen dere knyghtis P he wele knawe b* thir payenes vn to pis day hase bene cotaryr & rebelles vn to 30w & to me and 3e with now lefe me here w* paal and to"ne agayne to 30 aunen cuntree//Wele 3e wate pay when 30 w hertes were troublede & feres for wordes pat ware contented in Daril iree//I throug my speche & my consel c*forthe3 30+ hertian//And aftwarde wheen we come into pay felde agaynes oure enemi I went bi fore 30w ah//And I by myn ane was pay firste maas b* entrede pay batayle//And ytt more ou* as 3e welte wate I tuke apoi me for to be youre allere Messangere vn to kyng Dari//And paye for 30w I putt my selfe in many grete
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
And þow forwytes þat riȝte as hedirtowardes we have overcome oure enemys & hade þo better of þam/riȝte so fro heþeð forwarde þurgh þe helpe of oure godde:we saȝt ouȝe comþe oure enemys & hafe þo victorye of þam/And þow fore I say ȝow forsoythe þat alþ if ȝe wille toȝne agayne to grece & macedoyne: I saȝt noȝte toȝne agayne ouȝe na wyse:þat ȝe may knawe þat wȝe owþteȝ gouȝnance of a kynge nane Oste may wynne na wirchipe:/Wheȝ Alexȝ had saȝt þus alþ þo pryncȝ of Macedoyne & of þe gȝkes Schamede greutely:/ȝ askede mȝcy & forgifȝeç Sayande one þis wyse/Moste wirchipfulȝ empȝte ouȝe lyfe lyes hallely in ȝoȝ hande:þheȝir sȝ ouȝ ȝe wille gȝwe we wille gladly felowe ȝoȝ hye maistey þoe þe we schulde aȝ dye for ȝow ouȝ a daye we saȝt folow ȝow & neuȝ leȝe ȝow:/And þeȝ pay removed fra þeine & come in þis a cuntree of Inde þȝ as caled Phisȝinȝ in þo laste ende of Iuly:/And þare mette hy þe embaȝgats of Forȝ kyng of Inde:/And bryghte hy þe euȝ fra Forȝ þȝ said ouȝ this wyse F

Orȝ kyng of Inde:vnu to þuȝ theeffe Alexander:þat thurgh thifte & robberie many citeȝ es wynȝeg biddynge we nenȝ. Seȝ þuȝ ȝert dedely:wharto weneȝ þuȝ þat þuȝ ȝert of powere to agaynstanȝe godde þat es vn dedely:/A grete folc me thynk þuȝ ȝert þat hase eȝhne & cane nott See:/Trouwes þuȝ we be lyke vn to þuȝ þayynes þat þuȝ hase made subiecteȝ vn to þe:þuȝ hase foughteȝ hedirto warde wȝ softe meȝ & cowardeȝ:þuȝ for þuȝ hase ouȝcomeȝ þaȝ:þuȝ weneȝ þat thi littilneȝ saȝt brynȝe ouȝ hye maistey vnder þi subieciȝ þuȝ whilke es vn posyble for to besc:/bot if goddeȝ submytt þaȝ vn to meȝ & þuȝ ȝert he be eȝuȝ lyke to þuȝ heȝeȝ:/I late þe wiete þuȝ I may noȝte be ouȝȝcomȝ for noȝte allanȝ meȝ but bot also goddeȝ doeȝ ûȝcȝe to my name wate þuȝ noȝte wele þat ane Dynise þuȝ fader of Bachȝ come intiȝ Inde wȝ a grete Oste for to feȝhtȝe:/bot onane he toȝned þuȝ bakke & fledȝ for he was noȝte of powere to agaynstanȝe þuȝ vȝtu of meȝ of Inde:/And þuȝ for oyne any schame or mischeffe coȝ to þuȝ we coȝeȝ the & coȝmandeȝ þe þuȝ in alþ haste þuȝ þuȝ may þuȝ toȝne hame agayne to thynge awȝeȝ lande:/þfore wele þuȝ knawe þuȝ þuȝ bi fore ȝeres was kynges of Perȝeȝ:macedoynes gaffe tribute tiȝ: Inde:/Bot by cause þuȝ þaȝe lande es barayne & vnprofitable: þa thyngeȝ þer in plesande tiȝ a kynges:/þuȝ meȝ of Inde sett noȝte þuȝ by ffor ilke a maȝ desyres mare a large lande & a pletenouȝþaȝ

[La strayyte lande]
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
a straunge lande & a barayne: //And þu fore zitt the thirde to"ne I comande the that þu to"ne hame to thyne avenð lande: //And neþ in thi lyfe couette to hafe lordchipe þare þu may nane gete
Wie þis þre was comeñ tīth Alex.:/he gerte rede it be fore aþ meñ: //And when his knyghtis hada herde þu teno" of þu's þre þay were trubled: //And Alex sayde vn to þañ: //My wirchipful knyghtes þ he/late noȝte 30" hercis be trubled ne fered: for Porl ire: //hafe þe noȝte in mynde wþ how grete þde Daril wrete vn tīth vs dyu"se tymes: //I say yow sothely þt aþ þu folke of thyse Este ðties hafe þaire hertis & þaire wittis lyke vn to þu bestes þu þay dueþe wþ aþ: // þu es at say: //Tyrgres: //Pardene: // & op" wilde bestis whilke ful þ seldeñ ere slañ of meñ: //And þu fore þay triste aþ in þaire streng"he and when Alex hade said thir wordes: /he garte writte a þre vn to Porl kynge of Inde whare of this was the teno"

King of kynge in lorde of lorde of Alexander þu soñ of godñ Amoñ & þu qwene Olympias: //vn to Porl we sende: //þou hafe scharpede oure wittes & gyffeñ vs hardynes for to feghte agaynes þu"/whare þu says þt macedoyne es bot a litiñ lande & barayne of aþ thynge þu" gude es //And Inde þu" says es large & plenteoun of aþ gudeñ & reches and þu fore we sañ enforce vs to feghte wþ the at aþ oure myghte for to seuer thi lande þu" þu sañ es so ful of reches: //And for þu haldeñ vs pouñ aþ of na reputacioñ: //þu fore we desire for to ascende to þu" heghte of thi maieste: //And also þu" þu says þat noȝte allanly vn to meñ but also vn to goddeñ þu" ert e mporn" /I sañ come to the for to feghte wþ þu" as wþ an hatheñ mañ ful of Pompe & þde: and vayne glory: //aþ noȝte as wþ a godñ // for aþ þu welde may noȝte agaynstand þu" wretene of a godñ //per fore señ þu" Elementis of this aerë: bat es at say Thuners/leuyngeñ & watñ may noȝte bere þu" indygnaçon of goddeñ: how schulde þu ædely meñ mowe agaynstande þaire wretene: //And þu" fore I late the wele [wiete þu þu]
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
wele witte that thi fonnde proude speche trubble3 me noȝte ne moue3 me neu8 a dele

heȝ porl hadd3 this ire/he was wondere wrathe & assemblde a grete Oste of mei9/And a grete miultitude of Olymphpânte8w3 þe whilke þe mei9 of Inde erre wount for to feghte and went agaynes Alex9/This Oste of Porl was riȝte grete & strange for þare ware þo3 in xiii8 cartes of werre and viii8 Oliphânte3 and ilk an Olyphante hadde a toure of tree apoûn his bakke þ in ilke a toure xxx mei9/pare ware also ob9 feghtyg mei9 on horse þ of fote w7 owt3 nowm9/And when þe Macedoynes and þe payne sawe þo3 grete miultitude bathe of mei9 þ of Olymphpânte3 þay were fered þ gretely stonyde/Neu9 þo3 lesse bathe þe pynes ordayneþ þan to bateþ and arayed þare bateþ/Allx9 on his syde/And Porl on his syde/And Alex9 lepe vp on his horse Buktiphalas þ p8kede bi fore aȝ his mei9/And comandeþ þe Medoynes & þo3 panye sawe sulde firste be gynȝ to feghte and so þay diȝ þ by selfe w7 þo3 grekes þe macedoynes stode on þo3 toþ syde redy to suocco7 þan when mei9 ware/And for þe Olymphânte3 also Alex9 gert make suylke aȝ ordynance/he gert make xiii3 ymage3 of brassec and gert fiȝ þan full of dry wodde and he gerte make also cartes of yre for to bere þir ymage3 be fore þe Olyphante3/And when þe Oste3 come nere to gediþ he gert sett fyre in þo3 wodde þat was in þo3 ymage3/And when þe Olyphante3 saw þir ymage3 þay wende þo3 þay hadd3 bene mei9/þ schott owte þare groynes as þay were wount for to do for tiȝ hafe weryeþ þane/And alsome thurgh þo3 grete hete þay were brynnde & than þay gaffe bakke & fledge for drede to bryne þayre groynes/And þo3 fore þe mei9 þo3 were aboww3 in þo3 toures myghte noȝte wyȝ to for to feghte/And when Porl saw that he was reghte Sary/þane þe Medoynes & þe pynes w7 arowes and spere3 & ob9 dyw3 se wapynes of werre slewe thykfald of þo3 mei9 of Inde/And thus þay faghte cûtennely xxx9 days/þ mei9 toun pople of bathe þo3 pties ware dede/And at þo3 laste þe Medoynes & þe pynes be gar3 faste for to payle and when Alexander saw that he was wondere wrathe and Entrede in to þe bateþe sittanþ on his horse Buktiphalas
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.
and faghte mānfully & p. grekes & p. macedoynes w. hy/and his
horsec also helped hy gretyly/And than he lyfe p. Indyenes bega
cretely for to fayle//And when Porl saw that he turned p. bakke
& fledd//And p. Indyenes pat were lefte of lyfe fledd also
and Alex lugebat hy thare w. his Oste and made Sacrifice till
his godde3 and cōmandede for to bery p. dede bodys: bathe of Indyenes
& of p. pysenes & p. Macedoynes
S
One aft a day Alex' enseged Porth citee & wam it and went in till Porth Palace where In he fande
mare reches pān any mān will trowe//for he
fande p. in xi peler of Massy golde ilkān of a grete
thiknef & a grete lenthe w. paire chapytraffes//And bi twene
p. peler of golde ware hyngande venet3 of golde & syluer w.
leues of golde//And p. brawne3 of this venett ware sum of cristalhe
sum of Margarite3 Sum of Smaragdes & sum of Onyches and p. p. w. ayy habe bene v. ray vynes//p. walle also of p. p. palace
ware couerde a h ou w. plates of golde p. whike wheof p. Mace-
doynes cutte In sowdrie & brakke pān fande p. p. p. ware a gret ynche
thikke//And thir walle ware sett full of diu'se p. ciol stanes pat
e at say of charbuncles//Smaragdes//Margarites & Amatist
and p. gades of p. Palace ware of Euo wonder whitt & p. baud3
of p. & p. legges of Ebene//p. chambirs also of his Palace were
all of Cipref & p. bedde3 in pān ware set full of Margarite3
Smaragde3 & charebuncles//p. hault also of his Palace was sett
full of ymage3 of golde & bi twix pān stode platanes of golde
in p. branch of whike p. were many man's of fowles & like a
fowle was colourede & paynted aft his kynde asked p. bekes
of pān & p. cloves ware all of fyne golde//And ay when Porth
liste thir fowles thurgh cratf of Music walde syngge aft
p. p. kynde asked & wan/he fande also p. p. Palace veselh
w. owten se sum Sūm of golde//Sūm of Cristalhe Sūm of of p. man's
of p. cyouse stanes Sūm of Suluere//And p. all man's of veselh p. me
sulde be fuch offe Bot p. were bot fewe of pān of Siliure
F
ra thethy full Alex' remowede his Oste//& come to p. gades
of Caspee//and p. p. he lugebat hy//It was a noble
lande & a gude Bot p. ware p. in many maners

[of nedders]
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 into 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
of nedders and of wilde bestes //ffra þeine Alex\textsuperscript{2} sent a þre tilh Talifride quene of Amayolo of þa teno\textsuperscript{2}
K yng of kynges and lorde of lorde Alexander þe sô of god\textsuperscript{3} Amo\textsuperscript{2} & þe quene Olympias vn to Talifride þe quene of Amayolo ioy //The grete Batayhes þe we hafe had\textsuperscript{1} w\textsuperscript{1} kyng Daril & how we hafe c\textsuperscript{2}quered ah his rewme and his lordechipes //we trowe be noghte vnknawen vn to yow //And also how we hafe foughte with Porl þe kynge of Inde & his cheffe citee wonne //And also w\textsuperscript{2} many op\textsuperscript{2} folke & þay ware neu\textsuperscript{2} of powere to agaynestande vs þe whilke we suppose be noste vnknawen vn to yowe //whare fore we sende yow worde & c\textsuperscript{2}mande3 yow þat 3e sende vs tribute if 3e wili þe wee com noste to yow to do yow disesse And vn to this þre Talifride made ansuere by þre one this wyse

Talyfride quene of Amayolo w\textsuperscript{1} op\textsuperscript{2} g\textsuperscript{3}te la dys of oure rewme vn tilh Alexander kynge of Macedoyne ioy //we hafe wele herde tele of þe hye witti þe es in the thurgh whilke þe hase in mynde thynge3 þe ere passede and dispose3 thynge3 þe ere þe sent and knawe3 thynge3 þe ere to come //Avye3 the wele þe fore are þe come tilh vs what trebulacione3 & disesse may fahte the in thi c\textsuperscript{2}mynges //ffor þare was neu\textsuperscript{3} nane 3it þe werreyed agayne3 vs þe ne he hah schame þp offe at þe ende //And þe fore take hede to thi laste ende //ffor grete schame it es tilh a wyse ma\textsuperscript{2} thurgh in descricio\textsuperscript{2} to fahte in mescheffe //Bot if it be lykynge to þe to knawe oure conu\textsuperscript{2}sacyo\textsuperscript{2} and oure habitacio\textsuperscript{2} //we declare it vn to þe be oure þe sent ðres þe oure hitacio\textsuperscript{2} es in ane lte þe es clo\textsuperscript{2} sede abowte w\textsuperscript{1} a grete reu\textsuperscript{2} þe nop\textsuperscript{2} hase bygynnynge nor endynge Bot on a syde we have a strayte entree //And the nowm\textsuperscript{2} of wome\textsuperscript{2} þe duellec þe in es CC\textsuperscript{2}III\textsuperscript{2} þe ere noste filede w\textsuperscript{2} me\textsuperscript{2} ffor oure hus\textsuperscript{3} bandes3 duellec noste amange3 vs ne no nop\textsuperscript{2} ma\textsuperscript{3} Bot on þe top\textsuperscript{2} syde of þe reu\textsuperscript{2} //And like a yere we make a solempne feste in the wirchipe of Iubit\textsuperscript{2} xxx days //And þa\textsuperscript{2} we go tilh oure husbanedes and duellec w\textsuperscript{2} þam op\textsuperscript{2} xxx dayes & hase oure luste & oure disporte
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.
to gedir as kynde askes and if any of vs cosayfe & bere a childe if it be a male þe moder kepia it. Seue þere and then sende it to þe faderere and if scho bere a mayde childe// þe moder halde3 it wþ hir & teche3 it oure maners// Where we goo to werre agaynes oure enemies we ere C* rydand one horse wele armede and sui of vs hace bowes & arowes and sui spere and op dyuce wapyn// And þe remenant kepe3 oure Ile and when we come wþ the victorie oure husbandes does vs grete wirchipe// And þe fore if þu come agaynes vs we late the witt þe we will feghte wþ the at all oure mystre and if it happe þe þu hafe þe victory of vs wirchipe sañt it nane be to the bi cause þu hafe discorf tum womeñ// And if þat we discomfit the it sañt be an heghe wirchipe tii ð vs þat we may discomfit so wirchipuñ an empe* and to the it sañt be a hyre reprowe where fore we sygnyfie vn to þe by oure lres þe þu come noyte agaynes vs for sekerly þe may grete dysese come þe offre þe paunt* þu knaw3 noyte now ofte at þs tyne when Alexander hadde red þs ire he begañ to lawghes and onane he garte writte Anoþe lre and sent it to Talyfride/where offe þe teno* was this

Alexander kyng of kynges And of lordeþ þe son of godh Amoñ & þe qwene Olympias to Taly fride queene of Amazon and þe op ladys of þe Same rewmeiøy/ we late 3ow weit þat thre þties of þe werlde þe es to say Asye//Affric & Europe we hafe coquered & made subiectes vn tii þ vs// & þe was neup nane of þam þe myzte agaynstande oure powere// And if we now suðe noyte be of powere to feghte with 3owe it ware ane heghe schame tii vs//Neuþ þe lesse for al mekiñ als we lufe 3o* sociñ we conseñ þat 3e cone forthe of 30 Ile ð 30* husbondes wþ 3ow and appere in oure þence// If for we swere 3ow bi godh Amoñ oure faderes & by all our goddes þe 3e sañt hafe na disease of vs// Bot gyffe þe summawat I name of tribute and we schañ fynd 3ow and 3oure Amazons þat come3 wþ 3ow
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† yow horse ynowe;/And whe† 30° liste es for to wende hame agayne
3e scha† hafe gude leue;/And whe† 3e Amazones had† red† pis Íre
pay went to conse† and thoghte it was beste for to ascent vn tii†
hy;//And þai† pay sent hy x stedes þ† beste þ6 myste be funde†
in any cuntree and x ob† horse þ† beste þai† myste be gete† and
a grete sum† of golde//And Talifride hirselfe and ob† ladys w† hir
went vn tii† hy† and accorded w† hy and went hame agayne
wonder glade & blythe
I N þo mene tyme it was talde Alex† þæt Port† þo kyng of Inde was
in Bactrice† and assembled a grete Oste for to feghete eftsa†n
w† hy;//And whe† Alex† herde this he remowe†d his Oste and
chese ow†e Cl of duy†cs þ† knewe þ† cuntree:for to hafe þ† go°
ueurance of his Oste and to lede þai† seurly thurgh þæ†
strange cuntree;//In þo Monethe of Auguste whe† þo so† es
maste hæte þai† bi ga† for to take þaire lo°nee;//And thay went
thurgh a dry cuntree:Sundy† & w† ow†te† wat° and nedlyng3
þæ† by houe† wende armede þ° was so grete plentee of ned°
dirs and crude† wy†d bestes ffor thiea foresa†d gy†de3 ware mare
favorable to Port°;/þai† tii† Alex† & his Oste And þ° fore þai†
þæ† thurgh swilke baryanne and pil†l cuntree3;/And whe† Alex†
saw it scope thus and that his conse† by fore had sa†d þ° so†he
þæ† es at say bathe his aven† frende3 and me† of Caspy þæ† cœ†elæ
hy† he suld no†yte hye hy ou° faste//ne triste to meki† to stra†3
gers°/þæ† he cœ†mædæ þæ† al† me† schulde wende arme†:†
so þai† di† and þai† al† þ° Oste schane ri†e as it had bene sternes
for su† of þaire armo°s ware of golde su† of Siluer & su† of
þ° ciol stanæ°//And whe† Alex† saw þ° aray of his Oste and þaire
baners bi fore þæ† schynande so faire he was ri†e gladde
Ne† þ° les grete disese he had† þ° now° he ne his me† my†te
fynde na wat°;//So it fe†e þ° a knyghte of Macedoyne þ° hy†te
ephe†lus fanæ wat° stan†ngne in an holle stæ† þ° was gadiræ
hare of þ° dewe of þ° heuæ† the whilke þæ† foresai†d knyghte putt
in his Bacenett & brythe the ti† Alex° for to drynke//And Alex°
sai†d vn tii† hy°//I suppose Þ he þ° I drynke þæ† wat° sa† þ°
Macedoynes & þæ† psæ†nes be any thynge refresche† þ° bi or I
sa† hafe al† þ° refreschynge be my selæ//And he answerd Þ sai†
þæ† a† ane lorde Þ he sa† be coforthed þ° by//Þ Alex° þai† and
[if ye sa†]
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. Tal闰ride 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 Zepheius, 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
if ye schall alle pishe trowes þe þe it solde be lykand to mee for to lyfe
in sorowe & dise seynge þe ded of þe Macedoynes & þe payenes//And
be lyue he garte hehe down þe wat on þe erthe he be fore alle his með
and when his knyghtis saw that//pay ware hugely comforted
þere by riþte als ilkæ of þase had þe dronne a grete draughte of
wat þe and þe þey went furthe þaire waye//And on þe morne þey come
til a reure whase banke was grawnæ ful of grete redys &
pay ware als hye as pyne treese//þa for þe maste þtie of þe fote
lange/Than bade that þey drawe of þe wat & brynge to þe Oste
Bot alle þat dranke þe offe it keste þen in til a flux and slewe
a grete hope of þase ///for þe wat was wonder scharpe and als
bittire als any mekit gyrsæ//Bot þe was Alexæ gretly diseased
& alle his Oste nogte alany of þe selve bot also for þaire horseæ
& þaire bestæ þe þey ledæ wÆ þase þe whilke bi gaæ for to faile
for thryste///Alexander haddæ wær a thousand Olyphantæ
þe bare his golde///And foure hundredæ cartæ of werre and 1æ &
CC wayney///he haddæ also in his Oste CCCæ horse með and
Mylæ & Camelles wÆ owtei nowmæ//þe bare þaire vetaileæ and
obæ thynge þat was necessarye to þe Oste also oxeæ and kye
Schepe and awyne wÆ owtei nowmæ þe whilke pischt for deuate
of dryneæ///Sunæ of Alexæ knyghtæ lykkeæ Irenæ///Sunæ dranke
drale æ suæ ware æ so grete meschefe þat þey dranke þaire
aweæ stalyngæ//And thare was so grete habundance of nedders
& obæ venymæ bestæ þat þase byhouæ nedæ trauæ armæ
and þat was a grete nuy to þase æ an hege disease//pasoæ was
Alexander worder Soryæ æ namely for þe diseæ þe his Oste suffrede
A
Noæ as þey went end landæ þæs reure abowte þe viii
houre of þe day þey come til a castæ þæ stode in a
littilæ lëæ in þæs forsæ æ ryureæ and þis castææ was
made of þæs forsæ æ redeæ ///Þæ brede of þis ryueræ was
foure furlææ lëæ//And in þat castæ þey sawe a few með
and þase Alexæ bad his með spyræ þase þat ware æ þæs castææ in
þæ langææ of Indæ where þ ey myghtæ fynde any sweæ watær
able for to dryneæ///And also soæ als þey spake to þase þey æ with
drewæ þase æ hiddæ//And Alexæ gerte schotte arowes æ to þæs castææ
and þase þey hiddæ þase æ wele þæs mareæ//And when Alexæ saw that
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
that þay walde one na wyse speke wþ hy//he badde a certane of his knyghtes nakne þan and swyane ouþ þo watþ to þo caste//And þan xxxvii balde knyghtis & hardy of Macedoyn nakne þan and tuke ilkane of þan a swerde in his hande & went in to þo watþ & swame it to þay were passee þo ferthe parte þo offe//And sodeynly thare rase oute of þo watþ a grete mitude of besteþ þere called ypotaynes grettete of body than aþ Olyphant and deuoreþ thir knyghtis euilkaþe//And þan was Alex faire sere greuede//And be lyfe garte take þo forsaied guydeþ Cl & caste þan into þo watþ & onane þo ypotaynes deuoreþ þan//And Alex thoughte it was noyte spedfull langare to stryffe wþ thatse Monestre//and garte trompe vp and removed his Oste fra þeine and went so aþ þo day wondere wery for thriste and also þay hadd grete diseane & njue of wilde Beste þat come apoþ þan þat es to say of lyouns bernes vnyre cornes//tygres and pardeþ//wþ þo whyle þay faughte & grete ture had þe and as þay went oþ þis wyse wþ grete angere & diseane aboute þo eluede houre þay saw a litle þate in þo riuer made of rede and meþ rowande þo in//And Alex gert spirre þan in þo langage of Inde whare þay myste fynde any Fresche watþ & þay talde whare þe schowed þan a place a litle þeine//where in þay saide þay scholde fynde a grete stanke of swete watþ & guide//And þan Alex hys Oste went aþ aboute þat ryure þe come tiþ þis forsaid stanke and lugged þan aboute it//And Alex comanded þo þay sulde feþe a wodde þo greded feste þo by three myle on lenthe & aþs mekiþ on brede//þat wode was aþ of þo redeþ þo I spak of bi fore and þo stanke was a myle oþ lenthe þan Alex comanded þo þay sulde make many fires in þo ooste//and garte trompe to þo mete//And alsoþ as þo mone be gaþ to schyne þo come a grete mitude of Scorpyons to warde þo stanke for to take þan a dryne//And þan þo come op manere of nedders and dragons wonder grete of dyuþse coloþa//and aþ þat cuntree resoundeþ of þo noyse & þo hissingeþ þo þay made//þir dragons come dölue fra þo hye Mountayne for to drynke of þo stanke and þay hadd creastes one þaire heddeþ & þaire bresteþ ware bryghte lyk golde & þaire mowthes open//þaire Aande slewe any qwikk & any qwikk thyng þat it smate apoþ and oute of þaire eghne þo come flammes of fyre//And when Alex hys Oste saw þan//þay ware ryst
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
fered for ða ffor ðay wende ðay schulde hafe weried ða ilkañ and ðañ Alexñ comforted ðam and saide vn to ðam//Mi wirchipful knyghtes ð he bees noyte agaste of ðañ bot does ilkane as ðe see me do and ðam he tuk a nett & sett it bi twixe hy & ðam and tukhe his scheide & his spere & faughte wð ðam manfully//And when his knyghtes saw ðat pay ware gretly cofortheñ & be lyfe tukhe ðaire wapyññê3 ð didð as ðay sawe Alexñ doo//and slewe of ðañ a grete mititude whatth thrugh dyuðse wapyññê3 what in ðaire fyres//And of Alexñ knyghtes ðe dragõñs slewe xxi & xxi fotemeñ Aftñ ðam ðome owte of ðe forsaiðe wodde of rede3 Crabbes of a wonderfuñ gretenetñ//And ðaire bakkes ware harder ðañ coñ cadrille3//And when ðe knyghtis smate ðañ one ðe bakkes wð ðaire spereñ//pay myste noyte pche ðañ ne na harme do ðañ Neuñ ðe lesse ðay slewe many of ðañ in ðaire ffires//And ðe remenert of ðañ gatt in to ðe stannke//And aboute ðe sexte hourë of ðe nyghte ðñ come apoñ ðañ whytt lyûna grettere ðañ Bulles and ðay schoke ðaire heuedet at ðañ & geñe manace made ðe ðaire manere ðañ ðe knyghtes keped ðañ in ðaire nettis and sleu ðañ//Aftñ this ðe coñ apoñ ðañ ðañ a grete mititude of swyne ðñ ware all of a wonderfuñ mekîneð wð tuskes of a cubett lenthe And wð ðañ ðare come wilde meñ & womeñ of ðe while ðilkañ hadð sex hende//Bot Alexñ & his knyghtes keped ðañ ðaire nettis & sleu many of ðañ//And on ðis wyse Alexñ & his Oste was gretly diseased//pay comandet Alexñ pay schulde make many fyres wð owtterñ ðe Oste aboute ðñ stannke//Aftñ this ðñ come apoñ ðañ a wondere grete bestê grettere & strangere ðañ að Olyphant and he hadde I his frunte three lange hornes and he was schapeñ lyke a horse & he was að blakke//And ðïs beste was called in ðñ langage of Inde//Anddontrucionñ//And or he went to ðñ watir at drynke he assailed ðñ oste//Bot Alexñ went here & ðare amangeñ ðñ oste & cofortheñ ðañ//This ilke beste slewe of his knyghtes xxviii and bare donne lii and at ðñ laste it feðhe in ðñ nettis and was slayne//Aftñ ðïs ðñ come oute of ðñ redeñ a grete mititude of myseñ al ða grete als foxes and ete vρ ðñ dede bodys//pare was na qwiðe thynge3 ðat pay bate ðat ne also soñ it dyed//Bot harme dið ðay nane to ðñ

foste
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, Andontrucion. 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
to be ost//pän come päre flyande amange3 pän bakkes grettere pän wilde dowfes and päre tethe ware lyke meñ tethe//And pö pay didë meñ meñh disese and hurte many meñ Of Suñ pay bate offe pö nese//of Su pö eres//In pö mornenýge arely pö come many feowlis als grete as wîturs/reat of colo//and paire fete ë paire bekes att blakke//Bot pay didë na disese to pö ost bot went to pö stänke syde ë drewe fisches ë ele3 oute of pö watë ë ete pän

P
hañ lefte Alex për pilot place3 and come w t his Oste in to pö cuntree of Bactçeñ pö whilke was fuñt of golde ë opo reches and pö meñ ë pö cuntree resayfed hy benyngly ë wirchýnly//And gaffe hy ë his Oste grete gittes//And ë päre he habade xxstt dayes//In ë pat cuntree ë pay sawe trees pët in stedde of leues bare wolhe pö whilke folke3 of pö cuntree gaderë ë made clathe pö offe//pö knyghtes of Alex pët wonder balde ë strange of hert be cause of pö victoryes ë pay hadd wonneñ of pö wilde bestët before neuñnëd

F
ra thethypñ Alexander removed his Oste ë come to pët place where Porl lay w pë folke pët he hadd assembled and one pë morne bathe Alex pët and Porl tuke ë paire groudë ë arrayed ë paire batehis for to feghte//And than Alex
lepped apoñ his horse Buktiphælas ë went bi fore his Oste ë
pët ë pay trëpede vp ë pët batehis loyned Sameñ ë faghte to gedir rîstë sarë//Bot ët Indiennes fell thikfalde in pët batehis as corne dose in pët feld ë be fore pët sythe//And when Porl saw that he went and stode bi fore añ his meñ and cryed vn till Alexander ët saide on this wyse//It sittët nostë till an empoyl ët he to lose his meñ ëpua in vàyne Bot it sittët till hy for to detmyne his cause with his awên handët//And pët fore late thi folke stande stiff on pët ta syde ë myñ on pët top ët late the ë me faghte to gedir hand for hand//And if it happeñ pët pu ët ouë come me my folke ët I sañt be subjéctës vn to pët//And if I ouë come the than thou ë thi folke3 be subjéctës to me//Thir worde3 said Porl dispysand Alexander bi cause pët he was a meñ of lüttën statë//ëffor he was bot three cubites dyce ë Porl was fyte cubites dyce ë mare//And pët con he t'yste ë hy att in strenghe of his body nostë knawande pët vertu ë pët hardynes ët was hidd ë Alex
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 battalines to fight. Then Alexander leapt on his horse, Bucephalus, and went before his army. Then they sounded the trumpets, and the battalines 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.
and than bathe þe ostes stode still ant lete þe twa kynge3 feghte same3 Porl gaffe Alexe a grete strike on þe hede it was I poynte to hafe felled hym and than Porl knyghte3 sett vp a grete Schowe and Porl too3ned hy to þame warde for to reproue þame for þaire showtyrng and Alexe went till hy manfully & tuke his swerd in bathe his hande3 & lete flye at hy & hitt hy fillbott one þe heued & slew hy/&And whee3 þe Indienes saw that þay bigan scharpely for to fighte wþ Alexe & his oste//vn to whayme Alexe spake & sayde//wreichis þe wharto feghte þe se3 30þ kynge es dede//wate 3e noyte wele that thare na gou no3 es þe folke are sparpled be lyfe als schepes þere wþ owten3 ane hird//þe Indienes ansuered & saide//vs es leuer þ þay fighete manfully and dye in the feld þame for to see þe dis3 solacio ofoure folke and our lande be distroyed & wasted leues 30þ feghtynge þe Alexe & wende3 hame to 30þ hose3 pesaybly & Seurely ffor I swere 30w bi our goddes if þee wilt do so 3e saithe hafe no harme ne 30þ lande saithe noyte be distroyed ne spoyle3 bi cause þ þe hafe fhotin3 so manfully for 30þ kynge//And whee3 þe Indienes herde thir wordes þay keste fra þame þaire wapynes þe thanke3 Alexander and wirchipe3 hy riste als he hadde bene a godde//Than kynge Alexander luge3 hy þare & his oste wþ hy & he saumand to bery þe dede corse3 þat ware slayne in þe Bate3 and offred sacrifice till his godde3//Also he garte Entere porl þe kynge of Inde wirchifply 

ra thethey3 Alexander removed his Oste & come 
till a cunto3re þat was called Oxidraces The 
folke3 of þat cunto3re are wonder Sympe me3 
& noyte provde & þay are called Guinosphiste 
þay feghte ne3 mare ne stryfes/þay ga alway 
naked & cite3 ne townne3 hafe þay nane Bot duelle3 I luge3 
& I caues//Whe3 þe kynge of þa folke here3 tei3 of þe comyng 
of Alexander//he wra3te a ire & sent vn till hy whare offe 
this was the te3o3
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 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 Oxydrapea. 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 corruptible Gonoosophist // vn till Alexander a maɪn wee wryte / // we here teɪt bə cʊmə to werre aʊən və // whare of we məʊyələ və gretly / // ffor wə vs saɪt bə fynd nathyng bət bə may spoyłe və offe / // ffor we hafe na thyng elles amangevə vs bot allanly whare with we may sustene oure wafuɪ bɔdys // // what may bə pən take fra və // // Bot if bə come for to feght wə vs // feghte oʊn / // ffor I late the wele witt / // bə oure symplenen wɪt h we on na wyse lefe / // Whetə Alexander had redə this ire he sent ane ansuer em aygən oʊn this wyse // Pəsəbly ɭə he wɪt we coʊn to 30w and no violence do 30w // // And bən he wente in to bə cʊntree whare bə pay duelled / // // And he saw bən ga nɑked k t duelle in luges k in caues k bəre wyfes k bəre childre away fra bən wəlkən wə wɪlde bəstə / // // And he hadd grete məʊyələ He k asked bən if bə pay hadd any opə house // // And bə pay ansuered k said may Bot in thir holette3 dueHe we alwaye k I bɪr caues / // // And Alexə cəməndəd greτely bəre sympleneẽ and bad bən aske hərə whate so bə pay walde / // // And bə pay ansuered k sayde GIFFE vs ɭə bə pay vəndəliynəf / // / so bə we mow noʊtə dye / // // for opə reche3 couet we nane / // Alexə I am dedely my selfe / // // how bən may I giffe 30w vəndəliynəf / // // And when bə pay herd hə say soo bən bə pay ansuered k sayde oʊn this wyse / // // AA wreched maɪn ɭə bə pay whare to wəndə3 bə pəl aboute k quellə3 so many məɛn k soo many iɪe dədrə does see nə bə wate wele bə bəʊt bə saɪt dye / // // ffor sothe ɭə he bə cause whi I do it es of bə puɪdənce of godə / // // ffor hys məŋystrə I aɪ doanə bə cəməndəment of hə / // // yee wate wele bə pat bə see es noʊtə truβled k of hys selfe Bot when bə wynde entrees in tɪɭ hə bən it stɪrre3 hə k truβle3 hə / // // I walde hafe rɪstədə k lefte aɪt werre / // // Bot bə es anopə sɒpə ryte k stɪffes it noʊtə be in reste / // // And when Alexə hadde said thir wordə3 / // he left bən k went tɪɭ anopə cʊntree A Nobə day he come wə with həs Oste tɪɭ a place whareee təə ymageə3 ware / // bə whikle Ercoles gart make k sett in bət place / // // And bə tənə of bən was of fyne golde k bə təpə of fyne Siluere k bə lənθə of aytθir of bən was təə cubettiə / // // Whetə Alexə saw bɪr ymageə3

[he gərt pche]
'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,
he garte pche había for to witt whent pay were holle or massy//And he fand b pay were a pty holHe and he garte stoppe b hole agayne and put in b a thowsande nobles f fyeve hundreth//And fra ñeine he removed his Oste//And entred in th a wildirneS calde f myrk so b pay myghte vnnethes a knawe anoeb or See anoeb//And fra thythin pay went seuen daye Io"nee and entred in th a wildirneS and come th a grete reuere//And bi yonde b riuer//pay saw wonder faire f wele vesaged women cled in foule clethyng f horrible and pay hadd in paires handeS wapne made aH of Siluere//bi cause pay hadd nob Iren ne stele//And pay rade one horse//And meñ saw pay nane amange3 báñ//And wheñ b Oste waldé hafe passede ou this ryuere//pay myyte noyte be cause it was riȝte brade and full of draçns and op monstres

ra thethine pay went aboute towardes b lefte pty of Inde and come th a dry Marras ful of gret rede3 and as pay passed thurgh pat Marras be lyue b come owte of b rede3 a beste lyke ane ypotayne//whase brest was lyke to b cocadriifte and his bakke lyk a saue//And his tethe wonder grete f als scharpe as a suerde//bot I his gangyng he was als slaw als a snyle//And in his outhe come he slew twa knyghtis of Alex//This ilke besty myyte pay on na wyse pche w paires spere Bot w mellis of yren pay slew it

nd fra ñeine pay trauelde thritty day io"ne3 and come to b vternaiste iles of Inde f paires pay lugeñ pay beside3 a ryuere b es callede in bp langage of Inde hismahur//And aboute b Eleuenhoure bar come owte of b wedde3 a grete mthitude of Olyphantes b come apoi pay with a gret birre b paires groynes opyñ and onane Alex lepe apoi his horse Buktiphales and buskeñ hy Agaynes pay and bad b macedoynes b pay solde tak paires horse and ilk a mañ a swyne in a bande f wende agaynes b olyphantis//And wheñ b oliphant saw pay come gapande w paire groynes redy to tak pay//And wheñ b Macedoynes saw pat pay ware feredå and durste noyte go to pay//And Alex saide vn to pay My wirchipful knyghtes ñ he bese of gud có forfe the f drede3 sow na thynge for and 3e well gare 3oure swyne crye faste

[3e schañt see aH bir olyphant]
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,
ye schaft see aht þir Olyphantes flee anoð//and alsone als the Olyphant herde þe crye of þe swyne and þe noyse of þaire trompes//pay fledd and durste noȝte habbye//And Alex þis meñ þe sued thas//And what wȝe nettis whatt wȝe swerdes f sporres þay slewe of þe a grete mitude and come agayne to thaire tentis
A
Noþ day þay renowed þeine and trauelde thurgh the same wodde3 of Índe//And þay fande þo womeñ with berdis rechande downf to þaire pappes//f þaire hewed3 playne abowyn and þay ware cledð að in skynnes//pay chasede thir womeñ and sitt of þe þay tuk f þroghte þe þe tiþ Alex//And he dart spirre þe þ in the langage of Índe//how þay liffed in thase woddes whare na duelnyng was of meñ//And þay ansuered f þaid we lyffe að þ þay wȝe venysodd þe we take in thir woddes thurgh huntyng
W
heñ þay ware passed oute of thir wodde3//pay come in tiþ a faire felded vn tiþ a place where this forsaid riueræ rað//And þare þay fande bate meñ f womeñ að nakerd//And þay ware als rughe of hare as þay had bene beste//whase kynde f custoñ it was als wel e to be in þe wæt að of me þe lande//And als sone als þay saw Alexs oþe onane þay fledð to þe wæt and dowked in tiþ it疗法 þe þay trauelle xv. day ioñe//And entred in tiþ woddes þat ware full of cynocephals þe while as soñe als þay saw Alexs f þis oþe onane þay assailed þe þe//Bot Alexs f þis meñ//what wȝe arowes whate wȝe sporres f nettis slew a grete mitude of þe að//and þe rement ñt of þe þay fledð here and thare in þe wodde3
F
ra theðiñ þay went fortye dayes f come i tiþ a cham-payne cuntree þat was að 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//pare bigað so grete a wynde to blawe ouyte of þe Este þat it blew done to þe erthe að thaire tentis f þaire luges//And þo was grete disese ymang þo oþe//ffor þe wynde thyre brandes ouyte of fyres þe þay hadd made and smate dyuñe meñ f brynte það//And það Alex knyght f moñnoñ de gretily f þaid amangæ það þo wreteth f þo wreked of our godde3 þ þay falle3 aðon vs Bicaus we seke to ferre to warde þo soñ þysynge//My wirchipfuln knyghte3 þ Alex beso
[of gud coþforthe
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 gude cóforthe and no thyng ferde for this tempeste es noytée
falleth thurgh wittye of our goddes bot be cause of échinox of heruest
Whene p° wynde was cessed//pate gadirde to gedir p° wynde
hadd sparrowed.

F
ra þeine þay went xxv days & come in till a grene
valay and þare þay lugged það//Thyn comanded
Alexþ þat þay schuld make many fyres//for it began
for to be vn sufferable calde//And thare be gau for
to falle grete flawghtis of snawe as þay had bene grete lokkes
of woðe//Whene Alexander saw that he was ferde þt it schuld
noytée hafe cessed sone//And bad his með þæ þay suld tred douð
þæ snawe & fuli it wþ þaire fete//And þaire fyres also helpe það
gratly//Neuþ þe leð þare ware fyve hundrede of þæ Oste dedå
thurgh þæ snawe//þæ whilek Alexþ gart berý//pæð þæ felle a passandå
grete rayne and þæ snaw cessed//wþ þæ rayne also þare come
so thikke a myste þt cotennelly three days to gedir þay saw
na sunnæ//And oute of þæ clude þt hange abow það þer fæð as
it hadd be grete fyrebrandeþ þæ whilek brynt many of thaire
tenttis and of þære luges//And anane Alexander ofred sacra-
fice till his goddeþ and bad his knyghtis put alde ryueð clatheþ
wate bi fore þæ fire//And he made his þyere//And also soð the
whedir wege clere & faire

F
ra þethin þay remowed and come till a grete ryuer–
þat es called Ganges & þare þay lugged það//And
as þay lukeþ ouþ on þæ toþ syde//þay saw twa or thre
með walke vp & down þare//And Alexþ badd his með
spirre það I þæ langage of Inde what þay ware//And þay ansuered
þæ said//we are//Bragmayns þ þay//Alexþ hadd grete desyre
to speke wþ þæ Bragmayns//Bot he myste noytæ wynæ ouþ
þæ waþ it was so depe & so brade Bot if it had bene in þæ monethe
of Iuity and Augustæ//And also it was full of ynotaynes/þ
Scorpýns//And cocadrilles/out taken in þæ forsak monethes
and when he saw þæ he myghte on na wyse wynæ ouþ he was
reþte heuy//And be lyfe he garte make a lytþh bate of redis þ
couþde it wþ nowtce hydís & gerte pykk it wele bathe wþ in
þ wþ owtteæ//And when þæ bate was made//he gert a knyght
of his gang in to it and gaffe hy a þre wþ hym for to bere
[to Dindim]\ þæ was
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 Brahmans."

Alexander had great desire to speak with the Brahmans, 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
to Dindiml pat was kyng of p° Bragmayns of whilk the p's was p° teno"7
K yng of kynges and lorde of lorde//Alex° p° soñ of godñ Amoñ
& of p° quene Olympias vn to dindiml kyng of Bragmayns
ioy//Eu° señ we were comeñ to pat age pat we couthe
discerne by twix gud & ilñ we hafe desyred soupayñly
for to hafe wysdome & konnyng & for to putt a way fra vs igno-
rance & vnconnynge ffor as p° wise techynge of oure philoso-
phres declares opynly Eloquence w† owteñ witt & wisdoñ
dose ofte sythes mare skathe pañ gude:;/p° fore we hafe wele
vnderstandeñ by relacioñ of dyu°se meñ/p° 30° lyfe â 30° man°s
are diuisëd and diu°se fra alñ opñ meñ so p° nob° oñ p° See ne
on p° lande 3e seke na helpe and p° 3e 3eme anob° manere of
doctryne pañ we hafe lerende of oure docto°s//Whare fore
we p° y 3ow p° 3e will certyfye vs bi 30° ïres of 30° lyffe and
30° maners and 30° doctryne//ffor pauent°e we may take p°
of suñ gud Ensample/And 30° wysdome â 30° gudeñ neu°
be p° leñ//ffor it es na harme tiñ a mañ thurgh his gudnes
to make anob° mañ gude as he es//The whilk I may proue
bi this Simylituñ//I suppose a mañ hadñ I his hand a lyght
candiñ//many op° candidñs may be lyghted p° at//â it lose
na thyng of his lyght€//And riñt so it es of p° gudeñ
of a mañ//ffor many meñ may take gude ensample of by
â his gudññ be na thyng enmenuste p° by//where fore
3itt etsons we p° y 3ow pat w† owteñ any taryinge or
delay//3e scheve vs p° maners of 30° lyffyng//Than kyng
Dindiml resaññ p° lre wirchipfully and wrate anob°
agayne of this tenò°7
D yndiml Maist° of p° Bragmayns vn to kyng Alex°
ioy â gtyynge//we hafe wele vndirstandeñ by
p° tenò° of thi ïres//pat p° desyres gretly for to
hafe v°ray conyynge and pñtt wysdoñ p° whilke
are meññ bett° pàñ any kyngñðom for by may neu° be
boghte w† na pryce//Whare fore I comen ð° gretly knaw™
yng pat p° arte a wyse mañ//ffor ane Emp° w† owteñ
wisdoñ
to Dindimus who was King of the Brahmans 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 Brahmans, 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 Brahmans, 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
wisedoð es noghte lorde of his subjectis Bot his sugettffe lorde of hy//3e wrate vn tih vs p"ying vs for to schewe howe oure maners
of lyffynge ilke a poynte eft" ob"//"whilke we halde impossible for
to doo//ffor oure man" of lyffynge es fuH ferre dyu"se fra 30"s//ffor
nob" we wirchippe p" goddes pat 3e wirchippe//ne ledis p" lyfe p" 3e lede
and if I wrate howe oughte of oure man" of lyffynge//3e may hafe na
saouure p" to be cause 3e are besily ocupied w" dedis of armes//Neu"
p" lef" p" 3e say noste p" I layne oure lyfe fra 30w for envy//als mekiH
as come3 to my mynde at p"s tyme I saih writt vnsto 3ow of oure man"a
W ee Braymayns lede3 a simple lyfe of a clene p" wirchepyng
of many godde w eschu//we do na synnes ne we wilh hafe
na mare pah resef of kynde aches//AHH thynge3 we suffer
at pat say we es necessary at ynoghe:p" es noste ou" mekiH//we tihHe na
lande//ne eryes//ne sawes//ne yokes nob" ox ne horse in plughe ne i
carte//Ne nett caste we nane in p" See//for to take fysche//Ne hun-
ttynges ne fewlynges vse we nahnne//Mete at drylke hafe we ynoghe
and ob" mete seke we nane//bot p" p" erthe oure allere moder w" owtteH
maffes laboH bryngs furthe//w" swilke metis we fiH oure wambes
whilke nuyes vs noste ne na harbme dose//And 3it of swilke metis
we fiH noste oure bodis to fuH//ffor amange3 vs it es an vn semely
thyngs at an vn leefuH to see a grete belyeH maH//And p" for er e
we aHH oure lyfe tyH w" owtteH sekeneH at lyfe3 langH at alwaye
are in gude hele tihH oure lyffes ende//we vse neuH mare na med-
cyns ne seke na helpe for p" hele of oure bodys//At a t"me of deede
endes oure lyfes//for ane of vs leues na langere pah aHH ob" Bot
eft" p" order of p" birth of maH//p" t"me of deede come3 tihH like a
maH//Thare come3 none of vs at na fire for na calde//ne clathe3
come3 p" none apoH vs Bot alwaye we ga nakeH//we fulfiH
neuer p" desyres of oure bodys//ThurghH pacyence we suffree aHH
thynge3//AHH oure inwarde enemys we slaa So p" we drede nane
enemys w" owtteH//ffor lughtlyer es a citeme or a casteH e takeH
p" es ensegged bathe w" inwarde enemys at w" owtteH pah p" pat es ensegged allanly w" owtwarde enemys//Bot p" empo7
fghetes agayH owtwarde3 enemys for fost" at nuresche thyH
inwarde3 enemys p" whilke ere fendas of heH//we Bragmayns
has slayne aHH oure inwarde3 enemys and p" for we drede nane
owtwarde enemys ne nane helpe sekes for to hafe agayH pah
[nob" be See ne be land]
wisdom is not lord of his subjects but his subjects are lord 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 sin 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

noelp be see ne by launck Bot we erelay seer wynoghe/And lyfhe3 w't owte4
any drede//Oure bodys we hi5 w't leues of trees and p6 fruyte of pa7 we
ete//we ete mylke also and drynke4 wat7 of a gude ryvere or of swete
welles//we wircip5 a god54 hii5 hy alwaye we 3e1de lounynge3//we
desire p8 life of p8 werlde p8 es to come and vs liste noyte here p8 thynge p8
t"ne3 to na pett//we spekke noyte mekiH Bot whe6n we ere arteede
for to speke//we say noyte bot p8 sothe and onane we halde vs sti8
Reches luffe we noyte//Couetise es a thynge p8 may noyte befilled
p8 while otte sythe3 bryng63 a ma6 i8 h a mescheuol ende//wrethe ne envie
es p8 nane amange3 vs//ne nane of vs es strangere pa6 anop9//Of the
pouert p6t we hafe we ere riche for we hafe it in como6//we strife
neu9 mare/ne beres neu9 wapec6//we bere peessse iIka6 till8 op9 of
custo66 noyte thurgh vertu//Domes hafe we nane amanges vs
for we do nane i8h whare fore we schulde be called6 vn to dome a
law p9 es p9 es contrary til oure kynde//ffor we do na mercy bi cause
we do no thynge whare fore we sulde aske mercy//We do na labo7
p7 pten63 to couetise or auarice//We giffe noyte oure bodys to lechorye
We do nane ad vowtrye//we do na syn6 whare fore vs sulde
nede to do penance//We fynde na fawte in na thynge ffore we
ai6 does that pat righte es//We dye na sodeyne dede ffor thrugh
foule dedis we corupte noyte p7 ayere//We vse na clothes pat
are litted of dyu7se colours//Oure wiffes ne are noyte gayly
arayed for to plesse vs//Ne wt pa6 we comon6 noyte bi cause
of luste of lecherye bot bi cause of childef getyng6//Oure wiffes
sekes na noelp cilthynge//pa6 p7 forluke of god6 hase granted
pa6//And whaa dare take apo6 hy for to chauge his wircynge
an heghe sy6 vs thynke it ware tiih any ma6 for to p6smme to
do it//Baththis vse we nane ne warme wat7 to wasche oure
bodys wt afl6//p6 Sc66 mynistres vs hete//And p8 dewe of p8 ayer
ministres3 vs moyst6 t wete//we hafe na thoghte of na thynge
ne we schewe na lordechipe a bowun6 op7 man6 p8 ere lyke vn
tiih vs//ffor a grete crueltee we halde it to c6streyne a ma6
to serue vs//whayme kynde t p7 forluke of god6 hase made
oure bropl6 als fre als we are//we brynne na stanes for to make
lyme off and p7 w't to make vs howeses at dutele in and curiosue
palase3//ne vesst6 make we nane//In caues or creuyce6 of
cragges we duelle//whare thare come3 na noyse of wyndes

[ne whare vs
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,
ne whare vs thare drede na rayne//On þe erthe we slepe wþ owte ðə
any besyneð//Swilk howses we hafe in þe whilke whiles we lyffe
we dueðe and wheð we dye þay ere oure graues//we sayle noðte
in þe See aboute na mëchandyse in þe whilke þay suffre many pillis
þayles þe in ða many mëuylyles cað teþ offre/\The crafte of Eloquens
ða faire speche lere we noðte for to polische oure wordes Bot thurgh
þe sympliñuë þe we hafe þe suffres vs noðte to lye//\Hô oure speche
we speke//Scoles of philosophres haunt wee noðte whase te
chechynge3 es alway discordand ða na thynge certayne ne stabiñ
diffines bot for þe mare ptye lyes//Bot þa scoles we haunte in þe
while we lere to lyffe vertuoesly and also thynge þe teches vs for
to do no wrange to no mañ Bot aftë verray right wisnesse to helpe
ilk mañ at oure powere//Plays lufe we nane//Bot if vs listhe hafe
any disporte we take ða rede3 þe lyfes þe dëdis of oure auncestres
and oure þodicesso's//And if we fynde any thynge in þam þat es
cause of laughtre þe at we wepe ða makes dole//\Neu3 þe lesse we
be halde bþ thynges of þe whilke oure hertis ere gladdide and
grete lykyng has//bþ es at say//heueñ schyne wþ sternes wþ
owt nowm°//\soñ faire ð bryghthe of whase bryghtneñ ait
þe wereld takes lyghte and hete//\The See we Se alwaye
of þe poñ colore and wheñ tempestæe rye3 þe in it disrtyues
noðte þe land£ þe es nere it as it does in youre pties Bot he
embrace3 it as his sist° and gase aboute it//And in þe see we
se many dyuñse kyndæ3 of ffischæ//Delphines ð porpase3
layke þam\we hase lykyng also for to bihalde faire feldes
alouþ floreschæ wþ flores of þe whilke a sweete reflaire enters
in tiH oure nose3 in þe whilke a sensable saule hase maste delite
also we delit vs ð faire places of wodde3 ð of sweate welles
whare we here sweete sange3 of fewes//This customs hafe
we al way//\þe whilke ð þe valde halde noñte bot a while//we
trowe þe suld thynke þam ð þe hard Blame noñte me for
aith þe req'rede me be þ eñ I send þe wretyn//\Neu3 þe leñ
and it sulde noñt displesse the//I valde teH þe a littiñ of oure
doctrnye þe whilke makes oure lyffe to seme harde vn to þe seé
hafe wþ in a schorte or cquerë ð made sugete vn to 30°
empire/AH Asy//Europe//ð Affryke//as 30° selfe hase sayde
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 tymes of his course thurgh werre//3e ete all manë of thynges þe come3 tiñt hande//And your vesages sem3 as 3e ware fastande ðe hungry//3e sla3 30" children mañ kande sacrifice of þa3 to Mawmetes//3e sawe discord bi twix kyng† and these þu schilde be make 3e stirre for to be prowde//3e make meñ to thynke þat grete space of landes sufïce3 þa3 no3te//And so þay seke duellynges places of heuëñ//Also thurgh 30" goddes 3e do many iiñ dedia//As þay did þa3 selfe//Ensample of Iubitº 30" godë 3 of Proº serpyne þat 3e wirchipe as a goddeº//ffor Iubitº defouled many mens wyfes//And þeserpyne made many meñ to do advowtry wº hir//ffuiñ wreched & fuiñ hye fules þay ere þat swilke goddes wirchipes//3e wiñ no3te suffer meñ lyfe in þaire awenë libertee//bot makes þa3 30" thralles & 30" sugetes//3e deme no3te riñtwisly//3e gerre 30" iuge3 change 30" lawes as 30w liñst//3e say many thynge3 þat sulde be döne//bot 3e do þa3 no3te//3e halde na mañ wysse bot hy þu hase Elº quence of speche//3e hafe ahh 30" witt in 30" tunge3//And ahh 30" wysdome es in 30" mouthe//3e lufe golde f siluº f gaders þa3 to gedir and deº syre3 to hafe grete howsë3 f hye and grete mititude of sºandes//3e ete f dyynke to mekiñ//so þat of tymes 30" stomake thurgh gête repleccion es greued f mañ sekenë þu thurgh 3e fainf f ñ ofte sythes dyes be fore 30" tymes//3e wolde euº mare halde 30" reches and ahh thynge3 þat 3e may gete//Bot ahh thynge3 at þu lañst leuês 30w//þu wysdœ allanly of þu Bragmayns pase3 ahh 30" witt f 30" wysdoœ//ffor þu wele cœşeder þuº Same moder þuº brôghte forthe stanes & trees of þuº Same was bathe ourë bygynnyng f 30"s//3e honowre 30" Sepulº toºs curiously wª golde f siluº and in verselë he made of þuºcyouse stanes 3e putt þuº asse of 30" bodys when þay ere byrnne3//And what may be werre þa3 for tiñt take þuº banes þuº erthe sulde hafe//ffor to ga brynñ þa3//And no3te resayffa his element þuº whilke he brôghte forthe//We sla na bestë3 in þuº wirchipe of goddes//Nee temples make we name to ser in ymage3 of golde or of siluer in þuº name of false godde3 as 3e do//ne awters of golde and of þuºciol stanes//3e hafe swilke a lawe for to honoure 30" godde3 wª 30" gudes for þuº þay sañ here 30" pºyres//Bot we vnñristande f wate wæl þuº nobº for golde ne siluº; ne for þuº blode of calues nor gayte ne schepe godd heres any mañ//Bot for gude werkes þuº whilke godd lufes and thurgh þuº worde of deuote pºyere//Godd wîth here a mañ for þuº worde//ffor thurgh worde we ere lyke to goddº//ffor goddº es worde [and þuº worde}
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 sepulchers 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
and that word made all the world and through that thynge hase been Mynynge of lyfe//That worde wirchiphe wee and luffes of honowres Godde es a spirite//And he lufes na thynge//bot that es clene//whare fore we halde sow fuli grete foles//that wene 30" kynde be heuene# and 30" hafe communicacio# with godde//And neu# 30° lefi files 30° kynde wi advoctries # fornicacions # seruyc of Mawmettis # false goddis and many of# wikkkede dedis like a day pis 3e do//pis 3e luffe//And 30° fore when 3e ere dede 3e saith suffered to#mentis wi# otten# nowm# 3e wene 30° goddi wi be mercyable vnto sow bicause 30° 3e offre hy blode # flesse of dyuo#se bestes# Bot we on 30° cytrarye wyset#luffe# clennesse bathe of Body # of saule//so pat we mowe hafe aft## of # lyfe ioy 30° neu# saith hafe ende//jye serue noste a godde 30° regne# in heue#//Bot 3e do seruyc to many false goddis//ffor als so many membria also 3e hafe of 30° bodys//Als many goddis 3e wirchiphe # serues//ffor 3e caile a man 30° lefi# werlde//And ris# as a man# here hase many lymmes//So 3e say 30° are many goddes in heue#//3e say Iuno es godde of 30° hert//bi cause he was wonder angry//And Mars 3e say es godde of 30° breste//bi cause he was prynce of BateH#//Mercury 3e caile godde of 30° tung//bi cause he was wonder euoluent in spekyng//hercules 3e trowe be godde of 30° armes//Bi cause he did twelfe passande dedes of armes//jye trowe Bacus be godde of 30° throtte//ffor he fande firste dronnkyne# Couetise 3e say es godde of 30° lyuer//ffor he was 30° firste lechoure 30° eu# was//And 3e say pat he hase in his hande a byrnand fyre# brande whare wi# he styrres 30° luste of lechery//Cereres 3e caile godde of 30° wambe//bicause scho was 30° firste ffynder of wheete//And Ven# be cause scho was moder of lechery//3e say scho es godde of 30° pue#mebres of man# of# womana//Myndua bi cause scho was fynder of many werkes//3e say wisdome rest# in hir and 30° fore 3e caile hir godde of 30° heuedy//And of# pis wyse ait# body of man# 3e deuyde in goddes/# it na pty 30° offe 3e lefe in 30° awe# powere//Ne 3e trowe noste that a godde pat es in heue# made 30° bodys of noghte//ffalse goddes 3e wirchiphe pat saith brynge sow to thra# lledome # schame/# schenchipe//And to thay# 3e make sacrafice # t#bute payes//Vn to Mars 3e offer a Bare//To Bacus 3e offer a gayte//To Iune a pacoke//To Iubit# a Bulle//To Apollo a

[Swanne]
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 cleanliness 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
a swane // To venl a doufe // To Mynuua ane owle // To Cereris floure
To Mercury hon // And hercules ye onowre w floures & grene brænc
hes of treess27 // ptemple of Couetyse ye eno 'ne w rose33 // All ye
mghete & youre trieste ye putt in pañ pañ ma May sowe na thyn
helpe at nede // Now soothely 3 e p yc pañ noste to be 30 nhelpers
Bot youre to 'mento's // ffor it by houes nedis be pañ als many
goddes als ye witchpe & gyffe3 pañ powere of 30 dhymes // Als
many to 'mente3 pañ suffere // Ane of 306 goddes stirres sowe to
fornycaion // Ane op9 to ete & drynke to mekih // And an op9 to
fechte & stryffe // AHi ere pay 307 lorde & to pañ 3e obey &
serves & wirchippes // So pañ wondering it es pañ 307 wreichk
bodys fayles noste for p6 many seruyece3 p5 3e do to so many goddes
and gud rj3te it es pañ 3e sære swilke goddes bi cause of p6 many
wikkede dedis p5 3e do // And for 3e wih noste cesse of 307 iHh dedis
p9 fore 3e sære swilke goddes iHh 307 awen6 harme // ffor eu9 mare
pay desyre pañ 3e do iHh // If 307 goddes here sowe when pañ 3e p"y
fore pañ // pay do sowe harme in 307 cöscience // ffor pañ that 3e p"y
fore es iHh // And if pay here sowe noghte // pañ ere pay coñtrarye
to 307 desyres // Whare fore whethir pay here sowe or pay here
sowe noghte // eu9 mare pay do sowe disesse // ëse ere pa to 'mente3
pat oure doctor's talde vs offe // p9 here in this werlde to 'mente3
sowe 3e ware deede // ffor and 3e coñsider wele // p9 may no mañ
suffere wers to 'ment pañ 3e doo // ffor ait p9 take pañ oure doctor's
telle3 vs ere in heHhe // We See pañ in sowe // pere are many paynes in
heHhe and 3e suffre paynes when 3e wake for to do advowtres
fornyciaons & thifte Mañ slawghters // And namely p9 3e bee
filled of worldly reches 3a & of worldly reche6 // ffor oure doctor's
says // p9 es in heHhe so mekih thriste // pañ it may neu9 be slokend
and 3e haue so grete Couetyse of worldly reches p9 3e may
neu9 be fuHh // pay say also pañ in heHhe p9 es a hunde p9 es
called Cerber9 p9 whilke hafe thre heuedes // And if 3e
coñseder ry3te // 307 wambes ere lyke Cerber9 // ffor mekih etyg
& dryndkyng // pay say also p9 es in heHhe a man9 of nedder
pat es called Ídra // And 3e for p9 many vice3 p9 3e hafe bi cause
of 307 fuHh wambes may be calledle Ídra // Whare fore it we
bi helde wele ait p9 illes p9 are in heHhe pay duese in sowe
[waâ es sowe]
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.
wa a es 30w wrecches þat swilke a mysbileue haldes//whare fore after þe lyf//3e moð suffere þaynes wÆ owtteð nowm?//WheÞ Alexander had þe þre//he was wonder Wrath//be cause of inyur of his godde3 Neuþ þe leð be lyfe he gart write anob3 agayne of this teno7 K yng of kynges and lorde of lorde3/Alex3 þe son of godde Amoð and of þe quene Olympias to Dindim3 kyng of þe Bragmayns gretyng//If ah be fuð trew amanges 30w þat þu hase sent wrætyn3 in thir ïres//þan allanly 3e are gude með in þis werld//for as þu says 3e do nað ði//Bot wit þu wele for certayne//þu ðe maner of lyfynge cöme3 noðte of vertu bot of custum3//Ah thynge þat we do 3e saye es synn3//And ah þe crafte3 þat ere amangeþ vs on þe Same wyse 3e say þay ere Synes//3e will distroye ah þe customs þat mað kynde hedir to warde hase had þe vseð//Owther 3e schew bi 307 worde3 þat 3e are godde3//or etts tið goddes 3e hafe envy//And þe fore 3e say as 3e say//I may no3t write to 30w ah þe order of 307 lyfynge//Bot als mekiþ þe offe als I may understande at this tyme I sað writte vn to 30w//3e3e say 3e vse no3t for to tið þe erthe ne sawe na corne ne plante na vynes ne sett na trees na to make na faire hose3//And þe cause her of as it wele Semes es for 3e hafe na ïreð whare of 3e mygte make 30w tuyles for to wirke with ah//And þe fore 30w by houes nedes ett herbes þ led an harde lyfe ryȝte as bestþe þfor 3e may nowþ gette brede ne fleisch ne fyshes//Does no3t wolffes ouþ þe Same wyse þe whileh wheþ þay may no3t gete þaire fið of fleisch þay fið þaire belys of þe erthe//And it ware lefuþ or lykande to 30w to come tið oure cuntree//we sulde lere na wisdoþ of youre nede//And þe fore late 307 hung3 habyde at hame in 307 aveneþ cuntree//pat mað es no3te mekiþ at cÖmen3 þat alwayes lyffes in disesse//Bot he es gretly to cÖmen3 þat in rechea lyf3e3 attempally//Bot and með schulde be cÖmend3 þe are oppressed wÆ disesse//pat sulde blynd með//leprouse með f. opþ sulke ouþ ah opþ be cÖmend3//þe blynde for he sees no3t at desyre//þe pouþ for he hase no3t at do//And we walde make oure duellynge in 307 cuntree we sulde suffere pouþ f. wrecbun3 es riðe as 3e do//3e say also þat 307 wyfes vse3 na prowde aray for to plese þaire husband3//And þe cause es for þay hafe na noþþ [thyng for tið aray þe wë
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 Brahmans, 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 tiū araye paū wē //Also 3ē say 3ē do nane advowtries ne for-
nycacions//And ṭat es na meruaile//ffor whi how sulde ṭay hafe luste
to lechery ṭat etes no3te//luste of lechery es no3te comonly//bot yf
it come of hete of ṭo leuer or eēs of habundance of mete ṭ drynke//Bot
3ē ete na thynge bot herbes ṭ rotate3 as 3ē ware Swyne ṭ drynkes
watt ṭ a vnnethes may 3ē sloke3 3ō hungō and ṭo fore 3ē hafe na3ī appi-
tite to wome3//3ē hafe na liste to studie aboute lerynge//ne 3ē seke
na mercy ne does nane tiū ob3//And aī this 3ē hafe in comō3 wē
bestē3//ffor riūte as bestē3 hase nowpō reso3ī ne discricio3//ne hase na
felynge of gude//riūte so ṭay hafe na delite in gode//Bot tiū vs
resonable meī ṭat has free wiī of kynede ere many lykyngs ṭ blan-
deschynge3 granted//ffor it es ipossible ṭat pis werlde wyde
ft brade sulde no3te hafe suū chaungynge of gou3nance//So ṭū ne
aft̄ heuyne3 ft sorowe//Ioy ṭ myrthe sulde no3te folewe//ffor why
manes wiī is essable ṭ chaungable//pō chaungē3 wē ṭe heue3 a
bowūū//On ṭū same wyse manes hert es dyu3se//ffor when ṭū day es
clere:manes hert es gladde ṭ blythe//And when ṭū day es derke//
manes wittis are derke ṭ duīhe ṭ heuy//Also meī chaungē3 thurgh
dyu3se aages//ffor barneheā reioyse it in sypnilne3//3outhede in
pōsumptouosnes//And grete elde in stabilnes//ffor wha wiī luke
eft̄ wysdome in a childe//In a 3unge maū stabiłnes/or in an alde
maū wildenes//Many delitable thynge3 come3 tiū oure mynde ffor
suū we see wō cure eghe//Suū we hafe thurgh herynge//Suū
we fele thurgh smellyng//Suū thurgh tastynge//And Suū thurgh
towchynge//Sumytme we hafe delite 3 salutacions ṭ swete sange3
ft melodies of dyu3se inst3ment3//Of ṭo erthe we hafe al maū3 of
gud fruyte3//Of ṭū See we hafe habundance of fysche//And of ṭū
ayere delyte of fewles of dyu3se kyndis//If ṭū abstene ṭū fra aī
thies owthir it es for pōde or for envy//ffor pōde//pō ṭū dispys3
swikle pōcyouse gift33 ffor envy bi cause ṭay ere no3te gyffe3 soul
as ṭat ylare ere to vs//Bot eft̄ myō γ opynyo3ī I deme//pat 30 " lyffyng
and 30 " maners//cōmes mare of foundne3 paū of wysdō egregious
and 3ē are meī//3ē schulde hafe ṭū vertus of a resonable creat3e
and ṭat hafe 3ē no3te//When Dīnīm1 hadā redh ṭū 3res ft pī we anserwe we er no3te

[ordo3 of pōs werlē]
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
Noȝte lorde of this werlde: As we sulde euȝ mare lyffe þuȝ in // Bot we ere pilgrymes in þis werlde // And when we dide comȝe we wende tiȝh opȝ habytacions // Oure synneȝ greuȝ vs noȝte // Ne we duelle noȝte in þe tabernacles of synners // We do na thyfte // And for þe consciente þuȝ we haue // We gaa noȝte furthe in opeȝ // We say noȝte þat we ere goddes // Ne nane envyn hase vn to þaȝ // Godȝ þuȝ made aȝ þuȝ es in þis werlde // He ordeyned many dyȝȝe se thyngerȝ // Þfor warne dyȝȝe uȝȝe sitees ware of thyngerȝ // þuȝe werlde myȝte noghte stände // Godȝ gaffe maȝ fiȝh for to discerne of aȝ þyngerȝ þuȝ er I þuȝ werlȝ and chese whylke hy yste // Whare for he þuȝ leues þuȝ iȝh þi cheseȝ þuȝe gude noȝte godȝe bot goddes frende he may be calleþ // Be cause þuȝ we lyffe contemintly // And in qȝete ði reste // þe say þuȝ we ere goddeȝ or elles þat we haue envyn to goddeȝ // Bot this suspeccion þuȝ ȝe hafe of vs þenȝe to ȝow // Þfor þe þuȝ er blaweȝ fiȝh of þuȝe wynde of þuȝe aray ȝȝ bodyȝ wȝ gloryȝe cleþynȝe // And on ȝȝe fyngers þe putt ioweȝa of golde ðuȝe cyȝȝe stanȝe // Bot I þuȝ y ȝow what profit does þis ȝow // Þluȝe and sylyȝe saues noȝte a manes saule ne susteine noȝte mens bodyȝ // Bot we þuȝ knawes þuȝ verray þfft of golde and þuȝe kynd þuȝ offe // Wheȝ þi þriste þi gase to þuȝe ryuer for to take vs a dryȝke if we fynde golde in þuȝe way we trede apoiȝ it wȝ ȝoure fete // Þfor golde nobȝ filleȝ vs wheȝ we hungȝ ne slokens ȝoure þriste ne it helæ noȝte a maȝ þat es seke // If a maȝ þriste þ dryȝke watȝ it purreȝ a way his þriste // Also if a maȝ hungȝ ði ete mete // It does a way his hungȝ // Bot and golde ware of þuȝe same kynȝe // Als soȝ als a maȝ hadd ði // Þuȝe vice of Couetyȝe sulde be slokynȝe in hyȝ // Be þuȝes cause es golde iȝh // Þfor ay þuȝe mare þuȝ a maȝ hase þuȝe offe þuȝe mare he couetes // Wikkeȝe menȝ are wyrchippede a mangeȝ ȝow // Þfor comonly a maȝ luffes hy þuȝ es lyke tiȝh hy selfeȝ þe say þuȝe godȝe takes nane hede tiȝh dedly thyngerȝ // And neuȝ þuȝ leȝ ȝe byȝȝe templeȝ // Kr makes autre in þaȝ and settiȝ vp Mawmetes abownȝ þaȝ // And grete delyte hase wheȝ bestes ere offerde þi in þaȝ // And at ȝȝe name es noysede // þis was done to þuȝ fader // to thyȝ Eldfader þi þi aȝi thi prophynȝoȝs // And þuȝe same also es highte vn to þuȝ // Wȝ swilke wircches þay er rewarded // þuȝ knawes noȝte þaȝe selfe dedly // Wheȝ Alexander hadd þedd þuȝe ire onane he sente anopȝ agayne and that was of this tenȝ þuȝ whilk þat folowes
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.
Alexander þe soñ of goddē Amoðn ẽ f of þe quene Olymias kyng of kynges ẽ lorde of lorde3 vnto Dynymîl kyng of þe Bragmanys we sende//for als mekiþ als 307 duellynge es in þat þyte of þe werde fra þe begynynge whare na strangers may coñe to 3ow bot if it be riȝte fewe//ne 3e may noȝte passe forthe of 307 cuntree//bot als awa say 3e are parred in and na ferrere may passe þe fore 3e magynfyte 307 manere of lyffynge and suppuse3 þat 3e are blye be cause þat 3e er so spered in//þat if 3e walde neu7 so gladly passe furthe for to lere þe customes þat op7 meñ vse3//3e may noȝte and nyȝ7 þe will 3e//3ow by houe3 nedis suffere þat cayteftee þat 3e lyffe in//Whare fore it sem3 bi 307 techynge that þay þat liggeþ in þe souñ are als mekiþ at comen6 als 3e//þe whilke vn to þaire lyues ende suffres Sorowe and nede and as me thynke//þe gudneþ þat 3e ruse 3ow ofte may wele be lykkened to þe paynes of þe þerd in þe souñ and so þat that our lawe demes to be done till wikked meñ//3e suffere kyndely//And þe fore by þe we halde wyse//3e halde an Ebbere ful//Sothely me thynk 307 lyffynge es noȝte blyssed//bot wreciþ and as it were a chastying to 3owe//I Swere 3ow by oure godde3 of myghte//þat þe I myghte come to 3ow with an oste//I sulde gare 3ow leue 307 wreciþ lyfe//And by come meñ of armes//Als many of 3ow als were able//Wherþ Alexander haþ sent this ire till Dindimîl//he gart rayse vp a pелare of Marble a wonder grete ẽ an hegre an gart writt þæt apøn þis title wþ ires of grewe of latyne and of þe langage of Inde//I Alexander Philipp soñ of Macedoine aft7 þe discomfyto7 ẽ þe dedd of Daril ẽ Porl come on werre vn to þis place

ra þeine kyng Alexander ẽ his Oste removed ẽ come in till a felde þat was called Actea ẽ þære þay lugde a bowte þat felde was a thikke wodd of tresse berand fruyte/of þe whilke wilde meñ þat duelt in þe Same wodd vaede for till hafe þaire fude whase bodyes ware grete as geanted//And þaire chelynyge ware made of skynnes of dyu7se bestæ7//And wheþ þay saw Alex7 Oste luge þære//onane þe come oute of þe wodd a grete mititude of þæþ wþ lange roddes in þaire hande7 þe bi gaþ for to feghte wþ þe oste//And þæþ Alex7 comanded þat aþ oste schulde sett vp a schowte at anes//And also sone als þe wydde

[meñ herde þe noyse}
'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
meñ herde þeð noyse þay were wondere fered be cause þay had neu be fore
herde swilke a noyse//And þaþ þay be gay to flee hedir ða thedir þe wodd
and Alex ða þis meñ þœð þæð and slewe of þæð vii xxiii//And þay slew
of Alex knyghtes xxvii//In þat felde Alex ða his oeste lenged iii dayes
and vetailed þæð of þat frouyte þe þrowed in þe wodd
ra þeine þay removedr and come þiþ a grete ryuer//þt luced
þæð pare//And as it ware abowte none//pare come apoð þæ
a wilde maþ als mekiþ als geaunt//And he was rughe
of hare aþ ouþ//And his hede was lyke þiþ a swyne and
his voyce also//And when Alex saw þy//he bad his knyghtis
tak þyþ æþ bryng þy bi for þy//And when þay came abowte þy//he
was na thynge feredr//ne fledþ noþte bot stodþ baldly bi fore þæð
and when Alex saw þat//he comanded þþ þay sulde take a zonge da-
mesþiþ þt nakkeð hir ð sett hir bi fore þy and þay diþ soo//And onane
he ranne apoð hir romyand as he hadþ bene wodd//Bot þe knyghti
wþ grete deficcultee reste þyr fra þy//And ay he romyed þ made
grete mane//And etfe þay broghte þy þiþ Alex and sett þy bi fore
þy//And Alex wondered grely of his figure//And þæð he gerte
bynþ þy þiþ a tree ð make a fyre abowte þy æþ brynne þy and
so þay diþd
ra þeine þay removedr ð come þiþ anopþ felde:in þe
whilk þe þære growandr treesse of a wounderfulh heghte
and þay bi gay for to spryngþ vp at þoð rysynge and
þ þe soþ setynge þay wytedr a way in to þe erthe a gayne
At þe firsteoure of þe daye þay bi gay to spryngþ oute of þerethe ð
so þay wex ay to myddaye and þæð þay bi gay to decresse//And by
þoð setynge þay ware in þe erthe agayne//And was na thynge
of þæð sene bi fore on þoð mornþ//pir treesse bare a frouyte wonder
swete of reflayre bot þay bittþ of taste//When Alex saw þþ frouyte
he bade a knyghte bryng þy þoð offe//And he went þtuk þoð offe and
onane a wikked spirit smate þy and be lyfe he was dede//And
þæð þay herþ a voyce in þe ayer þat said on þis wyse//What
maþ so neghes þir treesse he saþ dye onane//pare was also in
þat felde fewles wonder meke þ tame//Bot what maþ so layde
hande on any of þæð onane þoð come fire oute of þæð þ brynt
þy riþte greuosly
[þæð þay removed]
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.
han þay removed fra þeine and come tih a Mountayne
þat was so hye þat þay ware vii dayes in gangyng ar þay
myyte wyne to þe heghte þe offe//And when þay come to þe
heghte of it//þe come a gaynes þam a grete mtitude of
dragons Serpentes and lyons þe whilke turmentid Alext in his með
reghte gretyly//And at þe laste þay askape þaire daungere//And
gent doune of þis Mountayne and come tih a vaylay þat was so
myrke//þat vnnethes myghte ane of þam. See anobv//In þat depe
delay ware tresse grownde of whilke þe fuyte þe lefes ware
wonder sauory in þe tasynghe and reueîs of watte faire þe clere
aghte dayes cotenylely þay saw na som//And at þe viii dayes end
þay come to þe fote of a mountayne where ali þe Oste thurgh a wîk
ked thikk ayer ware so gretly diseased þe þay ware t poiynete
to hafe bene chokeþ offe//And when þay come a bow in þe mountayne
þay fande þe ayer mare sote and þe lighte of þe day mare clere
and þe þay ware wendand vpwarde oþ þis Mountayne Elleueð xi
days wþ grete trauaile//And when þay come to þe hegheste of
þis Mountayne þay saw on þe top ayde faire weder þe bryghte//
And þam þay went doune of þis Mountayne and come tih a grete
playne of whilke þe erthe was wonder rede//And in þis playne
þe ware grownde tresse wþ owteð nowm and þay passad atoste
a cubit in heghte þe þaire fuyte þe þaire lefes ware passandly swete
as þay had bene fyges//And þay fande þare reuèleþ riȝte many
of cleré watte as cristale//And it was als nureschan to manes
body as it hadd bene mylke wþ outhiþ any op mete//Thurgh þt
ilk playne þay went forty xi days and þam com tih wonder
hegte Mountaynes and it semed as þe toppes had towched þe fir-
mament//And þir Mountaynes ware als brant vp riȝte as þay
had bene walles//So þe þe was na clymbyng vp oþ þam//And at þe
laste þay fande twa passages be twix þe base Mountaynes of whilke
þe tane streched to warde þe west//And þe top towarde þe Este
Thane Alext demed þe that dyyysyð þe twix þe base Mountaynes
was made thurgh Noye flode//And þam þay went by þe passage
þe streched to warde þe Este Seueði dayes//And oþ þe heghest viii
day þay fande a Basilisc þe með calleþ a Cocatryþ a grete þ
ane horrible//And bi cause of his grete elde he was fouþ stynkand
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.
bis ilke Basilisc was so venymous//pat noyte aht anely thurgh his stykke bot also thurgh his sight//Allan//whay w so he luke st onane//pa[s]t Macedoynes and pa[s]t payenes as pay passe thurgh pa[s]t strayt way dyed thikk falde thurgh pa[s]t sight of pa[s]t Basilisc//And when Alex^o knyghtis saw that p[i]g pay durste passe na forthir bot said amange pa[s]t w^o[tue of cure goddes pa[s]t pay es bi fore vs pa[s]t schewes vs pa[s]t we schulde ga na forthir//Bot Alexander went bi h^y ane wpp on an heghe cragge where he myghte See on ferrome fra hym//And pa[s]t he saw this p[es]tellencl beste pa[s]t Basilisc//lygg slepande in myydes of pa[s]t passage pa[s]t kynde of h^y was pa[s]t als so sone als he felic a ma[n] or a beste co[m] nere h^y for to open h^y eghne a star apoon pa[s]t//And als many als he luke st on solde su^daynly fa[the dou]g a dyde//When Alex^o had sene h^y Be lyfe he went doune of pa[s]t cragge and gart sett a merke pa[s]t na ma[n] solde passe and pa[s]t he gart a payv^e be maade Seue[n] cubites of lenghte a foure ou[n] brede and on pa[s]t vfter syde pa[s]t offe he gart sett a grete Mirroure and a large//And at pa[s]t nethir ende of pa[s]t payv^e he gart nayle a burde pa[s]t lente of a cubit for to couere w^t his legges and his fete so pa[s]t na p^y of h^y myzte be sene//And pa[s]t Alexander tuk pa[s]t payv^e in his handis and went to warde this Basilisc and warned his me^o pa[s]t nai of pa[s]t solde passe his t^m^h^s//And when he come nere pa[s]t basilisc pa[s]t basilisc opynde h^y eghne//And w^t a grete ire he bi helde pa[s]t Mirroure and saw h^y selve pa[s]t in//And of pa[s]t reflecc^o of pa[s]t bemes of his sighte srykynde apoon h^y selve//Sadunayly he was dede//And when Alexander knewe w^e pa[s]t he was dede//he called tiih his knyghtis and bad pa[s]t come see h^y pa[s]t slegew pare felawes//And when pa[s]t come tiih h^y pa[s]t saw pa[s]t Basilisc dede//And pa[s]t pa[s]t pay comende a p^ysed gretly his hardynef and his hye witt//And went a brynded pa[s]t Basilisc at pa[s]t o[mandement of Alexander]

F
ra peine pay went tiih pay come to pa[s]t ferreste of pa[s]t wyne and ferrer in myyte pay noyte wyn^o//ffor baire ware so h^y Mountaynes agaynes pa[s]t and cрагges like walles pat pay myzte passe no forp^o//And pa[s]t pay turne a gayne and come to pa[s]t for saide playne and went by pa[s]t way pa[s]t streched to warde pa[s]t weste fyvstene .xv. days//And pa[s]t pay lefte pat way and turnede on pa[s]t lefte hanye and so pay went foure score iii^o days and at pa[s]t laste pay come tiih a Mountayne of adamande and at pa[s]t fute pa[s]t offe pa[s]t hange chynes of golde//bis Mountayne hadde made

of saphirs
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
of saphyres twa thowsande gree3 t a halfe by p° whileke meñ ascendidh
to p° sumit of p° Mountayne//And pare Alex° f his Ostel lugad pash
A

Nd on p° mornne Alexander Offerd sacrafice tih his godde3
and pash he tuk with hyu xii. twelue Prynse3 of p°
wyrcipfuluste pash he hade and went vp bi p° forsaide
gree3:tih he come about p° Mountayne//And pare he
fande a palace wonder faire and curyously wroghte and it hade
twelue yates and thre score f teu wyndows//And p° lyntahs bathe
of p° durs and of p° wyndows ware of fyu golde wel burnescht and
pash Palace was called p° howse of p° soñ//pare was also a temple
afl of golde f of p°ciol stanes and bi fore p° dores p° offe p° was a wyne
of golde berande grapes of charbucles of Rubyes Dyamand3 and
many op° man£es of p°cyol stanes//pash kyng Alexander f his p°isce3
went in to p° palace and fande pare a mañ ligand in a bedde
of golde and couerd w° a riche clathe of golde//And he was ristate
meki3 mañ and a faire//And his berde f his heued was als witt
als any wolfe and hy semen lyke a Bischoppe//Als soñ als Alexander
f his prynssee saw pis alde mañ pay kneli3 douñe on paire kneef
and saluste hyu//And he anserd f sayde//Welcom Alexander
P he//I telhe the pou sañ See pash neu° flescly mañ bi fore this
tyme saue//And p° sañ here pash neu° erthlyy mañ herde are
and Alexander ansuerd f sayde//Maste blysses alde mañ P he how
hase pou knawyng of me//ffor sothe P he//bi fore Noy flode cou°de
all p° erthe//knewe I bathe a f thi dedis//I wate wele pou
desyers for to See p° haly treee3 of p° Soñ//And p° Mone//p° whileke
tel33 thynge3 p° ere to come//3aa for sothe P Alexander per es
na thynge pash I desyre mare pou for to See pash//And he was
rist gladd//pash saide p° alde mañ tih hyu//And 3e be clene of flescly
dede w° womeñ//pash es it leefu° to 3ow to see pash and to entir
in to pash haly place pash es a sette of godd//And if 3e be no3te clene
it es no3te leefu° to 3ow//3is sir sothelyy P Alexander we ere
clene//pash raise p° alde mañ vp of p° bedd p° he lay in//And said
vn to pash//Putte3 offe 30° rynge3 P he and youre clothes a 30° schone
and folowes me//And pay dyd so//And pash Alex° tuk w° hy tholome3
and Antioch° f folowed p° alde mañ//And went thurgh p° wodde
pash was about p° Mountayne cloised with manes hande3//p°
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

[ṽaṅ ṽ tre[3]e of ṽe soṅ]
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 out loud. 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

pañ باء tree of باء soñ ansera softly in باء langage of Inde//And said بير verse3//Tu dnatior orbis:dius simi & pater extas//Set patrũ riotũ
پ تپورة nulla videbis//pat es at say// þou ert bathe lorde & fader
of allê باء werle Bot باء Rewme of thy ffadyrs sah باء neu⁰ see w⁰ thyũ
eghnê//pañ by gañ Alexander to thynke how lange he sulde lyffe
and whose dedê he sulde dyse//And باء tree of باء Mone ansera by بير
twa verse3//Anno completo Viues & mensieʒ octo//De quo confidis tibi
moritis pocula dabit//pat es at saye//A twluemonth ê aughte
monethes sah باء lyffe//And pañ he þat باء traisteʒ on//sahe giffe þee
a drynke of dedê//pañ bi gañ Alexander to thynke in his hert on
þe wyse//Telhe me now haly tree wha he es þat sahe slaa mee//
And pañ باء tree of باء ansera by þir twa verse3// Si tibi pandat⁷
vir qui tua facta resoluet//Illũ confrynes & sic mea carmina
fallen//pat es at say//And I schew the باء manes name:pat sahe vndo
thi dedis//باء will slaa hyse//And so sahe my þphycye fayle//And
pañ باء forsaide ald mañ sayde tihe Alexander//Disese na mare þir
trees Ṡ he w⁰ thynye askynges//Bot to⁰ne we agayne as we come
hedir//And pañ Alexander ê his twa prynceʒ w⁰ hy to⁰ned agayne w⁰
باء alde mañ//And ay as he went he weped bitterly//bi cause of his
schorte tymæ//And his prynceʒ also weped rîgte sare Bot he ɕɔminded
pañ باء pay schulde noste tehe to na mañ of his Oste þat þay
hadd herde & sene//And when þay ware comeñ to باء forsaide Pa-
lace//باء alde sañ vn tihe Alex⁰//Torne bakke agayne Ṡ he//for it es
noste leefûl to na mañ to passe forthire//If باء liste wende towa-
ðre weste//باء sañ trauele full lange are باء come to باء place
where þe liste to bee//And when باء alde mañ had said þir word3
he went into باء Palace and Alexander and his twa prynceʒ went
douñ by باء forsaide gregeʒ & come to باء Oste
A
pañ باء mornæ Alex⁰ & his Oste removed þeine & went
agayneward fyftene days//And come agayne to باء
forsaide playne & þare þay lugeð باء&And þare at
þe entree of þa twa forsaide ways Alex⁰ gart rayse vp
twa pelers of Marble and by twixe pañ he haude a table of golde
on þe whike was wretçn in þe langage of grewe hebrew of latyne
and of Inde//one this wyse//I Alexander Philipp soñ of Macedoyne
sett þhir pelers here//Aftᵉ باء dedê of Darîl kyng of Perse and of
Porl kyng of Inde//what mañ so will passe for⁰//late hyse

[to²ne one باء]
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 dabitis

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 resoluet
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
to"ne one þe lefte hande//for wha so to"ne3 one þe righte hande he saih
fynde many obstacle3 & g"ance3 þat saih pauent"e lett his agayne
c"omynde
F
Ra þeine þay removed thurgh þat playne and lefte
pase strayte wayes//takand þe way westward þe gayneste
towarde Macedoyne//And at þe laste þay come till a cuntree
þat highte Prasiac//And bare þay luged þa≈//And
when men of þat cuntree herd of þe c"omynde of Alexander//w\t
grete wirchipe þay broghte by grete þe santed of swilk thynge3
as þay hadde in þaire lande þat es at say skynnes of fishe3 lyke
vn to þe skynnes of parde3 or of lyouns also//And lawmp≈y skynnes
of sex cubites lange//In þat cuntree was a noble citee a\h of þe
cytof stanes made w\t owterd lyne or sande sett apo\h an hit\h//Of þe
whilke citee//A wirchipful lady and a faire hadde þe lordechipe//
þis lady was wedowe and scho hadde three søns//The firste of
þe highte Candeol//þe secund Marcipil//And þe thirde hight
Carator://To þis lady Alex½ sent a tre of þis teno∂
A
lexander þe Soi\h of godd Amo\h of þe quene Olympi\h kynq
of kynges & lorde of lordes vn to quene Candace of Mero\h
ioy & gretyng//We sende 30w ane ymage of godd Amo\h
a\h of fynge golde//And þe fore come3 till vs þat we may
wende to geder to þe Mountayyne for to make sacrifice pare to godd
Amo\h//When þe quene Candace hadde reded þis ire scho sent
hir embassato≈s till kyng Alex½ w\t grete presante3 and with a
ire of this teno∂
C
andace quene of Mero\h vn till Alexander kyng of kynges
ioy//wele we knawe þat 3e hafe by reuelació of
godd Amo\h//þe 3e schulde conquere Perse Inde and
Epiète and subiecte vn to 30w a\h op½ nacions//And a\h
þat 3e hafe done//noyte allany was g"unte\d Bot also of a\h op½
goda\h//till vs þe mase faire saules & bryghte it nede3 noghte to
make sacrifice to godd Amo\h I þe Mountaynes//Neu½ þe lesse because
we will noyte offende 3owerre malestatee//We sende till Amo\h
3oure godd A Coro\h of golde and þe cyouse stanes//And te\h chynes
of golde sett ful of þe cytof stanes//And vn to 30w we sende a hundrete
Besaunte3 of golde//And twa hundrete papeyayes closed I cage3
[of golde}
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 Marcipius, 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
of golde//C childer of Ethipes//CC Apes//CCCC Olyphantis XXXiiiiex
vyncornes//iii* paners Skynne3 of pardes //lyouns//CCCC and we be seke 3owre hye maiste pat 3e will notyfe vn 3i3 vs bi 3o" wirchipfull
tres wheder 3e haue quered alle 3e weste and made it subiecte
vn to 3ow or notyfe//Amange3 hir embassato"s pat scho sent 3i3 Alexander
3p was a wonder crafty // a suteh paynto"e//And 3y scho charged 3p
he schulde besely by halde Alexander // 3p"tray his fygure I a pchemy3
skyn3 and brynge it to hir//And so he did//Alex3 ressayued 3p forsaid
gyftes reuerently and sent hir noble gyftes agayne w'' hir embassato''
and when 3pay come hame 3p paynto" tuke hir 3p" figure of Alexander
3p"trayed as I saide be fore//And when 3pay quene saw it Scho was
rihte gladde for scho desyred grely for to see his fygure
A 3ft 3pis aine of 3p quene So33es pat hight Candeoll went
furthe of 3p Citee w'' this wyfe and a fewe of his men3ee
for to take 3p sporte//And onane 3p kynge of 3p Bebrikes
knowyn 3p faireched of Candeoll wyfe come apoon
3pam w'' a grete mitigitude of men'' and slew many of Candeoll
men3ee and reste hy his wyfe & went his way//And 3pam Can-
deoll and his men'' pat ware lefte on lyfe went 3i3 Alexg Oste
for to be seke hy of help agayne 3p" kynge of Bebrikes//And
3p wasches of 3p" ose tuke Candeoll 3t broghte hy bi fore Tholomei
pat was 3" secund ps33n aft3 Alexg//And Tholomei spirred hy
what he was & what he did 3pare//I am 3 he quene Candace
so33 and pis day als 3went w'' my wyfe & a 3p"ue mensyee
for to take 3p sporte 3p kynge of 3p Bebrikes come apoon vs w''
a grete mitigitude of men'' and hase slayne many of my mensyee
& reste me my wyfe//And 3p" fore I am comed heder for to beseke
my lord 3p Empo" of helpe & socoure//Wh33n Tholomei had herd
pis onane he garte take kepe of Candeoll 3t went 3i3 Alexg
tentis and wakkned Alexg 3t talde hy 3t talde 3i3 a dele
pat Candeoll had talde hy//And when Alexg had herd
his tale he bad hy gange agayne 3i3 his tent and do
a corou33 of his hede and putt apoon hy33 3p kynge3 clothynge
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
and sett hym in the kynge3 trone & say vn to Candeolus & he was kynge Alex7//And bidd an of thi men9 he feche vn to 26 Antyocho3s//And late hym bryng me to 26 in steed2 of Antyocho3s//And when6 I come bi for thee telle me bi fore Candeol hett pat he talde the//And aske me consel14 als I were Antyocho3s what es beste to do in pat mat7//Tholomei went and didd all als Alex9 badd hy//And he asched Alex9 in steed2 of Antyocho3s be fore Candeolus what was beste to do//And Alex9 ansuered & sayde on heran2 Candeolus& wirchipfu11 Empo9 he if it be plesynge to 30" maistee I will go w7 Candeol 26 same nyghete to 26 kynge of 26 Bebrikes//And comande hy one 30" by halue pat he yelde Candeol his wyfe agayn6//And if he will noyte do soo I saith late hy witt/pat 3e saith sende a grete powere to his Citee & bryne it vp stikke & stoure Where Candeol hadd herde hy say pus//he kneled vn till hy & said 26 AA wirchipfu11 Antyocho3s he wele walde it same 26 for to be a kynge for 26 hye witt & 26 manhede pat es in the//Tha6 kynge Alex9 tuke w7 hy a grete powere and went apo6 26 same nyghete w7 Candeol vn to 26 Citee where 26 kynge of 26 bebrikes lay and when6 pay come to 26 citee 26 waytes cryed apo6 26 and askede what pay ware and Alex9 ansuered & sayde//Candeol 26 he es here w7 ane Oste of men9 & 26 cause of his c2myng es to be restorede agayn of his wyfe 26 whilke 30" kynge raveseth a way fro hyd6 26 same day//And my lord kynge Alex9 c2mande3 3ow 26 3e delyu9 hir anone or seurnal we saith bryne this citee & 30" selfe are we passe hethy6//And when6 26 men9 of 26 citee herde this//pay ware ferde yngoge and onane went to 26 kynge3 palace & brakke vp 26 yates//it tuke Candeol wyfe & delyu9 hir till hir lorde//pa6 Candeol kneled dou6 till Alex9 9 saide vn till hy//AA my dere frende 26 he wirchipfu1 Antyocho3 Blyssed mot 26 be for his grete gudnes 26 26 hase schewed mee//And I be seke the nowe 26 26 will vouchesaff for to wende w7 me vn to my moder quene Candace 26 scho may rewarde 26 for 26 pat 26 hase done for me//And whe6 Alex9 herde this//he was riste gladde//ffor he had gretely de" syred for to See quene Candace 26 hir citee also and pat he sayd Goo we 26 he to 26 empo9 7 and asched hy leue//And pay di6 soo and when6 he had leue//he went w7 Candeol//And as pay went to gedir pay come till hege mountynes 26 reched vp to 26 clowdes and apo6 26 growed trees of a wonderfu11 heghte lyke to [2e cedres
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
vn to cedres þat bare appihts of Inde riȝte grete Of þe whilk Alexy wðnderde hy gretly//pay saw also þare vynes growe wþ wondere grete bobbis of grapes//for a maȝ myȝte vnnetheþ bere aȝ of þaȝ þe ware also trees þe bare nutteȝ als grete als gourddeȝ//And þare ware also many apees//ffra þeine þay went ð a come to þe citee of quene Candace//And when þe Candace herd teȝ hir soȝ Candoeulys and his wyfe ware comande and ware saf þe sounde//And at a messangere of kyng Alexy come wþ þe þaȝ scho was wonder gladde and onane scho arayed hir ryally as a quene suld be//And sett apoȝ hir hedde a crouȝ full þyer aȝ of golde sett full of þeçouse stanes and went furthe wþ hir lordes to þe þates of hir palac for to mete hir soȝ Candeolys and Alexy messangy This quene was a wondere faiere lady þ a semely//And when þe Alexy saw hir//hy thoghte alþe he hade sene his Moder Olympias//hir palac was wonder ryatie þ þeçouse and aȝ þe rufe þe of schane wþ golde þ þeçouse stanes//Thaȝ quene Candace tuke Alexy bi þe hande//And ledd þy vp tiȝt hir chambr where þare ware beddes arayed wþ þe þyneste clothes of golde þat myghte be getyn þat chambr was aȝ of golde þ þeçouse stanes þe whilke are calleþ Onychyys þe þe burdeȝ þ þe bynkes of euȝ þe Smaragde þe Amatisys þe Pelers of þe Palac ware aȝe of Marble//And þar ware graueȝ in þaȝ cartes of werre þ þ Semoþ to mannes sighte as þay hadd þene rynand þ þe Olyphauntys tredanþ meȝ vnder þare fete//vnder nethe þat Palac rane a wat þ wonder swete þe clere as any cristal þat day Alexy ete wþ quene Candace þ hir childiræ
A þ þ morne quene Candace tuk Alexy by þe right hande þ ledd þy in tiȝt hir bedþ chambr and nane wþ þaȝ Bot þay twa allaþ þþis chambr was couȝde aȝ ouȝ wþ wþ wþ golde þ þeçiol stanes//And it schane wþ in as it had bene þþ Soȝþe//And oute of þþs chambr scho ledd þy in tiȝt a wþ drawynþ chambr made of cypref þþis chambr was sett apoȝ foure wheles by craftes of clergþ//And twenty xxd Olyphauntys drewe it wðdir as scho wolde haþe it//And when þe Alexy þ þe quene ware entrede in to þat chambr;/onane it stirred þþ by gaȝ for to remowe//And þaȝ Alexy was astonayeþ þ meruaylleþ hyȝ gretly þþ said vn to þþ quene//ffor soþe þe þ þir meruaylles ware in oure cuntree þay ware riȝte cûndesable þ mekiȝt worthy to be þþ ysed
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
to be ysde. The quene ansuerde: 'pou saise sothe Alexander & scho pay ware mare cœmendable amangez & greke3 pañ amange3 vs: //And also sone als Alexander herde hys name be neuenede: he was gretly trubled and his vesage bi gase to waxe pale and his chere to change: //And than the quene said efte vn to hy Alexander & scho for to schewe & mare verrayly pat & ert Alexander coϊ with me: //And pañ scho tuk hy by & hande & leede hy intill anop & chambr and schewed hy paire his awen & ffygure p"trayed in a pchemy & skyne: //And wheñ Alex & saw pat: //he wex pale & wanne & bi gafe to tremble: //And pañ & quene said vn til hy Alex & Q scho: //Where fore ert & ert ferde & why chaunge3 & chere: //Thou pat hase distroyed all & wele Coquero7 of Perse of Inde of Medee: //And Many ob & rewmes & landes: //Now arte & pou w & owte & scheddyng of blode falle & in & dawngere & in & hande & of quene Candace vnausyli: //And & by may & wele knawe pat a manes hert sulde on na wyse be enhanced in pnde for if all it bee & ofte tymes grete ðepitee ðaff to mañ: //Sodayglie falle3 adversitee til hy wheñ he leste wenes: //Wheñ Alexander herde þis he biga & to grayste w & þe teethe and to torne his hede hedir & thedir: //And quene Candace saide vn til hy & Whare to angers & & scho & trubles thi selfe: //what may now thi grete ðempiaH glory: //thi witt: //thi Mighthe serue the offe: //Alexander ansuerde & said: //ffor sothe & Alex & resonably I am angry at my selfe bi cause I hafe na swerde here: //I þe quene I suppose & hadd a suerde nowe what wálde do & w & //Sothely & he bi cause I hafe wilfully betreyed & my selfe vn to & ffirste I solde sla & and ðaff & dowte it nost: I sulde be slayne for & & Now for sothe & scho þis was wisely & mañ fully sayde Neu & lef & be na thynge heuy: //ffor as & delyuerde my soñ wyfe Candeol oute of & daungere of & kyng of & Bebrikes Swaa sañ I delyuy & the oute of & daungere of thyñ enemys: þat & hase here ffor I say & in certayne and it were knaweñ þat & ware here vn to my menge onane & þay wálde slaa & by cause & slewe Porl & kyng of Inde ffor my soñ wyfe Carator was his dought: //And wheñ scho had said þis Scho tuk Alexander bi & hande & ledæ hy forthe I tilh hir forchambre and sañ vn tilh hir soñs: //My dere soñes & scho I þy sow late vs make þis knyghte of Alex & gud chere and schew hy & aþ & humanyte & & we cañ ffor Alexander hase schewed vs grete fren- dechiphe and grete gudneif: //And þaff hir sondeste ansuerde & said: //Moder & he sothe it es
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 Candeolus' wife out of danger from the King of the Bebrites, 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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Qu he sothe it es pat he es a messangere of Alex's a knyghte of his and pat he deleyude my brob wyfe oute of the hande of the kynge of Bebrikes and broghte hy th his hame vn titl vs bate the safe at sowne/Neu the lesse my wyfe constreyne as me for to do Antyochus to dede bi cause of the dede of hir ffadir For while Alex's slewe/So pat Alex's may hafe Sorowe for his knyghte/Quene Candace pañ lefe soñ/what wircipl may we get the offe/ifs we slaa this knyghte bus tytourusly/And pañ Candeolus sayde wt a grete Ire/bis knyghte Qu he Sauen me at my wyfe at broghte vs hedir safe at sonde/And als saffe sañ I hafe hy a gayne titl his lorde or I sañ be dede pat fore/And Carator ansuerde at saide Brob Qu he what says pat/will p saythere of vs here slaa ob/In gud faythe brob Qu he it es notte my will ne my liste/Neu the lefe if it be thi liste/I am redy/rather pañ pis knyghte be dedde/And when the quene saw pat hir sones walde ather of pañ slaa ob/so he was wonder sary and tuk Alex's of syde and saide vn titl hy preualy/AA kynge Alex's Qu sao whi will p saythere thi witt and helpe thurgh thi wisdo pat my sones slaa notte ather of pañ ob/And Alex's answerde and said late me goo speke wt pañ Qu he and scho lete hy goo/And he went to pañ and sayde vn to Carator ffor sothe Carator Qu he I late p wit if thou slaa me p sañ wynne bot lyttih wircipe p offe/ffor I say p kynge Alex's hase many worthyer knyghtis w hy pañ Qu wi/And p fore he will hafe lyttih sorowe for my dede/Trowes p pat and Alexander hadde lufed me wele p he walde hafe sent me hyder to be killed amanges yowe/But if thou will pat I beken the Alexander p slære of p wyfe fader at bryng hy bi for the/Swere me pat what so I asche p sañ g synste mee it and I sure p bi p faythe of my body I sañ bryng Alex's in to the palace be fore p/And when Carator herde this/he was risthe glade and trowed pat that Alex's said/And so ware p twa brob pesede and highte Alex's pat his askynge sulde be fulfilled as ferforthe als paire powere reched if so ware p he helde couenant/Quene Candace leedd Alex's on syde at sayde vn titl hy in puate/And pañ gaffe Alex's a Corouin of golde sett full of p cyous dyamanedy/And a mantih Impiai of a clathe of golde
it is true that he is a messenger of Alexander's and a 'night of his and that he delivered my brother's wife out of the lands 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
wë sternes wolfe i in and sett full of pëcyouse stanes//And pañ scho kyssed hym & ob pëue thynge3 didë till hy//And badde hy goø i hir blisseynge T han kyng Alexander and Candeoles//went furthe aët that daye//And come till a grete spellicc and ñare ñay herberde ñay//And Candeoles saið till Alexander//In this spellicc ñë hee ñat ñu here see3 aët godde3 eere wount for to ete and halde ñaire consaïh//And ñañ onane Alexë made sacrifyce3 till his godde3 and enterde in to ño caue by hy ane//And ñare he sawe a myrke clowde & ñat myrknes pëhe sawe as it ware bryghte sternes and amangë3 base sternes he saw a grete godë sitt and his eghne lyke twa lantënes//And when Alexë saw hyñ he was so fered ñë he was as it hadë bene in a transynge//And pañ ño godë saið vn to hyñ haile Alexander ñëhe//And Alexë ansuerde ñaïd//lorde ñë he what art ñou//I am ñë he Sensoñ chosis//pëgou²ne3 ño kyngdoñ of ñe werlde and ñe hase made meñ Sugettï vn to the//And ñu hase bigged ñë selfe many ryaîle cite3 Bot temple walde ñu nane make I ño wirchippe of me//And Alexë ansuerde ñaïd//lorde ñë he ñu will graunt me ñat I sañ wë ñpîtee come in to Macedoyne I sañ ordayne the a temple ño sañ note be swilke anoñ in aët ñe werlde//And he ansuered agayne ña saið for sothe ñë hee Macedoyne saiñ ñu neun² see wë thynñ eghne//Neu² ño lesse walke Innermare ñ Luke what ñu see3//Alexë ñañ went forthirmare ña saw anoñ myrke clowde and saw a godë sitt in a trone lyke a kynge and Alexë saið vn till hy//lorde ñë he what art ñu//I am ñë he ño begynnynge of aët godde3 and Serapis es my name I sawe the in ñe lande of liby//ñt nowe I see ñu here//Serapis ñë Alexë I besæke ño tefë me wha it es ñat sañ sla me//Quod Serapis I talde ño bi fore ñat and ñe cause of a manes dede ware knawë vn till hy he solde dy for sorowe//ñu hase byggæd a glorior cìtee agaynes ño whileke many empë's sañ fîhte//ñare in sañ thi graue be made and ñu in sañ ñu be bereid//And pañ Alexë come oute of ño caue and tuke his leue at Candeoles and went till his Oste O ne ño mornë he removed his Oste and come till a valay ñat was full of grete serpentæ ño whilk hade in ñaire heuedis Grete smarage3 Thir Serpentæ3 [lyffed aët]
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
lyffede að wæ gyngerer and pepir þat grewede in þe valaye//And ilke a þere þay feðte to gedir and many of þære slæge oþ//Of þære forsayd Smæ ragdes tuk Alexg suþ wæ hæþ Of þære grettest þat he couthe gett.

F
Ra þeine þay remoued & come in titl a place in þære whilke þære þay were besteþ þat hade one ilke a fote twa clees as swyne hæse and þese clees ware three fote brade wæ þære whilke þære smate Alexg knyghtes//þæ þay had also heuedes lyke swyne & tayles lyke lyouns//þære ware also amangeþ þære grypes þære whilke smate knyghtes in þære vesageþ reghte felly//þæ þay ware so strange þat ane of þære wolde bere awaye an armed knyght þis his horse also//þære kynge Alexg rade hedir & þedir amangeþ þis með and comforthed þære and bæde þære feȝte manly agaynes þære wæ þære spereþ and wæ arowes and so þæ þay diþ Bot þære was slayne of Alexander knyghtes CCviii

A
Nd fra þeine þay remoued and come til a grete ryuþ þære whilke was twenty fur Lange on brede fra þære ta banke to þære topþ//And on þære bankest þære grewed redis wonder grete and hye Of þære redes garte Alexg make bates & anoynte þære wæ þære þæ þalgh of besteþ//And bæde þis knyghtis row ouþ þære watþ in þære bates//And þære diþ soo//And wheþ þære of þære cuntree herde teþ of þære cœmyng of Alexg þis his Oste//þære sent hym gyftes of swylk thyngeþ als was in þære cuntree þat es at say Grete sprægeþ bathe whitte & þære þære þæ þæ þalgh of þære See so grete þære an of þære walde halde twa pekkes or three//þære sent hym also Wormes þat þære drew owte of þære ryuþ grettere þære a manes thee and þære ware swettþ of taste þære any fysche//þære gaffe hy Cukstoþes aþ rede þære ware of a wonderful gretnesþ//In þære ryuþ ware womaþ þat ware wonder faire & þære hade oþ þære mekiþ heþ þære rechedd douþ to thaire fete//pir womeþ when þære saw any straunge með swymlþ þære ryuþ//oþ þære þære drownned þære in þære watþ or eþ þære walde lede þære to þære redeþ. þære grewed oþ þære watþ bankest and garre þære lye by þære ay till any lye was in þære//þære Macedoynes psued þære þære tuke twa of þære and broghte þære til þis Alexander
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.
And these Alexander went and closed in a man of folkes that are called Gog & Magog with in the hill of Caspy. These folke were of ten kynde of Isræl and these were ledd owte of Isræl land bi a kyng of those be cause of their synee and halde in thralldoth. And they searched Alex leue for to wende furth of that cuntree. And Alex gert spurre cause of their thralldoth and he was encensed. This be cause they had forsake their goddes lawe and es at say godat of Israël and wirchipped calues of op. Maymettes pare fore these were ledd owte of Israël lande and halde in thralldoth and their phetes had phichied be fore this pay sulde neu come out of thralldoth bi fore agayne this day of dome. And these Alex ansuerde it said this pay sulde sperre Israël mare seurely. And these he garte close as this entendeth wight stane at lyne at sand Bot as this he garte make on this day was fordone of this nyghte. And when Alexander saw this mannes laboure myghte noste stande in stede. He bi soghted godat of Israël if it were his liste that pay habade pare that he walde close this in and this nexte nyghte aftir ilk a cragge feith that op and so may na thynge passe in nor owte. And this by th that seme that it es noste godat with this pay come oute. Neu this lesse abowte this Ende of this werlde pay sali breke owte and do mekieth Schathe at slaa many men.

Ra these pay removed it come to this grete See Occenane In this pay herde men spoke grewe. And these Alexander commanded that usu of his kynghsis sulde do off pare clothes and swynne out to this ile. And these diok soo. And als someone as these pay come in this See pare come grete crabbes vp out of this wat fulled these downe to this grounde at drownned these.

T hanne removed pay fra thethy and went ay Endlang this See syde to warde this solstice of wynt trafellande xl days and at this laste pay come to a reede See and these pay lugede these/these was faste by a Mountayne wonder hye. One this whille Alexander went vp. And when he was abow this heghte this offe. His thoughte this he was nerre this firmament these erthe these he ymagyned in his hert swilk a gyn this how he myghte make [grippes]
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
gripees bere hy vp in to þe ayere and onane he come doune of þe Montayne and garte come bi fore hyȝ his Maistre wrightes and comandid þaȝ þat þay sulde make hy a chayer and trelesse it wþ barreȝ of Iren one ilk a syde so þe he myyte Sauly sitt þe in//And þaȝ he garte brygne foure gripees and tye þaȝ feste wþ Iren cheynes vn to þe chayere and in þe ouȝ gayre þey of þe chayere he garte putt mete for þe gripees and þaȝ he went and Sett hyȝ in þe chayere and onane þe gripees bare hy vp in to þe ayer so hy þat Alexȝ thoughte a[I] þe erthe na mare þaȝ a flure þe meȝ therischeȝ corne//And þe See lyke a dragon abowte þe erthe//þaȝ sodaynly a specyauȝ vertu of godȝ vmbiapped þe gripees þat gart þaȝ discende doune to þe erthe in a feldeteȝ.x. day ioȝnee fra þe Oste and he hadȝ na hurt ne na schathe in þe chayere Bot wþ grete diseisse at þe laste he come tilȝ his Oste

A

ftȝ þis Alexȝ ymagened in his hert þat he walde knaw þe uates þat are in þe see//And onane he garte come before hyȝ a[I] þe Maistȝ glasyers þat ware in þe Oste//And comandeþe þaȝ to make hym a grete touȝe of passandly clere glasse þat he myghte thurgh it clerly See a[I] manȝ of thynge þat ware wþ owtteȝ it//And whenȝ it was made he garte trelesse it al abowte wþ owtteȝ wþ barres of yren and feste þe to lang cheynes of yren and garte a certane of þe strangest þe maste tristy knyghtes þat langed vn tilȝ hy halde þir cheynes//And þaȝ he went in to þe touȝe þat gart pykke wele þe entree where he went in and þaȝ late it douȝ in to þe See//And þare he save dyuȝse schappes of fisches of dyuȝse coloȝs//And suȝ he save hafe þe schappe of dyuȝse bestȝe here one þe lande:gan[gand]e on fete as bestȝe dose here þ etande fruyte of tresse þe groweȝ on þe See grunde//þir bestȝe come tilȝ hy Bot onane as þay saw hy thorowe þe glasse þay fildde fra hy he save þe also many obȝ meruaylous thyngeȝ þe whilke he walde teȝ na manȝ bi cause meȝ walde noghte hafe troweȝ þaȝ if he had talde þaȝ and at a certayne houre þase þat he hadȝ assynge[n]e be fore his knyghtes drewe hy vp oute of þe See F

Ra þeine þay Removed þfolowande þe bankes of þe Rede See and lugged þaȝ in a place whare þare ware wyldȝ Bestȝe that hade on þaire heuedis hornes lyke vn to [sawes]
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
sawes and they were als scharpe als swerde//And with thre hornes they stowe it hurt many knyghtis of Alexanders & cleue pare cheldes in Sonder//Neu 9 pare lesse Alex 9 knyghtis slew of pia CCCLII

A

Nd fra peine they removed and come til the wildernes 9 bi twex pare reade See and Araby where grete multitude of Pepir grewed & pare ware many grete nedders w 9 hörnes on pare hedes lyke tuppe hornes//w 9 whyle they smate Alexander knyghtis ri 9 felly Off pare nedderes slyw pare Macedoynes a grete pty

P
eine they removed and lugged in a place where many rynocephales ware 9 whyle they hade heuedes & manes lyke horse//And they had grete bodys//And wonder grete teethe and lange and oute of pare mouths they schotte flawme 3 of fyre//And when they saw 9 Oste luge pare they come it assayled pare//And Alex 9 rau 9 hyder and thedir amange 3 pare oste and commorthe 9 his knyghtes and bad pare feghte manly w 9 pare monstres//And so they did Neu 9 pare lesse 9 ware a grete multitude of his knyghtis slayne of pare best 3 Bot of pare Rynocephales 9 was slayne an hugge multitude

P
A 9 they removed fra peine and come in til a champayne cuntree and lugged pare pare 9 pare pare//And lay pare a certane days//Bi cause of his horse Buktyphales pare 9 fel 9 seke pare//of pare whyle they seken 9 he dyed//And when Alex 9 saw hy dede he made grete dole for hy and weped for hym rihte sare 9 for he had 9 borne hy in many a Batele and broghte oute of many peis//And pare fore when he was dede Alexander gart doo aboute hy grete exequyes and gart make hy a fu 9 riche toume 9 a hyre and di 9 hy pare in and made a grete citee pare//pare whyle in mynde of his horse he gart ca 9 Buktyphales Ra peine they removed and come til a ryuere pare 9 was called cyta 9 or Deciracy where men 9 of pare cuntree broghte hy 9 v 9 Olyphantes and v 9 cartes of werre//And fra peine they removed it come til the kynde Jerses palace/&And in that Palace they finde bedde 9 of clene golde many a thousand/&pare ware also grete fewles white als doufes pare whyle they had knewynge be fore of a seke ma 9 wheder he schulde lyffe or dye 9 for if they by helde pare seke ma 9 in pare vesage he schulde mende 9 fare wele/&And if they to 9 ned pare awaywarde w 9 ow 9 [doute he schulde dye
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 Decracy, 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
And if pay to"ned hy pë bakke wë owteña dowte he sulde dye
F
Ra béne pay remowed and come to pë grete Citee of Babiloyne
and wanne it oo werre and slew pë kynge pë offe f pë Captayne
also//And bare he duelled vn tih his lyffes endé and pët was
Bot vii Seueñ Monethes///In pët mene tyme Alexp sent a ire tiih
Olympias his Moder and tih his Maystëp Arestotle latenë pë
witte of pë Bateêh and pë dyssesse pët pay Suffred bathe wyntp's and
Somers in Inde and oëp cuntree3///And also of pë Bateêh pët pay had
hadd wë dyu'se Monstres///And pëñ Arestotle wrate anopp' ire tiih Alexp
agayne pë whilke was of this tenop''
U
N tihh Alexandere pë grete kynge of kynge3 Arestotle sende3
joy and seruyce//Wheñ I hade redde 30'' wyrchipfuñ îres
I was gretly astonayd ffor whilke cause I desyre with
añ myñ hert for to fynde louynge pë I myghte yelde vn to
pë I take witneñ at oure godde3 pët for pë passande hardenesse of pë
hert f pë grete auento''s pët pou hase put pë in///pë erte wele worthy
for to be loued f pëysede///ffor pë hase sene f assayed thynge3 pët neu''
mañ or pë's dursate assaye//Where for thankynge f louynge I yelde
to pë makere of añ pës wyde werlde pët swylke victoroyes hase
grantede vn to pë''//ffor pë hase ou''commen añ f alan hase ou''comeñ
pë ffulh blyssesse are añ thy pryncœp pët hase bene obeyande vinto
pë and helped pë in añ thi diresse3
A
ffùr pës Alexp gart make in Babylonye a wonder curiol
trone of golde///pë was noste swilke anop'' f pë werlde
ffor pë greke3 broghte so mekiñ golde oute of pse f oute of
Inde///pët it ware wonder for to teiñ///pës like tooure was
twelue cubyte3 hye and by twelue grece3 meñ ascended pë too
and pëse gree3 ware of golde pës trone was wonderfully wroghte
and sett apoñ twelue ymage3 of golde///pë whilke trone pë forsaid
ymage3 helde vp wë pëaire hende///And on pëse twelue ymage3 ware
wretyn pë names of pëtwelue prynce3 of Macedoyne///pë sett of
pë trone was of a Smaragde///f pë syde3 pë off ware of Topaes
f in ilkañ of pë greë3 ware sett dyu'se manes of pëcourage stanes In pë
sumyt of pës trone pë was sett a ruby///pët schane on pë nyghte as it
hade bene pë Mone///In pës trone also was pë sett oñ lìke a syde
dyu'se ymage3 on pë whilke ware wretyn bathe in latyñe f in grew
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
verse3 p't contened all p'e names of p'e rewmes & cuntree3 p't Alexandria had oucherd and were sugetes vn tiyl by A

p't pis Alexander gert make a coroû of golde sett full of all man9

of p'cyouse stanies and gert wryte apoû it a tytle in grew & in

latyn//Ortus & occas:Aquilio michi seruit & auster//p't es at

saye//Est & Weste:Northe & southe dose seruyce vn to me//In the

mene tyne while Alex9 was in babylyone//A woman was delyu9 of a

knaue childe p'e whilke fra p'e heude to p'e nauyH had schappe of mañ

it was borne dedd//And fra p'e nauyH downwarde3//It had lykne9 of
dyu'se beste3 and was qwykke//p'is Monstre was takeû & broghte tiyl

Alexander//And als soû as he saw it he meruayled gretyl p'o off

gart come bi fore hyû a phr pat cothe of wiche crafte it asched

hy what it sygnyfyed//And when p'o phr saw it he syghede it sare

wepanâ sayde vn to hyû//Sothely wirchipfuû empo9 F he p'e tyme

côme3 nere that p'u saû passe out of this werlde/Teile me F Alex9

whare by p'u knawes pat//And p'e philosophre ansuerde it sayde//My

lorde F he p'e halfe of p'is Monstre pat hase p'e schappe of mañ F es
dedd//be takens p't p'u saû passe out of p'is werlde F pat in haste//And

p'e top9 pty pat hase p'e lyknes of dyu'se beste3 F es on lyfe//be takynge

p'e kynges p't saû come aft9 p'o//Bot p'o saû nane of pûn be lyke vn to

p'e na mare paû a beste es lyke vn tiyl a maû//Whene Alexander

herde pis he was wonder heuy//And sare wepanâ he sayde on this

wyse//O ahmyghty Iubil F he what mene3 it pat my days saû

be so schorste//Me thynke pat it had bene semely pat I had lefde

langere for tiyl haf endid thynge3 p't are in my thoghte//Bot for

als mekiû as it es noûte plesande vn to p'o//I be seke the p' p'u

rasayffe me whenû I saû passe hetheû as thyû avenû servante

I

N this mene tyne//p'o was in Macedoyne a lorde pat highte

Anpât9 p'o whilke of langetyme be fore hadd casteû for p'o dedde

of Alex7//And w2 many ob9 pat he hadd cœfederd vn tiyl hyû

he cœpyred for to brynge it tyû endorsements//bot he myghte neu9

come aboute per with//ffor Olympics Alex9 moderator//wrate vn

tiyl hy ofte syth es and warned hy p't he scholde be warre w't Anïpr

f his childe and here fore was Antypater wonder sary//So

apoû a tyme he vnbythoghte hy p't he myghte neu9 come aboute

w't his p'pose for to slaa Alex9 bot if it ware thurghy enpuysonyne

[and pause on a day
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.
and so apoñ a daye he went till a Soteñ leche//And boghte of hyñ a manñ of drynke made of puysoñ//bat was so feñe & so ranke ññ myghte no vesseñe halde it Bot a vesseñ made of Ireñ & ññ in he putt it//And paññ he gaffe it his soñ Cassandre and bañ hy bere it till his broñ Iobas and byñ hy ñ he gyffe it to kyng Alexñ in his drynke whenñ he seeñ his tyme//This ilk Iobas was a faire 30ñg mañ & was duellyng with Alexander//And gretly by luffede & cheriste of hyñ Bot so it be feñe apoñ a tyme bat Alexander smate Iobas on ññ heueñ wñ a warderere for na trespassè//whare fore Iobas was gretly angered & greuèñ at Alexander and còsenteñ till his dede and tuke ññ puysoñ of his broñ ñbat was ordeynèñ for Alexñ dede ñbat luffèñ hyñ so mekiññ
A      Nd apoñ a daye Alexñ gart ordeyne a grete reueññ i Babyloyn & called ññ too að his pryñçñ oñ ilke a syde//And as he satt at ññ mete ymane his Pryñçñ he was wonder mery & gladde & locund & rehetèñ his lorèñ & ññ yeñ ñañ ññ ññ pay schulde be mery//paññ Iobas bat serueñ ññ kyng of his coupe tuke of ññ puysoñ a porçyññ & putt it vnder ññ nayle of his thowñe & broghte ññ coppe to ññ kyngge fuññ of wyne and as he gaffe it to ññ kyngge lete ññ puysoñ faññ ññ ññ wyne ññuñly & als sone also ññ kyng hadñ dronkññ ññ puysoñ//Sudaynlñ he gaffe a grete scryññ & leneñ hyñ downñ to warde ññ rìññe syde sñ for hy thoughte reghte als a mañ hadñ Smytññ hyñ to ññ lyuer wñ a suerdè//Neuñ ññ leñse he feyñèñ & for bare a while & sufferd a grete penance and whenñ he myȝte na langare habypseñ he rase vp fra ññ burde & saide till his lorèñ & his knyghtes lordynis ñ he I ññ y 30w sitt 3ñ till & ññ ññ ññ dryñññ & bernñ mery//Bot pay ware gretly troubled & rase vp fra ññ burdeñ & stode wñ owteññ for to See ññ ende//And Alexander went in till his chambir gretly to mèntèñ & soghte a fethir for to putt in his throtte for to garre hy hafe a vomet of ññ puysoñ ññ he hadñ resayffèñ//And Iobas bat was chëññ ef all this hyñ tresoññ gatt a fethir & enoyñ it wñ ññ same puysoñ & broghte it till Alexander & he tuk it & putt it ñ his throtte & belyñe

[ññ puysoñ vexèñ hy]
So one day, he went to a skilful 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

Æ puysæn vexed hy ay mare Æ mare//And það Alex, bade aue gange Æ opeñ Æ Palace þates þat ware on Eufrates banke and alie þ Æ nyste he woke in grete payne Æ tourment//And aboute mydnyghte he rase oute of Æ bedde þat he lay in and putt oute Æ lyght þat brynt by fore hy and for he myghte noghte ga vp rightes he creped one hende Æ one fete doune to warde Eufrates for till hafe drowned hy selfe þat Æ streth of Æ wat þreg þyȝt hafe borne hy a way wheare neon solde hafe fuȝ Æ hy//And Rosað his wyfe foloweð as faste as scho myghte//And whenð scho come to hy scho fehe apoð hy Æ þat enbraced hy in hir armes Æ said vn till hy//Allas my lorde Alexander þ scho will þu now leue me þ gaa sla þi selfe//And þat scho wepe þat it was dole to See and Alexander answerde þ sayde I be seke þo Rosað þ he þat ert so dere to me Æ so swete late nane wit of myyn Endynge if æ þit be Æ we may na langare hafe ȝoy to gedir//And það Rosað ledæ Alex agayne to his bedde and layde hir armes aboute his nekke and kyssede hy many a tyme and Sare wepeð said þ vn till hy//AA my swete lorde þ scho if þine ende be nowe comeð ordayne firste for vs or ȝe passe heþine and onane he calleð vn till hy Iobas Æ bade hy feche vn till hy Semyð Æ his notary//And whenð he was comeð he garte bere hy dowð in to Æ hauðe and þat garte come by fore hy æ þis þyne Æ bade his Notary wryte his testament bi fore það æ þis wyse A Restote oure dere Maist Æ we comande the þ þyse the þat of oure aweþ treso Æ þu sende to þo þsteþ of Egiþ þat ministres Æ bæ temple whare in oure body sað be beryed Æ entered þæ besandeð of golde//Also I will þat Tholomæl þat es kepere of oure body be þo Gouerno Æ and forgetis noghte my laste wiþ Bot lates my testament be alway bi for þo eghe ne so þat it be fulfilled þ noghte forgetyný//My will es also þat if Rosað my wyfe be deley Æ of a knafe childe þat he be þo Empo Æ and gyffeð hy what name so þow liste and if scho be deley Æ of a maydeñ childe//það es it my wiþ þat the Macedynes chese það a kyng and þat my wyfe be lady of [æþ my nobles
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, "Alas, 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
f. 48r

ail my mobles // Also I will that Tholome be kynge of Egypt and that he tak till his wyfe Cleopat // that my ffader wedde stiltyne here bi fore // And that he be lorde & prynce ou all that lorde3 of Este euen vn to Bactaes // Also I will that my bro // Arride be kynge of Pellopenes Also that Cleopat be kynge of Perse // Mellagere kynge of Ethiopia // And Anthioch be kynge vn to lande3 of Gog & magog // Arestes kynge of Inde // Lissymacl lorde of Seleuce lythamo3 kynge of hungary // caulus kynge of Ermonys // illic kynge of Dalmace // Symeon my Notary will I be kynge of Capadoce & Pamphily // Cassander & Iobas be lorde3 vn to Ryuer that es called SoH // Antipater paire ffader be kynge of Cicile // When this testament was in wrytynge bi fore Alex Sodeynly that come a thonnere & a leuennynge & ane ereth dou3 riste a hedol so that aill babylune wqoke that wv // And than thorowte aill Babylune that noysse rave that Alex was dede // And paill aill that Macedoynes rasse halleyly & come armed to that Palace & cryed on that prynce3 & said vn to paill Sotely that pay bot if 3e onane schewe vs oure Empo // we saill 3ow ilk ane // And when kynge Alex herde swilke noysse he askede what it ment & that prynce3 anssuered & sayde that Macedoynes that pay are come & armed hepir be fore that jates & says sekerly bot if pay see 3ow pay saill sla vs alle are pay passe hepine & when Alex herde that he badd his kynghtis that pay scholde take hy vp & bere hy in to that consistorye & pay did soo & paill he garte open that Palace jates that Macedoynes myyte come by fore hy & paill kynge Alex be gaff to comend that paill of paire streth at paire grete doghtynes & charged paill that pay scholde be in pesse & reste ilkane wv op3 // paill that Macedoynes sare wepande sayde vn till Alex // AA wirchipfuH that pay ordayne it tehe vs are 3e passe heynne whaill that & pay be oure empow eft 3ow / And Alex d anssured & that payne / AA my dere kynghtis that he when I am dede whayn3 so 3e will cheese // be empow eft mee / And pay anssured // lord that pay we be seke 3owhe that 3e will graunt vs / Pdic to be oure Empow // I vouche wele saffe that Alex that Pdic be empow // Gers hy come be fore me & when he was come by fore hy he gaaffe hy that kyngdome

[of Macedoyne]
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, Arrhidæus, 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. Gaulus, King of Armenia. Illicus, King of Dalmatia. Simeon, my notary, I will, shall be King of Cappadocia and Pamphilus. 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
of Macedoyne w't ṭ° Empe°chipe//And he gaffe hy also Rosaṅi for to be his wyffe and p°yek hy ṭat he walde be gude ḳ gentill ṭiḥ hir and ṭaṅi he kyssede ahi ṭ° lordeʒ ṭ° knyghtis of Macedoyne ilkane aft° ob°//And sigled and weped wonder sare//hare was ṭaṅi so gēte dole ṭ wepynge//pat it was lyke a thonere//ffor men Suppsee ṭat noyte allany men made Sorow for ṭ° dede of so worthy ane Empe°//Bot also ṭ° soṅi and ahi ṭ° ob° planetis and elementi ware troubled //A Prynce of Macedoyne stode nere Alex° bedd ṭ° highte SeleucI//w t° grete dole ṭ wepynge he sayd //AA ṭ° wirchipfuH empo° ṭ he what saith we do when ṭ° ert dede//Philippe ṭ° fader gouerned vs wele ṭ heoure rewme Bot ṭ° gentilnes ṭ ṭ° largesse of the na tunge may teh//And ṭaṅi Alex° sett hy vp in his bedd ṭ and gaffe hy ṭ selve a grete slappe on ṭ° cheke and by gaṅ for to wepe riʒte bittly and in ṭ° langage of Macedoyne he sayde on his wyse ffuH waa es me vnhappy wreche ṭ he ṭat eu° I was borne to maṅi//ffor now Alexander dyes and Macedoyne saṅt waxe ay lesse ṭ lesse and emenisse day bi day//Thaṅ ahi ṭ° Macedoynes w't an hye voyce and bitt° wepynge sayd vn tiḥ hy//Bett° it ware tiḥ vs ṭ pay for to dy w° ṭaṅi for to se ṭ° dy in our p°sence//ffor wele we wate ṭ° eftter ṭ° dede of the ṭ° kyngeiuH of Macedoyne es vn done for eu° //Allas oure wirchipfuH Alexander why lefes ṭ° vs here and wendeʒ away be thyn ṭ ahe//Withowteth thi Macedoynes//Thaṅ kyngh Alexander alway sighand ṭ wepanḏ said vn to ṭaṅi //AA my dere Macedoynes ṭ he fra this tyɹi forwarde saṅt neu° 30° name hafe lord chipe ou° ṭ° Barbarenes//And ṭaṅi ṭ° Macedoynes cryed and sayde//O wirchipfuH lorde ṭ pay ḷou ledd ṭ vs in to Perse//Arraby//And Inde and vn to the wøldeʒ ende//And in to what cuntrie ṭ° ṭ° liste wende//Whyl lorde fleeʒ ṭ° now fra//vs lede vs w° the whedir so ṭ° gase//Ṭaṅi kyngh Alexander sent to ṭ° temples of Apollio in Athenes many rich iowels and on ṭ° same wyse tiḥ ahi ṭ° Ĳ̃ νgles//And ṭaṅi he commanded ṭ° when ṭ he ware dede//pay schulde enoynte his body and enbawme it w° riche oynementi//Ṭaṅi whilke kepis menes bodys ṭ graues w't owttẽ corupciouni//Ṭaṅi he badde Tholomei ṭ° he scholde a C° besantes of golde//w t° ṭ° offe gere make hy a tombe in Alexander//And onane [as he had
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. Alas, 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
as he had commanded by this one seconde by the swelt. And by the prince first vp his body. And did a, on his cleathing of astate and put a riche Coro by his heused. And set till by I by empow's chayere by whileke twelue prynces drewe by baire breste by Babiloyne till Alexander. Tholomeil went alway before by chayere wepande & sayande one by wyse: by ftu by waa es me My lord Alex waa es me:/ffor I ahi this lyfe slew by neu by so many men as by dose nowe aft by dyded: Ahi Alex's knyghtis also: by woped & made grete dole & sayde on by his wyse: waa es vs wrecches whatt schaft we know now do aft by bode of oure lorde Alexander. Whedir saith we now gaa or whate bytye may we now chese: where schaft we now get any hele till our lyfelade: One by his wyse by pay went wepande aft by Alexander: till by pay come till by cite of Alexander. And bare by pay beryed by in a tombe by pat was rihte hye and wonder cyrouslye wroghte /his tombe was ahi of fynge golde sett full of bycious stanes and on by pat tombe by was sett xxx ymage of golde wonder craftily made.

Alexander was a man bot of a comon stature: w't a lang nekke: fffaire eghe: & glad: his chekes ruddy: And ahi by remanent of his tymes ware faire & semely & lyke vn till a lorde: he ou by come ahi men & neu was ou?come

The lenthe of his lyffe was xxxii three twa & thrity three & sewen monethes ffga by twentye three of his birthe he gaffe by to werre and in twelue three he conquered ahi by werlde and made subiect vn till by alky a nacyons: Sewen monethes he ristede by he was borne on by vii ki of Ianuary: And dyed on by vii ki of August: he byggid also in his lyfe/xii grete cite3 pat hider to warde by enhabyt and bise are baire names: ffirste Alex by by es called ypysilicas by secc by Alexander es called Beypor by thrid Alexander es callede Sithia by by ferthe Alexander es called Biconstristi by fifte Alex by es called Persuotni by Sext Alex by es called Buctiphalo by seuent es called vnder by ryu by of Tygre: by aghtenl New Babiloyne: by nyend Aptradelo by tende Messagettes: by elleuend Ipsyaco by twelfed by es called Egipt Explicit Vita Alexandry magni coquestoris

Here ende by lyf of gret Alexander 79°ro 7 of ahi by worlde
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 Theracont.
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 conqueroris

Here ends the life of Alexander the Great, Conqueror of all the world.
TEXTUAL NOTES

f. 1r

1.5 Anectanah] The scribe regularly, but inconsistently, underlines proper names throughout the text. I have followed his underlining.

1.5 ynoghe] This is the first of many initial "y"s that are written as "b"s. See note to f. 2r, line 26.

1.8 tē dird] "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.

11] 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.

1.14 þe] This is a scribal self-correction. He has written "þe" over "a."

1.18 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

1.1 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 Þ he þ spekes to þe] 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

1.2 schale] This spelling is unusual for Thornton. Generally, this is spelled "schal" or "sah." 

12] 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.

1.26 op] This is the first of many "p"s that are written as "y"s. See note to f. 1r, line 5 the reverse phenomenon.

1.30 qwfe] Interlinear self-correction of the first "e" of "qwfe" between "w" and "n."

1.33 þe þe] The sense wants a noun like "knyghtes" between these words, or "þase" for the "þe."

f. 2v

1.15 at] The sense requires "þat" here so "at" may be a scribal error.

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

1.22 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.

1.29 of] The sense requires "þe", which the scribe has not written here.

1.36 may] The scribe has neglected to write the nominative pronoun "I" that the sense requires.
f. 3v

14] 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".

1.21 [p⁰] 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").

1.22 [pís] "pís" appears to be an afterthought. It is crammed in the space between "of" and "hert." The "of" also looks a bit crammed.

1.26 [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.

1.30 [påt] 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.

1.24 [ɒ Alex?] Marginal self-correction of "ɒ Alex" with the editorial caret sign after "sothe."

f. 5r

1.1 [be] Even with the catchwords on the previous folio, the scribe here repeats the last word of the previous line.
1.22 to] The sense seems to require the possessive pronoun "my" before "cûmandemêt," but it does not appear in the MS.

1.32 a] MS. is badly smudged and illegible after "a" and before "pt." One would presume that "ne" follows in the space after "a."

1.36 xxxa] 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 cedomynes] The scribe writes "the macedoynes" at the top of f. 5v. Although apparently catchwords, "þe macedoynes" on f. 5r are broken in the MS. as shown.

f. 5v

1.36 a baiste:// [and] 1.37 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

1.4 með] This word is written over what appears to be "hy."

1.15 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 "Tyryens." 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 "Wh" follows the illumination blank).

1.36 of citie] The sense wants "Þe," but it is not written.
f. 6v

1.27 bis] This word is clearly written here even though sense requires "bus."

1.31 see nane] Scribe repeats these two words on the same line.

f. 7r

1.6 fadres] The "r" is written over an "e."

1.7 bat] The sense wants "he" after "bat," but it is not written.

16] 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 eqtás."

1.13 cite3] The "3" appears to be written over an "e." Scribe apparently wrote "citee" and then changed it to "cite3."

Cap 5] This is the fifth decorated capital and the first historiatiated one. It is four lines high. The face of a king appears in the middle of the "D." There is a marginal designator ("D").

1.37 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

1.1 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.

1.3 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 "ə" 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

1.3 to] Marginal self-correction of "to" with the editorial caret sign after "es."
1.16 sent] Marginal self-correction of "sent" with the caret sign after "empo"."

1.24 þ said] Marginal self-correction of "þ 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").

1.29 schynes] Marginal self-correction of "schynes" in the right margin. The caret sign follows "pat."

f. 8v

1.23 þ] "þ" has been cancelled by diagonal lines drawn through both letters with two dots diagonally on either side of the "þ."

1.32 þ 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.

1.11 opere] The scribe has written "y" over a "u." What he intends is "op,", 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.

1.35 hase] The scribe has written "hase" although subject-verb agreement demands "hate." The variation between these similar letter forms is not unusual for this scribe.

CW were to þ] A much later hand has written a now illegible word in the lower margin of this leaf.
f. 9v

1.6 // 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 "I"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

1.1 [he p' hase] The scribe repeats "p," the last word from f. 10r's regular line of text, and then adds the catchwords.

1.5 Alexander] Textual consistency would demand "ansuerd" between "Alexander" and "f."

1.9 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.

1.11 of] The sense requires "his" between "of" and "cōmynge," the first word on line 1.12. Thornton frequently commits errors of omission or repetition at or near line boundaries.

1.15 of p' selfe] The indefinite article here seems in error for "it."

1.25 come] The scribe has crossed out "went" before "come."

1.33 whare] The "W" of "whare" is written over "p'."

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

1.7 [is] 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.

1.32 [pas] The scribe has crossed out "to g"ce" between "pas" and "titit."

1.33 distryed] The scribe has written the "y" over a first "e" in "distryed."

1.35 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").

1.18 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.

1.22 profitede] 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.

1.9 sauette] 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 "saeete." 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 "sauette."

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

1.7 whare] The scribe repeats "whare." The use of "whare so ev" on line 15 (and passim in the prose Alexander) demonstrates the scribes 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").

1.29 ft] Interlinear self-correction of "ft."

1.31 take] The scribe has written "sa" between "take" and "ensample," then crossed it out.

f. 14v

1.1 and] In spite of the catchwords on f. 14r, the scribe has repeated "and," the last word of the last line of that folio.

1.8 dyu'se] The scribe has written the "y" over an "e."
l.9 lorde] 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 cómandede] The catchwords on the bottom of f. 16r read "he cómande" 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 "d." for a final "e."
1.7 pare 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.

1.9 Bactria 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").

1.29 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.

1.31 pe] The "pe" is written over an "e" at the end of "for."

f. 17v

1.8Sepine] 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

1.1 [?] The scribe has written the "t" over an "e."

1.4 [f] The scribe writes a final "f" instead of his usual "sse." Apparently, he is using the flourish at the end to signify the missing "se."

1.4 greuol] The "r" is written over an "e."

1.5 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").

1.11 To] Between "To" and "kyng", the scribe has written and then crossed out "Rodorius."

1.21 [pat at ye may halde] This may be a repetition (dittography) of the nearly identical phrase in l.20, "pat at ye may noste halde." It doesn't make sense as it stands. However, perhaps "pan" before "pat" has been written in error. If one deletes "pan" (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 ("T").

1.36 hyienia] Marginal self-correction of "hyienia" in the right margin with the caret sign after "bidd."

f. 18v

CW til hyenia pay hy t'bute] There is (at least) one leaf missing after this folio. These catchwords and the story are not continued on f. 19r.

f. 19r

1.1 [mtitude] 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

1.1 foresaid watere] The catchwords on f. 19r read "foresaid wat". Before writing these words on the top of f. 19v, the scribe has written, "to p", repeating the last two words of f. 19r, "to the."

1.12 selue] 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.

1.23 gretyng] The "r" has been written over an "e."

CW by p 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

1.1 ourel] 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."

1.25 pair] The sense requires "pay."

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.

1.31 p[ The scribe has inserted interlinearly "p[ 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.

l.29 pspite] The scribe uses the wrong abbreviation, "p," instead of "\(p\)," for the initial letter (cf. 21v, l.3).

f. 21v

l.3 he] The scribe has written the "h" over a "p."

l.7 as] The sense wants "p\(\wedge\)" at the end of this line.

l.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

l.9 Smara\(\wedge\)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."

l.12 wte\(\wedge\)t] There is a hole in the MS. between "no\(\wedge\)te" and "wten." The beginning of a "w" appears after "no\(\wedge\)te" and the end of an "o" connected to "wten." Given the scribal spelling elsewhere, it is clear that "w\(\wedge\)t owten" should be read here.

l.13 an\(\wedge\)] 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."

l.16 it] Interlinear insertion self-correction made between "heres" and "on" with the caret mark below.

l.21 that] The last word of this line, "that," is either erased or almost completely faded.

l.37 p\(\wedge\)ferred before] In the margin directly below "p\(\wedge\)ferred before," another hand has written "p\(\wedge\)ferred befor."

f. 22v

l7] 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.
1.17 lorde] After "lorde" and finishing out the line, the scribe has written and then scratched out "† lorde of p° psyenes."

Cap 41] This is the forty-first capital, decorated. It is three lines high and has a marginal designator ("P").

f. 23r

1.2 emp"] 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

1.2 weddyng"] The MS. reads as shown. Since the "e" 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" or "dght" 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 "solempnyte." It is missing the crossbar. The marginal "A" is of a somewhat different form than usual.

1.23 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.

1.25 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."

1.34 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").
1.13 streng[he] The scribe has squeezed the second "t" above the line between "g" and "h."

18] 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.

1.33 agaynstand] Marginal correction of "agaynstand" with a doubled caret sign after "noyte."

f. 25r

1.1 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 þt þt" 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").

1.9 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, 1.23 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 ("ft").

f. 26r

Cap 49] This is the forty-ninth capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("K").

19] 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 cui dūab3 Astantib3."
f. 26v

110] 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.

1.33 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.

1.11 Oste.] The period mark is clearly made but may not be an intentional mark of punctuation. It may be merely a stray pen mark.

1.18 wylde] The scribe has written the "y" over an "h."

f. 27v

1.9 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

1.1 that pay 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.

1.14 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").

1.22 hys] The scribe has written the "y" over an "e."

1.25 by] The scribe again has written the "y" over an "e."

f. 29r

1.1 to be 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 strke] 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 Indel] 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.

1.32 ymang] This spelling occurs only here and on f. 47r, line 15. The scribe normally writes "amange" (see 1.35). The "p" is used here in place of the initial "y" as noted earlier.

1.35 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").

1.31 ypotaynes/] Although double virgules separate the other two items in the series, the scribe has written a single virgule after "ypotaynes" and before "f." The "f" looks almost like a "w" here.

1.37 {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

1.35 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 "Ame" and "Do ffor." This hand adds some decoration and flourish to the capitals, but none is similar to the capital, decorated in the text.

f. 34r

1.2 of thynges] The scribe has written "thynkes" then corrected it to "thynges" by correcting the "k" to "g."

1.31 sett] The scribe appears to have changed a "c" to "s" here.

f. 34v

1.23 þe 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

1.11 þat] The scribe has cancelled the beginning of a "w" between "þat" and "þo".

1.20 þa] The "þ" has been written over an "n."

1.24 in þowe] Marginal self-correction of "in þowe" in the right margin with the caret sign after "þowe."

1.31 þ7 es] The scribe has written "þ7 es" twice between "also" and "in heie" 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").

1.9 Bot wit þu wele] The scribe has written "Bot wit þu 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 dittoigraphy on the new line.

f. 36r

1.1 araye þæm] Note the expansions of the catchwords abbreviated on f. 35v -- "aray þā." At the top of f. 36r, they read "araye þæm."

Cap 69] This is the sixty-ninth capital, decorated. It is two lines high and has a marginal designator ("D").

f. 36v

1.1 Nohte lorde 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").

1.14 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."

1.17 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").
1.26 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.

1.29 [pay] The sense wants "ware" between "pay" and "bitt".

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

1.4 [pat] Interlinear correction of "pat."

1.13 [pCam] Between "Pese" 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 ("ffe").

1.35 [iiiix] The Roman numeral "xx" actually sits on top of the "iii."

f. 39r

Cap 76] This is the seventy-sixth capital, decorated. It is four lines high and has a marginal designator ("A").

1.34 [dyd] The scribe first wrote "de" then changed the "e" to "y" to read "dyd."

f. 39v

1.1 [pT] The scribe first wrote "pse" then changed it to "pt."

1.25 [tree3] The scribe has written first "te" then changed the "e" to "r" to read "tree3."

f. 40r

1.2 [dntor] The MS. has a flourish off the "r" could be interpreted as an abbreviation for "run" (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.

1.4 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").

1.34 chynes] The scribe has written the "y" over an "e."

f. 41r

1.1 iiiii] Again, the actual position of the "xx," is atop the "iii." 

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.

1.30 & talde hy] "tald" appears three times between this line and the next. "tald hy" accounts for two of those occurrences. The awkwardness of the structure here may be due to dittography.

f. 41v

1.4 bi fore] The scribe has written and has scratched out "Antyoch" after "bi fore."

1.24 ynohe] Interlinear insertion of the "o" in "ynohe."

1.35 tiH] The scribe has written and has cancelled "an" after "tiH."
f. 42r

1.1 vn to cedres] Note that the catchwords from f. 41v read "pe 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 myrken[!] 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 "f 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 Horrell'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 pe {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®] 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 "Oceane" 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 "reu²," 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 pay to"ned pâ awaywarde w† owtteâ" to "And if pay to"ned hy þâ bakke w† owtteâ." 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").

1.6 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").

1.24 trone] At the beginning of this line the scribe has written "toure" and then cancelled it and written "trone."

1.26 toure] This time the scribe has written "toure" and left it uncorrected to "trone."

1.27 greeç3] The letters between the "g" and the "ceç" are blotted, but the shape indicates "re" should be read.

1.32 þoff] 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

1.1 and so apoñ a daye] The catchwords on f. 46v read "and þañ on a day" while the top of f. 47r reads "and so apoñ 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

1.6 Ethiopia] 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").

1.15 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.

1.34 scholde] The sense requires something like "take," but it has not been written.

f. 49r

1.4 paire breste] 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cap No</th>
<th>Folio</th>
<th>Mar Desg</th>
<th>Cap</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3v</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>3-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, double loops bottom, single loops right, tendrils, red with purple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4r</td>
<td>ff</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>5-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, right and possibly bottom, double loops top, tendrils, red with black and brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4v</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>5-line, multi-layered thin-line border, single loops bottom and right, tendrils, red with purple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>6r</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td>12-line, border entirely scalloped, hollow filled with leafy design, tendrils cover most of the left margin, red with purple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7r</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>7v</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>5-line, multi-layered thin-line border, single loops bottom, double loops right, tendrils, red with purple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>8r</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>5-line, multi-layered thin-line border, double loops top and right, tendrils, red with purple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>8v</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, single loops bottom and right, tendrils, red with purple</td>
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<td>Side</td>
<td>Width</td>
<td>Color</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>9r</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>9r</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, triple/double loops top and bottom, single loops right, tendrils, red with purple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>9r</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>9v</td>
<td>W</td>
<td></td>
<td>4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, single loops bottom and right, short scallop left, tendrils, red with purple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>9v</td>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td>5-line, multi-layered thin-line border, single loops bottom and right, scallops left, tendrils, red with purple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>9v</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>3-line, multi-layered thin-line border, single loops bottom and right, scallops left, tendrils, red with purple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>11v</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>12r</td>
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<td>A</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>12v</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>T</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>13r</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
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<td>19</td>
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<td>W</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
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<td>A</td>
<td>4-line, uncrossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and right, double loops top, tendrils, red with black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>13v</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, triple/double loops top and right, double/single loops bottom, short tendrils, red with black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>14r</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>3-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, double loops bottom, single loops right, longer tendrils, red with purple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>14v</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>5-line, red, undecorated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>15r</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>3-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and bottom, tendrils, red with purple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>15v</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>2-line, red, undecorated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>16v</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>16v</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>3-line, multi-layered thin-line border, short scallop left, double/single loops top and bottom, single loops right, tendrils, red with purple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>17r</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
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<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>A</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>17v</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>17v</td>
<td>P</td>
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<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>18r</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>4-line, red, undecorated</td>
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<tr>
<td>34</td>
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<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>4-line, red, undecorated</td>
</tr>
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<td>T</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>19v</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>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</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
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<td>I</td>
<td>5-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and right, tendrils, red with purple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>20v</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>4-line, uncrossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and right, double loops bottom, single loops top, tendrils, red with purple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>21r</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>4-line, uncrossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, right and bottom, single loops top, long tendrils, red with black</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
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<td>A</td>
<td>2-line, crossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and bottom, tendrils, red with purple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
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<td>P</td>
<td>3-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and right, single loops bottom, long tendrils, red with purple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>23v</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>5-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, double loops bottom and right, long tendrils, red with purple</td>
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<tr>
<td>43</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>24r</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>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</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
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<td>W W</td>
<td>3-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, tendrils, red with purple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>25r</td>
<td>W W</td>
<td>4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, double loops bottom, tendrils, red with purple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>25v</td>
<td>S S</td>
<td>4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, double/single loops top, bottom and right, tendrils, red with purple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>25v</td>
<td>ff F</td>
<td>3-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and bottom, double loops right, tendrils, red with purple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>26r</td>
<td>K K</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>50</td>
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<td>I I</td>
<td>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</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>27v</td>
<td>A A</td>
<td>4-line, crossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops top, bottom and right, tendrils, red with purple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>28r</td>
<td>A A</td>
<td>4-line, uncrossed A, multi-layered thin-line, scallops left and right, tendrils, red with purple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>29r</td>
<td>t P</td>
<td>4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops bottom and right, tendrils, red with purple [note marginal designator &quot;t&quot; and &quot;han&quot; following but &quot;P&quot; is drawn]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>29r</td>
<td>ff F</td>
<td>4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops bottom, double loops side, tendrils run into tendrils of &quot;P&quot; above</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>29v</td>
<td>ff F</td>
<td>5-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops bottom, double loops right, tendrils, red with purple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Side</td>
<td>Border Description</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>30r</td>
<td>4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, double loops top, single loops bottom and right, tendrils, red with purple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>30r</td>
<td>3-line, uncrossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops bottom and top, tendrils, red with purple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>30v</td>
<td>4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, double loops bottom and right, tendrils, red with purple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>30v</td>
<td>4-line, uncrossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops bottom, double loops right, tendrils, red with purple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>31r</td>
<td>4-line, crossed A, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops bottom, double loops right, tendrils, red with purple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>31r</td>
<td>4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops bottom and top, double loops right, tendrils, red with purple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>31r</td>
<td>4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and top, double loops right, single loops bottom, tendrils, red with purple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>31v</td>
<td>4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops bottom, top and right, tendrils, red with purple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>31v</td>
<td>4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left and right, single loops top and bottom, tendrils, red with purple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>32r</td>
<td>4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops right, tendrils, red with purple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>32r</td>
<td>4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops top and bottom, double loops right, tendrils, red with purple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>32v</td>
<td>3-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, single loops top, bottom and right, tendrils, red with purple</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Surface Type</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>35v</td>
<td>k</td>
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<tr>
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<td>36r</td>
<td>D</td>
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<tr>
<td>70</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
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<td>ff</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>72</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
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<td>ff</td>
<td>4-line, multi-layered thin-line border, scallops left, double loops right, single loops top, double/single loops bottom, tendrils, red with purple</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
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<td>T</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ff</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>77</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>78</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>79</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Designator</td>
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<tr>
<td>80</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
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<td>T</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>43v</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>3-line, red, undecorated</td>
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<td>85</td>
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<td>ff</td>
<td>F</td>
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<td>45v</td>
<td>ff</td>
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<td>[no space left for capital but marginal designator indicates intention]</td>
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<tr>
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<td>97</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>U</td>
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<td>46v</td>
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<td>A</td>
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<tr>
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<td>I</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>4-line, red, undecorated</td>
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<td>47v</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A</td>
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<td>48v</td>
<td>A</td>
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<td>A</td>
<td>4-line, red, undecorated [only the extreme right edge remains of the marginal designator]</td>
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</table>
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folio</th>
<th>Catchword(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>1v</td>
<td>Q he pṭ spekes to ṅe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2r</td>
<td>Q he pṭ spekes to the://</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2v</td>
<td>semble a grete Oste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3r</td>
<td>semble a grete Oste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3v</td>
<td>went to ṅe walles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4r</td>
<td>went to ṅe walles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4r</td>
<td>ende be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4v</td>
<td>ende be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4v</td>
<td>wonne by nane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5r</td>
<td>be wonne by nane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5r</td>
<td>cedoynes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5v</td>
<td>the macedoyns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5v</td>
<td>gart make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6r</td>
<td>garte make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6v</td>
<td>in ṅe whike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7r</td>
<td>in ṅe whike</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7v</td>
<td>mekiḥ byteḥ meā nogte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8r</td>
<td>mekiḥ byteḥ meā noghte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8r</td>
<td>ḫaṅ ḫe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8v</td>
<td>ḫaṅ ḫe://</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9r</td>
<td>ware to ṅe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9v</td>
<td>ware to the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9v</td>
<td>agayne wṭ his oste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10r</td>
<td>agayne wṭ his Oste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10r</td>
<td>he ṅt hase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10v</td>
<td>ḫe ṅt hase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10v</td>
<td>whare ḫay fande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11r</td>
<td>whare ḫay fande</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mery
mery
make a crye
make a crye
by þe whilke
by þe whilke
and whan þis messagés
and whan thir messangés
oure citee
oure citee
he hadde saide on þis wyse
he hadde saide on this wise:/
he answered
and he answered
bot a yong maên
bot a yong maên
wt his oste
wt his Oste
chiftaynes
chyftaynes
he commanded
þan he commandede
oure landeþ
oure landeþ
for to be
for to be
of þe agaynes
of the agaynes
sbmyt hy
sbmytt hy
till hy™ a pay hy t'bute
on a hye place [missing folio between 18v and 19r]
foresaid wat™
to þe foresaid watere
by þe forluk of gode  [Quire A ends]
bettys vs es for  [Quire B begins and missing folio
between 19v and 20r]

20r þus pœuely
20v thus pœualye

20v wheþ Alexys
21r Wheþ Alexander

21r þas oure lorde
21v þas oure lorde

21v make þt was
22r make þt was

22r þe Seuent
22v þe Seuent

22v þas ȝ t lede þas
23r þas ȝ t lede þas

23v þis and þore
24r þis//And þore

24r a strayte lande
24v a strayte lande

24v wiet þt þi
25r wele witte that thi

25v of nedders
26r of nedders

26v wþ ȝow
27r wþ ȝow

27r if þe saþ
27v if þe schall

27v þay walde oþ na wyse
28r þat þay walde one na wyse

28r fered
28v fered

28v oste
29r to þe oste//

30r he gert pche
30v he garte pche

30v þe schali see aþ þir olyphant?
31r þe schali see aþ þir Olyphantes
31r  of gud cōforthe
31v  of gude cōforthe

31v  to Dindimī þt was
32r  to Dindimī þat was

32r  wisdom
32v  wisedom

32v  nobe be See ne be land
33r  nobe be see ne by land

33r  ne whare vs
33v  ne whare vs

34r  and þt worde
34v  and þat worde

34v  Swanne
35r  a swane/

35r  waa es yow
35v  waa es yow

35v  thyng for tiH aray þā wē
36r  thyng for tiH araye þā wē

36r  lorde3 of þs werlē
36v  Noðte lordes of this werlde/

37r  meñ herde þt noyse
37v  meñ herde þe noyse

37v  þā þay removed
38r  Than þay removed

38v  of saphirs
39r  of saphyres

39v  þā þe tre of þe soñ
40r  þā þe tree of þe soñ

40r  to“ne one þe
40v  to“ne one þe

40v  of golde
41r  of golde

41v  þe cedres
42r  vn to cedres

42r  be þysede
42v  to be þysede
he sothe it es [Quire B ends]

lyffed að

lyffede að

grippes

grippines

sawes

sawes

doute he schulde dye

And if þay to'ned hy þe bakke wþ owtteñ dowte he sulde dye

and það on a day

and so apoð a daye

þe puysor þexed hy

þe puysor þexed hy

að my mobles

að my mobles/

of Macedoyne

of Macedoyne

as he had

as he had
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.