THE MIDDLE ENGLISH LETTER OF ALEXANDER
THE GREAT TO ARISTOTLE

EDITED FROM WORCESTER CATHEDRAL MS. F. 172

BY

TERRENCE KEOUGH

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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

Terrence Keough was born June 14, 1935, in Revelstoke, B.C. He received Bachelor of Arts degrees from St. Francis Xavier University in 1957, and from the University of London in 1968, and a Master of Arts degree from the University of Alberta in 1969.
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INTRODUCTION

I The Manuscript

The unique Middle English version of the "Epistola Alexandri magni regis Macedonum ad magistrum suum Aristotilem," edited here for the first time, is found in Worcester Cathedral Library MS. F. 172, ff. 138r-146v. This volume, bound in the 17th or 18th century in rough brown leather, is written on paper by the same hand throughout and contains 216 leaves, including three fly-leaves at the beginning and three at the end.  

The leaves measure 8 x 11 inches, and are bound

1 My description of the MS is based on an examination of it in microfilm, and where this could not yield the necessary information (e.g. colors, binding, watermark), on J. K. Floyer and S. C. Hamilton, Catalogue of MSS. of Worcester Cathedral (Oxford: Parker and Co., 1906), pp. 96-98, on two descriptions by W. H. Hulme, "A Valuable Middle English Manuscript," MP, 4 (1906), 67-73, and The Middle English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus, EETS ES 100 (London, 1907), pp. xlviii-lv, and on information kindly provided for me by the Assistant Librarian of Worcester Cathedral Library, Michael Craze, T.D., M.A., by letter. The leaf measurements (in inches rather than the customary centimetres) are Hulme's.
in gatherings of twelve (except the first, which, excluding the three fly-leaves, has only six). The end of each gathering is indicated by a catch-word. The paper is the same throughout (with the exception of the fly-leaves which are later), the watermark being a large Gothic P surmounted by a four-petal flower ornament similar but not identical to Briquet 8695 (dated 1477-78).\(^2\) The MS is generally very sparsely ornamented with capitals in red, though the Psalter (ff. 166r-213v) contains a great deal of red and blue script. A brown diagonal stain which covers much of the top half of the leaves gradually lightens in later folios.

The old numbering, which is in the hand of the scribe of the MS, begins on the first leaf (f. 4r in the modern numbering) with "xvii," and a note in the upper left-hand margin in a later hand reads "There wantith sixteen leaves." Floyer and Hamilton speculate that there are "probably as many missing at the end," though this is almost certainly a gross under-estimate.\(^3\)


\(^3\)Catalogue, p. 98. If the Psalter, however, were originally complete, another 50 to 60 pages would be required. A. I. Doyle, in "An Unrecognized Piece of Piers the Ploughman's Creed and Other Works by Its Scribe," Speculum, 34 (1959), 430, estimates that there were originally over 290 leaves.
In the section containing the Letter, there are forty lines of text to the page, ruled at about 3/16" intervals. The text itself is boxed in on four sides by rulings which extend to the outer edges of the page, the size of the writing area being about 5 1/2" x 7 1/2".

There is no extant medieval catalogue of Worcester Cathedral Library, and the MS is not listed in the earliest catalogue, Patrick Young's *Catalogue Librorum*, compiled in 1622-23. Atkins and Ker, in their edition of this catalogue, conclude that MS. F. 172 was given to the library in the early 18th century. It certainly was examined at that time. On the fly-leaf is written "Wm. Ballard 1707," about whom nothing is known, and also the signature and some notes on Richard Rolle in the hand of William Thomas (1670-1738), the famous Worcester antiquary. Its provenance up to this time is uncertain, though both the hand and the inclusion of the constitutions of Roger le Noir (Bishop of London, 1229-41) would indicate a London origin, as does the corroborating evidence, discussed in Section III below, connecting the scribe with Shirley's scriptorium.

The MS. contains the following items:

1. A fragmentary prose version of the "Gospel of Nicodemus." 4r-12v

2. The story of Seth's journey for the Oil of Mercy and the source of the wood for the Cross. 13r-16r

3. A short justification for the collection of tithes. 16r-16v

4. Richard Rolle's "Rule of Good Living." 17r-32v

5. A short description of "thoffice of a Bisshop or a priest." 33r

6. "A treati agenst gostly temptaciouns." 33v-44r

7. "The "Duodecim gradus humilitatis" in English. 44r-46v

8. Five stories illustrating eternal punishments. 46v-48r

9. The "Dedis of Apostels." A version of Acts. 48r-72r

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5. This list of contents is more detailed than I had originally intended it to be, but I have made it so in order to correct the many errors in foliation and content in Floyer and Hamilton's Catalogue and in both of W. H. Hulme's descriptions (see n. 1 above).

6. Hulme says in "A Valuable Manuscript" (p. 71, n. 3) that this version is "a copy of Purvey's translation," and in Nicodemus he demonstrates this briefly with parallel texts (p. li-lii). Note that the Psalter in this MS is also a Lollard version: see Doyle, "An Unrecognized Piece," p. 431.

72v-116r

11. A short Jesus Psalter, the whole of which (though still easily read) has been crossed out with a number of heavy vertical lines. 116v

12. "VI vertuous questiouns and answers of vi holy doctours." 117r-117v

13. Lists of prayers and masses carrying indulgences. Like the Jesus Psalter, crossed out with vertical lines, but easily read, nevertheless. 117v-118r

14. The "Disciplina Clericalis" of Petrus Alphonsi in English. 118v-138r

15. "Epistola Alexandri magni ad magistrum suum Aristotilem." 138r-146v

16. The "Parva Recapitulatio" in English, a short life of Alexander the Great (see Appendix C for the text). 146v-148r

17. An "Ephitaphium Alexandri" in Latin (see Appendix D for the text). 148r

18. A treatise on the authority of the Church in cursing, with a series of curses against a great variety of sins. 148v-154v

19. Ecclesiastical Constitutions of Roger le Noir, William Courtenay (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1381-96), and Robert of Wynchelsey (Archbishop of Canterbury, 1294-
20. An incomplete later Lollard version of the Psalter (ending at Ps. 72, 19) in Latin and English. 166r-213v

II The Place of the Letter in Alexander Literature

It is clear to anyone who is even superficially acquainted with medieval Alexander literature that the amount of material extant is enormous, so enormous, in fact, that every writer on the subject feels tempted, as Cary has pointed out, to put the three well-known lines from Chaucer's Monk's Tale on his title-page:

The storie of Alisaundre is so commune
That every wight that hath discrecioun

7Hulme, in "A Valuable Manuscript" (p. 73, n. 1), identifies Robert of Wynchelsey with the "Archbishop of Canterbury, 1436-46 (Newcourt, Vol. I, pp. 22, 23)," and in Nicodemus (p. liv, n. 3), with Robert Gilbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1436-38, but he is almost certainly wrong in both instances.

Hath herd somewhat or al of his fortune. 9

Almost all of this enormous body of literature is derived to a greater or lesser extent from a romance on Alexander's life written in Alexandria in Greek in the 3rd century A.D. This romance has been known as the Pseudo-Callisthenes 10 since Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614), the sub-librarian of the Royal Library in Paris, noted at the beginning of the 17th century that a Greek MS of the romance in the library was falsely ascribed to Callisthenes (ca. 360-328 B.C.), a nephew of Aristotle, and one of the official historians in Alexander's entourage.

The sources of the romance are varied:

One is a highly rhetorical poor quality historical biography of Alexander in the bad or so-called Cleitarchus tradition. Secondly there is a collection of letters, possibly extracted partly from an Epistolary Romance of Alexander, fragments of which survive in papyri, and partly from a group of letters attributed to Alexander telling of fabulous Eastern marvels. Thirdly there is the account of Alexander's meeting with the Indian Gymnosophistae, used by Plutarch and found also in papyrus fragments; and lastly


there was included a genuine political pamphlet, "Alexander's last days and testament,' which was concocted immediately after his death in support of the claims of Perdiccas to the succession and the guardianship of Alexander's heir, and directed against the rival claims of Antipater, who is in it accused of engineering Alexander's death by poison.\textsuperscript{11}

To these are added the Egyptian legends surrounding Nectanebus, Candace, and the founding of the city of Alexandria.

\textbf{Pseudo-Callisthenes} is the story of Alexander's life from his legendary siring by Nectanebus to his supposed death by poison at Bablyon in 323 B.C. In Book III in the surviving MSS—though probably not a part of the original romance—there is a short letter from Alexander to Aristotle describing his experiences in India.

The romance was translated into Latin from a MS of the $\alpha$ tradition early in the 4th century by a certain Julius Valerius Alexander Polemius, and given the title \textit{Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis}.\textsuperscript{12} This translation does not, however, correspond to any of the extant Greek MSS, especially in respect of the Alexander Letter which in the Valerius version is considerably expanded.

In the 9th century or earlier, the \textit{Res Gestae}

\textsuperscript{11}Ross, \textit{Alexander Historiatus}, p. 5.

was drastically epitomized, the final section (Bk. III) being reduced to a fragment. At about the same time, and perhaps in conjunction with this abridgement, known as the Zacher Epitome,\(^{13}\) the Letter, which was omitted from the Epitome, was expanded and took on a separate existence.

It is this form of the Letter, generally known as Epistola I,\(^{14}\) which is the basis for all the vernacular translations, including the Middle English version.

The great popularity of Epistola I is attested to not only by the large number of MSS extant (at least 67 according to Ross) and by the number of vernaculars into which it was translated: Old English, Middle Irish, Icelandic, French, Anglo-Norman, Middle English, Italian, Arabic, and German, but also by its influence on much of the rest of medieval Alexander literature.\(^{15}\) F. P. Magoun's


\(^{14}\)W. W. Boer, ed., Epistola Alexandri Ad Aristotelem Ad Codicum Fidem Edita Et Commentario Critico Instructa, Diss. Lyons 1953 (The Hague: Excelsior, 1953). The designation "Epistola I" is Magoun's (p. 48), and serves to distinguish the usual Epistola from a revised and abbreviated form of it found only in Bam, and known as "Epistola II." All references in this edition to the Epistola are to Epistola I.

\(^{15}\)The count of Lat. MSS of Epistola I is in D. J. A. Ross, "A check-list of three Alexander texts," Scriptorium, 10 (1956), 127–32. The vernacular texts may be consulted as follows: Editions: Old English: Three Old English Prose Texts, ed. Stanley Rypins, EETS OS 161 (London, 1924);
comment on the vast influence of Julius Valerius can be applied in a large measure to the Letter as well:

To present in short compass and in logical order the vernacular romances derived essentially from Julius Valerius' Res Gestae is an almost hopeless task; for many of these works draw to a greater or less degree upon supplementary sources, often to such an extent as to admit a double classification.

It is possible, however, to isolate two general lines of transmission, one descending from an α MS of the Pseudo-Callisthenes through Julius Valerius to the Zacher Epitome and Epistola I, the other descending from a δ MS of the Pseudo-Callisthenes through the Archpriest Leo's Nativitas et Victoria Alexandri Magni, which in a later


16 The Gests of King Alexander, p. 25.
form becomes known as the Historia de Preliis. This double stream can be expressed diagrammatically in the following way (the \( \beta \) tradition and its offshoots are not important to European Alexander literature):

```
Pseudo-Callisthenes
```

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\lambda \\
\beta \\
\gamma \\
\varepsilon \\
\gamma^* \\
\end{array}
\]

Abbrev. Epistola I

Archpriest Leo's Nativitas et Victoria

Julius Valerius' Res Gestae

Historia de Preliis

Zacher Epitome

Epistola I

From this point onward there is extensive and confusing interborrowing. As a result, it is quite often difficult to determine whether the source of borrowing is the Epistola itself or the Historia de Preliis, because the Epistola borrows from the Res Gestae, and the Historia de Preliis borrows from the Epistola, though in its original form the Historia de Preliis is a translation of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, which is the basis of the Res Gestae and the

17 The closest MS to Leo's original translation is Bamberg MS. E.iii.14, ed. F. Pfister, in Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo: Sammlung mittelalter. Texte, VI (Heidelberg, 1913): cited by Cary, p. 38, n. 1. There are too many editions of the various recensions of the Historia de Preliis to list them here: see Cary, pp. 38–58.
Epistola. The 1st recension of the Historia de Preliis, for example, borrows from the Letter and from the other Indian Tractates (i.e., the Commonitorium Palladii, Dindimus on the Brahmanes, the Collatio Cum Dindimo), and then itself influences Alberic’s Alexander-book, which is based on the Res Gestae. As a general rule, however, Epistola is most influential till the 13th century, when the version of it in the Historia de Preliis tends to supercede it.

So in spite of the fact that the situation is at least to some extent confused (and probably always will remain so), it is nonetheless clear that the Epistola had an extensive influence on the rest of the medieval Alexander lore. And it is possible in a general and oversimplified way to show that influence as it is channelled into the Middle English Alexander books: first, the Prose Life of

The first two Tractates referred to here are Cynic attacks on Alexander; the third is a defence of Alexander against the Cynics.


Alexander ("Thornton" Alexander), the Wars of Alexander, and "Alexander A" and "Alexander B" are essentially derived from the Historia de Preliis; second, the Scottish Buik of Alexander depends as well on the Feurre de Gadres, an expansion of the Tyre episode in the I recension of the Historia de Preliis, and the Voeux du Paon, which is only superficially related to the Alexander romances, as does the Buik of Kyng Alexander; third, Kyng Alisaunder is derived from Thomas of Kent's Roman de Toute Chevalerie which, of course, includes the Feurre de Gadres; and fourth, Alexander and Dindimus and the Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers are derived from two separate traditions, the former partially related to the Historia de Preliis, the latter directly descended from an Arab tradition aware of the Letter's existence. All of these books are thus influenced to a greater or lesser extent by the Letter in one or more of its forms.

Gilbert Hay's Buik of Kyng Alexander is apparently being edited by Dr. A. Macdonald (see Cary, p. 35) for the STS, but it had not appeared at time of writing: selected passages are available in A. Hermann, The Forraye of Gadderis, The Vouis (Berlin, 1900); Kyng Alisaunder, ed. G. V. Smithers, EETS OS 127 (London, 1952); Alexander and Dindimus, ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS ES 31 (London, 1878); The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers, ed. C. F. Bühler, EETS OS 211 (London, 1939). For information on the Feurre de Gadres see Cary, pp. 30-31; on the Voeux du Paon, Cary, p. 32; on the Roman de Toute Chevalerie, Cary, pp. 35-36.
W. W. Boer in his critical edition of the Epistola (Bo) has grouped the Latin MSS into four families. The Middle English version (Wo) is closest to the MSS in II, especially the $\delta$ group. 21

The evidence for this is convincing. Wo can be excluded from I, as it omits the Porrus Letter at l. 400 (see n. 400 and Appendix A) as do all MSS except those in I. It can be excluded from III and IV because like MSS of II only it omits the list of names at l. 754 (see n. 754), and a section of about 350 words following l. 775 (see Appendix B and n. 775).

21The following stemma is basically Boer's (see especially pp. XXIV-XXV, XXXIII), to which I have added Wo. A key to the MSS sigla may be found in the table of abbreviations on pp. 35-36.
The affinities with MSS of the $\delta$ group, and especially with the $\epsilon$ group URRe, are so frequent that there can be no doubt that Wo is a translation from a MS which belonged to this group. Some of these affinities are:

1. Single Distinctive Words Found Both in URRe and Wo:

   Bo: in nos subito impetum dedit nec [URRe om. nec] ignium compositis tardatur [URRe floccipendens] ardo-ribus: Wo Yaven in us a sodeyne haaste, thei fuyrly of made, brennyng flockes hangyng 329-30; Bo: Militi-bus meis ingentes erant animi, quibus et census victori-um supeditatbat et felicitas: URRe: Sed militibus meis ingentes erant animi, quibus et census victori-um supeditatbat et vires: Wo But my knightis wern of grete soule whatsumever wonderful to whiche, and feeingly of victories, with their strengthis thei overcam it and put it underfoote 363-65; Bo: arborum cacumina: URRe cacumina cel: Wo the toppes of hevenes 656-57.

   (For further examples, see 11. 108-09 and n., and 226-28, 291-93, 324, 374-76, 388-89, 636, 688, 715-18, 728-30.)

2. Short Phrases Common to Both URRe and Wo:

   Bo: Igitur inter ipsa tentoria aggerebantur: URRe; Igitur inter ipsa tentoria gerebantur quedam me iubente: Wo Therfor, among and bitwen tho tentis thei baren sum, me biddyng impedymetis 260-61; Bo: Tunc ego locorum demonstratores qui nos semper in insidias deduce-bant, pessime meritos [URRe impendens eis secundum eorum merita] crurifragio puniri iussi ut et nocte [URRe nocte sequente] vivi spirantesque a serpentibus conumerentur, ut nos consumi voluerunt: Wo Therfor, than, the shewers of placis, whiche alwey brought and ledden us bi assautis, doyng to theym after their merites and deservynges, bad punyssh heym to the turment of the cros, as in the nyght folowyng with the strength of blowers and serpentis bien thei consumed and wasted, as thei oughten and wolden to have consumed us 349-54; Bo: ponere anulos vestesque cunctas cum calci-amentis [URRe hospitantium more] imperavit: Wo to put their rynges and al their clothis in maner of hostage I comaunded 618-19.
3. Complete Clauses Found Only in URRe and Wo:

Bo: Palus [URRe Palus itaque a leva regni sui parte] erat sicca et coeno abundans: Wo And so openly at the lift side of his realme was drie and habundaunt with reedis 429-31; Bo: Quam rem frustra me petere ita cognovi: URRe: Sed proh dolor frustra me petere id hoc ordine cognovi: Wo But alas for sorowe vaynly me to aske that this with order I have knowen 537-38; Bo: Qua re tam incredibili illudi me a barbaris senibus existimans, poena eos impingii et aliqua contumelia iussi notari: to which URRe add: nisi haec ut astipulabatur contingent. Anceps namque verbis eorum hac illacque flu(o)tuabam indignansque mecum dicebam: Wo Wherfor, so incredible to be illude and bejape [me] of old and auncient barbaryns, estemyng to punyssh hem with peyne and other contumelies and strives, I bad to be noted but if thiese thynges fallen and happen as thei han told and reheered. Forwhi thiese anoepe and kervyng wordis of pem, here and ther I flotered, and disdeigneng dreede I saide, where Bo is picked up again with ita dicens instead of dicebam 567-73; URRe only: Solus itaque cum his tribus amicis meis ad oraculum pergebam: Wo And so aloone with thiese .iii., my friendis, I went to the oracle 689-90.

(For further examples, see ll. 309-13 and n., and 316-17, 392, 418-19, 758-62.)

4. Omissions Common to Both URRe and Wo:

Bo: gurgites raptosque in vertice crudeli poena viros [URReReg om. viros] flentibus nobis absumpserunt: Wo Ravishyng swolowes in the top of cruel peyne toke us unto wepyng 217-18; Bo: onustus praeda in castra perveni: Wo I cam to the castels spuyled 468-69 is followed in Bo by Iussi tunc clipeis et lorica vallum praecingi, ne quid injuriæ noctu elephanto rum violen- tia ferarumque aliarm afferrer, omitted in URReReg and Wo; Bo: easque in eclipsi solis et lunae uberrimus lacrimis commoveri: URReReg omit easque in eclipsi solis et lunae, as does Wo . . . with plentevous tearis even mooved 642-43.

(For further examples, see ll. 378-79 and n., and 529-30, 725-27.)
But Wo is not, of course, a translation of any one of URRe, as will be evident from the following tables:

1. Follows One or Two of URRe only:

- **URReEtTr:** Vix tandem recollectis carinatis ex integro in aptiore [most Lat. MSS aprirect] valle: Wo Unneth gadred the charges and burthens of the holl into a more apt valey 496-97; UR: positaque ante eum in t(h)abella ebithina ingenios libaturae erat: Wo set before hym in a table ebytne and grete libature 715-16; U: corcodrillo gerens: Wo of a cocodril beryng 434; UB: scintillarum et titionum quibus integra venientium adurebantur: Wo with sparkles and leames to whom holl conyng theym brente 492-93; Re: Sed et monuit sacerdos, ut exiremus pareremusque eius responsioni, fletum et ululatum nostrum sacras arbores dicens offendisse: Wo But and the priest hath monysshed and warned as we to brenne and to array, to aunswer of hym sayeng, forwhi the weepyng and the wailyng of our trees he offendith 744-46.

2. Follows a MS Other than URRe:

- Bo: nisi subiecta meis oculis ipse prius cuncta ponderaviisse: URReReg omit meis oculis: Wo but that with myn eyen I have proved al thynges underdon 19-20; Bo: conditionem: URRe: ditione: Pari: indicioun 56; Bo: castra concentu bucinarum repente ad Noti venti spiracula tetendi: LC: contentu: Wo with castels content at the sodayne blowynge of the trumpe, with the blastis of the wynde I have intended 359-61; Bo: Palus erat sicca et coeno abundans: Tr: cannis: Wo And so openly at the lift side of his realme [URRe add itaque a leva regni sui parte] was drie and habundaunt with reedis 429-30.

(For further examples, see 11. 21-22 and n., and 29-32, 38-39, 41, 181, 271-72, 296-97, 608-09, 666-67.)

3. Follows No MS in Boer's Edition:

- URRe: inter aures platanos unguibus rostrisque inauratis pro inauribus torquisque quae margaritas et uniones gerentia: Wo Among whiche wern large and brode plates of gold with nailes, and beelis of briddis in idel as for in earnes, with bies and onches, whiche with grete margarites ooned, beryng . . . 91-94;
Bo: Haec prodigia est insecuta [URRe In secunda vero noctis hora subsecutum] immensa vis [URRe aegmen immensa] cerastarum humidarumque [URRe om. humidarumque] serpentium variis distincta coloribus: Wo And forsoth to noisaunce thesse woundres bien. Forsoth, in every hour of the nyght under hem, holl is the felawship, with unmesurabyl horned serpentis of variable and dyvers colours distinct avexed 274-77; Bo: admodum nongentos octoginta occidimus: WBrOmMpsPa: DCCC: Oc: nongentos LXX: Wo we slowgh ca. cccclxix. 467; Bo: Hi serpentes lasere et albo pascuntur pipere; hi lumen in oculis profusum accipiunt. Hi vallem nulli adeundam incolunt: Wo ordered differently from any Lat. MS: Thiese taken the light shed out in eyen, and that non to escape thiese serpentes chees in to make wery, and with white peper theym feeden 765-68.

(For further examples, see ll. 459-63 and n., and 474-75?, 480?, 520-21?, 538-43, 636?.)

The general picture then is clear: Wo is a translation of a Family II MS of the $E$ group, though not a translation of any of the MSS of that group used in Boer's critical edition.

III The Scribe and the Date

The MS is written in a fairly late 15th century hand, described by A. I. Doyle as follows: "Of a mixed type, with elements from both the older 'court' and newer 'secretary' scripts, which Sir Hilary Jenkinson no doubt would call a bastard, though the latter term has very different connotations in continental usage, where this might be cursiva textualis."22

Be that as it may, the scribe of Wo displays a number of peculiar characteristics, first noticed by E. P. Hammond, which have made it possible to ascribe all or parts of ten different MSS to his hand: Royal College of Physicians MS. 13; BM Add. MS. 34360; BM Arundel MS. 59; BM Harley 2251; BM Royal 17.D.XV, ff. 167-301; Trin. Coll. Camb. MS. R.3.21, ff. 34v-49r; Worc. Cath. MS. F. 172; BM Harley 78, f. 3r; BM Claudius A. VIII, ff. 175-97; and probably Rawlinson MS. D.913, f. 43r. The hand is distinctive enough so that even though there are some differences here and there "the relative proportions and the general character persist as does the character of a man's autograph written on many separate occasions." Brusendorff even contends (though not very convincingly) that he probably "signs his name on f. 59 in Add. MS. 34360 after the heading of a poem: Columbina apparuisti Eleyson Verba Auctoris quod Richardown." 23 The first six MSS in the list are those finally decided upon by Miss Hammond: see "A Scribe of Chaucer," MP, 27 (1929), 27-33, and her earlier discussion in "Two British Museum Manuscripts (Harley 2251 and Add. 34360): A Contribution to the Bibliography of John Lydgate," Anglia, 28 (1905), 1-28. The last four MSS are those added by Doyle to Miss Hammond's list: see "An Unrecognized Piece," pp. 430-34.

23 Hammond, "A Scribe of Chaucer," p. 27. Subsequent references to Miss Hammond's work are to this article.

PLATE I

Worc. Cath. MS. F. 172, f. 145r

(11. 651-99)
Most of the scribe's peculiarities may be seen on f. 145r (Plate I), a typical sampling of his work.26 There are the unusual ie spellings (9 bien, 30 triewest); the very long ascenders on f (25 yiftes) and on the long s (6 counsailed, 20 smyten); the tendency for the stem on p to lean sharply forward (no really good examples here, but see 25 part, 27 place). There is the peculiar I (7, 20), the looped m (2 moone), the footless r (15 retourne); the minim-like figure-2 r, easily confused with i (28 priest); the invariable long-form double r (26 myrry); the h with the straight final stroke (1, 2), the w with a flourish on its first stroke (26 aunswere), and the x that looks almost like a p (22 examyneng). There are the cl and ch ligatures with the flattened prows and billowing sails (37 clier, 10 techyn); the tags on many a d (2, 24, 34), t (6, 40 trowest), and f (17) in final position; and the ever-present figure-8 g (11, 37).

The scribe's connection with MSS known to have belonged to John Shirley (1366?–1456), the zealous 15th century manufacturer of MSS, seems to be fairly well established. The marginal comments in the Harley 2251 copy of the Fall of Princes show in one case Shirley's spelling;

26 Many of these characteristics are enumerated by Hammond and Doyle in their articles on this scribe (see n. 23 above).
Trin. Coll. Camb. R.3.21, a collection from known Shirley MSS, partially in this scribe's hand, contains "a copy of Lydgate's _Verses on English Kings_ with an added Edward IV stanza [also found in Harley 2251 and Add. MS 34360], an epitaph on Humphrey of Gloucester (d. 1447), and a prayer to Christ in which Edward IV (d. 1483) is named as yet ruling." 27 Besides these, Royal 17.D.XV contains "a dialogue postdating 1459; a treatise by Sir John Fortescue, who died in 1476; a poem on Edward IV's recovery of the throne [1471]; and a copy of the _Book of Nurture_ by John Russell, usher to Humphrey of Gloucester." 28 Doyle, in adding four MSS to Miss Hammond's list by this scribe, confirms her dating: "These additions of mine tend to reinforce Miss Hammond's assignment of the scribe's activity to London in the reign of Edward IV (1460-83), and afford nothing to contradict her conclusion that 'these manuscripts were executed at closely contemporary date, and possibly in a scriptorium where two Shirley manuscripts at least, and other non-Shirley manuscripts, were simultaneously before the copyists'." 29 Manly and Rickert date this scribe's MSS of the _Canterbury Tales_ as follows: Royal College of

27 Hammond, p. 28. The information in brackets in the quotation is from Brusendorff, p. 182.

28 Hammond, p. 28.

29 Doyle, p. 434.
Physicians 13, 1460–80; and BM Royal 17.D.XV, 1450–80, the latter probably wrongly. 30

One of Doyle's additions to Miss Hammond's list is, of course, the MS presently under study here, Worc. Cath. F. 172. This manuscript has traditionally been dated at 1447, 31 though as early as 1907 Hulme recognized that the "handwriting is, to be sure, late—not much earlier than 1485" and that the date 1447, based on the statement on f. 166r at the end of the Winchelsey Constitutions, "Writen Anno domini milesimo cccxlvii," is unconvincing, as "several of the pieces bear fourteenth century dates," and "the dates may very easily have been attached to the Latin originals." 32

This date would do as a date for the original translation of at least some of the MS, but it is obviously not the date of the MS itself. Not only are none of the other MSS by this scribe quite this early, but the watermarks

30 J. M. Manly and E. Rickert, eds., The Text of the Canterbury Tales, Vol 1 (1940; rpt. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 439, 476–77. Royal MS 17.D.XV, ff. 167–272, is dated on the basis of a watermark "near Briquet 15054" (my italics), but there are many other watermarks which are also close to Briquet 15054, and this dating must therefore remain tenuous at best.

31 Floyer and Hamilton, p. 98; Cary, p. 15; Ross, p. 29 and n. 115; Magoun does not mention the Middle English Letter.

32 Hulme, Nicodemus, p. xlix.
on the paper are of a type which were in use "during the last twenty-five or thirty years of the fifteenth century."\textsuperscript{33} Besides, the date 1447 is more likely to be the date on which the three Constitutions which precede it in the MS were translated. This implies that the scribe was working from more than one MS, but there is evidence for that in his other work: "... how can we account for him except as a professional employed in a scriptorium or a publishing business, where many codices were in stock to furnish bases for reproduction?"\textsuperscript{34} It also implies that he has gone about his work in an unthinking fashion, but again there is plenty of evidence for that: "For it would seem, from an examination of his three copies of the Prioress' Tale only, that this copyist is the type of workman who transfers his original line by line, glancing at his archetype no oftener."\textsuperscript{35} He is, as Manly and Rickert describe him, "a dashing, head­long writer, omitting and inverting many words and misplacing passages, though some of his errors [are] inherited from his exemplars."\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{33}Doyle, p. 430.

\textsuperscript{34}It is of course possible that his exemplar was a composite MS, but what evidence there is of his habits of work would indicate a propensity for working himself from a variety of exemplars. The quotation is from Hammond, p. 29.

\textsuperscript{35}Ibid., p. 29.

\textsuperscript{36}The Text of the Canterbury Tales, Vol. 1, 440.
That the original translations in the MS are by a variety of people is fairly easily established. In the first place, the disparity of subject matter argues against a single translator. And there is the usual internal evidence: for example, the word "comelyng," invariably used as an incorrect translation of Lat. incolae in the Letter (see l. 103 and n.) is used correctly by the "amazingly incompetent"37 translator of the Constitutions in one of his clearer passages (f. 157r): "If any comelyng, pilgrym, or straungier of what maner condicioun, kynde, or state that he be, passith bi the Citee of London . . ."

But the most convincing argument against a single translator is the variation in the quality and style of the translations. On the one hand there is the clarity and fluidity of Petrus Alphonsi:

Suche a yong man ther was whiche al his entent and al his wit and yit moreover al his body set and put to knowe al the maner and craft of wymmen and this don nold no wif wedde. (f. 124v)

and of the "Duodecim Gradus":

Seynt Gregory the doctor saith that without mekenes it is unlieful to truste of foryevenes of thi synne. Also the same doctor saith that he that gadrith vertues without mekenes is like to a man that berith dust in his open hand in a grete wynde. For pe wynde berith ever the dust awe. (f. 44r)

Not quite as good as these, but still competent, is much

37Catalogue, p. 97.
of Hilton's "Scale of Perfection":

A contemplativ lif is in parfite love and charite seeled inward to live bi gostly vertues and bi sothfast knowynge and sight of god and gostly thynges. This lif longith specialy to theym whiche forsaken for the love of god al worldly riches worshippes and outward busynesses and holily gyven theym body and soule to their myght and their comyng unto the service of god bi gostly occupacioun. (f. 73r)

On the other hand there are the Ecclesiastical Constitutions (ff. 154v-166r), whose translations, as pointed out above, are sometimes unbelievably bad. Floyer and Hamilton give this example: 38

Latin: "Ultra portionem autem huiusmodi nihil valeant parochiales rectores curati et prelati exigere supradicti: neque illis dicti fratres amplius impendere sint astricti; neque ad id a quoquam possint aliiqualiter coerceri."

English: "Forsoth beyond the portion of this maner nought availen to parisshens parsons curatis and prelatis to issue abouesaide neither theym moreover the saide freris to do longeth so as straitly neither to go of the whiche or to so moche therinown any what to cohert."

The translation of the Letter (which will be dealt with in detail in Section VI below) lies somewhere between these two extremes of competence.

Such evidence as we have, then, points to a date for the MS in the latter half of the 15th century, and the probabilities point to the reign of King Edward IV (1460-83).

38Catalogue, pp. 97-98.
As for the translation itself, the only thing that can be said with certainty is that it was translated before the MS was written. We can be certain in a general sense of the *terminus ad quem*, which has to be the date of the writing of the MS; but there seems to be no way to arrive at a *terminus a quo*, either on the grounds already discussed or on linguistic grounds (see Section IV below), apart from the obvious fact that the translation is of the 15th century. I would guess at a date sometime in the middle third of the century, the traditional one of 1447 being as good, though as unprovable, as any other.

IV The Language

A detailed examination of the language reveals little more than the fact that it is an example of early Standard English. The following information is therefore meant to be indicative rather than exhaustive.

1. Noun plurals end in *-es, -is, and -is*; the weak plural is retained in *eyen* 20, 297, 766, and in *oxen* 177; the strong plural in *folk* 140, *folke* 479, 776, *feete* 607, and *teeth* 323.

2. Pronouns display no particular dialectical peculiarities.

3. Adjectives are uninflected except in the comparative and superlative degrees.
4. Verbs:
   (a) The Imperative Mood, Future and Perfect Tenses, and most uses of Auxiliary Verbs, are as in Modern English.
   (b) Infinitives most commonly end in -e, but there are a few with no ending (e.g., *to bihold* 99, *to fal* 224), and one or two with -en (e.g., *to clothen* 604, *to biholden* 661).
   (c) The Present Indicative is inflected as follows:
       Sing. 1. -e, 2. -est, -ist, 3. -ith, -yth, and -eth;
       Plur. 1. - 3. -en; the Preterite: Weak Verbs -ed, -id, and -t; Strong Verbs exhibit the normal ablaut gradations, have no endings in the singular, -en in the plural
5. Participles:
   (a) Present: -eng and -yng.
   (b) Past: Weak Verbs -ed and -t, with an occasional -id (e.g., *wreppid* 225); Strong verbs exhibit the normal ablaut gradations (e.g., *drunk* 288).
6. Negatives:
   (a) The particle nat normally follows the verb (e.g., *I trowed nat* 18-19), though it often precedes the verb when combined with another negative (e.g., *I nat trowed nor arretted* 594-95), and when the construction contains an auxiliary verb, it is placed between the auxiliary and the main verb as in Modern English (*thei wold nat* ___________
procede 209).

(b) The particle ne is sometimes used alone with the conjunctive force of "lest" (I saw the knyghtes to trede and throw the snow without furp, ne that utterly the hepyng of theym shuld drawe the cold in to the castels 503-05).

Obviously, in terms of language alone, the translation cannot be assigned to a particular geographical area.

V Orthographical and Other Scribal Peculiarities

The only remarkable orthographical peculiarity in the MS is the scribe's tendency (already referred to in Section III above) to spell certain words with an ie instead of an e (e.g., bien for ben 17, triewth for trewth 626). He displays the normal tendency to run the definite article into a noun beginning with a vowel or h + a vowel (e.g., thende 31, thost 131, but cf. the host 161). He occasionally uses a thorn instead of a th (e.g., pe 37, 406; pat (485 only), pem 572, and peir 209), very frequently at or near the end of a line, apparently often only to save space. When in his "dashing" way he runs words together which do not belong together, he separates them with a hurried slash (e.g., berith/or 22, whan/he 388, other/to 540). Above the Latin abbreviation m for 1000, he invariably places a
theta (e.g., xvi, m. 70).

His corrections are as unfussed-over as any other aspect of his work. Occasionally having omitted a phrase from his exemplar, he puts it in the margin (e.g. I assure the 34), in every case but one (water 148) indicating with a caret in the line where it should be placed. Where he has written only one incorrect letter in a word he merely writes the correct letter over the mistaken one (e.g., thikkenes 661 for wikkenes, see Pl. I, l. 8). If he makes a ditto graphical error, he simply crosses out the unwanted word (e.g., had browght with me 677 reads in the MS had browght me with me, see Pl. I, l. 21). If the error is one of near-omission, caught in the process of copying, he again simply crosses out the incorrect word (e.g., for to no man 683 the scribe originally wrote to ma and part of an n, and then realizing his mistake, crossed the word out and wrote noman: see Pl. I, l. 27).

VI Fifteenth-Century Translation and the Middle English Letter of Alexander

One need read only a few sentences of the Middle English Letter to realise that the translation is decidedly second-rate. It is so second-rate, in fact, that the wisdom of editing it at all might be questioned. There are, however,
some compelling reasons for doing so. First, the MS is almost certainly a unique Middle English version of a letter which was exceptionally popular and influential throughout the Middle Ages; second, many of the other vernacular versions of the Letter have been published or are at present being edited, and making the Middle English version of it available to scholars contributes a link of importance in this particular chain of Alexander literature; and third, bad translations are common in the 15th century, and this text is, therefore, useful in assessing at least some of the reasons why this was so.

These reasons are, of course, complex, and it is not always possible in a given instance to isolate one reason for a problem from another. Often the easiest type of problem to identify, though, is the one which results from a corrupt exemplar, especially when a similar MS to the one used by the translator has survived. From the point of view of the translation, problems due to a corrupt exemplar tend to break down into two kinds. There are, on the one hand, those cases where the translator has followed his exemplar in a corruption which is not apparent. Stephen Scrope, for example, in The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers, accepts the world "escolles" in an attribution to Hermes as the founder of "la science des escolles" and translates "the konnynge of

39 For editions, see n. 15 above, p. xiv.
scoles," because he could not know from the context that "escolles" is a corruption of "estoilles" (Lat. "stellarum").

On the other hand there are those cases where the translator has followed a corruption which is obviously incorrect, and has made no effort to rationalize a totally unjustifiable meaning. The following examples from Edward of York's Master of Game are cited by Workman in Fifteenth Century Translation as an Influence on English Prose:

French: "se au vespre ils soupent bien, au moins auront ils corrigié leur nature; quar ils auront pou mangié;" [omitting "au matin" between "ils" and "corrigié."]

English: "if they ete well at soper at leest they han well defied her nature for they have ete but a litel."

French: "... elle voit mal. Elle a grant paour [for pouvoir] de courre."

English: "She [the hare] hap euel syght and gret fere to renne."

A second typical reason for bad translation at this time arises out of the translator's having problems with the language of the exemplar. The roots of this situation, of course, are in the steadily decreasing competency displayed by the educated Englishman in Latin and French. This decline was evident in the second half of the 14th

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40 Bühler, p. li.

century as the vernacular asserted itself, increased in the 15th, and was not really arrested in terms of Latin, which is our primary concern here, until the classical revival toward the end of the century. Chaucer, for example, whose Latin was certainly reasonably good, and who earned from Deschamps the title of "grand translateur," anticipated 15th-century problems in his redaction of Boethius, which is full of mistranslation, of which the following is only one example: 42

Latin: "sed nimis e natura dictum est nescio quem filios imenisse tortores [sic]: quorum quam sit mordax quaecumque condicio, neque alias expertum te neque munc anxium necesse est ammonere."

English: "but it hath ben seyd that it is overmochel ayens kynde that children han ben fownden tormentours to here fadris, I not how manye; of whiche children how bytynge is every condicioun, it nedeth nat to tellen it the that hast er this tyme assayed it, and art yit now angwysshous."

About fifty years later, the translator of the Pauline Epistles made the following error (among many others pointed out by the editor 43):

In Rom. xi. 30, misericordiam consecuti estis, and in Rom. xi. 31, ut et ipsi misericordiam consequantur, the deponent verb is not only translated in the former instance by the English


passive voice, but in both the literal meaning of follow is preferred to the secondary meaning obtain that is required by the sense. The translations of these two passages are respectively: Je are mercy folwyd, and so pat pey schulden suve mercy; op. L.V. Je han gote mercy, and that also thei geten merci.

Scrope in one place renders the French "pere" as "stone" instead of "father," and Caxton, whose French was certainly better than average, on occasion makes the kind of mistake one would least expect, as in the following passage where he misunderstands the meaning of the word "temps":

French: "et prendre en soy honeste vie de boir et de mangier es droictes heures, d'entour prime et tierce, et de souper a heure convenable selon le temps."

English: "and to take on her honeste and sobrenes of mete and drynke in due tyme, as aboute the houre of tyerce, at myd day, at souper, at houre couvenable after the tyme."

Perhaps the fundamental reason for generally bad translations at this time, however, rests in the approach to and attitude toward prose composition in much of the original prose of the century. Workman has, I think, isolated the difficulty:

Until 1460 or 1470, the Middle English prose writers appear to have lacked the habit of associating pattern of thought with pattern of expression or form. Whether or not they

44 Bühler, p. lx.

45 Book of La Tour Landry, cited by Workman, p. 102.

46 Workman, p. 35.
perceived the full pattern of thought from its beginning, their attention to the form did not embrace the whole but was habitually concentrated only upon the part immediately under expression. In respect to form, their basic unit for composition in prose was the single statement, approximately the single construction or sentence member.

He does not, however, apply this sentence-member by sentence-member theory of composition to translation as well as original prose because he contends that 15th-century translations tend to follow their models in style as well as rhetoric. But one can grant the influence of Latin and French style and construction in the long term and still maintain that most 15th-century translations were done sentence-member by sentence-member.

The most convincing evidence for this approach can be seen in the frequent occurrence of various forms of anacoluthon, because shifts in sentence constructions are most likely to occur in translations done by the single sentence member. This fault is common throughout the century, examples are everywhere available, and these are merely typical:


Capgrave's St. Gilbert:
Latin: "processu ergo temporis, volente Domino dilatatae semen, quod ipse seminaverat in illis primis hujus vitae parentibus: multi divites et nobiles Angliae, comites et barones, videntes et approbantes opus quod inchoavit Dominus, et quae sequerentur bona praevidentes, fundos et praedia, possessionesque plurimas sancto patri optulerent."
English: "Thus be processe of tyme, be pe wil of our Lord God, pe seed which he had sowen be pe first faderes of pis weye, many rich men, noblemen of Ynglond, pat is to seye, Erles, Barones, and opir, seyng and approuyng pis wirk wheech God had begunne, and seyng be-for what goodnesse was disposed aftir, offred many possessiones to our fader Gilbert."

Mid-15th-Century Polychronicon:
Latin: "Alexander jam factus annorum duo-decim, inter exercitus et arma versari gaudebat, equis insiliens ut miles se exercebat."
English: "Alexander beenge of xij yere in age, ioyed to be conversante amonge hostes and armes, usenge to ride and exercisede the actes of chevallry."

Caxton's Blanchardyn and Eglantine:
Alimodes, seeng his enmyes cam a lande, and in so fayre ordonaunce y-sette of that one part, and of that other syde he sawe them of the cyte that cam wyth a grete puysaunce upon hym and his folke, It is well ynough to be byleued, that he was not well assured, 162/24.

Sentence-member by sentence-member translation can also be seen in the tendency to follow the word order of the Latin or French original. The following example is from the 1450 translation of the Imitation of Christ:

49Cited by Workman, p. 103.
Even Caxton occasionally falls into this sort of error, as in the following passage from the Fayttes of Armes:  

**French:** "lesquelles choses, pour exemple de se confermer a yceulx, se bon semble, sont a oyr propices et expediens."

**English:** "the whiche thynges for example to be conformed to theym yf they seme good ben for to be herde propyce and expedyent."

And Scrope's choice of "flie" for "mousche" in translating "comme la mousche fait qui eslu le meilleur de la fleur," would seem to be an extreme example of this sort of approach.  

So it is in this general 15th-century context that the translation of the Letter, I believe, must be considered. It has, of course, as I indicated earlier, more than its share of the ills of 15th-century translation, and it has them in profusion. It is not in this respect typical. Most 15th-century translations do not have its plethora of errors.

Wo is, first of all, a literal version of the Latin, a sentence-member by sentence-member translation, and

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51 Bühler, p. lxi.
an extreme example of what Workman would call a "stencil translation,"\(^{52}\) each phrase recast only enough to Anglicise somewhat the word-order and then transferred uncritically into the new-language version. Now this type of translation can result in a reasonably acceptable version of the original if the exemplar itself is largely uncorrupted. But when the exemplar is full of errors which often make its meaning tenuous at best, and these errors are translated uncritically, the result is bound to be less than satisfactory. The exemplar from which the translator of Wo made his Middle English rendition was a poor quality one, probably similar to BM Cotton Galba E XI (CG) and St. John's College Cambridge 184 (SJ), both of which Boer rejects in his selection of MSS for his critical edition, mainly because of their "vitia plurima."\(^{53}\) And the translator of Wo, no doubt unaware of the existence of better MSS in Latin, and in a curiously 15th-century way seemingly uninterested in producing more than a pedestrian text, strode boldly into this already confusing situation armed with a mediocre grasp of Latin.

This combination of problems has resulted in a Middle English text which is quite often only peripherally

\(^{52}\) Workman, p. 8.

\(^{53}\) Boer, p. XXIV.
intelligible. It is impossible, of course, to be exactly certain of the cause or causes of each particular case of peripheral intelligibility without having the actual exemplar used by the translator at hand. But it is possible, I believe, at least in some instances, to determine with a reasonable degree of certainty the cause of the problem.

The following tables have been compiled, therefore, to accomplish this end. Though it will be immediately obvious that some of the examples can be applied in more than one table, either because they contain more than one error or because they contain an error that could be due to more than one cause, I have in the interests of simplification considered them once only.

Three overall areas are examined: problems with the exemplar, problems with Latin, and problems with English.

1. Problems with the Exemplar

(a) Bad Exemplar

Bo: ... per novarum rerum cognitionem studio et ingenio possit accedere [\textit{MpoC} accidente] Wo . . . bi the knowlache of newe thynges bi busy studie and ingeny or wisdam might falle (8-10); Bo: Vidimus etiam plerosque pudore amisso suam urinam vexatos ultimis necessitatibus haurientes: Wo we sie theym sette and put in so ful shame, and their injurie vexed, drawyng to the uttermest necessite (185-87); Bo: \textit{cum [URRe Igitur]} ad primos lunae radiantis ortus subito erectis
caudarum aculeis a pascualibus Indici scorpiones consuetam petentes aquationem ad castra innumeris confluxere: Wo Therfor, at the first spryng or rising of the moone beames, sodanily arrectis, serpentis so named, with sharpe tailes, to sheperdis judgement cold scorpions, askynge to pe water, to the castels even flowed unnumerable (270-74); Bo: Quadrupedia multo vehementius vexabantur exituque scintillarum et titionum in [URRe titionum quibus in] terga [UB integra] venientium adurebantur: Wo The .i.ii.-footed beestis with many troubles wern gretly avexed in goyng out, with sparcles and leames to whom holl comyng theym brente (491-93).

(b) Misread Exemplar

Bo: en ne quid inusitatem haberes: Wo nothynge what thow hast thow doubtest or musest (imusitatem read as musitatem) 13-14; Bo: Tradidit mihi [URRe mihi tandem] minis plenam epistolam quam regi Alexandro darem: Wo Take ther was to me suche epistil gretly ful, whiche as to the kyng Alisaunder I shuld yeve it (minis read as nimis) 392-93; Bo: Tum ignes ex integro accenduntur et ab securis nobis epulae capiuntur: Wo Than the fuyres of holl brent and kyndeled and of sure and siker epistels taken (epulae considered an abbreviation of epistolae) 519-21.

2. Problems with Latin

(a) Confusion of Vocabulary

Bo: ex hoste Macedonibus in Herculis Liberique trophæa deduxit: Wo and the Macedoynes and me and Hercules my sone the spuyles bien brought (Liber read as liber) 407-09; Bo: pedum altos novem: Wo feete on high newe (novem read as novum) 474-75; Bo: ut poneret in Persarum et Babiloniorum terris pilas solidas aureas duas pedum vicenum quinum: Wo as that he commaunde and bidde[pe] the Perses and the Babiloynes as .i.i. holl ballis of gold to the height and gretnes havyng of .v. feete thei don to be made (pîla "ball" confused with pîla "pillar") 793-96.
(b) Idiom Not Recognized

_Bo:_ Mox contuli cum Indis manum superatisque his ita ut volebam erepta armis regna Poro restituis: _Wo:_ In maner, I have taken with Yndes the hand. And thiese thynges overcomen, so as I wil nat take awaye the armes of Porrus, the realmes I have restored (_conferre manum_ = "to do battle with") 401-03; _Bo:_ ut aliquot incredibile perspicerem negotium: _Wo:_ it may happen to have busynes to do uncredible (_negotium_ here = "difficulty") 554-55.

(c) Construction Mistranslated

_Bo:_ multis opibus regalibus ditati: _Wo:_ and many roial townes saide (_dicere_ confused with _ditare_; _opibus_ confused with some form of _oppidum_; the ablative ignored) 58; _Bo:_ Et sane miles ita locupletatus erat, ut vix ferre pondus auri posset: _Wo:_ And holl knyghtis wern so plentivous that unneth the1 myght bere the weight of gold (_sane_ confused with _saneus_ and somehow attached to _miles_, which should have been translated as a collective noun here because of the singular form of _locupletatus_ erat, which is also badly translated) 135-36; _URRe:_ nec mora trepidantes elephanti conversi sunt; quam plures saltus petere coeperunt hominum grunntibusque suum attoniti magis quam certamine pugne prioris: _Wo:_ Nor tripping oliphauntis to tarie bien turned as many as taken, and to aske, lepyng or skippyng with blowynges of men and crienges, and theym more astonyeth that with grete strif before foughten (the exemplar is probably confused here, but to translate _trepidantes_ as "tripping" and to turn the participle _attoniti_ into a finite verb without a subject is absurd) 463-66; _Bo:_ quod _URRe_ et quod nobis faustum felixque esset futurum _URRe_ add exercitum animavi: _Wo:_ and that of us Faustum and Felix bien to come in tyme of my lif and the host I have loved (the adjectives _faustum_ and _felix_ are translated as proper nouns) 749-50; _Bo:_ Acceptis igitur centum quinquaginta ducibus: _Wo:_ Therfor, taken _ccccl._ dukes (one of a number of places where the ablative absolute is badly handled—see also 496-97, 708-09) 111-12.
Problems With English

(a) Ellipsis of Subject

"And no while as with the wondres of waters we myghten bere batailes, bad to yeve signe and token with a trump apt to knyghtly jorney" (226-28);
"For thei wern to comparison of gretnesse of boolis, in grete murmur and noise smote the backes of standers-about, with hie cnobbis in maner shyneng, and in us maden a grete and a sodayne haste" (312-15);
"Than I thought stilly in mysilf if with tryumphs and overcomyng of al the world to my dere moder Olim-piade and my susters myght ageyn retorne" (667-69).

Note: At ll. 469-70 there is an ellipsis of the verb, which is a standard construction in the Latin, but it cannot be omitted without ambiguity in English:
Bo: Quieta nox fuit usque ad lucem omnesque somno reflecti: Wo A quiete and a restful nyght was unto the light of day, and al refresshed with sleepe.

(b) Pleonastic Pronouns

"While that I biholdyng of my partie to have falle that profitable counsailes, I dispised of friendis . . ." (125-27);
"Certainly, I biholdyng my felicite in signe and nombre of yowth out of mesure, I made joie" (143-44);
"Whiche I, a part with honours and worshippes and a part with many and grete yiftes, I made hem myrry . . ." (681-82);
"Of the whiche I, while as to the maner and tyme, I slow .viiii.m.cccccl., and so . . ." (788-89).

(c) Latin Word Order

Bo: vix suffectura tot variatibus rerum ipsa crediderim nomina: Wo unneth shuld suffice so many diversites and variaunces hem to bileve or trowe the names (25-26);
Bo: dignus efficiar: Wo worthy that I be found (29);
Bo: nec tot rebus experimenta necesse esset cognoscere: Wo neither so many thynges experimentis necessarie were to knowe (35-36);
URRe: Igitur inter ipsa tentoria gerebantur quedam me iubente impedimenta: Wo Therfor, among and bitwen tho tentis thei baren sum, me biddyng impe-dymentis (260-61);
II: sed solitos pisces cum
un\-gu\-ibus extraction [\textit{URRe} add ab aqua]: Wo but only fishes with their nails drawn out of the water (345-46).

\textbf{(d) Anacoluthon}

"And now I hope thou knowist nought as taken bost and veyne glorie of oure chivalrie, I assure the, which wold god their labours had bien lasse, neither so many thynges experimentis necessarie were to knowe" (33-36); "And Zeverus, moche lauded and praised at my benevolence, with worthy yiftes I have arraied" (152-54); "Than and while I and the host and the four-footed beastis thursted, I bad anon castels to be set doun of \textit{pe} wey, settis whiche while thei settin doun, ther to quenche coveityng their thurst, I tastid the water of the floode" (161-65); "It eekid morre for dume beastis than for our necessite or neede, while in mannnes woodenes in al thynges I ageyn knowe than beastis" (166-69); "But I wist bi the buystous and beastous serpentyne places to be to us a straunge jorney, and nat unavised and unprudently to be compassed aboute in sodayne peril, lest wee wern shamed" (196-99); "Eftsones, and to us shewyng the place, and expres-syng bi name to us, saide and tolde thei, and the same grete ponde of the most swettest and fresshest water founden" (235-38); "So as long while as xv. fuyres wern kyndeled and brent of woode sufficient, whiche ther \textit{perto} was copious" (265-67); "And eftsones when I saw hem holl, like to metal complete, and freely Hercule with cast doun sacrifices it me pleasing" (412-14); "Kyng Porrus affermed to me to take theise to the use of bataile, and lightly thow maist turne from horsmen if thow bete hem busily" (459-62); "It profited them only sum to the fuyre, with whiche utterly the snowes wern quenched" (508-09).

\textbf{(e) Other Problems}

A few other problems common to 15th-century translation make their appearance here. There is the usual doubling of words: e.g., "bihold and seen" (18), "encres or ekyng" (502), "ne enquire ne aske" (741); the use of
Englished Latinisms: e.g., "ingeny" (9), "convenient" (12), "abiestes" (158), "lucan" (335), "anceps" (571); one example of a causative "do" ("In the moneth of May, Darius the kyng of Perse, at Gages did do examyne above and indicioun taken of al his regioun" 55-57); the occasional abstract noun used in a concrete sense: e.g., "chivalrie" = "knights" 34; and a tendency to overuse "which" clauses:54 e.g., about half the subordinate clauses in the first one hundred lines of the text are "which" clauses.

VII A Note on the Text

The transcription was made from photostats of the MS and compared in cases of doubt with a microfilm. The punctuation, capitalization, and to some extent the division of words, have been made to conform to modern practice, as has the distinction between i and j. Abbreviations, which are relatively few in number—most commonly a missing -er in per-, ver-, or her-, a suppressed nasal, as in Macedonû, or a contraction such as ²t (²at), or ³t (³with)—are expanded without notice. The thorn (þ) has been retained wherever it occurs. There is no occurrence of yogh (ʒ), ð, or wynn (ƿ) in the MS.

Emendations have been kept to a minimum. The addition of material into the text is indicated by pointed

54 Workman, p. 30.
brackets \( \langle \rangle \) and a note at the bottom of the page (e.g., l. 82); in the two places where a more substantial emendation has been made (ll. 495 and 742) the reading of Wo is given in the textual note. Square brackets \( [ ] \) are used to enclose matter which is redundant. All emendations are, of course, mine, as the text has not been edited before.

In the explanatory notes the reading of Boer's edition (Bo) has been given where this clarifies the meaning of Wo. Variants given by Bo, usually URRe, are cited along with Bo when comparison seems valuable, and alone when Wo is closer to the variant reading than to Bo.
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Incipit epistola Alexandri magni regis Macedonum ad
magistrum suum Aristotilem.

Alwey I am myndeful of the also among the perels and doubtes of our batels, most diere comaundour, and after my moder and susters most acceptable. Forwhi I knowe the lierned in philosophie, I write to the of the regiouns of Ynde and the state of hevene, and of the unnumerable of serpentis and of men and wield bestis. I have estemed bi the knowlache of newe thynges bi busy studie and ingeny or wisdom might falle, whiche the with holl prudence and non help[ith] askith bi reason of doctryne, whiche of the and of thi world of tymes to come is convenient. So as my deedis tnow knowest, whiche thow lovist -- nothyng what thow hast thow doubtest or musest -- th tho thynges whiche that in Ynde I have bien hold with grete perel, and many labours I have suffred and past, I have trowed to write to the. And as thei bien worthy to be had in mynde, and in many maners to be kept, inasmoche as I have bihold and seen, I trowed nat or believed to any man of so many woundres but that with myn eyen I have proved al thynges underdon.
It is a wunderful lond, and moder of so many
goode thynges; berith or she is a conceivers of e/vil thynges;
and beryng hir thynges openly, as fruytes, metals, and
beestis, whiche though thei al wern at the sight a man to
biholde, unneth shuld suffice so many diversites and vari-
aunces of thynges hem to bileve or trowe the names. But I,
whiche of thiese thynges first have knownen, shal speke to
yeve the werk nat as to Fables, fonned speche, and lesyng,
worthi that I be founde. And forsothe, the nature of my
soule and lif thow knowest, of whiche thow art comandour,
nat ignoraunt me of custom to kepe the terme and thende of
equite, and more scarsly to speke than the deedis be don.
And now I hope thow knowist nought as taken bost and veyne
glorie of oure chivalrie, I assure the, whiche wold god
their labours had bien lasse, neither so many thynges
experimentis necessarie were to knowe. I do thankynes to
be strength and vertu of the yonge kynges of Macedony, and
unconvict or overcomen in our host, forwhi thei han persevered
(my pacience as that I (am) cald kyng of kynges. That
my title I sende to glad the, my most derrest comaundour, if
doubte I trespass, and from error with pite of myn and thyn.
But to the, as Olimpiade my moder, and my susters, of everiche
of my realmes I shal write, of the comoditees whiche to the

39. No gaps in Wo.
and theym to be comune I arbitre, and that but if thou do
45 litel of us and simply thou seemest to deme.

The former and first lettris I signified and
marked to the of the sonne and moone and of the eclips, and
of the constance of the skies and jugementis of the aire,
the whiche nat withoute grete charge and cure ordeigned to
the I have sent. And these newe histories, now implied and
folden, al the deedis and writynges I shal commende. The
whiche whan thou ageyn redist, wite and know thou to be of
suche charges whiche of thy Alisaunder thou hast fully
charged and decreed.

55 In the moneth of May, Darius, the kyng of Perse,
at Gages dide do examyne above and indictioun taken of al
nis regioun. With our ordynaries and preparatories we nan
purposed of thest provinces and many roial townes saide, as
in the first epistle I signified to the. And now nat in
manyfold writynges the former deedis now before knownen I
passe over.

Also, in thend of the moneth of Jully, we cam
curteisly into Ynde, wher with wouder hast Porrus the kyng
was devict and overcomen, of whos myghti men and richesses
with kyngly juels and vessel we bien repyleete. But as that
thow knowe tho thynges whiche seemen to me worthy to bien
remembred, sum I have known forwhi memoratiefly it was.
And eveene it is to me to describe and write in my bosum of
his unnumerable host in the whiche weren / so grete plente;

that is to say, more than .xvi. m. of horsmen withoute footemen, and .viii. c. of waynes and cartes charged with abilementis of werre, and .xi. c. oliphauntes, and al taken, whiche upon sette with touris upon their backis in the whiche weren men of armes castyng dartis and speris. That kyngly citee with the house of Porrus we invaded and went, in whiche weren pilers of gold, holl and of to moche gretnes and of height, with their chapitels to the maner of .cccc. We nombred the wallis of gold with platis of .xvi. fyngier gretnes, whiche as I wold esteemed it to sum other placis, I fil bitwene a vyne and a soler of gold and silver, bitwene the pilers hangyng, of whiche I was awoundred, in whiche the levis wern of gol\ld and the braunchis of cristal, and the byndynges wern bitwene sette to the distinccionum of smaragdis. The chambres and the beddis al of grete margarites to grapes and charbuncles wern garnysshed and arraied. The doores wern wondirly white, of ivory and byynes whiteden, and shone in lakis and with the hedis of cipres, of whiche place in signe and token of laurer and in bathis wern with gridirs of holl gold statued and ordeigned. Of unnumerable tresour withyn the house and without the dores and wallis, unnumerable kyndes of divers colours therfrom erred. Among whiche weren large and brede plates of gold with nailes, and

82. Wo god Bo aurea
beelis of briddis in idel as for in earns, with bies and
onches whiche with grete margarites ooned, beryng many
gemmes and cristalynes gretely light; and shynyng vessels
portatief, and sextaries, and many other thynges gold ther
we fond, and sieldsen silver.

Whiche in to our power brought and kept, coveityng
to bïhold and see the inner Ynde with al and universal Yaatis
of Caspie by the lovyng and lusty host. Wher with the most
fertile and plentivous regioun I awounred of the felicite,
elate with suche a jole that I cam to such worthi placis,
whiche that the comelynges of that regioun bifor said unto
that we fal nat among serpentis and so many kyndes of wield
bestis, whiche many of hem dwellen and enhabiten in thiese
fieldis, valeys, and high mountayns, in woodis, rokkes, and
dennes bien hidde.

But I, as the flight of the bataile of Porrus,
whiche first I folowed bifore that he went in to the desertes
and wildernesses, most compendious lond of al the world,
more than siker and sure jorney wold I to cheese. Therfor,
taken .ccccl. dukês whiche knewen the shortnes of the jorneyis
in the moneth of August, the sande and gravel bi fervence of
the sonne and nedy placis of moisture I am past, garnisshed
and arraied thiese with rewardis and yiftis, whiche lierned
and ledde us thurgh the regiouns bi unkouth and unknownen
placis, shut and / closed with myn holl host in Bactaricen,
a place so named, bi whiche utturly thei brought us bi hidde
places, wner and in whiche the folk of the cuntrey griewen
and eten the levis of trees, and of the mosse and barkes of
trees made hem clothis. But thei, more enemys to theymsilf
than to me lenyng favour, wenten as we in to excessiblete
of serpentis and ravenyng wield and woode beestis, unknowen
kyndes of regiouns in brought and ledde, whiche thei had
thought shulden have shewed experymentis. While that I
bıholdyng of my partie to have falle that profitable counsailes,
I dispised of friendis, and in likewise of men of Caspie,
whiche bıfor saide and told to me nat so hastily to overcome,
as to me was no victorie to go or come bytwene.

I bad and comaunded to al the knyghtis clad in
armure folowe thost. Therfor, that nat of a litel ravyne
and robbery of gold and precious margarites and stones that
thei drewe and drof, it was to drede lest hid and prevy
enemys as victours theym assawted to take their thynges
from hem. And holl knyghtis wern so plentivous that unneth
thei myght bere the weight of gold. It fil alse nat a litil
hevynes of armes, forwhi I al with plaatis of gold enclosed,
so as al' the host insomoche wrapped as the skie shynnyng,
with there beames with gold in tokens, foloweden with
signes and banners. Ther was also of diversitees a mirror
into bıhold such an host whiche was redy and likly arraied,
and to honours, worshippes, and strengthe among other folk
enhaunsed. Certainly, I b holdyng my felicite in signe and nombre of yowth out of mesure, I made joie.

But as sumwhat more fully in depnes of worldly thynges, cast out and fil to us a grete and hevy thurst to labour, whiche that -- and as now unneth we sustene — the knyght Zeverus founde to me water in an holow stone, of the whiche he brought to me a golden healme. But he knowyng my soule, counsailed more his owne. Than I cald the host openly and shed the water, ne that my drynkeng shuld cause the knyght to take the more thurst. And Zeverus, moche lauded and praised at my benevolence, with worthy yiftes I have arraied. Whiche thyng with ful soule don, the host I ordeigned to the best jorney.

Nat fer from me in desert placis a floode to me appiered, whos hithes was clad with riede of .lx. feete pynes and abietes, whiche bien trees of the woode; thei overcame the strength and gretnes to make edifices and housying therof — the comelynges of that place useden.

Than and while I and the host and the foure-footed beestis thursted, I bad anon to castels to be set doun of pe wey, settls whiche while thei setten doun, ther to qwenche / coveityng their thurst, I tastid the water of the floode, bitterer than elebor or elder, that neither I ne no maner beeste myght drynke without grete turment. It eekid morre for dum beestis than for our necessite or neede,
while in mannes woodenes in al thynges I argyn knowe than beestis.

170 Wonder to me was whiche drewen the gold: oligphantis of to moche gretnes to the manner of a .m.; and .1111.c. waynes of hors al charged with gisarmes; forsooth, of cartis .mm.; the host of horsmen .xxx11.m.; of footemen .l.m.; of mulis, gelded, to the number of <a> .m.,

175 that drowen knyghtes harneys; of camels aboute .mm., and of dromedaries .v.c., and bugles .mm., and of hors charged thynges of service or servyng to divers uses; of oxen whiche drewen whete .mm.; of harneys berers, triewly to thuse of flessh, cotidianly in grete nomber folowed the remenaunt in hors, mulis, camels, and oligphantis; and with golden bridels lusty, and to us a litel victorie, and inspired in tho beestis suche a thurst that unneth thei myght contene or endure. And the knyghtis now and than likyng their harneys, now tastyng oile, hard in any maner as thei cowde to take awey or to differre the thurst, we sie thaym sette and put in so ful shame, and their injurie vexed, drawyng to the uttermest necessite, whiche thyng wrang and troubled me in double wise.

First, of the state of pe host more than of myn owne peril I was right busy. Eftsones I bad and comaunded that the armed men shuld folowe the felawship, and for a

174. No gap in Wo
lawe I saide it, as my soule me advertised, whiche were nat
195 taken in the host clad in lawful clothis, signes, and tokens,
whiche and that they gretely woundred that so where non
host appiered what neede it was in suche a thurst to entre
in to armes. But I wist bi the buystous and beestious
serpentyne places to be to us a straunge jorney, and nat
unavised and unprudently to be compassed aboute in sodayne
peril, lest wee wern shamed.

200 Therfor, folowyng the huyth of the floode unto
the .viii. hour of the day, we cam to a towne whiche in the
myddis of an ile compassed aboute. Of thiese reedis, whiche
a litil before we discrived, was it edified and made. A
fewe men of the Yndes (half naked) we called, whiche with
sight of us, anon incontynent withyn their covertis hidden
hem in the toppis. Of whose presence I desiryng, as fressh
and swete water to me unknowen, thei shulden shewe. Non
appieryng, I comaunded to cast a fewe arowis in the citee,
as if thei wold nat procede and go furth of thei owne goode
wil, to be coarted and driven furth bi dreede of bataile.
So moche the more thei al for the dreede, a long while no
man appiered. I sent .cc. knyghtis, lightly armed swymmers
of the Macedoynes, to swymme the compas aboute. And now whan
thei hadden swymmed and rowed the .1111. part of the floode
aboute, sodamly was seen horrible and grisely pinges.

f.140v / Elipnauntis, more of bodies than epothanis, among the
depthis of waters appiereden drowned. Ravishyng swolowes in the top of cruel peyne toke us unto wepyng. I than so wroth with the ductors and leders that brought us in thiese assautis, I bad of thiese to put .cl. in the floode. To whom so hunshid, punshid, and shoved at to swyymmeng and rowyng, and unaware of thiese rede epotanis worthi and just peyne to bere, but to the double number of devourers and swolowers more than was afore to hope therof to fal or happene to mete. Wheras thei appiereden wrappid with pissemers or amptes to be shed out bi the floode. And no while as with the wondres of waters we myghten bere batailes, bad to yeve signe and token with a trump apt to knyghtly jorney. What, forsoth, profiteth it to dwel or abide in suche a thursti

Therfor, at the .x. houre of the day, what tyme we made jorney, we sawe men by half the compas, made by jugement of charite, of the rounde reedis smale litel botis, whiche with fressh waters wher thei myght be founden in their langage and tungc thei tolden us. Eftsones, and to us shewynge the place, and expressynge bi name to us, saide and tolde thei, and the same grete ponde of the most swettest and freshest water founden, whiche thei and we, .l. dukes and ductors or leeders, eftsones wern to be lad. And forwhi so many obstacles and evils to us don, al the nyght we walked with thurst and charge of armure and harneys evyn
made. Of whiche necessites and needis and tho incomodites was eeked and thrown to, forwhi al the nyght with hast of liouns, beres, tigres, panters, and linxes, redily and toguyder we withstooode. Whiche kynde of beestis so medled mette us in the woode, insomoche that at the houre aboute .viii. in the day after, whan forsorth as now utterly with thurst we feynted and failed, we cam to the forsaide ponde. That was corowne with the most eldest woode and moste habundaunt, shewyng the space of .m. pas. Whan, forsorth, that I drank of this fressn and sweete water, I joied. Swiftly pe beestis and the werkbeestis with the host after habundauntly and plenteovously wern refresshed. And with the manner of the .iiii.-footed beestis and the knyghthod refresshed, I bad the castels to be set and gadered in the space of .xxii. stadies in length and as moche in breede. The whiche hastaly don, I bad to cut the woode and to felle, as the more lightly the water-berers and waterers of hors and beest myghten have their cours and goyng unto the ponde, forwhi only in tho reégions was. Therfor, among and bitwen tho tentis thei baren sum, me biddyng impedymentis and the oliphantis in the myddil partie of the castels wern chosen and gadred, as the more / apt thei myghten contene and endure if any hap or cas of dreede ros or sprang in the nyght, or of any other newe strif. So as long while as .xv. fuyres wern kyndeled and brent of woode sufficient, whiche
ther perto was copious.

The hour and tyme of the day therof .xI., I comaundde the knyghtis ther to take mete with lampis of gold light to pe maner and nombre of .mm. Therfor, at the first spryng or rising of the moone beames, sodanily arrec- tis, serpentis so named, with sharpe tailes, to shepherdis judgement cald scorpiouns, askyng to pe water, to the castels even flowed unnumerable. And forsoth to noisaunce thiese woundres bien. Forsoth, in every hour of the nyght under hem, holl is the felawship, with unmesurable horned serpentis of variable and dyvers colours distinct avexed. Sum, forsoth, wern with rede scalis, sum with nailes of white colour, sum to gold shyneng like to biholde, hissed and whistled to al the regioun, and to us nat brynggyng in a litel dreede. But the front of the castels we thikkeden with healmes and basenettis, and in our handis we hadden long battis, staves, and speris. Of the<se> weren in sette with the most sharpest prikes and stikynge instrumentis, and thus we put to flight thiese pestelent thynges, and with many fuyres theym noied, slow, and brent. Whiche thynges in so mooche werk hield us nygh .11. houres.

The water drunk, lasse serpentis bigan to go, and with only grete joie our derk and hid placis axeden. And whan it was com to the third hour of the nyght, sumwhat

283. No gap in Wo
we hoped rest, of .11. and .111. heded beestís, craasted
to jugement, with the gretnes of pilers sumwhat more than
the former, to drynke the water wenten and camen out of the
dennys of the next and nygh mountayns, and with their

295 scaled mouthís drawyng the moisture, whos brestitís wern
areised, with threfold tunges exerciseden and wipyng their
checkis, with eyen sparklyng venym, and of whos breth was
veray pestilence. And with taíese more than an hour we
faught, and .xxx. servauntis and .xx. knyghtís we lost. I

300 praised the Macedonyes that for non unhappy cause or diversite
desí shuld nat fall ne faile in perel of lif and soule, that
than and of their hard pacience al thynges intended and take
heede to shal yielde to the werker. After, serpentís in
the litelnes of crabbis, and a grete multitude of cocodrilles

305 with skynnes covered, turned to the castels, whiche with
their wounderful harde backes and cotes dulleden 1rn. Many
with fuyre only wern brent, and many on toke hem to the pondé.

Now we in the wacchís and unrest of .v. nyghtís
with a trump amoneshid and warned to reste. Than sodanily

310 sprang[h] and ros a tumulte and a voice and a gaderyng in

f.141v an hepe in the derke and blyndenes of the nyght, that / alwe
yielded us astonyed. For thei wern to comparison of
gretnesse of boolís, in grete murmur and noise smote the
backes of standers-about, with hie cnobbís in maner shyneng,

315 and in us maden a grete and a sodayne haaste. And except
and ontake tho that fel b1 maner of huntyng, thiese pursueden bores, of the grettest forme and maner livyng, thrown from the valey wrapped with horrours, with wounder grete dreadis, myxt and medled with many spottis, linxes, tigres, and horrible pantes, with al thiese here and there medled bataile now, no pestilence to be comparisoned. And also backes of grete strength, like in body evyn to duffes, in tymes smoten us in the facis, havyng teeth in maner of men, of whos chiere and smytyng knyghtis weren defouled. On, moreover, of a newe kynde of beestis appierid, more than oliphauntis, armed in the forhede with 211. hornes, whiche of the Yndes is cald the Toth of Tiranntis, with an hede like to an hors, beryng 211. colours. Thiese the water drank biholdyng the castels. Yaven in us a sodeyne haaste, thei fuyrly of made, brennyng flockes hangyng. To that suisteyned, when I withset with the handis of Macedonyes, 226. was slay, 211. whiter and wevers, and of divers of shynyng clothis was made. Unneth only the last fixed with hunters perished.

Therof and from that, bfore lucan a litel tyme, with white lecherous beestis havyng dyvers colour in maner of girdelis, with whiche myse, to sight and shewyng like unto foxes, wenten in to the castels. Of whos bityng 21111.-footed beestis wern wounded and anon deiden. Men with the same bityng gretely noled, but nat unto the deth.
Than nyghen, the daylight of nyght, crowes
(huntyng briddis like unto vulturis over-grete in body) over-
comyng, hem white of color with sharp billes and blac feete,
that and al the huyth of the same ponde was evene ful, no
noysaunce doyng to us, but only fisses with their nailes
drewen out of the water. Whiche briddes we for their fiersnes
neither to flight neither to do away we wern hardy nor durst.
At the last, forsoth, with drie nailes, thei went from our
fight. Therfor, than, the shewers of placis, whiche alwey
brought and ledden us bi assautis, doyng to theym after
their merites and deservynges, bad punysshe theym to the
turment of the cros, as in the nyght folowyng with the
strength of blowers and serpentis bien thei consumed and
wasted, as thei oughten and wildcard to have consumed us. And
the handes of hem to fastene I bad, as to the merite and
rewarde for their deedis per to usen turment.

Therof had graunt and counsel as of theym
that wern the strengest knyghtis, ne that non adversites
as to wymmens houses thei infallen, with castels content at
the sodayne blowynge of / the trumpe, with the blastis of the
wynde I have intended, herof gadered of barbaryns and of
Yndes with their strengthis I knewe newe batailes to conspire.
But my knyghtis wern of grete soule whatsoever wounderful
to whiche, and feelyng of victories, with their strengthis
thei overcam it and put it underfoote. Therfor, placis of
most perilous batailes unnoy arraied and harneised, the way
and jorney therof we traden doun, and to the placis of the
Bactaryynes with gold and plenteous richessis we cam by.
And except of the goodely felawshippis of the Percians, the
next adjacent and liggyng to in the field with castels in
to repairyng to bataile, I ordeigned .xx. daies idel made.

With the maner of .1111. daies jorney we cam bi
wher with as the chosen Porrus considered to lierne the
host more neer than to fight. Forwhi and the felawship to
us openly knewen enemyes, he hath yeven the power, coveityng
to know me and my knyghtis therof of the felawshippes. Thei
askiden wher I was and what I dide; whiche as incerteyne
thei aunswerden hym al his askynges, herd ther referreden,
and told to the grete kyng of Macedony. I mysilf toke and deposed
and laide doun every habite and clothyng of knyghthod, and cam
in to his castels as oon to be sum flessh, lest in hap
Porrus biheld me inquiryng and askyng me what Alisaunder
doeth, or of what age he were; whom japing theym with lesyng,
as to an elderman in pe whiche our duke in his tabernacle
with a fuyre kyndeled, refresshith hym bi the heete with
swift joie. Forwhi as with decrepite and croked age he
were commyttted and fordon with batail, nat but litel drod
as he was whan he was yeven to yowth. "What therfør and
whi biholdest thow now his age?" I have answerd hym only
to that proposicioun: "I wote nat what Alisaunder doeth
when I was a lover and a knyght in the host of the Macedonyes."

Take ther was to me suche epistil gretly ful, whiche as to the kyng Alisaunnder I shuld yeve it. Praier is made and reward to me shewed, to whom I have saide sweryng in tyme to come as in his handis this lettres shuln com by. Eftsones, and redy in the castels, and before that I red, and after that I had rad the epistil, eftsones I was gretly dissolute.

Of whiche to the and to my moder and sisters, as the pride and the doute of the barbaryns inclyned and bowld doun, of wonderful example I have transmytted and sent over.

In maner, I have taken with Yndes the hand.

And these thynges overcomen, so as I wil nat take awey the armes of Porrus, the realmes I have restored. Whiche, as he overcomen the honour and worship, is yoven unto me his tresours. He hath manifestly shewed the / which I knew nat. Of the whiche me and my knightis and al pe host bien made riche, and made is to me a friende of an enemy, and the Macedoynes and me and Hercules my sone the spuyles bien brought. In the est, forsoth, in the last partes, wern ordeigned simulacres of gold of either or both goddis, whiche if thei wern holl or nat I coveityng to knowe, badde hem al to be bored and perced. And eftsones when I saw hem holl, like to metal complete, and freely Hercule with cast doun sacrifices it me plesed.

From thens further to go if any what of memoratif
or wunderful thyng we myght bihold, nothyng sauf desert
unto the oceean, fieldes and woodes and mountayns, we herd,
in whiche to be olphantauntes and serpenntis the1 saiden. Than
I went to the west occean see to rowe or to shippe. Forwhi
that to me the comelynges affermeden to me derk to wade in,
and that Hercules and free sones wern hardy and redy to tempt
pe goddis of their maners and paces or goynges. And added
to this, and to say that wonder unapt, to be more willyng
theym to see above the power of mortal men that wold go
further than tho holy steppis. To whos merite, with honours,
worshippes, lawdis, and praisynges, I ordeigned to serche
the lift part of Ynde, that nothyng to me be withdrawn of
placis unknowen. With King Porrus it seemyth nat withdrawyng,
nor to covere the hid goodis of his realme. And so openly
at the lift side of his realme was drie and habundaunt wit
reedis, by the whiche, whan we tempted to passe bi, a newe
kynde of devourers wenten out with ragged backes, nayng
.11. hedis, that oon like to the moone, with a short brest
of a cocodril beryng, that other harneised and arraied with
the most hardest teeth, that .11. knyghtis hedis sodanily
slow at 00 stroke. The whiche unneth only with yrn hamers
and mallis myght bruse, breke, or make lasse, forwhi with
glayves we availeden nought in hem to fastene, and long
woundred of that newe thyng.

From thens we cam to the last woodis of Ynde,
wher with castels b1 the space of .l. stadies in length and .xx. in breede we dido do gader and cheese aboute the compas of Brunar, a place so cald. We wold and hoped to han fed under the tyme of the nyght, the houre of the day .x11. than past, whan as sodayne dreede and abasshement of tilers and woode-hewers for dreede camen al toguyder, exhorting us as in al the haste to take armes, saleng to come in the woodis unmesurable flockis of oliphauntis to empugne the castels. I comande the Tessalias to ride and light on hors, and with hem thei token (of custom of pe whiche I knew) a grete taile of bestis, and to renne and meete as to the first cours of oliphauntis. From thens I comaunded and bad other with axes and glayves armed to folowe the horsmen, and tubicynes and trum/pers to be in the first host of the bataile of hors, forsoth, assautyng to go bifore, al foote-men to remayne and abide in the castels. Porrus kyng, as he and his horsmen procedyng, I saw the host of beestis in us areised for to be kept, tendyng of whos backes wern of divers colours, white, rede, and blac. Kyng Porrus affermed to me to take thiese to the use of bataile, and lightly thow maist turne from horsmen if thow bete hem busily. Thei shul nat withstande that it be nevertheless don. Nor trippyng oliphauntis to tarie been turned as many
as taken, and to aske, lepyng or skippynge with blowynge of men and crienges, and theym more astonyeth that with grete strif before foughten. Of whos horsmen fil in maner on knees we slowgh ca..cccclxix., and withdrowe out the hornes and teeth. In signe and token charged I cam to the castels spuyled. A quete and a restful nyght was unto the light of day, and al refressshed with sleepe.

First from thens in the morow erly we to go went into the regiouns of that other Ynde. Ther also shewed to us in the field men and wymmen hered in maner of wield beestis. Al the bodyes we saw naked, havyng feete on high newe. Thiese the Yndes callid Faunos. Thiese of custom drowen more to the floodis of waters, and lividen only bi raw fissh and drynyng of water, whiche whan we wold go to nem, thei torneden there to the next floodis to drowne hemsilf. From thens we fond the woodis ful of folke cald Cenophals — half hors, half man — whiche tempted to be verry to fight, but their darts cast, token hem to flight. Now to us entryng the desert places, nothyng worthy to fight from that Yndes above was to be brought. Therfor, eftsones to the west signes and tokens I comaunded to turne, as of somoche from pat place of .xii. myle the next castels we settent to watery placis. Now al the tentis wern areised, and with grete and large fuyre kyndeled, as sodanily thest wynde with such a strength of blast aros that
al the tabernacles and other edifices, the more with the
lasse, to the maner of us gretely astonyed, fil doun to
grounde. The .1111.-footed beestis with many troubles wern
gretly avexed in goyng out, with sparcles and leames to whom
holl comyng theym brente. And while so I busied the
knyghtis, forwhi in the nyghtis tyme it fil nat the wrath
of the goddis, and the moneth of October with pe gynyng of
Autumpne or hervest. Unneth gadred the charges and burthens
of the holl into a more apt valye, we fonde the seete of
castels; and al thynges ordeigned, I comaunded to al the
knyghtis to sowpe, forwhi and thest wynde fil.

But in the eventide a gret colde encreased. To
fal in the nyght in the maner of wulflocks unmesurable
snowes bigan. Of whos enores or eyng, dredyng lest the\(1\)
shuld hepen in castels, I saw the knyghtes to trede and
throw the snow without furp, ne that uttirly the hepyng
of theym shuld drawe the cold in to the castels. But what
saide I? Evene neede to me in the saide fulfilyng, evene
to withdrawe the cold uttirly, sum bien underdryven to the
deth. It profited theym only sum to the fuyre, with
whiche uttirly the snowes wern qwenched. Than was ther
oothyng to grete helth, that in a moment of tyme whan thiese
snowes wern fall, a rayne than comyng upon largely, the

495. gynyng of Autumpne  Wo gynithe of Autumpne
502. No gap in Wo
nowes disappiered, whom drie clowdis underfolowyng. Than folowed after that brennyng clowdis from the hevene as brondis to descende, as with the kyndelyng of hem al the field was brennt. We shamed to say that the wrath of pe goddis us overpressed, that I a man and Hercules wer knowen to passe the steppis. Also I bad the knyghtis to cut their clothis and cast hem in the fuyre. Than a cliere nyght anon contynuauly was graunted to oure praiers. Than the fuyres of holl brennt and kyndeled and of sure and siker epistels taken. The .111. day ther to us, forsoth, there abidyng without cliere sonne-light, alwey to us appiered hangyng with the thretyng or manacyng clowde, and to the nombre and maner of .v.c. knyghtis buried, whiche perisshiden among the snowes.

I comaunded the castels from thens to be chaunged, forwhi and for the chaunges of the saide hevene. And from the occian, in Ethiope we saw the mountaynes Ethneos, and the denne or cave of pe whiche many grete woundres herd and told. Forwhi the thrid day of fevers or acces thei dien whiche presumen to entre unreligiously. That openly we proved the deth of hem was don, whiche to entre without religioun and holy yiftes the denne presumed, so also therfor mekely I prayed the names, as me kyng of al the londis of the world, with the high spuyles of victory, overcomen in Macedony to Olimpî, that is my moder, the thyng shyne or be
shewed. But alas for sorowe vaynly me to aske that this
with order I have knowen. Therfor, inquiryng if be what
wey I myght see to this worthy wounder or the memories, and
of al the doutis nothyng other to mynde in theym myght be
founde in tho placis that than we knowe, the lord than the
signes and tokens therof curteisly I comaund to famaistufl
yeer. The blast folowed.

So while the felawship toke jornoy I lad under
tokens and signes, .11. auncient men wern made and don us
metyng. Whom and whiche whan I had asked hem if thei knewe
in that regioun a worthy myrrour or spectacle memoratif to
me, thei anwerden to be awey of .x. daies jorney and no
more where that / I myght if that I wold see mervails. But
it was hard thider to go, for the penurite and scarste of
water, and many other impedymentis, if that I wold go thider
with al myn host. Furthermore, thei saiden, if that I
ladde with me .xl.m. men in a felawship for the beestious
placis that ther was, it may happen to have busynes to do
uncredible.

Heryng these thynges with a glad soule: "Say
yee," sumwhat and ever to me of mannes lawe mylkyng theym,
"what this myght be that to me so nobly and so shynengly
and so gretly ye shewen." Whan that oon of theym was
gladded, with fair voice me trusted, saide: "Whatsumever
kyng thow art, thow shalt see ther .11. trees, oon of the
sonne, another of the moone, spekyng to the in Ynde and Greeke tunge, wherof the tree of the sonne is masculyne, and the tree of the moone is femynyne. Of thiese pinges triewly, whethir thei bien to the goode or evil, thow maist knowe."

Werfor, so incredible to be illude(d) and bejape(d) [me] of old and auncient barbaryns, estemyng to punyssh hem with peyne and other contumelies and strives, I bad to be noted but if thiese thynges fallen and happen as thei han told and reherced. Forwhi thiese anceps and kervyn wordis of fem, here and ther I flotered, and disdeigneng dreede I saide: "Forsoth, from the est unto the west of al this of the world gon aboute and don, now has my mageste to derisioun come, and scorn so don and made, if I of 11. croked and decrepite barbaryns shuld be japed and thei unpunysshed."

And so thei to hym swore no fals thyng to hym commysed, but rather in tyme comyng myght have experience therof whether thei saiden trowth or nat; and that to array in short tyme it was nat vayne, as to pray myn felawshippes and friendis that nat to a thyng of so grete experience

567. No gap in Wo
568. No gap in Wo
571. Wo at thei
575. No gap in Wo
thei frauded or failed, I drowe and toke with me xl.m.
of horsmen; in Fasiacen left plente copiously with suche
provostis and al the host of oliphauntis, with al other
thynges, with the kyng Porrus. The maner chosen, with
strength of yong men to see the wounderful spectacles and
myrrours with old lore and techynges of Yndes, we toke pe
wey whiche to us the forsaiide eldermen hadden saide and
told. Bi grete straitnes and nedynes of waters and bi
many placis of serpentis and wield bestis thei lad and
broughten us unto the next seete of praieng place. Of the
whiche wield beestis and serpentis, forwhi unnumerable wern
of the Ynde tunge cald, to write to the I nat trowed nor
arretted.

Therfor, whan we nyghed to the regioun with
coveityng, we saw sum men and wymmen covered with the
skynnes of tigres and panters. Of the whiche, whan we
required and asked what maner men thei weren, the Yndes
saiden in theyr langage and tunge.

Forsoth, that place was large, and habundaunt

of bawme and encence, whiche that of grete plente grewe
in braunchis of their woodis, and the comelynges of that
regioun wern wont therof to clothen hem so. And whan to
the forsaiide holy place we cam, and many oper unknownen
thynges we filn and nyghed unto, oon more hier of
stature pan .x. feete, blac of body, with houndis teeth,
bisshop of that oracle or praieng place, to us appiered, of
whom the earis perced and onches and bies perin hangyng,
and clad was with skynnes. And with his maner gret and
salve me with symulacioun to silence covered.

Forsoth, whan he hadde asked wnat and wherfor
that I thider cam, I saide me coveityng to bihold the holy
trees of the sonne and the moone. Than he, that barbaryn
bisshop: "If thow be voide and cleene of wymmens felawship
thow shalt entre that godly place. If otherwise, it is nat
lieful the to entre." Standyng with me my friendis,
felawes, and even-knyghtis -- about .ccc. -- to put their
rynges and al their clothis in maner of hostage I comaund.

After al this, as we felt us risen, arraied, and adorted --
it was the .xi. houre of the day -- the priest abode to the
goyng doun of the sonne. Forwhi the tree of the sonne to
speke and to yeve aunswer at the first biddyng and risyng
he affermed. Also, in the same tyme of the nyght, he told
to kepe the tree of the moone, whiche thynges to me more
to lesyng than to the liknes of triewth seemed more.

Therfor, al the woode I bogan to walke, that
withyn a wall that was nat of grete edifieng wrought. I
saw bawme with the best odour and smel of al the trees
and braunches of the woode most habundauntly wellyng. Of
whos odour and sweete savour taken, and of the same barkes
and ryndes, I before wold and my felawship diden. Forsoth,
in myddis of the place the holy trees evene stooden with divers kyndes of blossum and flouris standyng aboute.

635 Forsoth, thiese trees hadden the height of .c. feete, whiche the Yndes clepeden "Imbrions," or sodayne raynes. So as with theym I me awoundernd, and to say often tho raynes in so moche ther hadden seene and biholden. The priest affermed to me never in thoo placis to rayne, nor wied beest ne brid ne serpent myght go to that place. Forsoth, thoo trees, the most auncient and the grettest of the Yndes, saiden halued to the sonne and moone, with plentevous tearis even moeved, of the litilnes of their state dreadyng. Forsoth, when I straw and lay to sacrifice and to offre,

640 I am forboden of the priest, forwhy he denyeth though encence bawme or any other beeste myght be slayn, in that holy place to smel to, but the stockes of the trees torned to kisse, and to pray the sonne and the moone as thei yeven to me triewe aunwers. That I whan I had don than, the priest asked what I had estemed and trowed the aunwers of the trees to me in Ynde or in Greeke./ "Sumwhile he either and both langages the tree of the sonne pronounced and told thynges to come. And the moone bigan with Greeke tunge and ended in Ynde tunge."

650 While thei diden this, we saw from the west Jubar shyneng, and the beames of the sonne smote the toppes of hevenes. And the priest saide: "Above al thynges
biholde, and of whatsoever thynges is counsailed, hid, and thought, with silence, not openly, pronounced ne told."

While I and my friendis and myn evene-knyghtis we ententielytly wern to biholden, lest withyn the thikkenes of the woode or with any maner of treason we shuld bien betrayed, or in any maner of sum mans techyng with voice any us bejaped or stoined. And that with no maner of frawde nor guyle comyng bitwene, to the toppe and the braunchis of the trees we biheld; we standyng togyder, to the divyne praiyer we occupied our praiers. Than I thought stilly in myself if with tryumphe and overcomyng of al the world to my dere moder Olimpiade and my susters myght ageyn retorne. Than sodanly with weyke and soft word of Ynde the tree aunswerd: "Of unrightwis batailes, Alisaunder, as thow hast counsailed in thi lif, thow shalt be lord of al the world, but alive into thi cuntrey shaltow never more torne, forwhi thi faates or destynes bien so ordeyned over thyn hede."

Than I heryng this, smyten in my mynde with displeasure for that I had browght with me so many to the holy trees. Utterly, therfor, for sorow I wept, examyneng mysilf togyder with my friendis and felawship, whiche with me wern gretely, and wounderly wepten and wern right sory. Whiche I, a part with honours and worshippes and a part with many and grete yiftes, I made hem myrry, comaundyng
hem that they ne say ne tel thiese aunswere to no man.

Eftsones, forsoth, to the oracle or praieng

place of the moone for to go, to whiche the priest affermed
myght be don at myd-niȝt, forwhi than the moone was for to
be praied unto. I toke with me .111., my triewest and most
feithful friendis, that is to say, Perdicam, Diatanan, and
Philotan. And so aloone with thiese .111., my friendis, I
went to the oracle, forwhi I drad non in that place, or me
anythyng drad wher no man was lieful to be slayne. In the
meanewhile, entryng the place next the holy trees we ordeigned,
and after the maner wont and acustomed, we worshipped, and
I counseilyng therfor where I was to die. And at the first
spryng and shynyng of the moone shuld take her clier light,
the tree aunswer\textsuperscript{d\ }in Greeke tunge and saide: "Alisaundre,
now thou hast the ful end of thyn age. But the next yeere
folowyng in the .ix. moneth at Babilon thou shalt dey, and
of whom thou weenest and trowest lest thou shalt / be
disseived." Than I shed out tearis, and my friendes standyng
aboute me wepten. In this oothynge I was myrry, forwhi noon
of thiese whiche with me in so moche I lad I knewe neither
guyle, frawde, ne synne, but more redy for myn helth and
welfare to die. I wold nat any thyng of my feithful
friendis to counsail, ne thym bifoire warne to be ware of
Alisaundre.

696. No gap in Wo
Therfor, from the oracle departyng, we turned to mete. And I sike in soule went me to reste. Knowne to my friendis nat me made dull or enfecte with any doubt or dreede, a litel agenst the wil of soule I began to take mete. And as I was redy at the first spryng of the sonne, I gadred me in to the holi place. After that day in the morownyng I aros erly, and now fond my friendes awaked, but yt the priest was asleepe, wrapped in skynnes of wielde beestis so rested, set before hym in a table ebityne and grete libature, foode, or relief, ther was of the souper the day before knyves of ivory, bras, lrm, and leede, golde and silver in plente. The comelynges of that place drank the cleene and pure water fallyng from the next mountaynes and hilles, liggyng and restyng upon beddis without any pillewes, but only made with pe skynnes of wield beestis. With these maner clothynge thein lveden ther content almost to thage of .ccc. yeere.

Therfor, the priest awaked, I entred into the thridde counsal with the holy tree of the sonne, of whos hande smyten to be ware that nat my moders issue ne my susters bien to be hadde. The tree saide in Greeke tunge: "If thi moder were thyn enme ye I shuld shewe, and lightly at this instaunce made and in so moche a wey taken thow shalt be chaunged. Forsoth, to the I shal nat say ne telle, lest my .111. susters bien wroth, that triewly I tel the
oracle of theym, that is to say, Cloto, Lachesis, and Atrophos. Therfor, the next yeere the ix. moneth at Babilon thou shalt die, nat with irn as thou weenest and trowest, nor with gold nor silver, nor with no maner of metal, but only with venym. Forsoth, thy moder with fowle and wrecched deth shal die and lacke hir sepulture, and the wey lie a pray to briddis and to beestis. Thy susters shuln bien happy for a tyme. Thow, forsoth, as short as thy tyme is, thou shalt be lord of al the londis of the world. Now, beware that thou ne enquire ne askes us no more. The termes of our light bien to turne to Fasiacen and Porrus the kyng."

But and the priest hath monysshed and warned as we to brenne and to array, to aunswer of hym sayeng, forwhi the weepyng and the wailyng of our trees he offendith. Than, I anon incontynent, cited al my knyghtis as Porrus and Fasiacen of the aunswere we aske to have monysshed and warned, and that of us Faustum and Felix bien to come in tyme of my lif and the host I have loved. Triewly this I feyned, lest myn / evene-knyghtis yielded to disperacioun, we to distroy in straunge placis. Tho voices, forsoth, whiche of the aunswers aforsaide my knightes only wip me herden, I besought hem as of their feith with silence my counsails thei huyden and coveren.
Now of the holy trees we cease, but yet to the odoure of encens and the sweete bawme we turned our nosis forth. The priestis of Ynde unto the west oceaan utterly me worshippyng, saide to be immortal or undedly, whiche in so litel tym an end set; that I myght perce al the accomptis of the world, that I that of us swiche thynges bien opyniond, I dide thankynges and praisynges.

From thens we cam into pe vale of Jordan, in whiche serpentis enhabited, havyng aboute their nekks stones whiche thei callen smaragdis. Thiese taken the light shed out in eyen, and that non to escape thiese serpentes choesen to make wery, and with white peper theym feeden. Upon this valley bien piramudes ordeigned, that is to say, sepultures, of tymber made, havyng in height Cxx. feete, of auncient Yndes to that cause edified.

But thiese serpentes, of whom a litel biforn we discribed, amonges theym how many yeeris triewly to the first thei fighten, and of many other maners thei perisshen. Therof we take but fewe smaragdes of grete forme or shap.

From thens bi many perels we cam to Ceres, where most rightwis folke of al maner of people is to be witnessed, wher nother manslawghter, nor advowtry, nor perjury, nor gloteny is commytted nor done, as it is saide with brede, water, and herbis only thei bien fed. Whiche
us token with the best felawshippes and with right jorneys
by the Yaatis of Caspie unto Fasiacen, to the kyng Porrus
ledden.

From thens gon, and with the blast of the Ewre
wynde, wee fil into most wielde bestis, of whos flessh as
of a sharp swerde from the top or the poynyt folowed, whiche
in manere of rammes token their cours agenst men, and
overcam many with their knyghtly helmes, betynge with
their hornes overtrade and beeete. Of the whiche I, while
as to the maner and tyme, I slow \(vii1\).m.ccccol., and so
from thens to Kyng Porrus with myn host with high laboure
and grete perel, with drede of knyghtes I cam. Ther to
my legat I comaunded that, and whiche precident I proposed
and before sette, in name Alanen, as that he commaunde and
bidde [\(\Phi\)] the Perses and the Babiloynes as .11. holl ballis
of gold to the height and gretnes havynge of .v. feete thei
don to be made; and also he comaunded as of al thiese my
deedis and doynges bien written, and put and sette theym in
the last and uttermest Ynde biyonde the sones and children
of Hercules victory, of the whiche .c. sum weren in divers
regiouns. Ther also my golden ballis biyonde theym of .v.
feete to be statute and ordeigned I have comaundau, to the
whiche / myracles or mervailes in tymes to come wern nat a
litel to be received of the same Alexander and of his
felawshippes or hostis, my most dier[\(c\)]e comaundour, Aristotil,
805 in to worldis herafter. Forsoth, nat with a litel wondryng
to be woundred, and perpetual we ordeigne and statue, that
as long while as the world lastith, wrappith, or turnyth
into worldis, the fame of my name be had in glorie.
ABBREVIATIONS

1. Manuscripts and Editions

The sigla are those of Boer's edition of the Latin text of the Letter (see Bo below), with the exception of Bam, Bo, and Wo. Roman numerals I, II, III, and IV, both in this list and elsewhere, refer to the Latin MS Families delineated by Boer.

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2. Other Abbreviations

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<tr>
<td>EETS ES</td>
<td>Early English Text Society (Extra Series)</td>
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<td>OF</td>
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<td>om.</td>
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Abbreviations of titles of periodicals conform to the *PMLA* Master List and Table of Abbreviations in the *MLA* International Bibliography.
5. Philip and Olympias had only one daughter, Cleopatra. Philip's marriages to Audata of Illyria and Phila produced no recorded offspring. Nor did his marriage to Meda, daughter of Cothelas, King of the Getae. He did, however, have a daughter, Europa, by Cleopatra (Eurydice), his fifth wife, and another, Thessalonica, by Nicesipolis of Pherae (later married to Antipater's son, Cassander). The plural "susters" here is, however, more likely based on ignorance of the facts than knowledge of them.

7. the state of heaven. Bo "de statu coeli."
Cf. 11. 46-50. Mary Lascelles (MAE, 5 (1936), 185) interprets this phrase as a reference to the subsequent "earthly paradise" of the grove of the sun and moon described later in the letter (l. 561 f.).

8. I have esteemed. Bo attaches "existimavi" to the previous clause, which is undoubtedly where it belongs. Since, however, the translator of Wo has incorrectly translated the subordinate clause which follows "ut aliquid per novarum rerum cognitionem studio et ingenio possit accedere [MpOc accidere]," I have, in an attempt to make some sense out of the English, placed "I have esteemed" with what follows it.
10. *fales.* Bo "accedere." There is a confusion here between *accedere* "to approach" and *accidere* "to happen."


12. *So as,* so that.

13-14. *nothyng . . . musest.* Bo "en ne quid inusitatem haberes." At some stage Lat. "inusitatem" has been read as "musitatem."

14-15. *the thynges whiche that in Ynde I have bien hold.* Bo "ea quae in India vidi." It was tempting here to interpret "bien hold" as an odd form of "behold," as this would be a reasonable translation of "vidi." But URReReg have "coacervata" instead of "vidi," and since he translates "coacervata" in l. 18 as "to be kept," and in the same line renders "inspexī" as "behold and seen" (see n. 17-18), I have refrained from doing so, even though "bienhold" makes more sense in the English sentence than "bien hold."

17-18. *and in many maners . . . bihold and seen.* Bo "ac multis modis coacervata, quem ad modum inspexī."

19-20. *but that . . . underdon.* Bo "nisi subiecta meis oculis ipse prius cuncta ponderavissem."

*URReReg, LGMBACP* om. "meis oculis."
21-22. It is a wounderful . . . evil thynges.
Bo "Mirandum est terra quantum aut bonarum rerum pariat aut malarum conceptrix." Es has "genitrix contemptrix," which sheds some light on the appearance of "moder" here.

28. fonned, foolish, silly. See OED, s.v. fond, where Alexander 5513 is quoted: "A fonned fantasy fan fell in his hert."

29-32. And forsothe . . . deedis be don. Bo "Etiam naturam animi mei, cum fueris praecceptor, non ignoras: solere me terminum aequitatis custodire et parcius loqui quam gesta sint omnia." Part of the confusion here can be explained by the fact that Oc has "scias" for "fueris."

34. chivalrie, knights.

38-39. forwhi . . . kynges. Bo "quia in ea [HGcPar1 mea] patientia perseveraverunt ut rex regum appeller [II appellerer]."

pacience, suffering.

as that, so that.

41. and from error with pite of myn and thyn.
Bo "et a mea tuaque aberro pietate." A possible clue to his putting "myn" and "thyn" in the genitive may be the reading "in mei" in P.
42. **Olimpiade.** Philip's third wife and mother of Alexander and Cleopatra. Olympias was the daughter of Neoptolemus I of Epirus. Her original name was probably Myrtale. When Philip married Cleopatra in 337, Olympias retired to Epirus, but returned after Philip's assassination (which she may have engineered with Alexander), and put both Cleopatra and her infant daughter Europa to death. She and Alexander quarreled repeatedly before he launched his invasion in 334. She became regent for her grandson, Alexander IV, in 317, and killed Philip's weak-minded son, Philip Arrhidaeus and a hundred or so others, including the brother of Cassander. Cassander retaliated, captured Olympias, and condemned her to death. The soldiers refused to carry out the execution order, but she was killed by relatives of the hundred she had executed the year before.

44-45. and that but . . . seemest to deme.

Bo "idque nisi feceris, parum de nobis simpliciter indicare videberis."

47. **pe eclips.** An eclipse of the moon occurred on September 20, 331 B.C., a few days before the battle of Guagamela. It is one of the principle factors used in arriving at a date for the battle. See E. W. Marsden, *The Campaign of Guagamela* (Liverpool, 1964).
52-54. which whan . . . charged and decreed.
Bo "Quae cum relegis [III legis], scito esse talia quae cura
Alexandri tui complecti decuerant."

56. Gages. Bo "Gangem." There is considerable
variation in the Lat. MSS: BamMpCn "gengem," Oc "granicum."
The river is the Granicus (probably the modern Kocabas in
Mysia, Turkey—see Map 1, Bl), where Alexander won his first
victory over the forces of Darius.

indictioun. Bo "condicionem." Wo is closest
to Pari "indicionem." The translator has missed the point
of this passage, which is that Darius, having been beaten in
the battle, accepted the fact that Alexander's own men were
put in charge of the area.

57-58. With our ordynaries . . . townes saide.
Bo "ordinarios praeparatoresque nostros praeposuimus orientis
provinciis, multis opibus regalibus ditati."

63. Porrus (also spelled Poros and Poros else­
where: I have retained the MS spelling in all references).
The ruler of the country between the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and
Acesines (Chenab) rivers (see Map 2, C2). Alexander's last
great battle was fought against Porrus on the banks of the
Hydaspes. Though he defeated him, Alexander allowed him to
remain in power as satrap of the region. The name Porrus is
not found in Indian sources. It has been conjectured that
it stands for "Paurava," the ruler of the "Purus," a tribe in this region. See Arrian, V, 8, 4 ff.

65. vessel, vessels. Bo "potiti ingentibus divitiis regia gaza repleti sumus."

67. sum I have known. Bo "quaedem enim novi."

75. kyngly citee. Porrus' capital, Fasiacen. See n. 584.

79-81. whiche as I wold . . . I was awoundred. Bo "Quos cum aestimare vellem, aliquibus locis intercidit. Vineam quoque solidam auro argentoque inter columnas pendentem miratus sum." The Persian king's golden vine studded with jewels comes from the writings of Chares of Mytilene, who was Alexander's chamberlain. George Warner makes an interesting comment on it in his edition of the Duke of John Maundevill (London, 1889), p. xxvi: "the 'grete vyne of fyne gold,' the jewelled grapes of which flashed from the walls of the Great Kaan's hall, had long before done similar duty in the palace of King Porus, as recorded by the equally veracious pseudo-Alexander [i.e., Pseudo-Callisthenes]." See n. 84-85 below.

84. smaragdis, emeralds.

84-85. margantes to grapes. The place in the
line for "to grapes," which is in the right-hand margin in Wo, is indicated by a caret. Bo "Thalami cubiliaque margaritis unionibus et carbunculis exornata erant." There is no indication in the Lat. MSS of the source of "to grapes," but that the tradition exists may be seen in the equivalent passage from The Buke of John Maundevill (see n. 79-81 above), p. 107: "aboven pe emperour table and aboute a grete party of pe hall es made a grete vyne of fyne gold; and it es wonder curiousely wro3t with many branchez and grapez lyke unto grapez of vynes growand, of whilk sum er whyte, sum 3alow, sum reed, sum blakk, sum grene."

86. ībynes (<Lat nēbeninus), ebonies.

87. and shone in lakis and with the hedis of cipres. Bo "nitebant testudinibus cypressinis." The word "lakis" has a number of possible meanings here: "fine linen" (cf. Sir Thopas, 858), "a reddish-brown stain" (cf. shellac), "a gift or offering" (OED s.v. lake), or "a great number of coins" (OED s.v. lac).

88. laurer. Bo "lavari." WBrURRegS0cParEs "laurī." Re "laurius."

89. statued. See OED s.v. "statute," which is the usual form of this verb in the 15th century, and the form in which it is found at l. 801 (in a past sense). The sound
of "statued" and "statute" is obviously the same, so I have not emended. See also the present "statue" at l. 806.

93. beelis (<OE bile), bills.

idel, idyll. Not in Bo.

earns, urns.

bies (<OE beah), rings of metal.

94. onches. Bo "unionas." See also l. 609.

whiche with grete margarites ooned. Bo "\textit{margaritas et uniones gerentia.}" The word "ooned," though it might be possible to consider it as an odd form of "united" (see OED s.v. "union"), is obviously a corruption of "uniones." I have placed "beryng" with the phrase following for the sake of meaning in Wo.

96. sextaries. Jars which held slightly more than one imperial pint.

97. sielden (<OE seldom), rare.

99. the inner Ynde. In Classical times as well as in the Middle Ages India was often thought of as tripartite. M. C. Seymour explains two of these parts in his edition of Mandeville's Travels, EETS OS 253 (London, 1963), p. 149, n. 3/15: "Lesser India probably represents the Middle India of medieval cartographers, a coastal area extending from southern Arabia to the Indus delta; Greater India is then the
sub-continent proper." This division is implied here, where "the inner Ynde" probably means Greater India. The third part of India is Ethiopia (1. 528). See 1. 427 "the lift part of Ynde," and 1. 472 "that other Ynde."

99-100. Yaatis of Caspie. The pass from Media to Parthia. See Map 1, D2.

103. comelynges (<OE *cymelmg). All instances of this word in the OED and MED have the obvious meaning of "newcomers, strangers, travellers." But in Wo the word invariably means the opposite, "natives," and translates Lat. "incolae." See also ll. 160, 420, 603, and 718.

103-05. whiche that . . . wield bestis. Bo "quamquam praedixerant nobis incolae regionis eius, ne serpentes et rabida ferarum genera incideremus."

108-09. But I, as the flight of the bataile of Porrus, whiche first I folowed. Bo "Sed ego, ut fugientem ex proelio Porrum primum [URReReg quam primum] adsequerer."

111-12. Therfor, taken.ccoocl. dukes. Bo "Acceptis igitur centum quinquaginta ducibus." The ablative absolute is here translated without an auxiliary present participle, resulting in confusion in the meaning of the English text. See also ll. 496-97, 708-09.
117. Bactaricen. Bactria or Bactriana lies between the Paropamisus (Hindu Kush) mountains and the Oxus (Amu Darya) river. See Map 2, B2. It was here that Alexander defeated the satrap Bessus who tried to rally the eastern part of the empire against him after the death of Darius. A number of Greek colonies were established in this area.

120-21. and of the mosse and barkes of trees made hem clothis. "The Indians wear linen garments, as Nearchus says, the linen coming from the trees of which I have already made mention" [i.e., the banyan, 11. 7]: Arrian, Ind. 16. 1.

127. Caspie. See Map 1, D2.

131. ravyne (<of raviner), to plunder.

135. holl. This is the normal Midland and Southern translation of Lat. "sanus" (cf. Northern hale). Bo "Et sane miles ita locupletatus erat, ut vix ferre pondus auri posset." The translation is not, of course, correct here.


138-40. so as all . . . with signes and banners. Bo "Ita totum agmen me veluti sidere aut fulgore clarum radiantibus auro insignibusque sequebatur cum signis et vexillis."
140. Ther was also of diversitees a mirrour.
Bo "Eratque inter varietates spectaculum."

145 ff. The story of the thirst is probably derived from Alexander's trek through the Gedrosia (see Map 2, B4), which is related by Arrian, 6.23.1 ff., 6.21.33 ff., and Strabo, 15.2.3 ff.

146-47. cast out . . . thurst to labour. Bo "accidit nobis siti laborare."

148. Zeverus. The story of Zeverus and the water seems to originate with Aristobulus, though Arrian (6.26.1-3) does not name a particular knight. For a similar incident, supposed to have occurred in Bactria, see Curtius, 7.5.11-12.

149-50. But he knowyng my soule, counsailed more his owne. Bo "animaque meae magis quam suae vitae consulebat."

156. floode. Bo "flumen."

157. hitthes. The usual meaning in ME is that of OE hyd, "a port, a landing place on a river," but here the meaning is obviously the more general one of "riverbanks."
The word occurs in the singular at l. 200 and l. 344, where it is spelled "huyth."
158. **abietes.** Lat. "fir trees."

158-60. **thei overcame . . . of that place useden.**

**Bo** "... robora vincens grossitudine, qua Indi materia ad constituenda aedificia utebantur." Many of the Lat. MSS are corrupt here.

162. **castels.** The translator always renders Lat. "castra" either by this word, or by "settls" as at 1. 163.

165. **elebor, hellebore.** The name was used in ancient times for plants from which medicines and poisons were taken.

166-69. **It eskid morre . . . than beestis.** **Bo** "angebar autem magis pro mutis animalibus quam pro nostra necessitate, durabiliorem hominem cunctis in rebus recognoscens quam pecudem."

176. **bugles (Lat. bucula),** young cows or oxen.

176-77. **and of hors . . . to divers uses.** URRRe are the only Lat. MSS which have anything approaching this phrase: "Equorum honeratorum clitellas ferentium."

181. **and to us a litel victorne.** **Bo** "luxus non parvus nobis permiserat victoriarum." Oc omits "permiserat," which gives a clue to what has happened here.
186. their injurie . . . necessite. Bo "suam urinam vexatos ultimis necessitatibus haurientes." The exemplar probably read "injuriam" here instead of "urinam."

192. as my soule me advertised. Bo "in eum animadversurum."

196. buystous, fierce.

199. wee. This is one of the two places where the scribe has spelled this pronoun with a double 'e.' Cf. 1. 815.

200. huyth. See n. 157.

204-06. whiohgwith sight . . . in the toppis. Bo "qui visis nobis continuo intra tectorum suorum culmina delituerunt." These people are actually hiding in their homes, which are built on top of the monstrous reeds described at l. 163. Budge (146, n. 1) says that the reeds in the Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes are thirty cubits high, "and that their thickness was equal to the garland which a man puts on his head."

216. epothanis, hippopotami. There are, of course, no hippopotami in the Indus system. Strabo says: "He [Aristobulus] says further that crocodiles, neither numerous nor harmful to man, are to be found in the Indus,
and also that most of the other animals are the same as those which are found in the Nile except the hippopotamus. Onescritus [who should have known better, since he was with Alexander in India], however, says that this animal too is found in India." (15.1.45) See also Strabo 15.1.13, where an almost identical phrase is found.


222-23. and unware . . . peyne to bere. Bo "invicti rursum hippotami dignos iusta poena affecere."

226-28. And no while . . . knyghtly jorney. Bo "Et ne qua noctu [URRe diu] cum aquarum prodigiiis bella gereremus, iussi dato signo bucinae ad iter militem aptari."

242-43. Of whiche necessites . . . throwen to. Bo "Quibus necessitatibus illa quoque adiciebantur incomoda."

256. stadies. The equivalent measurement accorded to the stadie varies (e.g., it was traditionally rendered by "furton" in Biblical translations), but in Greek and Roman times it was properly 625 Roman feet, or 606 feet 9 inches English.
260. forwhi only in tho regiouns was. Bo "quia univum [sc. stagnum] in illis regionibus erat."

260-61. Therfor . . . baren sum. Bo "Igitur inter ipsa tentoria aggerebantur [URRe gerebantur quedam me lubente] impedimenta."

268-70. The hour and tyme . . . nombre of .mm. The translator has run two clauses together here. Bo "Deinde testante bucina cibum et ipse cepi et militibus capere imperavi accensis lampadibus aureis admodum duobus militibus."

271-72. arrectis. Bo "cum ad primos lunae radiantis ortus subito erectis [QlParíParÉs arrectis] caudarum aculeis. . . ." Obviously the Lat. MS was corrupt here, and the translator made what sense he could out of it.

273. scorpiouns. These are mentioned as a problem in India by Strabo, though he says they are not "so troublesome as the slender little snakes that are no more than a span long, for they are found hidden in tents, in vessels, and in hedges." (15.1.45)

275-77. Forsoth . . . avexed. The translator does not follow any MS used by Boer here. The meaning seems to be that the fellowship remained intact throughout the night under both the affliction of the scorpions and the
vexation of numerous types of horned serpents.

286. fuyres. In the Pseudo-Callisthenes Alexander has the men cut down a great number of trees and set fire to them in order to keep the beasts at bay. This may be what is happening here, and at ll. 307 and 330.

289. and with only . . . axeden. Bo "maiores cum ingenti gaudio nostro latebras petierunt."

291-93. craasted to jugement . . . the former. Bo "cristati serpentes Indici columnarum grossitudine, aliquantulum proceriores." URReReg have "indicio" for "Indici," which explains the presence here of the phrase "to jugement."

296-97. with threfold tunges . . . chekis. Confusion is common here in the Lat. MSS. Bo "cum trisulcis linguis fauces [\newline faces Oc falces] exserabant [II exercebant III ex(s)ertabant]." The translator may have read Lat. "faces" as Eng. "faces" and "translated" it as "chekis," though this would explain only part of the confusion.

301-03. that than . . . to the werker. Bo "quamquam et ipsorum dura esset patientia. Omnes se afficiebant operi."


308-09. *Now we . . . warned to reste.* Bo "Iam nos vigilis inquietos quinta noctis hora buçina admonebat quiescendum."


316-17. *thiese pursueden bores.* Bo "nec minus apri." URRe "Haec prosequuntur apri."

322. backes, bats.

duffes, doves.

324. *of whos chiere . . . defouled.* URRe "vultus artusque militum violabant." The "vultus" is unique to these MSS.

1889), p. 218, has a long note on the various occurrences of the word, especially in English Alexander literature. The beast, having been killed by Alexander's men, is described in Budge (150) as follows: "And it came to pass on the morrow when daylight had appeared that I commanded the men to bind the beast, with ropes, and three hundred men dragged it out of the ditch, and cut open its belly, and they found therein great numbers of snakes and scorpions, and fish larger than oxen; and each of its tusks was a cubit in length, and its claws were like unto those of hawks."

328. beryng . iiii. colours. Bo "gerens atri coloris."

329-33. Yaven in us ... clothis was made. Bo "in nos subito impetum dedit nec ignium compositis tardatur ardoribus. Adquam sustinendam cum opposuisse Macedonum manum, triginta sex occidit, duos et quinquaginta calcatos inutiles fecit vixque ipsis defixa est venabulis."

Lat. MSS in Boer's Family II have "XXVI" for "triginta sex." URRe have "floccipendens" for "tardatur," and omit "nec."

330. fuyrly. See n. 286.

335. lucan, dawn. Bo "lucanum."

337. girdelis. Bo "ranarum." II, III, OcEtEs "zonarum."
337-38. with whiche myse, to sight and shewynge
like unto foxes, wenten in to the castels. Bo "cum quibus
mures Indici in castra pergebant vulpibus similes."

344. that and al the huyth . . . was evene ful.
This seems to be a confused translation of a construction
like that in URRe: "Totam itaque complevere ripam." For
"huyth" see n. 157.

349-54. Therfore, than, the shewers . . . to have
consumed us. Bo "Tunc ego locorum demonstratores qui nos
semper in insidias deducebant, pessime meritos, crurifragio
puniri iussi ut et nocte vivi spirantesque a serpentibus
consumerentur, ut nos consumi voluerunt." URRe have "impen-
dens eis secundum eorum merita" for "pessime meritos," and
"nocte sequente" for "nocte."

357-62. Therof had graunt . . . batailes to
conspire. Bo "Habita deinde contione, ut fortes milites
essent neve adversis ut feminae casibus deficerent, castra
concentu bucinarum repente ad Noti venti spiracula tetendi,
ubi a collectis barbarorum Indorumque viris nova conspirari
bella cognoveram." LC have "contentu" for "concentu." URRe
have "Unde" for "ubi."

363-65. But my knyghtis . . . put it underfoote.
Bo "Militibus meis ingentes erant animi, quibus et census
victoriarum suppeditabat et felicitas." URR have "Sed militibus" for "Militibus," "suppeditabant" for "suppeditabat," and "vires" for "felicitas."

368. Bactarynes. See n. 117.

369. goodely felawshippis of the Percians. Alexander ran into problems with his Macedonian veterans when he began to adopt Persian customs and dress, and place Persians in high places in the army, in an effort to weld together his empire.

370-71. with castels in to reparifying to bataile. Bo "in reparando bello castra."

372-74. we cam b1 ... than to fight. There is much confusion in the Lat. MSS here. Bo "pervenimus ubi cum collecto consederat exercitu Porus propriae ditioni magis quam proelio se commissurus." II omits "se commissurus."

374-76. Forwhi ... of the felawshippes. Bo "Nam et commeatus nobis palem non ut hostis dedit potestatem, cupidusque me nosse milites meos subinde commeantes [URRe commitantes] interrogabat. . . ."

378. thei. i.e., Alexander's troops.

378-79. herd ... Macedony. Bo "ipse auditis eius interrogationibus—omnia enim m1hi regi magno Macedonum
referebantur." URReReg om. "enim mihi."

379-95. Alexander uses disguises on a number of occasions, the most famous being his having dinner with Darius in disguise (Pseudo-Callisthenes, II, 14), and his visiting of Candace in the guise of his general, Antigonus (Pseudo-Callisthenes, III, 18-24).

383-86. whom japing . . . swift joie. Bo "Quem ludens mendacio temporis 'Tamquam homo senior' inquam 'dux noster in tabernaculo accenso igni calefacit.' Tum ILLE GAUDIO ALACER. . . ."

388-89. "What therfor and whi beholdest thow now his age?" Bo "Quid ergo inquit "non respicit aetatem suam?" URReReg add "cur" after "ergo."

391. whan I . . . of the Macedonyes. Bo "cum essem gregarius ex Macedonico miles exercitu." There is no sign of "a lover" in the Lat. MSS known to Boer. The translator may be simply using "lover" as a synonym for "knyght."

392. epistil gretly ful. Bo "minis plenam epistolam." URRe "epistolam minis plenam." The translator has probably read "minis plenam" as "nimis plenam," and then mistranslated it.

395-97. Eftsones . . . dissolute. Bo "reversusque
protinus in castra et antequam legerem et postquam legi
epistolem, magno risu sum dissolutus."

399. *doute* (<OE dugude?), power (?). The passage
is, of course, confused, but the translator seems to be
translating Bo "temeritatem" by this word.

400. and sent over. In nearly all Family I MSS
there follows here a letter from Porrus to Alexander (see
Appendix A). The letter is omitted in II, III and IV. A
much fuller letter is found in MSS which translate the
*Historia de Preliis*: cf., for example, The Prose Life of
Alexander, ed. J. S. Westlake, EECS OS 143 (London, 1911),
pp. 61-62. Other MSS merely mention the letter: cf., for
example, The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers, ed.
C. F. Bühler, EECS OS 211 (London, 1939), p. 196. Histori-
cally, the account here of Alexander's keeping Porrus on the
throne after defeating him is accurate enough. In the Pseudo-
Callisthenes Porrus and Alexander fight a duel, and Porrus is
killed.

401-03. In maner . . . I have restored. Bo
"Mox contuli cum Indis manum speratisque his ita ut volebam
erepta armis regna Poro restitui." The translator seems to
have been unaware of the fact that "conferre manum" means
simply "to do battle with." He may, however, have been
influenced by the sort of attitude represented in The Dicts

Philosophers asked a question

Of kyng Alexandre, the emperour,

How in his tendre age in possession

Hath goten mony realmes with fauour.

He answered, by two meanes with honnour,

Oon to reconsile his enemyes,

Another to do wele to his freinades."

403-06. Whiche, as he overcomen . . . I knew not. Bo "Qui, ut ei insperatus honor donatus est, mihi thesauros suos manifestavit quos ignorabam." A large number of Lat. MSS have "superato" instead of "insperatus."

407-09. and the Macedoynes and me and Hercules my sone the spuyles bien brought. Bo "ex hoste Macedonibus in Herculis Liberique trophaea deduxit." None of the Lat. MSS in confused about "Herculis Liberique." The confusion between Liber, -erī, "Liber," the Roman Bacchus, and liber, -erī, "a child," may be the result of the translator's
knowledge of the story of Alexander's having a son by Barsine, Memnon's widow, whom he called Hercules, and who was murdered by Cassander in 309 B.C. See Appendix C, ll. 127-31. This story is considered legendary by Tarn ("Hercules Son of Barsine," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 41 (1921), 28): "Alexander had one son only, Roxane's; his intrigue with 'Barsine' is as mythical as that with the Amazon queen." It does, however, receive some support as history in A. R. Anderson's "Hercules and His Successors," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 39 (1928), 14, n. 2. Nevertheless, the translator's knowledge of Latin lets him down in respect of this word: not only here, but also at ll. 421-22 and 798-99 where he again confuses it with liber, -eri, and at ll. 413-14 and 421-22 where he confuses it with libere, "freely." The error in the present instance leaves the phrase "of either or both goddis (l. 410)" without an antecedent, and confuses the passage measurably. Cf. Pliny, *Natural History*, vol. 6, ed. and trans. W. H. Jones, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1938-62), 6.49: "At this place [i.e., Sangala, the point on the R. Beas where Alexander turned back: Map 2, C2] there are altars set up by Hercules and Father Liber, and also by Cyrus and Samiramis and by Alexander, all of whom found their limit in this region of the world."

409. last parties, farthest regions.
413-14. and freely Hercule with cast down
sacrifices it me plesed. Bo "Liberumque et Herculem delectis
victimis placavi." See n. 407-09. The confusion here is
between Liber, -eri, and libere, "freely." There is also,
of course, an error in the translation of the verb.

415. if any what. Bo "si quid."

421-25. Hercules and free sones . . . tho holy
steppis. Bo "quodque Herculis et Liber ultra ausus nemini
esse temptandum, praestantissimorum deorum, tanto malorem
me ipsis velle videri quam in patientia mortalium sacra
praeterire vestigia." See n. 407-09.

427. the lift part of Ynde. See n. 99.

428. With King Porrus it seemyth nat withdrawyng.
Bo "Poro rege non detrectante."

429-31. And so openly . . . reedis. Bo "Palus
erat sicca et coeno abundans." URRe add "itaque a leva
regnii sui parte" after "Palus." Tr has "cannis" for "coeno."
It appears that the translator was either following a MS
with "palam" instead of "palus," or that he confused the two
words.

431-32. a newe kynde of devourers. Budge (144,
n. 2) has the following note on a similar crocodile-like
monster: "This must be the hebdomadarian beast which could carry elephants on its back."

433. like to the moors Bo "leaenae simile."
Many Lat. MSS "lunae."

438. glayves. Bo "hastis."

443. Brunar. Bo n. 30, 1: "Buemar: pleraque nomina propria in codicibus corrupta sunt; quorum formam rectam ubi restitui posse desperandum est, lectiones codicum familiae I in textum recepti, ut 33, 1 marini; 55, 4 Occluades; 52, 3-5 Sermition . . . Coracdas." Brunar is probably present-day Buner, between the River Swat and the Indus, through which Alexander's army passed on its way to the Jhelum and the encounter with Porrus. See Map 2, C2.

449. commande(d). Bo "Imperavi." The present "Impero" is found only in SEt.

Tessalia. Bo "Thessalicis."

450-51. and with hem . . . taile of bestis.
Bo "secumque tollerent sues, quorum grunnitus timere bestias noveram."

454. tubicynes, trumpeters. Bo "tubicines."

456-59. Porrus kyng . . . and blac. Bo "Ipse
cum Poro rege et equitatu procedens video examina bestiorum
in nos erectis promuscudibus tendentia. Quorum terga et
nigra et candida et rubri coloris et quaedam erant varia."

459-63. **Kyn Porrus ... nevertheless don.**
Bo "Hos Porus capi habiles mihi in usus bellorum affirmabat
facileque averti posse, si ab equibus [URRe ab equibus si]
verberari sues non desisterent. Quia nihilominus fugiebant
[URRe fiebat]." The MS the Wo translator was using may have
read "posses," which would account for some of the confusion
here.

463-66. **Nor trippynge ... before foughten.**
Bo "Nec mora trepidantes elephanti conversi sunt; tam plures
quam pugnae priores saltus petere coepere bucinis hominum
grunittibus suum attoniti." URRe omit "quam pugnae priores"
and add "magis quam certamine pugne priores" after "attoniti."
The English syntax here has apparently been confused, at
least to some extent, by a bad Lat. MS. But rendering
"trepidantes" as "tripping" is at best misleading, and turning
the p.p. "attoniti," which modifies "elephanti," into a finite
verb without a subject, is disastrous to the structure of
the sentence.

467. **we slough ca..cccclxix.** Bo "admodum non-
gentos octoginta occidimus." None of the Lat. MSS gives
the figure translated here.
468-69. I cam to the castels spuyled. Bo
"onustus praeda in castra perveni." After "spuyled" all Lat.
MSS except URReReg include the following sentence, also
omitted in Wo: "Iussi tunc clipeis et lorica vallum praec-
cingi, ne quid iniuriae noctu elephantorum violentia ferarum-
que aliarum afferret."

472. that other Ynde. See n. 99.

474-75. feete on high newe. Bo "pedum altos
novem." There is much confusion in the Lat. MSS here, but
none of them reads "novum" for "novem."

475. Faunos (<Lat. faunos Gk. nai̇s). Bo n. 32,
7: "faunos: vox peregrina quaedam (ut Buemar 30, 1 [Wo n. 433]
sub hoc vocabulo libris familiarum I et II traditio latere
videtur; quam recuperari posse desperandum est." In mytho-
logy, of course, these are a class of rural deities related
to Pan. Chaucer uses the word in the Knight's Tale (2928):
"Nymphes, fawnes and amadrides."

480. Cenopahls. Bo "Cynocephalis." Tr "cenofalis."
See OED s.v. "cynocephalus," where the meaning of the word
is given as "a fabled race of dog-headed creatures." The
phrase "half hors, half man" is not in any of the Lat. MSS
used by Boer, so the translator may have assumed that these
creatures were centaurs and added the phrase for the benefit
of his less-informed readers.

480-81. whiche tempted . . . to flight. Bo "qui nos adlacessere temptabant et eiectis sagittis fugiebant."

482-83. nothyng worthy . . . to be brought. Bo "nihil dignum spectaculo ab Indis ultra superesse referebatur." Some Lat. MSS read "ferebatur."

484-86. Therfor, eftsones . . . watery placis. Bo "Igitur aditurus Fasiacen, unde veneramus [II ad occidentem], signa converti imperavi, ut ex eo loco usque ad duodecimum miliarium castra vicina aqutioni poneremus."

488. thest wynde. Bo has "Euri," which is the south wind.

492-93. with sparcles and leames to whom holl comyng theym brente. Bo "scintillarum et titionum in terga venientium adurebantur." URRe have "titionum quibus in," which explains the "to whom," and UB have "integra" for "in terga," which explains the "holl" in Wo.

"ginithe" may be the result of a combination of errors in the Lat. MSS through which "mense" became "cum mense," and later was retained with "cum mense" in a phrase such as "Octobri mense cumsensi autumniique," where the word "cumsensi" was taken to mean "commencement" or "beginning."


504-08. *ne that* . . . *to the deth*. Bo "ut quam primum iniuria pedum tabesceret." The translation here is close to URe, which replaces the above with "ne omnino earum accumulatione in castris frigore contraheremur. Sed quid dicam. Opus eque a me indictum compleentes frigore contracti morti sunt pene subacti."

516-17. *I a man* . . . *the steppis*. Bo "ego homo Herculis Liberique vestigia transgredi conatus essem."

520. *of holl*. Bo "ex integro."
520-21. siker epistels. Bo "et ab securis nobis epulae capiuntur." None of the Lat. MSS confuses "epulae" and "epistolae." The translator probably expanded a presumed abbreviation.

528. Ethiope. See n. 99.

Ethneos. II "(a)ethneos." Bo "Enesios" and n. 36, 7-9: "Enesios . . . montes: iterum, ut videtur, nomen peregrinum in libris corruptum (cf. 30, 1 Buemar [Wo n. 443] Nysaeos latere cum Kuebler putaverim eo quod sequitur antrum Liberi; cf. Verg. Aen. 6, 801-805; Plin. N. H. 6, 21(23); Solinus 52, 16 'Mommsen.'"

529-30. the denne or cave . . . herd and told. Most Lat. MSS read "montes et antrum Liberi, quo perditos immimisimus." URReRegP omit "Liberi." URRe have "de quo inaudita nimesque stupenda" in place of "quo perditos immisimus," which is close to our translation.

531-32. That openly . . . was don. Bo "Quod fuisse manifestum mortibus [URRe morti] eorum probavimus [URRe comprobavimus]."

534-36. as me kynge . . . to Olimpi. Bo "ut me regem totius orbis terrarum cum sublimibus trophæis triumphantem in Macedoniam Olympiadi."
537-38. But alas ... I have known. Bo "Quam rem frustra me petere ita cognovi." The translation here follows URRe "Sed proh dolor frustra me petere id hoc ordine cognovi."

538-43. Therfor, inquiring ... blast folowed. The Lat. MSS are very confused in this section. Bo "quoniam dum sciscitor [URRe Sciscitans igitur], si quid etiam adhuc videre possem dignum admiratione aut memoria, omnibus [URRe omnibusque] Indis [om. URRe] dicentibus nihil aliud memorabile invenire posse in his [II illis] locis quam quod cognovimus, 1ussi diverti signa in Fasiacen, antea Noti [URRe antiohu] venti flatum secutus." In Oc "1ussi" follows "fasiacen"; in II "imperavi" follows "fasiacen"; in III "fasiacen" is omitted as in Wo. The word "lord" in Wo is probably derived from a corruption of "imperavi." The reading of the second "than" in Wo 541, where the scribe has apparently made a correction which renders the reading dubious, has been decided upon because of the fact that a number of MSS have "tunc" either before or after "diverti." Still, the translator of Wo seems to be following a MS not used by Boer, though the locus desperandum of 542, "amaistu," probably arises from a similar sort of corruption as the meaningless "antiohu" of URRe.

544-46. So while ... metyng. URRe "Dum 1taque
sumpto agmen sub signes ducerem, duo senes nobis facti sunt obviam."

554. **busynes.** The translator has rendered the Lat. "negotium" in its usual sense rather than its metonymical sense of "difficulty."

561. *11 trees.* Pseudo-Callisthenes gives names to the trees: the tree of the sun is called "Helios" in Greek, "Muthu" in Indian; the tree of the moon is called "Selene" in Greek, "Emausa" in Indian.

567-73. *Werfor ... I saide.* The closest Latin reading is URRe "Qua re tam incredibili lulli me a barbaris senibus existimans, peona eos impingi et aliqua contumelia iussi notari, nisi haec ut astipulabantur contingenter. Anceps namque verbis eorum hac illacque flu(c)tuabam indignansque mecum dicebam." The section in brackets is not found in other Lat. MSS.

569. **contumelies, humiliations.**

571. **Forwhi, Because of.**

      *anceps.** Lat. "double-edged."

572. **flотered, vacillated.**

580-81. *and that to array ... wayne.* Bo "appariturum [II in] brevi id non esse vanum."
581-82. as to pray myn felawshippes and friendis.
Bo "orantibus amicis comitibusque meis."

584. Fasiacen. According to Curtius (IX 2.3), the Prasii lived east of the Ganges. Pliny calls the area "Prasiane" (N.H. VI, 23). Boer speculates (n. 3, 12) that the writers of the Epistolae wrote "Phasian" for "prasiace" (from Julius Valerius: "Prasiacam"), as this name would be familiar from the story of the Argonauts. Porrus, of course, did not have jurisdiction east of the Ganges, but rather east of the Hydaspes (Jhelum). See n. 63.

592. praieing place. Bo "oraculi sedem."

595. arretted (<0F arete<Lat. reputare), counted.

596-7. with coeityng. Bo "a nobis petitae." URRe "a nobis concupitae."

609. bies, rings. See n. 93. Bo "perforatis auribus, ex quibus uniones dependebant." III, ParTrOeEs have "anuli" after "dependebant."

610-11. And with . . . covered. Bo "Atque cum me more ritoque salutaret." CnURReReg, etc., follow this with "metum [LONBA me cum] simulatione silentioque texit."
619. in maner of hostage. Bo "ponere anulos sestesque cunctas cum calciamentis imperavit." Wo omits "cum calciamentis." Only URRe have "hospitantium more."

620. After al this ... adorted. Bo "Parui per omnia homini, ut pareremus religione." URRe have "Parvi post hec paperrus adhortatus est," which gives a clue to the source of "adorted."

622-26. Forwhi the tree ... seemed more. Bo "näm solis arborem loqui ac responsa dare ad primos iubaris ortus affirmabat. Item noctis eadem tempora custodire lunae enarrabat arborem. Quae res mihi mendacio magis quam veritati similis videbatur."

630-32. Of whos odour ... fellowship diden. Bo "cuius odore captus et ipse clibulas praevellebam de corticibus et idem comites mei facebant."

636. Imbrions. There is a good deal of variation in the Lat. MSS here. The closest to Wo is URReReg "hibrionas." The phrase following, "or sodayne raynes," is not found in any of the Latin MSS, but it is a fair translation of Lat. imber, -bris, which is a cognate of "hibrionas." See Bo n. 44, 1: "brebionas (I): iterum (cf. 30, 1 Buemar [see Wo n. 443]) et 32, 7 faunos [Wo n. 475] quae vox sub lectionibus traditis lateat, dudicicare non possimus. Iulius Valerius
in eiusdem rei narratione (III 24 = pg. 132, 16 Kuebler)
aeque obscure; ex ea stirpe, quod genus arbores myrobalanos
habent."

640-43. Forsoth, thoo trees . . . dredyng.
Bo makes a lot more sense here than Wo: "terminos antiquitus
ab Indorum maioribus consecratos soli et lunae affirmabat
easque in eclipsi solis et lunae uberrimus lacrimis commoveri
de numinum suorum statu tinentes." URReReg omit "easque in
eclipsi solis et lunae."

642. halued, hallowed. This form is not found
in the OED, but two MSS of the Cursor Mundi, although admit­
tedly a much earlier work, give it some sanction (l. 25104);
"Halud be 61 nam to neuen."

repr. a dial. pronunciation (with rising diphthong) of OE
streawan var. of streowan."

645-47. forwhy . . . to smel to. Bo "qui [II, III
quia] negabat licere aut tus in eo sacrario igni urii aut
animal ullum interfici." The "though" may be the result of
the translator's reading "autem" for "aut," though his Lat.
MS was most probably corrupt here as "to smel to" must be
derived from "ullum" having become some form of "oleret."

647-48. torned to kisse. Bo "oscula dare."
651. Most Lat. MSS have a tag before Alexander's "Sumwhile he either . . ." answer here: \( \text{\&c.} \), "Tum illae inquit." It is omitted, however, in \textsc{URePar} as it is in \textsc{No}.

656. \textit{Jubar}, Lucifer: the morning star. Boer has interpreted the word in its non-metonymical sense in view of the fact that all his MSS refer to Phoebus: "videmus ab occidente iubare fulgentibus Phoebi radibus . . ." smote (OED s.v. smite), shone strongly upon.

656-57. the toppes of hevenes. Bo "arborum cacumina." \textsc{UReReg} om. "arborum." \textsc{URe} add "celi" after "cacumina."

657-59. And the priest . . . ne told. Bo "'Sursum' inquit 'omnes intuemini et de quibus quisque rebus consulturus est occulte cogitet silente, nemo \{\textsc{URe} nec\} palam pronuntiet.'"

664. \textit{stoined}, stunned.

664-65. And that . . . comynge bitwene. Bo "Mox interveniente nullo tali dolo."

666-67. we standynge . . . praiers. Bo "stantibus nobis comminus divina aures occupant \{\text{\textit{OmWpsPa occupavimus}}\} oracula."
671. Of unrightwis batailes. Bo "Invicte bellis."

688. Perdicam. Perdiccas (ca. 365-321), son of Orontes, was one of Alexander's generals. After Alexander's death he became one of the three regents of the empire along with Ptolemy and Antigonus. He later quarreled with his fellow regents, and was killed by his own officers in Memphis while campaigning against Ptolemy.

Ditianam. Bo "Ditoricam." URRe "ditanam." Boer's note on this name (47, 5) admits defeat in terms of identification: "Ditoricam scripsi cum codicibus familiae I, quamquam nusquam alibi hoc nomen inveni."

689. Philotan. Philotas (ca. 370-330) was the son of Parmeno (ca. 400-330), the senior general Alexander inherited from his father Philip. He commanded the elite Campanion cavalry (Arrian, I, 14). He was executed for allegedly plotting against Alexander's life (Arrian, III, 26, 27).

689-90. And so . . . oracle. This phrase is found only in URRe. "Solus itaque cum his tribus amicis meis ad oraculum pergebam."

690-91. or me anythyng drad. Bo "nec a me quicquam erat metuendum."
692. *we ordeigned.* Bo "constitimus."

693-94. *and I counseilyng . . . to die.* Bo "Consulans igitur ubi moriturus essem." Most II MSS have "ego" instead of "igitur."

694-95. *And at the first . . . clier light.* Bo "tum ad primum lunae ortem percusso cornu spendoreque accepto. . . ."

698. Babilon. See Map 1, C2.

701. *In this sothyng I was myrry.* Found only in URRRe "In hoc uno me consolabas."

702. *whiche with me in so moche I lad.* Found only in URRRe "quos mecum eo adduxeram."

705-06. *ne theym bifoire warne to be ware of Alisaundre.* Bo "ut illos cavendos esse Alexandro praemoneret oraculum."

708-09. *Knowen to my friendis.* Bo "Rogantibus amicis." See n. 111-12.

715-18. *set bifoire hym . . . in plente.* Bo "positaque ante eum in tabula ingens cliba turis erat, quae illi ex pridiana cena superfuerat et culter eburneus. Nam aere et ferro et plumbo at argento egent, auro abundant."
For "tabula" UR read "t(h)abella ebithina," which explains the odd English form "ebityne." URRe read "libatura" for "cliba turis," and omit "erent."

725-27. of whos hande . . . to be hadde. Bo "cuius mortem percussoris manu cavendam habeam quemve exitum mater mea sororesque meae habiturae sint." URRe om. "mortem."

728-30. If thi moder . . . be chaunged. Bo "Si mortis tuae tibi insidiatorem prodidero, sublato eo facile instantia fata mutabis." URReReg have "matris" for "mortis" and after "mutabis" URRe add "Hec vero tibi non dicam ne."

732-33. Cloto, Lachesis, and Atrophos. The Fates. Clotho, the youngest, spins the thread of life; Lachesis, the next oldest, twists it; and Atropos cuts it with a huge pair of scissors.


738. the wey. Bo "in via."
742-43. The termes . . . Porrus the kyng. Bo
"inde [II unde] exceede terminos luci nostri et ad Fasiacen
Porumque [II add regem] revertere." The "vni" in Wo is
probably a result of the "-de" in "unde" having been lost
in the Lat. MS, so that the remaining "un" could be very
easily read as "vni." I have emended to "The" because in
this way the essential meaning is retained in the simplest
way possible.

744-46. But and the priest . . . he offendith.
The Lat. MSS are very confused here. The closest to Wo is
Re "Sed et monuit sacerdos, ut exiremus pareremusque eius
responsionem, fletum et ululatum nostrum sacras arbores dicens
offendisse."

747-50. Than, I . . . have loved. Bo "Tum ego
contionatus apud universos milites dixi, ut Porum et
Fasiacen ex responso peteremus, quod nobis faustum felixque
esset futurum; de tempore vitae meae reticui." URRRe have
"continuo citos," omit "apud," add "meos" after "milites;"
and "admonui" after "peteremus," have "et quod" for "quod;"
and add "exercitum animavi" after "reticui." The scribe of
Wo has capitalized "Faustum" and "Felix," obviously under-
standing these two adjectives as proper nouns signifying the
names of two of Alexander's knights.
754. _nerden_. All the Lat. MSS except those in Boer's Family II add here a list of names—*qui his nominibus appellabantur: Sermition, Protosilaus, et Mistomus et Timotheus et Lacon et Traseleon et Deditus et Macon et Erocles et Silbrus et Sunsiclus et Perdicas et Philotas et praefectus praetorio Coracdas._ There is some variation in individual MSS.

758-62. _The priestis_ . . . _praisynges_. Bo "Indi enim sacra deorum ad oceanum colentes dicebant me quoque esse immortalem, qui usque eo penetrare potuissem. Quibus ego, quod de nobis opinarentur insinuans, gratias agebam." URRe have "in tam parvo evo positus universa mundi compita" in place of "usque eo."

763. _vale of Jordan_. Boer emends this to "vallem Diardinis," and adds the following note (53, 6): "nomen legitur apud Curtium VIII 9, 9; lectiones codicum huius nominis formas corruptas puto. Fr. Pfister (Wochenschr. f. klass. Phil. 1913, p. 1155-1159) auctorem _Iwêapê_ (Arrianus, Ind. 8) vel _Iomanes_ (Plin. N.H. 6, 17 et 19) scripsisse existimat." The editor of the Loeb Curtius identifies the Diardinus with the Brahmaputra, which is far east of Alexander's area of conquest.

765-68. _Thiese taken_ . . . _feeden_. This section has a different order from any of the Lat. MSS. Bo "H1
The light theory here is in line with Stoic beliefs on perception, where the eye had vision because it emitted rays which illuminated the object. See S. Sambursky, _Physics of the Stoics_ (London, 1959), pp. 27-29, 127.

767. _peper_. There may be a connection here with the legend of the pepper forest. Cf. _Mandeville's Travels_, ed. Malcolm Letts, vol. II (London, the Hakluyt Society), p. 504: "In another of our provinces pepper is grown and collected, which is exchanged for corn, grain, cloth, and leather. But that country is well-wooded, as with willows, full of all manner of serpents, which are very large and have two heads and horns like rams, and eyes which shine with the brightness of lamps." Much of the section on India in Mandeville's _Travels_ is borrowed from the _Letter_, of course, as has been long recognised.

770. _height_ (xx.) _feete_. Bo "tricenum."
Tr "ccce." URReReg "vigenum."

772-73. _amonges theym_. . . _thei fighten_. Bo "inter se quotannis vero primo depugnant."

775-79. _From thens_. . . _thei bien fed_. This sort of description of ideal people, as L. Pearson points out
in The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great (Oxford: American Philological Association, 1960), p. 103, was a common topic in ancient writings. In reference to India, cf., for example, Strabo 15.1.34.

775. perels. There follows here a section of about 350 words which is found in all Lat. MSS except in those in Boer's Family II: thus its absence from Wo. For Boer's text of the missing section, see Appendix B.

Ceres. Bo n. 7, 4: "Seres ... detexunt: cf. Verg. Georg. 2, 121 velleraque ut foliis depectant Tenuia Seres. De Seribus postea quoque agitur (58, 1; locus deest in III et IV; vide ad locum)." The usual Lat. meaning of "Seres" is "Chinese," but it also sometimes used to mean "China," or the "Orient" generally. Isidore of Seville has this to say about its adjective "Sericum" (Etymologiarum 19.17.6, ed. J. P. Migne, Patrologia Latina (Paris, 1844-64) vol. 82, col. 677): "Aliud est autem Sericum, aliud Syricum. Nam Sericum lana est, quam Seres mittunt; Syricum vero pigmentum, quod Syri Phoenices in Rubri maris littoribus colli-gunt. Est autem et inter factitios. Nam saepe fit, aut a sinopide, aut sandyce mistus." I would conjecture here a possible corruption of "Susia" (Map 2, A2), though in Budge Alexander does, in fact, visit China.

Strictly speaking, the south-east wind, but here probably simply the east wind.

See n. 199.

Bo "cornu suo transverberabant." URRe "cornu suo transverberantos transfoderunt."


The name is unknown historically. Boer simply refers the reader to his note on Ditoricam, reproduced at Wo n. 688 above.

URRe "ut praeciperet persis et babiloni(1)s ut pilas solidas aureas duas pedum quinum altitudine habentes fecissent." The translator seems to have confused Lat. pila "pillar," with pila "ball."

Bo "et in his omnia facta mea scriberet [II scriberent]."

Bo "Atque in ultima India ultra Liberi et Herculis trophea,
quae centum erant, ego quinque mea aurea altiora denis pedibus
statui imperavi, quae miraculo futura sunt, carissime prae-
ceptor, posteris saeculis non parvo. Novum perpetuumque
statuimus virtutibus monimentum invidendum, ut immortalitas
esse perpetua et nobis opinio et animi industriae, optime
Aristotelen, indicium." There is considerable variation in
the Lat. MSS here, which probably accounts for some of the
confusion in Wo.

798-99. beyond the sons and children of
Hercules' victory. See n. 407-09.
APPENDIX A

Letter of Porrus to Alexander

This letter is found in Family I MSS only. See n. 400. The text is that of Bo.

(400) and sent over . . . Epistola Porī ad Alexandrum.

Rex Indiae Porus Alexandro. Miratur prudentia nostra, quod Perside calcata Porum iuvenum senex et regnum Indiae omnibus divitiis opulentum, armis munitum, nimis populosum, inter alia mundi regna nominatissum tam parva manu pertinaci temente aggredi ausus sis. Sed nec Darium nobis nec Persas Indis ullā ratione aequiperandos credideris. Et quoniam de militibus bellorum periculis innumerōs amisisti, datur a nobis licentia revertendi aut residuis qui tecum sunt, ut maxime aetātī tuae parcas, quae vix sufficit tibi, si Macedoniam redire disponas, aut deditiōnem tuam nobis offeras, ne capitis tui damnum incurras. (400) In maner, I have taken . . .
APPENDIX B

The following material is found in all of the Latin MSS except those in Family II. See n. 775. The text is that of Bo.

(775) From thens bi many perels ... invidimus inscitas talis generis bestias, habentes capita leonum, caudas unguibus binis, latae ad mensuram sex pedum, quibus verberabantur homines, ut inutiles fient. His erant intermixti grifi, rostra habentes aquilarum et alia parte corporis dissimiles. Qui mira velocitate in ora oculosque nostros resiliebant et scuta olpeosque nostros caudis pedum binorum ternorumque crudelissime admodum verberabant. Qui partim sagittis, partim contis militaribus conficiabantur. Perdidi in eo certamine ducentos sex milites bestiarum utiusque generis morsu; occidimus admodum sedecim milia.

Inde ad Occluadas fluvium venimus, qui sine flexu rectus ad oceanum ferebatur, latior stadis ad ripam alteram viginti; erant arundines ad trecentae per litora, quarum unam vix triginta milites possent ferre: excedebant enim arborum procerissimiarum altitudinem. In his arundiniibus stratum potentississemboevidimus. Inhabitabant enim locum eundem milia elefantorum innumera, qui nos nescio quo facto lacessere non temptabant; alioquin crudelissime
perecalcati eramus. Multis collectis dentibus ratibus ex
arundine factis transnavigavimus amnem. Inhabitabant litus
ulterius Indi beluarum ferarum contecti pellibus; non fuere
inhospitalres, qui nobis spongias albas purpureasque in manus
dedere cum bucinis et genere coclearum, capientes binos et
ternos congos, et strangula mollesque tunicas ex vitulorum
marinorum pellibus factas. Cocleas praeterea sextariales
escae pulcherrimae, item vermes ex ipso flumine extractos,
femore humano grossiores, qui nobis omni generi piscium
sapore praeferendi sunt et fungos immensos magnitudine
vincentes, coco rubriores, posuerunt nobis et murenas
habentes pondera ducentena, affirmantes esse maiores in
vicino ipsis oceano, qui erat ad miliarium tertium et vices-
imum, piscies praeterea scaros pondus centenum quinquagemum,
qui gurgitibus nassis eburneis capiebantur, ne arundines
morsu confringereant aut capillatae mulieres, quae pisce
vivebant, aquis immersae pranderent. Quae ignaros regionum
homines in flumine natantes aut tenendo in gurgitibus suffo-
cabant aut tractos in arundinetos, cum essent specie mirabiles,
in affectu suo avide victos rumpebant aut veneria examina-
bant voluptate. Quarum nos duas tantummodo cepimus colore
niveo, similes nymphis, diffusis per terga capillis.

Et in Gange flumine erant mirabilia portenta.

De quibus, ne tibi fabulosus viderer, scribendum non putavi
nisi quod aquae fluminis et Euphratis Borea venientes solae
ad Noti venti spiracula exeunt. Quorum fluminum ripae
altera ab alia conspicuae non sunt earum aquarum latitudine.

Inde ad castellum quod Indi colunt ... (775) we
cam to Ceres ...
APPENDIX C

Immediately following the Letter in the MS is an untitled translation of the "Parva Recapitulatio." The Latin text is found in five English MSS, and was probably written in England in the late 11th century. It seems to have been written for two reasons: first, to disparage the Pseudo-Callisthenes story that it was really Nectanebus who was the father of Alexander; second, to supplement the Zacher Epitome of Julius Valerius, which omits the account of the visit of Alexander to Jerusalem and the struggles of the Diadochi after Alexander's death.

Since, however, it accompanies the Letter rather than the Zacher Epitome in Wo, it would seem that its original purpose has been forgotten. It is, at any rate, connected with the Letter only in the most general way, as a part of the Alexander story. I have, therefore, merely presented here a readable text, confining my editing to matters of punctuation and capitalization, and to the correction of one or two jarring errors.

f. 146v In the tyme that Alexander was born, it is red so as the histories berith witnes, that the nyght tended to the more

1 Information in Cary, Medieval Alexander, p. 70.
part of the day, and it was seen that haile stones descendyng from the clowdis, and with the stones the gras and the grounde was beten. No wounder if suche wounders wern seen to be brought in the birth triewly to so grete a man, nat with pite, but with deforme of al wrecchis, and wiþ fervent cruelte and trouble of al thest partie. This Alexander (after the triewe storie) of Philip and Olimpiadis was the sone; and of Aristotil the philosopher and of Nectanabus the phisicien a discipyle. Of whom it is fals to be bileved or trowed is to be his sone, for the grete famuliarite and homlynes that of the dere sones grace he had with Olimpiadas to that Nectanabus, and namly for the busy diligens that Nectanabus exercised unto Alexander and Olimpiadis his moder in liernynge. Wherof, as it is brought and saide here that the same Nectanabus, with ful wil of soule, of a yong discipyle slowgh, while suche a tyme evene with sharp disciplyne he brent in biholdyng in him. And also Philip, fader of Alexander, sone was had, and of his moder Olimpiadis, of the same suster was of Alexande[r] of the kyng of Epirotes. Forsoth, whan Philip diseased from worldly and kyndly thynges, to hym succeeded in his realme Alexander his sone, of myght most myghtiest, of strength most strengest, of cruelte most cruel, whiche, as wel in houshold meyne as in straungiers, most woodest; and no man spared, of what estate, honour, worship, or condicioun that
he were, that he felt rebel against his will.

Therfor, this Empire assumpt and taken, batailes

to hym withstandyng, he tobrast, adoun pressed, and subdued
of his subjectis, forsoth, aboute in every regioun and realmes,
and their kynges; in realmes put in imposicions and tributes;
and with hym in felawshippes in the right of bataile sum of
the Sirens went with hym into Ynde. Whiche to the ascendency

to the Citee of Jerusalem, Jaddus, Prince of Priestis, met
hym with the reliques of that citee, most worshipfully to
hym bitwene goyng for the citezenis and of the cuntreys
instituciouns. This Jaddus, clad with golden stoles of
jacinet and sendel, and a plate of gold compassed about his /

f. 147r

heds. The remenaunt of the priestis covered with stolis of
Bissyne; and other hym metten in white clothis. Thei wern
comaunde of the lord so to array hem whan he counsailed
with whiche thei myghten escape the sodayne hast of suche a
tirannt. Whom the kyng, forsoth, whan he saw theym comyng,
went unto, and the name of God that was writen in the golden
table or plate he rad and worshipped. Than he, that Prince
of Priestis, with crienges and salutaciouns hym saw, most
reverently hym received and toke. Forsoth, kynges and princis
that with hym cam, in a maner astonyed, and trowed the wit
of the kyng chaunged. Only oon of hem, whiche of al tho
oper was more prompt, nerrer and hardier went to the kyng
and said and told whi that he with al other worshipped the
Prince of Priestis, and worshipped also the folke of Jewis. And he: nay but in the persone of the Prince of Priestis, God, of whos tymes he bare to have worshipped, and hym by shimbers and dreams til this now was in Macedony, hym to have seen in this same habric, is before witnessed. And to hym hath bien noted and knowen al thynges whiche he had don, in whatsumever was to be don, and to shewe hym a Duke to com to every soule had, and hath monysshed and warned thynges bigonne trustily to do. Whereof of that vision havyng mynde, hym in this maner I have worshipped; God of whos instruccioun I have don everythyng huyderto. I pursued in myght the actes and the thynges bi hym. Darie and the vertue I brak and loosed of the Perses, and what my soule wil bi hym to come to me I trust. Wher that Parmenion, that is to say a man was so named, it is saide he entred the citee worshippyng al priestis, and namly the Prince of Priestis, and the Jewes with cryenges and praisynges to hym sayeng. After he ascendid to the temple of the lord, and after that to hym was shewed, to God he sacrificed; the high priest, with many kyngly reliques, he worshipped. Forsoth, he, with what precious juels that he myght, rewarded the kyng, with the remenaunt of other and to other priestis. Among whiche was offred to hym a Codicel or a bill of Daniels prophecie, whiche he commaunded to be rad before hym and of the reder rehearsed. A wynde is in suche a place that is rad
suche a prince of his people ought to put underfoote al the power of the Percians. That the kyng gladdyng turned to hymself, to no man bettir this to be convenient than to hym [than to hym], as this may be b1 the prophecies of the oracle many likly thynges fallyng. This the same, po pries-tis and worshipful Jewes many to afferme bien evene / witnes-sis. Of the whiche, the kyng more gladder made, comaunded all the Jewes even to be calld, as that thei elect and cheese among theymsilf what thei wold of hym aske, and he to theym shal do it with his ful wil. Of the sentence of theym all it was elect, chosen and asked as the tradicioons of their faders and their cerymonyes pat thei myghten liefully and lawfully use and do, and .vii. yeere thei from any tribute to be comaunded. That to theym the kyng gladly graunted, as weele for ostensioun and shewynge with the visioun as for the prophecie of Daniel, hym stirynge to that he most brennyngly entended.

Therfor, thiese gestis and deedis underdone, al the whiche went to the naciouns of the Est parties (as reason witnesstith before writein) com agethe to Babiloyne, where the Italiens hym abode, and the legates or ambassatours of al the Est, to whom so moche dreede of thynges don of hym and bi hym on went and waded as therof the pilgremage of al the world thow myghtest bihold, the legacioun whiche unneth thow woldest trowe it myght com by the rumour or
tidynes of hym. Therfor, with redy and hasti chastis, wold, when as yit the thirsted bloode at Babiloyne, by his most famulier people yaven nym venyme to drynke, the yeere of his are xxxi, after that he had be old lord of all the world, and after that xii. yeeres the world under hym tremely, with irn he oppressid, slow-th, and lost. The whiche so dede the Princes of Macedoyne. Divers provinces bien lotted and wrappe to riche praiies from the grete lioun lande. Here thow his wnelpis to bite and -nawe so thei in hemsilf wratheden in strif, and with the yevyn of praiies thei brak, and divers and chaungeable batailes thei diden and commytted therfor. The cause and the bi-ynynyng of batailes bitwene hem was the Epistel of Alexander, whiche comauded when he felt hymsilf that he myrht nat live, al exuls to be restored to the fraunchicc and liberte of his cuntrey. Forsoth, the myght1 men of citees, of their grace dreedyn lest thexiles received and taken to liberte, thoughten ven^eauence, and from the realme of Macedoyne thei to faile everiche in other. While oon agenst another sought hymsilf advowsoun, thei made insurrexioun, and everiche of theym had the worst wil and shrewd hert unto his felaw, and so they wern lost. Amonges whom was Cassander, Prince of Macedoyne, that pursued Olimpiadim, the moder of Kynz Alexander, insomoche that many princis in Greece had don many sedicious strives and crueltes; forsoth, toke hir and
slow hir, and Hercules, the litel sone of Alexander, with
tis moder Nona, daughter of Kyng Darius of the Percians
to / kepe, sent in to the top of Amphipolitan, forwhi and
theym with Olimoade he toke. Forsoth, bi proces of tyme,
whan now xiii. yeeris wern past, the Child Hercules
dredyn, Cassander lest hym as lawful Kyng to nym the people
shuld aske and preferre, stilly he hath charged toguyder with
his moder to be slayne. From that, Cassander, he litel
tyme livyn, died toguyder with al the Dukes of Kyng
Alexander, in nombor to xxxii., unneth stode holl in al
xiii. yeere after, but of myseries and wrecchidnesses with
soule and voide and idel deformytes in thymself envious,
in thymself provokyn, and soule to thymself dieng. And
whiche as thei arbitred thymself of al the termes and endes
of pe world as Emperours without furth, so withyn short
tyme and he the whiche that was saide the grete Alexander
and al his grete princes and successours losten their yeeris.
This so that the historie made shewith the ccccclxii.
yeere after the makynge of the citee of Rome, forsoth, with
the consul and counsail of Omelius, whiche with the Taren-
tynes nad bataile and nobly overcam, so as he tellith.
APPENDIX J

The "Parva Recapitulatio" is followed in the MS by an "Ephitaphum" to Alexander. This epitaph is substantially the same as one of the four edited by Hilka along with his edition of the Montpellier Julius Valerius: "Eine zweite Handschrift der erweiterten Epitome des Julius Valerius," Romanische Forschungen, 29 (1911), 31-71. Hilka's list of MSS which contain all or part of this particular epitaph is as follows: BM Royal 13.A.I, f. 78 (Reg); BM Royal 12.C.IV, f. 160 (Re); BM Royal 15.C.VI, f. 116 (R); BM Cot. Galba E.XI, f. 118 (Cg); BM Cot. Titus A.XXVII, f. 216; Cam. Univ. Library Mm. V, 29, f. 143; Paris BN Nouv. acqu. lat. 873, f. 170. Reg has only the first four lines of the epitaph; Re is missing the first four lines, begins at Wo 1. 10 (which is, of course, out of place), and has the other lines in a very muddled state; R and Cg have all twenty-four lines. In the edition below I have placed Hilka's line numbers to the right of the text, as Wo is not only missing the last three lines but has muddled the rest, even repeating one line (cf. 9 and 13). I have given Hilka's variants (H) in the textual notes, and used his punctuation and capitalization.
Ephitaphum

f. 148r  Primus Alexander Pillea natus in urbe, 1
Quem comes Antipater confeclo melle veneno 2
Abstulit et medio regnantem flore necavit, 3
Bissenis primo quam populos dormitaverat orbis. 4
Terra necne mari virtute potens speciali; 8
Quem non preduri valuerunt frangere mari, 9
Cuius nec mentem pelagus superar o furentem, 10
Cum mucrone suo vastaret cunta cruento 11
Atque solo muros equaret funditus altos. 12
Quicquam in humanis constat virtutibus altis. 5
Exuperat magnis belli virtute coruscus 6
Orbis Alexander dom{\textit{i}}tor secolique subactor, 7
Atque solo muros equaret funditus altos. 12
Hu{n}c sic magnanimum nimium contisque tremendum, 13

4. primo quam\textsuperscript{H} postquam orbis\textsuperscript{H} annis
6. preduri\textsuperscript{H} perduri
7. Cuius\textsuperscript{H} Eius
8. Cum\textsuperscript{H} Quin
10. Quicquam\textsuperscript{H} Quicquid
11. magnis\textsuperscript{H} magnus coruscus\textsuperscript{H} choruschus
12. dom{i}tor\textsuperscript{So} H.
14. Hu{n}c\textsuperscript{So} H. \textit{Wo} has omitted the abbreviation sign for the nasal. Cf. que\textsuperscript{m}, 1. 22.
Tellus quem timuit, pontus quem ferre nequivit, 14
Et cuius re-m robur stu-pere potentes, 15
Quemque duces validi metuebant necne tiranni, 16
Concussit subito mulier conspecta timore. 17
Quamvis sit prouus pulsus virtute superba 18
Terror et incomitam conversus pectoris iram 19
Mens cum est mutata virique turbata est virtus. 20
Hic que\(\text{n}\) puymantem non quivit sternere errum 21
"Milia conserto nec fortia multa duello 22
Vincere praefortis valuerunt robore cor-dis, 23
Succubuit leto sumpto cum melle veneno.] 24

19. pronus] H protinus
20. indomitam] H in tumidam
21. cum] H tamen virique turbata est] H viri turbataque
22. Hic que\(\text{n}\)] So H. Wo has omitted the abbreviation sign for the nasal. Cf. Hu\(\text{n}\)c, l. 14.
non quivit] H nequivit
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Alexander's Route through Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and the Indus Valley
The Middle English Letter
of Alexander the Great to Aristotle,
edited from Worcester Cathedral MS. F. 172.

ABSTRACT

This first edition of the Middle English Letter
of Alexander to Aristotle is divided into four parts: the
introduction, the text, the critical apparatus, and the
appendices. The introduction is sub-divided into the
following sections: a description of the manuscript, the
place of the Letter in Alexander literature, the scribe and
the date, the language, and the translation in the context of
15th century translation.

The text is a fictional account of Alexander's
campaign in India, originally written in Greek in Alexandria
in the 3rd century by an unknown writer, and incorporated
into the Alexander romance attributed to Pseudo-Callisthenes.
This romance was translated into Latin in the 4th century by
Julius Valerius, and subsequently the letter became separated
from it, expanded, and was translated into many European
vernaculars. Although the material has some historical
basis, it is largely a fanciful collection about fantastic
animals, people, and trees.
The English translation, which is a mediocre one, probably belongs to the middle third of the 15th century. This manuscript itself is a copy of this translation, and from evidence of work done by its scribe elsewhere can be dated in the reign of Edward IV (1460-83). It is written in a neat and legible bastard hand, and a good deal of evidence points to the London workshop of John Shirley as its source.

The appendices present the following material: A and B: the Latin texts of two sections not translated in the Middle English version; C: a Middle English version of the Parva Recapitulatio which follows the Letter in the manuscript; and D: an Epitaph for Alexander in Latin which follows the Parva Recapitulatio in the manuscript. An Index of Proper Names follows the appendices, and there are three plates: Plate 1, a photograph of f. 145r of the manuscript; Plates 2 and 3, maps of Alexander's routes of conquest.