

THE MIDDLE ENGLISH LETTER OF ALEXANDER
THE GREAT TO ARISTOTLE

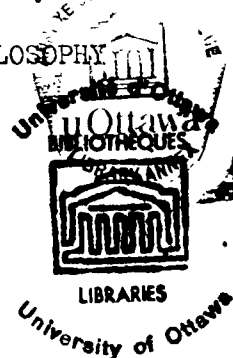
EDITED FROM WORCESTER CATHEDRAL MS. F. 172

BY

TERRENCE KEOUGH

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF GRADUATE
STUDIES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY



OTTAWA, ONTARIO

1972

UMI Number: DC53961

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform DC53961
Copyright 2011 by ProQuest LLC
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. A. P. Campbell for making me aware of the existence of the Worcester Cathedral MS of the Letter of Alexander to Aristotle; Dr. L. M. Eldredge, my supervisor, for his many yellow pages of cogent and detailed criticism; Margaret Gouin, my typist, for her reliable intelligence and endemic sense of humor; the girls in the Interlibrary Loan Department for a gratifying combination of efficiency and humanity; and the Canada Council, whose financial assistance, though much appreciated, may have allowed me to build a door against a wolf already in the house. And in these days of academic underemployment, I would like at least to acknowledge the existence of the Minister of Welfare, to whom alone it seems I can say: "Pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum," for alternatively, "ad restim res rediit."

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.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Introduction	
I The Manuscript	vi
II The Place of the Letter in Alexander Literature	xi
III The Scribe and the Date	xxiii
IV The Language	xxx
V Orthographical and Other Scribal Peculiarities	xxxiii
VI Fifteenth-Century Translation and the Middle English Letter of Alexander	xxxiv
VII A Note on the Text	xlvi
Bibliography	1
Letter of Alexander the Great to Aristotle	1
Abbreviations	35
Explanatory Notes	39
Appendices	
A Letter of Porrus to Alexander	85
B Lines Omitted in Family II MSS	86
C The Middle English <u>Parva Recapitulatio</u>	89
D Latin Epitaph of Alexander	96
Index of Proper Names	99
Plates	
I Worcester Cathedral MS. F. 172, f. 145r	follows p. xxiv

- II Map 1. Simplified Sketch Map of Alexander's Conquests follows p. 101
- III Map 2. Alexander's Route through Afghanistan, Baluchistan and the Indus Valley follows Pl. II

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.¹

The leaves measure 8 x 11 inches, and are bound

¹My 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

²C. M. Briquet, Les Filigranes, 2nd ed. (1923; rpt. New York: Hacker Art Books, 1966), sub numero. Also similar is E. Heawood, "Sources of Early English Paper Supply," The Library, 4th series, 19 (1929), 282-307, No. 62.

³Catalogue, 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 $5\frac{1}{2}$ " x $7\frac{1}{2}$ ".

There is no extant medieval catalogue of Worcester Cathedral Library, and the MS is not listed in the earliest catalogue, Patrick Young's Catalogus 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.⁴ 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.

⁴Ivor Atkins and Neil R. Ker, edd., Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Wigorniensis. Made in 1622-23 by Patrick Young, Librarian to King James I (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1944), p. 72.

The MS. contains the following items:⁵

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.⁶ 48r-72r

⁵This 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).

⁶Hulme 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.

10. Book I of Hilton's "Scale of Perfection."
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-

1313).⁷ 154v-166r

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,⁸ 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.

⁸George Cary, The Medieval Alexander (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p. 252. I am indebted to Cary for much of my information on the Pseudo-Callisthenes tradition, and to a lesser extent to D. J. A. Ross, Alexander Historiatus (London: the Warburg Institute, 1963), and F. P. Magoun, The Gestes of King Alexander of Macedon (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929).

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-Callisthenes¹⁰ 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

⁹G. Chaucer, The Canterbury Tales, Group B², ll. 2631-33, in F. N. Robinson, ed., The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1957).

¹⁰W. Kroll, ed., Historia Alexandri Magni (Pseudo-Callisthenes), vol. I: Recensio Vetusta (1926; rpt. Berlin: Weidman, 1958). Alpha text. No more volumes published. E. H. Haight, The Life of Alexander of Macedon by Pseudo-Callisthenes (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1955). A translation of Kroll's edition.

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.¹¹

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

Pseudo-Callisthenes is the story of Alexander's life from his legendary siring by Nectanebus to his supposed death by poison at Babylonia 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 α tradition early in the 4th century by a certain Julius Valerius Alexander Polemius, and given the title Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis.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 Res Gestae

¹¹Ross, Alexander Historiatus, p. 5.

¹²B. Kuebler, ed., Iuli Valeri Alexandri Polemi Res Gestae Alexander Macedonis (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1888).

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

¹³J. Zacher, ed., Julii Valerii Epitome (Halle, 1867): cited by Cary, p. 24, n. 2.

¹⁴W. 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.

¹⁵The 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 ES 161 (London, 1924);

comment on the vast influence of Julius Valerius can be applied in a large measure to the Letter as well:

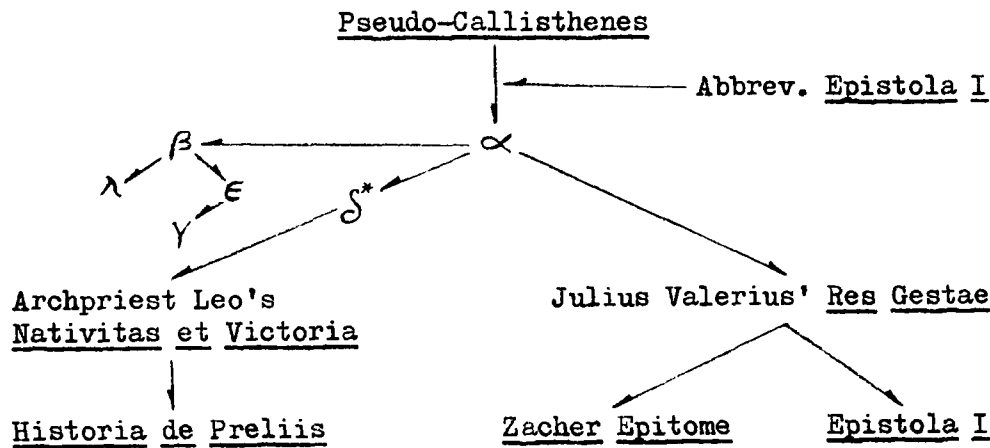
To present in short compass and in logical order the vernacular romances derived essentially from Julius Valerius' Res Gestae is an almost hopeless task; for many of these works draw to a greater or less degree upon supplementary sources, often to such an extent as to admit a double classification.¹⁶

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

Middle Irish: Irische Texte, ed. K. Meyer, in the edition of W. Stokes and E. Windisch (Leipzig, 1887), II, ii, 43-69 and 100-107; Icelandic: Alexanders Saga, ed. C. R. Unger (Christiania, 1848) pp. 164-75; German: for editions see K. T. Gaedertz, Gabriel Rollenhagen: sein Leben u. seine Werke (Leipzig, 1881), pp. 103 ff.; the Italian (Florence: Biblioteca Riccardiana Cod. cart. in 4^o 2593 and Cod. cart. in fol. 1297), Arabic (MS. Vaticanus syriacus 209), and French versions (Brussels: Royal Library 14561-4, fols. 1-5, and 11104-5), are unpublished. Dr. Pierre M. G. Kunstmann of the Dept. de Lettres Françaises of the University of Ottawa will be publishing Brussels Royal Library 14561-4, an early 14th-century Picard redaction, in a future edition of the Humanities Association Bulletin. Information on the Anglo-Norman version may be found in D. J. A. Ross, "Alexander Historiatus: a Supplement," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 30 (1967), 385.

¹⁶The Gestes of King Alexander, p. 25.

form becomes known as the Historia de Preliis.¹⁷ This double stream can be expressed diagrammatically in the following way (the β tradition and its offshoots are not important to European Alexander literature):



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

¹⁷The closest MS to Leo's original translation is Bamberg MS. E.iii.14, ed. F. Pfister, in Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo: Sammlung mittellat. 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 I' 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 Brahmins, the Collatio Cum Dindimo),¹⁸ and then itself influences Alberic's Alexander-book,¹⁹ which is based on the Res Gestae. As a general rule, however, Epistola I 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:²⁰ first, the Prose Life of

¹⁸The first two Tractates referred to here are Cynic attacks on Alexander; the third is a defence of Alexander against the Cynics.

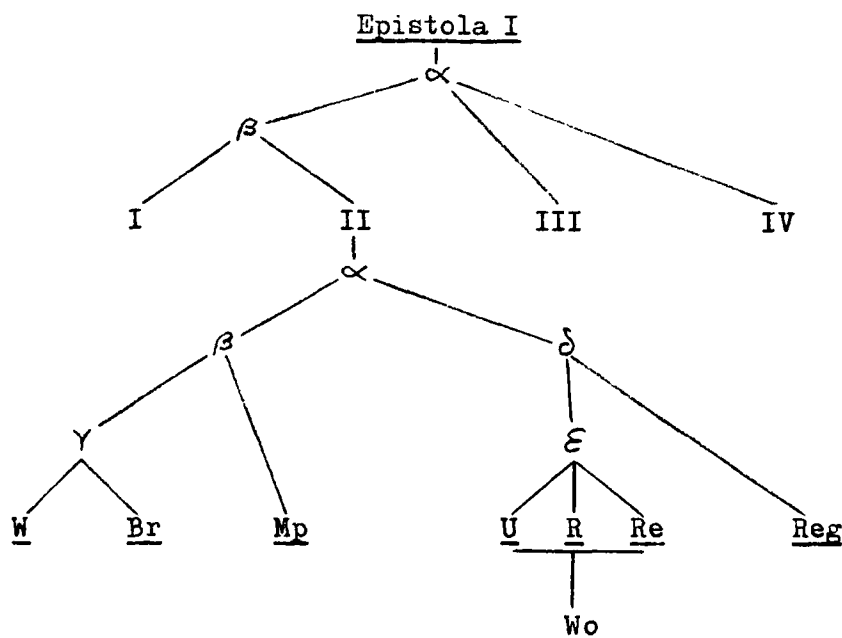
¹⁹Alberic's book, which survives only in a fragment, is the earliest extant Alexander-book in the vernacular. For the text, see W. Förster and E. Koschwitz, eds., Altfranzösisches Übungsbuch, 5th ed. (Leipzig, 1915), cols. 237-46, 323, 324: cited by Cary, p. 27, n. 1.

²⁰Editions: Prose Life of Alexander, ed. J. S. Westlake, EETS OS 143 (London, 1913); "Alexander A" and "Alexander B," ed. F. P. Magoun, Gests of King Alexander, pp. 122-216; Wars of Alexander, ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS ES 47 (London, 1888); Buik of Alexander, ed. R. L. G. Ritchie, STS NS 12, 17, 21, 25 (Edinburgh and London, 1921-29); Sir

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 Vowis (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 δ 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 δ group, and especially with the ϵ 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] ardoribus: Wo Yaven in us a sodeyne haaste, thei fuyrly of made, brennyng flockes hangyng 329-30; Bo: Militibus meis ingentes erant animi, quibus et census victoriarum suppeditabat et felicitas: URRe: Sed militibus meis ingentes erant animi, quibus et census victoriarum suppeditabat et vires: Wo But my knightis wern of grete soule whatsumever wounderful to whiche, and feelyng of victories, with their strengthis thei overcam it and put it underfoote 363-65; Bo: arborum cacumina: URRe cacumina celi: Wo the toppes of hevenes 656-57.

(For further examples, see ll. 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 impedymenis 260-61; Bo: Tunc ego locorum demonstratores qui nos semper in insidias deducebant, pessime meritos [URRe impendens eis secundum eorum merita] crurifragio puniri iussi ut et nocte [URRe nocte sequente] vivi spirantesque a serpentibus consumerentur, ut nos consumi voluerunt: Wo Therfor, than, the shewers of placis, whiche alwey brought and led den us bi assautis, doying to theym after their merites and deservynges, bad punyssh 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 wolden to have consumed us 349-54; Bo: ponere anulos vestesque cunctas cum calciamentis [URRe hospitantium more] imperavit: Wo to put their rynges and al their clothis in maner of hostage I comaunded 618-19.

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

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 impingi et aliqua contumelia iussi notari: to which URRe add: nisi haec ut astipulabantur contingerent. Anceps namque verbis eorum hac illacque flu(c)tuabam indignansque mecum dicebam: Wo Wherfor, so incredible to be illude<d> and bejape<d> [me] of old and auncient barbaryns, estemyng to punyssh hem with payne 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 kervyng wordis of þem, here and ther I floterred, 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. 504-08 and n., and 544-46, 701-02, 728-30.)

4. Omissions Common to Both URRe and Wo:

Bo: gurgites raptosque in vertice crudeli poena viros [URReReg om. viros] flentibus nobis absumpserunt: Wo Ravisshyng swolowes in the top of cruel payne 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 iniuriae noctu elephantorum violentia ferarumque aliarum afferret, 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 moeved 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:

URReEsTr: Vix tandem recollectis sarcinis ex integro in aptiore [most Lat. MSS aprictiore] 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 ingens libatura erat: Wo set bifore hym in a table ebityne and grete libature 715-16; U: corcodrillo gerens: Wo of a cocodrill beryng 434; UB: scintillarum et titionum quibus integra venientium adurebantur: Wo with sparcles and leames to whom holl comyng theym brente 492-93; Re: Sed et momuit 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 ponderavissem: URReReg omit meis oculis: Wo but that with myn eyen I have proved al thynges underdon 19-20; Bo: conditionem: URRe: ditione: Pari: indictionem: Wo indictioun 56; Bo: castra concentu bucinarum repente ad Noti venti spiracula tetendi: LC: contentu: Wo with castels content at the sodayne blowyng 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 ll. 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 aureas platanos unguibus rostrisque inauratis pro inauribus torquibusque quae margaritas et uniones gerentia: Wo Among whiche wern large and brode plates of gold with nailles, and beelis of briddis in idel as for in earns, 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 agmen immensa] cerastarum humidarumque [URRe om. humidarumque] serpentium variis distincta coloribus: Wo And forsoth to noisauce 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 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 cheesen 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 $\mathcal{E}$ 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

²²"An Unrecognized Piece," p. 429.

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.²³ 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."²⁴ 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."²⁵

²³The 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.

²⁴Hammond, "A Scribe of Chaucer," p. 27. Subsequent references to Miss Hammond's work are to this article.

²⁵The Chaucer Tradition (1925; rpt. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1965), p. 181.

5 Then wylke he either and best languages the
 and wylke to come and the yonge began to
 ended in gnde image wylke the den the we saw from the west
 elyng and the byrnes of the some smote the toppes of the trees and
 the priest made above all thynges to holde and of wylke the
 10 is compassed byd. and thowgh the wylke with silence with openly
 wylke and my friends and myn even byng the we came
 wylke to bysiden lest wylke the thynke of the we or wylke
 myn of trey and we shuld bysiden be trayed or myn of trey
 15 wylke wylke wylke we be trayed or trayed and wylke
 of the wylke nor gyle comping but wylke to the toppe and the byrnes
 of the trees we bysiden we standyng to gylde to the byrnes
 we shuld our byrnes of the wylke bysiden myn of trey
 20 tryppe and we comping of all the wylke to myn of trey
 and myn of trey and wylke bysiden wylke bysiden wylke
 of the wylke of the wylke bysiden wylke bysiden wylke
 25 familer as wylke bysiden wylke bysiden wylke bysiden wylke
 the wylke. but a lode in to the wylke bysiden wylke bysiden wylke
 30 for wylke the bysiden or bysiden bysiden wylke bysiden wylke
 35 the wylke the bysiden myn of trey wylke bysiden wylke bysiden wylke
 40 the wylke the bysiden myn of trey wylke bysiden wylke bysiden wylke

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 retorne); 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 aunswers), 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 techyng); 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

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

²⁸Hammond, p. 28.

²⁹Doyle, 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, "Written Anno domini milesimo ccccxlvi," 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

³⁰J. 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.

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

³²Hulme, 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."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?"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."³⁵ He is, as Manly and Rickert describe him, "a dashing, head-long writer, omitting and inverting many words and misplacing passages, though some of his errors [are] inherited from his exemplars."³⁶

³³Doyle, p. 430.

³⁴It 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.

³⁵Ibid., p. 29.

³⁶The 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 þe 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 contemplatief lif is in parfite love and charite seeled inward to live bi gostly vertues and bi sothfast knowyng and sight of god and gostly thynges. This lif longith specially 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 aliquo modo coerceri."

English: "Forsoth beyond the portion of this maner nought availen to parisshens parsons curatis and prelati 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 coheret."

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 -s, -es, 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., wrappid 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 uttirly 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., ^θ.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 dittographical error, he simply crosses out the unwanted word (e.g., had brought with me 677 reads in the MS had brought 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;³⁹ 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 word "escolles" in an attribution to Hermes as the founder of "la science des escolles" and translates "the konnyng of

³⁹For editions, see n. 15 above, p. xlv.

scoles," because he could not know from the context that "escolles" is a corruption of "estoilles" (Lat. "stellarum").⁴⁰

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:⁴¹

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 povoir] 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

⁴⁰Bühler, p. li.

⁴¹S. K. Workman, Fifteenth Century Translation (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940), p. 101. The second quotation is modified in order to incorporate more easily information in a note referring to it: see Workman, n. 14, p. 101-2.

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 mis-translation, of which the following is only one example:⁴²

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

English: "but it hath ben seyde 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 editor⁴³):

In Rom. xi. 30, miserericordiam 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

⁴²G. Chaucer, Boece, in Robinson, Chaucer: Latin: p. 804, Prose 7, n. 18ff.; English: p. 347, Bk. III, Prosa 7, ll. 18-24. The Deschamps eulogy is contained in his "Balades de Moralitez" No. CCLXXXV, in Oeuvres Complètes de Eustache Deschamps, vol. 2, ed. Le Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire (Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français: Didot et Cie., 1880), 138-40.

⁴³The Pauline Epistles, ed. M. J. Powell, EETS ES 116 (London, 1915), p. xxxix.

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: 3e are mercy folwyd, and so þat þey schulden suye mercy: cp. L.V. 3e han gete mercy, and that also thei geten merci.

Scrope in one place renders the French "pere" as "stone" instead of "father,"⁴⁴ 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":⁴⁵

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:⁴⁶

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

⁴⁴Bühler, p. lx.

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

⁴⁶Workman, 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.⁴⁷ 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:⁴⁸

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 59.

⁴⁸The Capgrave and Polychronicon excerpts are cited in Workman, pp. 127 and 123 respectively; the Caxton excerpt is cited in the Leon Kellner edition of Blanchardyn and Eglantine, EETS ES 58 (1890; rpt. London, 1963), p. cxv.

Capgrave's St. Gilbert:

Latin: "processu ergo temporis, volente Domino dilatare 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 þe wil of our Lord God, þe seed which he had sowne be þe first faderes of þis weye, many rich men, noblemen of Ynglond, þat is to seye, Erles, Barones, and oþir, seyng and approuyng þis 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 duodecim, 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 puyssaunce 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:⁴⁹

⁴⁹Cited by Workman, p. 103.

Latin: "Taceant omnes doctores, sileant universae creaturae in conspectu tuo: tu mihi loquere solus."

English: "All maner doctoures holde þei her pes, & all maner creatures kepe þei her silence in þy siȝt; speke þou to me allone."

Even Caxton occasionally falls into this sort of error, as in the following passage from the Fayttes of Armes:⁵⁰

French: "lesquelles choses, pour example 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.⁵¹

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

⁵⁰Cited by A. T. P. Byles, "William Caxton as a Man of Letters," The Library, Series 4, 15 (1934), 17.

⁵¹Bühler, 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

⁵²Workman, p. 8.

⁵³Boer, 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 [MpOc accidere:] 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 uttermost necessite (185-87); Bo: cum [URRe Igitur] ad primos lunae radiantis ortus subito erectis

caudarum aculeis a pascualibus Indici scorpiones consuetam petentes aquationem ad castra innumeri confluxere: Wo Therfor, at the first spryng or rising of the moone beames, sodanily arrectis, serpentis so named, with sharpe tailles, to sheperdis judgement cald scoriouns, askyng to þe 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 .iiii.-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 nothyng what thow hast thow doubttest or musest (inusitatem 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 trophea 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 comaunde and bidde[þe] the Perses and the Babiloynes as .ii. holl ballis of gold to the height and gretnes havyng of .v. feete thei don to be made (pila "ball" confused with pila "pillar") 793-96.

(b) Idiom Not Recognized

Bo: Mox contuli cum Indis manum superatisque his ita ut volebam erepta armis regna Poro restitui:
Wo In maner, I have taken with Yndes the hand. And thiese thynges overcomen, so as I wil nat take away the armes of Porrus, the realmes I have restored (conferre manum = "to do battle with") 401-03; Bo: ut aliquod 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 thei myght bere the weight of gold (sane confused with sanus 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 grunnitibusque suum attoniti magis quam certamine pugne prioris: Wo Nor trippyng 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 bfore 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.

3. 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 journey" (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 tryumphe and overcomyng of al the world to my dere moder Olimpiade 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 refecti: Wo A quiete and a restful nyght was unto the light of day, and al refressed 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 felicity 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 .viii.m.ccccl., and so . . ." (788-89).

(c) Latin Word Order

Bo: vix suffectura tot varietatibus 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 impedimentis (260-61); II: sed solitos pisces cum

unguibus extrahabant [URRe add ab aqua]: Wo but only fisshes with their nailes drewen out of the water (345-46).

(d) Anacoluthon

"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" (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 foure-footed beestis thurstid, I bad anon castels to be set down of þe wey, settls whiche while thei setten down, ther to quenche coveityng their thirst, I tastid the water of the floode" (161-65); "It eekid morre for dum beestis than for our necessite or neede, while in mannes woodenes in al thynges I ageyn knowe than beestis" (166-69); "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" (196-99); "Eftsones, and to us shewyng the place, and expresyng bi name to us, saide and tolde thei, and the same grete ponde of the most swetest and fresshest water founden" (235-38); "So as long while as .xv. fuyres wern kyndeled and brent of woode sufficient, whiche ther þerto was copious" (265-67); "And eftsones whan I saw hem holl, like to metal complete, and freely Hercule with cast down sacrifices it me plesed" (412-14); "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" (459-62); "It profited theym only sum to the fuyre, with whiche uttirly the snowes wern quenched" (508-09).

(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), "abietes" (158), "lucan" (335), "anceps" (571); one example of a causative "do" ("In the moneth of May, Darius the kyng of Perse, at Gages dide do examyne above and indictioun 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 Macedonū, or a contraction such as p^t (pat), or w^t (with)--are expanded without notice. The thorn (þ) has been retained wherever it occurs. There is no occurrence of yogh (ȝ), 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

⁵⁴Workman, p. 30.

brackets < > 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.

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alexander and Dindimus. Ed. W. W. Skeat. EETS ES 31.
London: Oxford University Press, 1878.
- Amos, F. R. Early Theories of Translation. New York:
Columbia University Press, 1920.
- Anderson, A. R. "Heracles and His Successors." Harvard
Studies in Classical Philology, 39 (1928), 7-58.
- Arrian Anabasis. Ed. and trans. E. Iliff Robson. 2 vols.
Vol. 2 includes the Indica. Loeb Classical
Library. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1933-48.
- Bennett, H. S. "The Production and Dissemination of Verna-
cular Manuscripts in the 15th Century." The
Library, Series 5, 1 (1946-7), 167-79.
- Blake, N. F. "Caxton's Language." NM, 67 (1966), 122-32.
- Blanchardyn and Eglantine. Ed. Dr. Leon Kellner. EETS ES
58, 1890; rpt. London: Oxford University Press,
1963.
- Briquet, C. M. Les Filigranes. Deuxième Edition. 4 vols.,
1923; rpt. New York: Hacker Art Books, 1966.
- Brunt, P. A. "Persian Accounts of Alexander's Campaigns."
CQ, n.s. 12 (1962), 141-55.
- Brusendorff, A. The Chaucer Tradition. 1925; rpt. Gloucester,
Mass.: Peter Smith, 1965.
- The Buik of Alexander. Ed. R. L. G. Ritchie. STS NS 12,
17, 21, 25. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood
and Sons, 1921-29.
- Bülbring, Karl D. "Vier Neue Alexanderbruchstücke."
Englische Studien, 13 (1889), 145-56. [An edition
of a fragment of a verse Alexander Romance, first
published in London in 1550, containing a part
of the Alexander Letter.]
- Byles, A. T. P. "Caxton as a Man of Letters." The Library,
Series 4, 15 (1934), 1-34.

- Cary, George. The Medieval Alexander. Ed. D. J. A. Ross. 1956; rpt. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1967.
- Chambers, R. W. On the Continuity of English Prose. An extract from the introduction to Nicholas Harpsfield's life of Sir Thomas More, ed. E. V. Hitchcock and R. W. Chambers. London: Oxford University Press, 1932.
- Chaucer, Geoffrey. Works. Ed. F. N. Robinson. 2nd. ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1957.
- Cursor Mundi, vol. 3. Ed. Richard Morris. EETS OS 62, 1876; rpt. London: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Davis, N. "Styles in English Prose of the Late Middle and Early Modern Period," in Langue et Littérature. Fascicule 161. Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1961, 165-84.
- Deanesly, M. "Vernacular Books in England in the 14th and 15th Centuries." MLR, 15 (1920), 349-58.
- Deschamps, Eustace. Oeuvres Complètes. Ed. le Marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire. Vol. 2. Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français: Didot et Cie., 1880.
- The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers. Ed. C. F. Bühler. EETS OS 211. London: Oxford University Press, 1939.
- Doyle, A. I. "An Unrecognized Piece of Piers the Ploughman's Creed and Other Work by Its Scribe." Speculum, 34 (1959), 428-36.
- Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem ad codicum fidem edita et commentario critico instructa. Ed. W. W. Boer. Diss. Leiden, 1953. The Hague: Excelsior, 1953.
- Floyer, J. K. and S. Hamilton. Catalogue of MSS. of Worcester Cathedral. Worcester Historical Society. Oxford: Parker and Co., 1906.
- Floyer, J. K. "The Mediaeval Library of the Benedictine Priory of St. Mary, in Worcester Cathedral Church." Archaeologia Cambrensis, 58 (1903), 561-70.

Fotheringham, J. K. Historical Eclipses. The Halley Lecture. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1921.

Gests of King Alexander of Macedon: Two Middle-English Alliterative Fragments, "Alexander A" and "Alexander B" Ed. F. P. Magoun. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1929.

Gordon, I. A. The Movement of English Prose. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966.

Green, Peter. Alexander the Great. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970.

Griffith, G. T., ed. Alexander the Great: the Main Problems. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., 1966.

Hamilton, G. L. "A New Redaction (J^{3a}) of the Historia de Preliis and the Date of Redaction J³." Speculum, 2 (1927), 113-46.

Hamilton, J. R. Plutarch Alexander. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1969.

Hammond, E. P. "A Scribe of Chaucer." MP, 27 (1929), 27-33.

----- . "Two British Museum Manuscripts (Harley 2251 and Ads. 34360). A Contribution to the Bibliography of John Lydgate." Anglia, 28 (1905), 1-28. [Contains a discussion of the characteristics of the hand of the scribe of these MSS, who is also the scribe of Wo.]

Heawood, E. "Sources of Early English Paper Supply." The Library, Series 4, 10 (1929), 282-307.

Hilka, A. "Eine zweite Handschrift der erweiterten Epitome des Julius Valerius." Romanische Forschungen, 29 (1911), 31-71.

Historia Alexander Magni (Pseudo-Callisthenes). Vol. I. Ed. W. Kroll. Recensio vetusta. Editio altera ex editione anni MCMXXVI lucis ope expressa. Berlin: Weidmann, 1958.

Hulme, W. H. "A Valuable Middle English Manuscript." MP, 4 (1906), 67-73. [A description of the contents of Wo.]

Jacob, H. F. The Fifteenth Century 1399-1485. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1961.

Juli Valeri Alexandri Polemi Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis Translatatae ex Aesopo Graeco. Ed. B. Kuebler. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1888.

Kazis, I. The Book of the Gestis of Alexander of Macedon. Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1962.

Kihlbom, Asta. A Contribution to the Study of Fifteenth Century English. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri--A.B., 1926.

Kuebler, B. "Commonitorium Palladii. Briefwechsel zwischen Alexander dem Grossen und Dindimus, dem König der Bramanen. Brief Alexanders des Grossen an Aristoteles über die Wunder Indiens." Romanische Forschungen, 6 (1891), 203-37.

Kyng Alisaunder. Ed. G. V. Smithers. EETS OS 227. London: Oxford University Press, 1952.

Lascelles, Mary. "Alexander and the Earthly Paradise in Mediaeval English Writings." MAE, 5 (1936), 173-88.

Lathrop, H. B. "The Translations of John Tiptoft." MLN, 41 (1926), 496-501.

----- . Translations from the Classics into English from Caxton to Chapman, 1477-1620. 1933; rpt. New York: Octagon Books, 1967.

Leach, A. F. Educational Charters and Documents 598-1909. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1911.

----- . The Schools of Medieval England. 1915; rpt. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1969.

The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great, being a series of Translations of the Ethiopic Histories of Alexander by the Pseudo-Callisthenes and Other Writers. Ed. and trans. Ernest A. Wallis Budge. London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1896.

The Life of Alexander of Macedon by Pseudo-Callisthenes. Trans. of W. Kroll, ed. Historia Alexandri Magni, by E. H. Haight. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1955.

- Lucan. The Civil War. Ed. and trans. J. D. Duff. Loeb Classical Library, 1928; rpt. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1957.
- Mandeville's Travels. Ed. Malcolm Letts. Vol. II. London: the Hakluyt Society, 1953.
- Mandeville's Travels, The Bodley Version of. Ed. M. C. Seymour. EETS OS 253. London: Oxford University Press, 1963.
- Mandeville's Travels, translated from the French of Jean d'Outremeuse. Ed. P. Hamelius. 2 vols. EETS OS 153, 154, 1916; rpt. London: Oxford University Press, 1960, 1961.
- Maundevill, The Buke of John. Ed. George F. Warner. London: the Roxburghe Club, 1889.
- Manly, J. M. and E. Rickert, eds. The Text of the Canterbury Tales. Vol. 1, 1940; rpt. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1967.
- Marsden, E. W. The Campaign of Gaugamela. Liverpool: at the University Press, 1964.
- Matthews, W. ed. Later Medieval English Prose. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963.
- McMahon, Clara P. Education in Fifteenth Century England. The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Education No. 35. Ed. Florence E. Bamberger. New York: Greenwood Press, 1968.
- M'crindle, J. W. The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great as described by Arrian, Q. Curtius, Diodoros, Plutarch and Justin. 1896; rpt. London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1969.
- The Middle English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus. Ed. W. H. Hulme. EETS ES 100. London: Oxford University Press, 1907.
- Migne, J. P. Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina. 221 vols. Parisiis: Garnier, 1844-64.
- Moore, Samuel, and A. Marckwardt. Historical Outlines of English Sounds and Inflections. 1951; rpt. Ann Arbor: George Wahr Publishing Co., 1957.

- Narratiunculæ anglice conscriptæ. Ed. T. Oswald Cockayne.
London: Iohannem R. Smith, 1861. [An edition
of the Old English Letter of Alexander along
with the Latin version in BM Cot. Nero D. VIII.
Superceded by Rypin's edition: see Three Old
English Prose Texts.]
- Ohlander, U. Studies on Coördinate Expressions in Middle
English. Lund Studies in English V. General
Ed. E. Ekwall. Lund: G. W. K. Gleerup, 1936.
- The Paston Letters A.D. 1422-1509. Ed. James Gairdner.
6 vols. 1904; rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1965.
- Patch, H. R., and R. J. Menner. "A Bibliography of Middle
English Dialects." SP, 29 (1923), 479-95.
- The Pauline Epistles. Ed. M. J. Powell. EETS ES 116.
London: Oxford University Press, 1916.
- Pearson, L. "The Diary and the Letters of Alexander the
Great." Historia, 3 (1955), 429-55.
- . The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great.
Oxford: The American Philological Association
No. 20, 1960.
- Pliny. Natural History. Vol. 6. Ed. and trans. W. H. S.
Jones. Loeb Classical Library. London: William
Heinemann Ltd., 1951.
- Plutarch's Lives. Vol. 7. Ed. and trans. Bernadotte Perrin.
Loeb Classical Library. London: William
Heinemann Ltd., 1919.
- Plutarch's Moralia. Vol. 4. Ed. and trans. F. C. Babbitt.
Loeb Classical Library. London: William
Heinemann Ltd., 1949.
- Pollard, A. W., ed. Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse. 1903;
rpt. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1964.
- Polybius. The Histories. Ed. and trans. W. R. Paton. Loeb
Classical Library, 1925; rpt. London: William
Heinemann Ltd., 1954.
- The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton. Ed. W. J. B.
Crotch. EETS OS 176. London: Oxford University
Press, 1928.

- The Prose Life of Alexander. Ed. J. S. Westlake. EETS OS 143. London: Oxford University Press, 1913.
- Quintus Curtius Historiarum Alexandri Magni Macedonis. Ed. and trans. John C. Rolfe. Loeb Classical Library. 2 vols. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1956.
- The Romance of Alexander the Great by Pseudo-Callisthenes. Trans. from the Armenian Version by Albert M. Wolohojian. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1969.
- Ross, D. J. A. "A check-list of three Alexander texts." Scriptorium, 10 (1956), 127-32.
- . Alexander Historiatus. London: The Warburg Institute, 1963.
- . "Alexander Historiatus: a supplement." JWCI, 30 (1967), 383-88.
- . "A new MS. of Archpriest Leo of Naples." Classica et Mediaevalia, 20 (1959), 98-158.
- . Illustrated Medieval Alexander-Books in Germany and the Netherlands. Cambridge: The Modern Humanities Research Association, 1971.
- . "Letters of Alexander." Classica et Mediaevalia, 13 (1952), 38-58.
- Sambursky, S. Physics of the Stoics. London: Routledge, Kegan Paul, 1959.
- Schlauch, M. Medieval Narrative: a book of translations. 1928; rpt. New York: Gordian Press, 1969.
[Contains a partial translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes.]
- Serjeantson, Mary S. "The dialects of the West Midlands in Middle English." RES, 3 (1927), 54-67, 186-203, 319-31.
- Stein, Aurel. "Alexander's Campaign on the Indian North-West Frontier." Geographical Journal, 70 (1927), 417-40, 515-40.
- . "On Alexander's Route into Gedrosia: An Archaeological Tour in Las Bela." Geographical Journal, 102 (1943), 193-227.

- . On Alexander's Track to the Indus. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1929.
- Strabo, The Geography of. Vol. 7. Ed. and trans. Horace Leonard Jones. Loeb Classical Library. 1930; rpt. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1959.
- Tarn, W. W. Alexander the Great. 2 vols. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1948.
- . "Heracles Son of Barsine." Journal of Hellenic Studies, 41 (1921), 18-28.
- Thompson, Craig R. The Bible in English 1525-1611. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1958.
- Three Old English Prose Texts. Ed. S. Rypins. EETS OS 161. London: Oxford University Press, 1924. [Contains an edition of the Old English Alexander Letter along with the Latin version in Oxford Corpus Christi MS. 82.]
- The Wars of Alexander. Ed. W. W. Skeat. EETS ES 47. London: Oxford University Press, 1886.
- Wittkower, R. "Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters," JWCI, 5 (1942), 159-97.
- Workman, S. K. Fifteenth Century Translation as an Influence on English Prose. Princeton Studies in English No. 18. Ed. G. H. Gerould. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940.
- Young, Patrick. Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Wigorniensis. Made in 1622-1623. Ed. Ivor Atkins and Neil R. Ker. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1944.

f.138r 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
5 my moder and susters most acceptable. Forwhi I knowe the
lierned in philosophie, I write to the of the regions 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
10 wisdam 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 doubttest or musest -- tho thynges whiche that in
15 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 bilieved to any man of so many woundres but that with
20 myn eyen I have proved al thynges underdon.

It is a wondrous lond, and moder of so many
 f.138v goode thynges; berith or she is a conceiveres 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
 25 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 knowen, 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
 30 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
 35 their labours had bien lasse, neither so many thynges
 experimentis necessarie were to knowe. I do thankynges to
 the strength and vertu of the yonge kynges of Macedony, and
 unconvict or overcomen in our host, forwhi thei han persevered
 <in> my pacience as that I <am> cald kyng of kynges. That
 40 my title I sende to glad the, my most derrest comaundour, if
 doubte I trespas, 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 thow do
 45 litel of us and simply thow seemest to deme.

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

55 In the moneth of May, Darius, the kyng of Perse,
 at Gages dide do examyne above and indiction taken of al
 his regoun. With our ordynaries and preparatories we nan
 purposed of thest provinces and many roial townes saide, as
 in the first epistel I signified to the. And now nat in
 60 manyfold writynges the former deedis now bfore knowen I
 passe over.

Also, in the end of the moneth of Jully, we cam
 curteisly into Ynde, wher with wounder hast Porrus the kyng
 was devict and overcomen, of whos myghti men and riches
 65 with kyngly juels and vessel we bien repleete. But as that
 thow knowe tho thynges whiche seemen to me worthy to bien
 remembred, sum I have knowen forwhi memoratiefly it was.
 And eveene it is to me to describe and write in my bosum of

f.139r his unnumerable host in the whiche weren / so grete plente;
 70 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 .iiii.c. oliphautes, and al taken,
 whiche upon sette with touris upon their backis in the
 whiche wern men of armes castyng dartis and speris. That
 75 kyngly citee with the house of Porrus we inwaded and went,
 in whiche wern 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 .iiii.-fynger
 gretnes, whiche as I wold estemed it to sum other placis,
 80 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 go\ld and the braunchis of cristal, and
 the byndynges wern bitwene sette to the distinccionum of
 smaragdus. The chambres and the beddis al of grete margarites
 85 to grapes and charbuncles wern garnysshed and arraied. The
 doores wern wondirly white, of ivory and ibynes 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
 gridirns of holl gold statued and ordeigned. Of unnumerable
 90 tresour withyn the house and without the dores and wallis,
 unnumerable kyndes of divers colours therfrom erred. Among
 whiche wern large and brode plates of gold with nailles, 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
 95 gemmes and cristalynes gretely light; and shynyng vessels
 portatief, and sextaries, and many other thynges gold ther
 we fond, and sielden silver.

Whiche in to our power brought and kept, coveityng
 to bihold and see the inner Ynde with al and universal Yaatis
 100 of Caspie by the lovyng and lusty host. Wher with the most
 fertile and plentivous regioun I awoundred of the felicite,
 elate with suche a joié 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
 105 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 bfore that he went in to the desertes
 110 and wildernesses, most compendious lond of al the world,
 more than siker and sure journey wold I to cheese. Therfor,
 taken .cccci. dukes whiche knewen the shortnes of the journeys
 in the moneth of August, the sande and gravel bi fervence of
 the sonne and nedy placis of moisture I am past, garnisshed
 115 and arraied thiese with rewardis and yiftis, whiche lierned
 and ledde us thurgh the regiouns bi unkouth and unknownen
 f.139v placis, shrit and / closed with myn holl host in Bactaricen,

a place so named, bi whiche uttirly thei brought us bi hidde
 places, wner and in whiche the folk of the cuntrey griewen
 120 and eten the levis of trees, and of tne mosse and barks of
 trees made hem clothis. But thei, more enemyes 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
 125 thought shulden have shewed experymentis. While that I
 biholdyng of my partie to have falle that profitable counsailes,
 I dispised of friendis, and in likewise of men of Caspie,
 whiche bifer saide and told to me nat so hastily to overcome,
 as to me was no victorie to go or come bytwene.

130 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
 enemyes as victours theym assawted to take their thynges
 135 from hem. And holl knyghtis wern so plentivous that unneth
 thei myght bere the weight of gold. It fil also 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 tokenes, foloweden with
 140 signes and banners. Ther was also of diversitees a mirrour
 into bihold such an host whiche was redy and likly arraied,
 and to honours, worshippes, and strengthis among other folk

enhaunsed. Certainly, I biholdyng my felicite in signe and
nombre of yowth out of mesure, I made joie.

145 But as sumwhat more fully in depnes of worldly
thynges, cast out and fil to us a grete and hevy thirst 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
150 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 thirst. And Zeverus, moche
lauded and praised at my benevolence, with worthy yiftes I
have arraied. Whiche thyng with ful soule don, the host I
155 ordeigned to the best journey.

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
160 housyng therof -- the comelynges of that place useden.

Than and while I and the host and the foure-
footed beestis thirsted, I bad anon ^{the} castels to be set down
of þe wey, settls whiche while thei setten down, ther to
f.140r qwenche / coveityng their thirst, I tastid the water of the
165 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 agcyn knowe than
beestis.

170 Wonder to me was whiche drewen the gold:
oliphauntis of to moche gretnes to the manner of a .m.;
and .iiii.c. waynes of hors al charged with gisarmes;
forsoth, of cartis .mm.; the host of horsmen .xxxii.m.; of
footemen .l.m.; of mulis, gelded, to the nomber 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
180 in hors, mulis, camels, and oliphauntis; 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
185 to take away or to differre the thurst, we sie theym sette
and put in so ful shame, and their injurie vexed, drawyng
to the uttermost necessite, whiche thyng wrang and troubled
me in double wise.

First, of the state of þe host more than of myn
190 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
 taken in the host clad in lawful clothis, signes, and tokens,
 whiche and that they gretely woundred that so where non
 195 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 bfore we discribed, was it edified and made. A
 fewe men of the Yndes (half naked) we called, whiche with
 205 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 þeir owne goode
 210 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 þe compas aboute. And now whan
 thei hadden swymmed and rowed the .iiii. part of the floode
 215 aboute, sodanily was seen horrible and grisely þinges.

f.140v / Elipnautis, more of bodies than epothanis, among the

depthis of waters appiereden drowned. Ravisshyng 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
 220 assautis, I bad of thiese to put .cl. in the floode. To
 whom so hunshid, punshid, and shoved at to swymmeng and rowyng,
 and unaware of thiese rede epotanis worthi and just peyne to
 bere, but to the double nomber of devourers and swolowers
 more than was afore to hope therof to fal or happene to
 225 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 batailles, 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
 230 place?

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
 235 their langage and tunge thei tolden us. Eftsones, and to
 us shewyng the place, and expressyng bi name to us, saide
 and tolde thei, and the same grete ponde of the most swetest
 and fresshest water founden, whiche thei and we, .l. dukes
 and ductors or leeders, eftsones wern to be lad. And forwhi
 240 so many obstacles and evils to us don, al the nyght we
 walked with thirst and charge of armure and harneys evyn

made. Of whiche necessites and needis and tho incomodites
 was eeked and throwen to, forwhi al the nyght with hast of
 lions, beres, tigris, panthers, and lynxes, redily and
 245 toguyder we withstoode. Whiche kynde of beestis so medled
 mette us in the woode, insomuche that at the houre aboute
 .viii. in the day after, whan forsoth as now utterly with
 thirst we feynted and failed, we cam to the forsaide ponde.
 That was corowne with the most eldest woode and moste
 250 habundaunt, shewyng the space of .m. pas. Whan, forsoth,
 that I drank of this fressh and sweete water, I joied.
 Swiftly þe beestis and the werkbeestis with the host after
 habundauntly and plenteuously wern refresshed. And with the
 manner of the .iiii.-footed beestis and the knyghthod
 255 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,
 260 forwhi only in the regiouns was. Therfor, among and bitwen
 tho tentis thei baren sum, me biddyng impedymētis and the
 oliphauntis in the myddil partie of the castels wern chosen
 f.141r and gadred, as the more / apt thei myghten contene and
 endure if any hap or cas of dreede ros or sprang in the
 265 nyght, or of any other newe strif. So as long while as .xv.
 fuyres wern kyndeled and brent of woode sufficient, whiche

ther þerto was copious.

The hour and tyme of the day therof .xl., I
 comaunded the knyghtis ther to take mete with lampis of
 270 gold light to þe maner and nombre of .mm. Therfor, at the
 first spryng or rising of the moone beames, sodanly arrec-
 tis, serpentis so named, with sharpe tailles, to shepherdis
 judgement cald scorpiouns, askyng to þe water, to the castels
 even flowed unnumerable. And forsoth to noisaunce thiese
 275 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 nailles of white
 colour, sum to gold shyneng like to biholde, hissed and
 280 whisteled to al the regloun, 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 stikyng instrumentis,
 285 and thus we put to flight thiese pestelent thynges, and
 with many fuyres theym noied, slow, and brent. Whiche
 thynges in so moche werk hield us nygh .ii. houres.

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

283. No gap in Wo

we hoped rest, of .ii. and .iiii. heded beestis, 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 mowthis drawyng the moisture, whos brestis wern
 areised, with threfold tungen exerciseden and wipyng theyr
 chekis, with eyen sparklyng venym, and of whos breth was
 veray pestilence. And with tneise more than an hour we
 faught, and .xxx. servauntis and .xx. knyghtis we lost. I
 300 praled the Macedonyes that for non unhappy cause or diversite
 thei 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 yelde to the werker. After, serpentis 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 irn. Many
 with fuyre only wern brent, and many on toke hem to the ponde.

Now we in the wacchis and unrest of .v. nyghtis
 with a trump amoneshid and warned to reste. Than sodanly
 310 sprang[h] and ros a tumulte and a voice and a gaderyng in
 f.14lv an hepe in the derke and blyndenes of the nyght, that / alwe
 yielded us astonyed. 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,
 315 and in us maden a grete and a sodayne haaste. And except

and ontake tho that fel bi maner of huntynȝ, thiese pursueden
 bores, of the gretteſt forme and maner livyng, throwen from
 the valey wrapped with horroures, with wounder grete dreedis,
 myxt and medled with many spottis, linxes, tigris, and
 320 horrible panthers, 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, havynȝ teeth in maner of men,
 of whos chiere and smytyng knyghtis weren defouled. On,
 325 moreover, of a newe kynde of beestis appierid, more than
 oliphauntis, armed in the forhede with .iii. hornes, whiche
 of the Yndes is cald the Toth of Tiranntis, with an hede
 like to an hors, beryng .iii. colours. Thiese the water
 drank biholdyng the castels. Yaven in us a sodeyne haaste,
 330 thei fuyrly of made, brennyng flockes hangyng. To that
 suisteyned, whan I withset with the handis of Macedonyes,
 .xxvi. was slay, .lii. whiteris and wevers, and of divers
 of shynyng clothis was made. Unneth only the last fixed
 with hunters perisshed.
 335 Therof and from that, bifore lucan a litel tyme,
 with white lecherous beestis havynȝ dyvers colour in maner
 of girdelis, with whiche myse, to sight and shewyng like
 unto foxes, wenten in to the castels. Of whos bityng
 .iiii.-footed beestis wern wounded and anon deiden. Men
 340 with the same bityng gretely noied, but nat unto the deth.

Than nyghen^s 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
 345 noysaunce doyng to us, but only fisshes with tneir nailles
 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 nailles, thei went from our
 fight. Therfor, than, the shewers of placis, whiche alwey
 350 brought and ledde us bi assautis, doyng to theym after
 their merites and deservynges, bad punysshie 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 wolden to have consumed us. And
 355 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 counseil as of theym
 that wern the strengest knyghtis, ne that non adversites
 as to wymmens houses thei infallen, with castels content at
 f.142r the sodayne blowyng of / the trumpe, with the blastis of the
 wynde I have intended, wherof gadered of barbaryns and of
 Yndes with their strenghtis I knewe newe batailles to conspire.
 But my knyghtis wern of grete soule whatsumever wounderful
 to whiche, and feelyng of victories, with their strenghtis
 365 thei overcam it and put it underfoote. Therfor, placis of

most perilous batailles unncō arraied and harneised, the wey
 and jorney therof we traden doun, and to the placis of the
 Bactarynes with gold and plentevous richessis we cam by.
 And except of the goodely felawshippis of the Percians, thei
 370 next adjacent and liggynge to in the field with castels in
 to repairyng to bataille, I ordeigned .xx. daies idel made.
 With the maner of .iiii. daies jorney we cam bi
 wher with as the chosen Porrus considered to lerne the
 host more neer than to fight. Forwhi and the felawship to
 375 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
 380 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 þe whiche our duke in his tabernacle
 385 with a fuyre kyndeled, refresshith hym bi the heete with
 swift joie. Forwhi as with decrepite and croked age he
 were commytted and fordon with bataill, nat but litel drad
 as he was whan he was yeven to yowth. "What therfōr and
 whi biholdest thou now his age?" I have answerd hym only
 390 to that proposicioun: "I wote nat what Alisaunder doeth

whan 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 Alisaunder I shuld yeve it. Praier is made and
 reward to me shewed, to wnom I have saide sweryng in tyme to
 395 come as in his handis this lettres shuln com by. Eftsones,
 and redy in the castels, and bfore 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 bowid down, of
 400 wonderful example I have transmytted and sent over.

In maner, I have taken with Yndes the hand.
 And thiese thynges overcomen, so as I wil nat take away
 the armes of Porrus, the realmes I have restored. Whiche,
 as he overcomen the honour and worship, is yoven unto me
 f.142v his tresours. He hath manifestly shewed the / which I knew
 nat. Of the whiche me and my knightis and al þe 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 parties, wern
 410 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 whan I saw hem holl,
 like to metal complete, and freely Hercule with cast down
 sacrifices it me plesed.

415 From thens further to go if any what of memoratif

or wondrous thyng we myght bihold, nothyng sauf desert
 unto the ocean, fieldes and woodes and mountayns, we herd,
 in whiche to be oliphauntis and serpentis thei saiden. Than
 I went to the west ocean see to rowe or to shippe. Forwhi
 420 that to me the comelynges affermeden to me derk to wade in,
 and that Hercules and free sones wern hardy and redy to tempt
 þe 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
 425 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
 430 at the lift side of his realme was drie and habundaunt with
 reedis, by the whiche, whan we tempted to passe bi, a newe
 kynde of devourers wenten out with ragged backes, navyng
 .ii. hedis, that oon like to the moone, with a short brest
 of a cocodrill beryng, that other harneised and arraied with
 435 the most hardest teeth, that .ii. knyghtis hedis sodanly
 slow at oo stroke. The whiche unneth only with irn hammers
 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.

440 From thens we cam to the last woodis of Ynde,

wher with castels bi the space of .l. stadies in length
 and .xx. in breede we dide do gader and cheese aboute the
 compas of Brunar, a place so cald. We wold and hoped to nan
 fed under the tyme of the nyght, the houre of the day .xii.
 445 than past, whan as sodayne dreede and abasshement of tilers
 and woode-hewers for dreede camen al toguyder, exhortyng 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<d> the Tessalias to ride and light on
 450 hors, and with hem thei token (of custom of þe 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<s> with axes and glayves armed to folowe the
 f.143r horsmen, and tubicynes and trum/pers to be in the first host
 455 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
 460 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 neverthelesse
 don. Nor trippyng oliphauntis to tarie bien turned as many

449. No gap in Wo

453. No gap in Wo

as taken, and to aske, lepyng or skippyng with blowynges of
 465 men and crienges, and theym more astonyeth that with grete
 strif bfore foughten. Of whos horsmen fil in maner on
 knees we slowgh ca..ccccclxix., and withdrowe out the hornes
 and teeth. In signe and token charged I cam to the castels
 spuyled. A quiete and a restful nyght was unto the light of
 470 day, and al refresshed with sleepe.

First from thens in the morow erly we to go
 went into the reglouns 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
 475 high newe. Thiese the Yndes callid Faunos. Thiese of
 custom drowen more to the floodis of waters, and lividen
 only bi raw fissh and drynkyng 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
 480 Cenophals -- half hors, half man -- whiche tempted to be
 wery to fight, but their dartis 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
 485 to turne, as of somoche from þat place of .xii. myle the
 next castels we setten 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
 490 lasse, to the maner of us gretely astonyed, fil doun to
 grounde. The .iiii.-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
 495 of the goddis, and the moneth of October with þe ginnynge of
 Autumpne or heruest. Unneth gadred the charges and burthens
 of the holl into a more apt valey, we fonde the seete of
 castels; and al thynges ordeigned, I comaunded to al the
 knyghtis to sowpe, forwhi and thest wynde fil.

500 But in the eventide a grete colde encreased. To
 fal in the nyght in the maner of wulflocks unmesurable
 f.143v / snowes bigan. Of whos encres or ekyng, dredyng lest the<1>
 shuld hepen in castels, I saw the knyghtes to trede and
 throw the snow without furþ, ne that uttirly the hepyng
 505 of theym shuld drawe the cold in to the castels. But what
 saide I? Evene neede to me in the saide fulfillyng, 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 quenched. Than was ther
 510 oothynge to grete helth, that in a moment of tyme whan thiese
 snowes wern fall, a rayne than comyng upon largely, the

495. ginnynge of Autumpne Wo ginithe of Autumpne

502. No gap in Wo

snowes disappered, 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
 515 field was brent. We shamed to say that the wrath of þe
 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
 520 fuyres of holl brent and kyndeled and of sure and siker
 epistels taken. The .iii. day ther to us, forsoth, there
 abidyng without cliere sonne-light, alwey to us appiered
 hangyng with the thretyng or manacyng clowde, and ^Ito the
 nombre and maner of .v.c. knyghtis buried, whiche perisshiden
 525 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 þe whiche many grete woundres herd and
 530 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 praied the names, as me kyng of al the londis of
 535 the world, with the high spuyles of victory, overcomen in
 Macedony to Olympi, 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
 540 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 comaunded to famaistuf
 yeer. The blast folowed.

So while the felawship toke jorney I lad under
 545 tokens and signes, .ii. 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 memoratief to
 me, thei answerden to be away of .x. daies jorney and no
 f.144r more where that / I myght if that I wold see mervails. But
 550 it was hard thider to go, for the penurite and scarste of
 water, and many other impedymenis, 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
 555 incredible.

Heryng thiese 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
 560 gladded, with faire voice me trusted, saide: "Whatsumever
 kyng thou art, thou shalt see ther .ii. 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 þinges
 565 triewly, wnethir thei bien to the goode or evil, thow
 maist knowe."

Wherfor, 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,
 570 I bad to be noted but if thiese thynges fallen and happen
 as thei han told and reherced. Forwhi thiese anceps and
 kervyng wordis of þem, here and ther I floterred, and
 disdeigneng dreede I saide: "Forsoth, from the est unto
 the west of al thendis of the world gon aboute and don,
 575 now ⟨h⟩as my mageste to derisioun come, and scorn so don
 and made, if I of .ii. 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
 580 therof whether thei saiden trowth or nat; and that to array
 in short tyme it was nat vayne, as to pray myn felawshipes
 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
 585 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 wondrous spectacles and
 myrrours with old lore and techynges of Yndes, we toke þe
 way whiche to us the forsaide eldermen hadden saide and
 590 told. Bi grete straitnes and nedynes of waters and bi
 many placis of serpentis and wild bestis thei lad and
 broughten us unto the next seete of praieng place. Of the
 whiche wild beestis and serpentis, forwhi unnumerable wern
 of the Ynde tunge cald, to write to the I nat trowed nor
 595 arretted.

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

Forsoth, that place was large, and habundaunt
 f.144v / of bawme and encence, whiche that of grete plente grewe
 in braunchis of their woodis, and the comelynges of that
 regoun wern wont therof to clothen hem so. And whan to
 605 the forsaide holy place we cam, and many oþer unknowen
 thynges we filn and nyghed unto, oon more hier of
 stature þan .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,
 610 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
 615 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 comaunded.
 620 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
 625 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 bigan 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
 630 and braunches of the woode most habundauntly welllyng. Of
 whos odour and sweete savour taken, and of the same barks
 and ryndes, I bifore wold and my felawship diden. Forsoth,

in myddis of the place the holy trees evene stoodden with
divers kyndes of blossom and flouris standyng aboute.

635 Forsoth, thiese trees hadden the height of .c. feete, whiche
the Yndes clepeden "Imbriouns," or sodayne raynes. So as
with theym I me awounderd, 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 wield
640 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 litalnes of their state dredyng.
Forsoth, whan I straw and lay to sacrifice and to offre,
645 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 aunswers. That I whan I had don than, the
650 priest asked what I had estemed and trowed the aunswers of
f.145r 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."

655 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 whatsumever thynges is counsailed, hid,
and thought, with silence, nat openly, pronounced he told."

660 While I and my friendis and myn evene-knyghtis
we ententiefly wern to biholden, lest withyn the thikkenes
of the woode or with any maner of treason we shuld bien
betraied, or in any maner of sum mans techyng with voice any
us bejaped or stoined. And that with no maner of frawde
665 nor guyle comyng bitwene, to the toppe and the braunchis of
the trees we biheld; we standyng toguyder, to the divyne
praier we occupied our praiers. Than I thought stilly in
mysilf if with tryumphe and overcomyng of al the world to
my dere moder Olimpiade and my susters myght ageyn retorne.
670 Than sodanily with weyke and soft word of Ynde the tree
aunswerd: "Of unrightwis batailles, Alisaunder, as thou
hast counsailed in thi lif, thou 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
675 hede."

 Than I heryng this, smyten in my mynde with
displeasure for that I had brought with me so many to the
holy trees. Uttirly, therfor, for sorow I wept, examyneng
mysilf toguyder with my friendis and felawship, whiche
680 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 aunsvers to no man.

Lftsones, forsoth, to the oracle or praieng
 685 place of the moone for to go, to whiche the priest affermed
 myght be don at myd-nyght, forwhi than the moone was for to
 be praied unto. I toke with me .iiii., my triewest and most
 feithful friendis, that is to say, Perdicam, Diatanan, and
 Philotan. And so aloone with thiese .iiii., my friendis, I
 690 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
 meanwhile, 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
 695 spryng and shynyng of the moone shuld take her clier light,
 the tree aunswer<d> in Greeke tunge and saide: "Alisaunder,
 now thou hast the ful end of thyn age. But the next yeere
 folowyng in the .ix. moneth at Babilon thou shalt dey, and
 f.145v of whom thou weenest and trowest lest thou shalt / be
 700 disceived." Than I shed out tearis, and my friendes standyng
 aboute me wepten. In this oothyng 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
 705 friendis to counsail, ne theym bfore 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. Knownen to
 my friendis nat me made dull or enfected with any doubte
 710 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
 yit the priest was asleepe, wrapped in skynnes of wiede
 715 beestis so rested, set bifore hym in a table ebityne and
 grete libature, foode, or relief, ther was of the souper
 the day bifore knyves of ivory, bras, irn, and leede, golde
 and silver in plente. The comelynges of that place drank
 the cleene and pure water fallyng from the next mountaynes
 720 and hilles, liggyng and restyng upon beddis without any
 pillewes, but only made with þe skynnes of wiede beestis.
 With thiese maner clothynge thei liveden ther content
 almost to thage of .ccc. yeere.

Therfor, the priest awaked, I entred into the
 725 thridde counsail 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 enemye I shuld shewe, and lightly
 at this instaunce made and in so moche a wey taken thou
 730 shalt be chaunged. Forsoth, to the I shal nat say ne telle,
 lest my .iiii. 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 thow shalt die, nat with irn as thow weenest and
 735 trowest, nor with gold nor silver, nor with no maner of
 metal, but only with venym. Forsoth, thi 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
 740 thy tyme is, thow shalt be lord of al the londis of þe
 world. Now, beware that thow ne enquire ne aske 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
 745 as we to brenne and to array, to aunswer of hym sayeng,
 forwhi the weepyng and the wallyng of our trees he offendith.
 Than, I anon incontynent, cited al my knyghtis as Porrus
 and Fasiacen of the aunswere we aske to have monisshed and
 warned, and that of us Faustum and Felix bien to come in
 750 tyme of my lif and the host I have loved. Triewly this I
 f.146r 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 wiþ me
 herden, I besought hem as of their feith with silence my
 755 counsails thei huyden and coveren.

742. The termes Wo Vii termes

Now of the holy trees we cease, but yit to the
 odoure of encens and the sweete bawme we turned our nosis
 forth. The priestis of Ynde unto the west occean uttirly
 me worshipping, saide to be immortal or undedly, whiche in
 760 so litel tyme an end set; that I mygnt 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 þe vale of Jordan, in
 whiche serpentis enhabited, havyng aboute their nekkis
 765 stones whiche thei callen smaragdis. Thiese taken the
 light shed out in eyen, and that non to escape thiese
 serpentis cheesen 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
 770 <xx> feete, of auncient Yndes to that cause edified.
 But thiese serpentis, of whom a litel bfore 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.

775 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 comytted nor done, as it is saide
 with brede, water, and herbis only thei bien fed. Whiche

770. Gap in Wo

780 us token with the best felawshippes and with right jorneyes
 bi the Yaatis of Caspie unto Fasiacen, to the kyng Porrus
 ledde.

From thens gon, and with the blast of the Ewre
 wynde, wee fill into most wielde bestis, of whos flessch as
 785 of a sharp swerde from the top or the poynt folowed, whiche
 in manere of rammes token their cours agenst men, and
 overcam many with their knyghtly helmes, betyng with
 their hornes overtrade and beete. Of the whiche I, while
 as to the maner and tyme, I slow .viii.m.ccccl., and so
 790 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 bfore sette, in name Alanen, as that he comaunde and
 bidde [de] the Perses and the Babiloynes as .ii. holl ballis
 795 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 writen, and put and sette theym in
 the last and uttermost Ynde biyonde the sones and chieldren
 of Hercules victory, of the whiche .c. sum weren in divers
 800 regiouns. Ther also my golden ballis biyonde theym of .v.
 feete to be statute and ordeigned I have comaunded, to the
 f.146v whiche / myracles or mervailles 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 hereafter. 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.

A London: BM Harley 2682 (III)

B Paris: BN 8518 (III)

Bam Bamberg: Bibl. E.III.14: ed. Kübler, in Romanische Forschungen, 6 (1891), 224-37.

Bo Boer: Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem (The Hague, 1953).

Br Brussels: Bibl. Roy. 5354-61 (II)

C Paris: BN 17569 (III)

Cn London: BM Cot. Nero D.VIII: ed. Cockayne, Narratiunculae (London, 1861). (I)

Es Einsiedeln: 357 (IV)

Et Eton: 133 (IV)

G Wolfenbüttel: Bibl. Aug. 56.16.8 (III)

Gc Cambridge: Gonv. and Caius 177 (I)

H Leyden: Lat. Bibl. Publ. 20 (I)

L Leyden: Lat. Vossii Q 20 (III)

- M Leyden: Lat. Vossii Q 29 (III)
- Mp Montpellier: Fac. Méd. H. 31 (II)
- Mps Montpellier: Fac. Méd. 384 (III)
- Oc Oxford: C.C.C. 82: ed. Rypins, Three Old English Prose Texts, EETS OS 161 (London, 1924). (IV)
- Ol Oxford: Lincoln Coll. 96 (I)
- Om Oxford: Bod. Laud. Misc. 247 (III)
- P Paris: BN 4880 (III)
- Pa Paris: BN 6831 (III)
- Par Paris: BN Nouv. Acq. Lat. 310 (IV)
- Par1 Paris: BN 5062 (I)
- R London: BM Royal 15.C.VI (II)
- Re London: BM Royal 12.C.IV (II)
- Reg London: BM Royal 13.A.I (II)
- S London: BM Sloane 1619 (IV)
- Tr Cambridge: Trinity Coll. 1335 (IV)
- U Cambridge: Univ. Library 2434 (II)
- W Paris: BN 7561 (II)
- Wo Worcester: Worc. Cath. F. 172: basis of the present edition.

2. Other Abbreviations

Arrian Arrian, Anabasis, ed. and trans. E. Iliff
 Robson. Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols.
 (London, 1933-1948).

Arrian, <u>Ind.</u>	Arrian, <u>Indica</u> , included in vol. II of Robson's edition.
Budge	<u>The Life and Exploits of Alexander</u> . . . , ed. and trans. by E. A. Wallis Budge (London, 1896). (The Ethiopic Alexander Stories)
EETS ES	Early English Text Society (Extra Series)
EETS OS	Early English Text Society (Original Series)
Eng.	English
Curtius	Quintus Curtius. <u>History of Alexander</u> , ed. and trans. John C. Rolfe. Loeb Classical Library, 2 vols. (London, 1956).
Lat.	Latin
ME	Middle English
MED	Middle English Dictionary
Med. Lat.	Medieval Latin
OE	Old English
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
OF	Old French
om.	omit(s)
<u>Pseudo-Callisthenes</u>	<u>The Life of Alexander of Macedon</u> by <u>Pseudo-Callisthenes</u> . Trans. into Eng. by E. H. Haight (New York, 1955).
Strabo	<u>The Geography of Strabo</u> , vol. 7, ed. and trans. H. L. Jones. Loeb Classical Library (London, 1917-32).

STS NS Scottish Text Society (New Series)

Abbreviations of titles of periodicals conform to the PMLA
Master List and Table of Abbreviations in the MLA
International Bibliography.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

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 hevene. Bo "de statu coeli." Cf. ll. 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. falle. Bo "accedere." There is a confusion here between accedere "to approach" and accidere "to happen." See also l. 136. The same mistake occurs in Chaucer's translation of Boethius: F. N. Robinson, ed. The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (Boston, 1957), Bk. I, Prose 4, n. 282, p. 799.

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. tho 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 "inspexi" as "bihold 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 inspexi."

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

21-22. It is a wondrous . . . evil thynges.

Bo "Mirandum est terra quantum aut bonarum rerum pariat
aut malarum concepatrix." Es has "genitrix contemprix,"
which sheds some light on the appearance of "moder" here.

28. fanned, foolish, silly. See OED, s.v.

fond, where Alexander 5513 is quoted: "A fanned fantasy þan
fell in his hert."

29-32. And forsothe . . . deedis be don. Bo

"Etiam naturam animi mei, cum fueris praeceptor, 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 appellarer]."

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. whiche 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, B1), where Alexander won his first victory over the forces of Darius.

indictioun. Bo "condicionem." Wo is closest to Par1 "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 Porus and Poros elsewhere: 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 intercedi. 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 Buke 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. smaragdus, emeralds.

84-85. margarites 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 "Thalamī 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 þe emperour table and aboute a grete party of þe hall es made a grete vyne of fyne gold; and it es wonder curiously wroȝt with many branchez and grapez lyke unto grapez of vynes growand, of whilk sum er whyte, sum ȝalow, sum reed, sum blakk, sum grene."

86. ibynes (<Lat [h]ebeninus), 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." WBrURRegSOcParEs "lauri." 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

"[URRe quia] 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 selden), 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 (l. 528). See l. 427 "the lift part of Ynde," and l. 472 "that other Ynde."

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

103. comelynges (<OE *cymeling). 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 Porum primum [URReReg quam primum] adsequerer."

111-12. Therfor, taken.ccccl. 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 barks 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, ll. 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.

136. It fil alse. Bo "Accedebat quoque." Confusion of accedere and accidere. See n. 10.

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 . . . thirst to labour. Bo

"accidit nobis siti laborare."

148. Zeuerus. The story of Zeuerus 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 "animaeque meae magis quam suae vitae consulebat."

156. floode. Bo "flumen."

157. hithes. The usual meaning in ME is that of OE hyð, "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 l. 163.

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

166-69. It eekid morre . . . than beestis. Bo "angebatur 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. URRe are the only Lat. MSS which have anything approaching this phrase: "Equorum honeratorum clitellas ferentium."

181. and to us a litel victorie. 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 "iniuriam" 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. l. 815.

200. huyth. See n. 157.

204-06. whiche with 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.

217-18. Havisshyng swolowes . . . wepyng. Bo
 "gurgites raptosque in vertice crudeli poena viros flentibus
 nobis absumpserunt." URReReg omit "viros."

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 prodigiis bella
 gereremus, iussi dato signo bucinæ ad iter militem aptari."

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

256. stadies. The equivalent measurement accorded to the stadie varies (e.g., it was traditionally rendered by "furlong" 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 iubente] 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 milibus."

271-72. arrectis. Bo "cum ad primos lunae radiantis ortus subito erectis [OlPariParEs 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 tungenes . . . chekis. Confusion is common here in the Lat. MSS. Bo "cum trisulcis linguis fauces [W faces Oc falces] exserebant [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."

304. cocodrilles. Med. Lat. "cocodrillus," a corruption of Lat. "corcodilus" or "crocodilus."

307. fuyre. See n. 286.

308-09. Now we . . . warned to reste. Bo "Iam nos vigiliis inquietos quinta noctis hora bucina admonebat quiescendum."

309-13. Than sodanily . . . gretnesse of boolis. Bo "Sed affuere albi leones taurorum comparandi magnitudinibus: cum ingenti murmure concussis cervicibus, stantibus alte iubis in modum fulminum in nos impetum faciunt expectique venabulis ruunt. Tantus repentinus ariebatur tumultus cumulante caeca nocte." To which URRe add: "ut omnes attoniti redderemur."

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.

327. Toth of Tiranntis. Boer (n. 20, 7) conjectures "dentityrannum" from the multiplicity of readings in Lat. MSS here. II generally has "dentemtyrannum." George F. Warner, Buke of John Maundevill (London: the Roxburghe Club,

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. berynge .iii. colours. Bo "gerens atricoloris."

329-33. Yaven in us . . . clothis was made.
Bo "in nos subito impetum dedit nec ignium compositis tardatur ardoribus. Ad quam sustinendam cum opposuissem 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 shewyng
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. Therfor, 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 . . . batailles 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." URRe 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 repairyng to bataille.

Bo "in reparando bello castra."

372-74. we cam bi . . . than to fight. There is

much confusion in the Lat. MSS here. Bo "pervenimus ubi cum collecto consederat exercitu Porus propriae deditio[n]i 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 mihi 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 jole. 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 trans-
 lator 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 dugud?), 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, EETS 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, EETS 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

and Sayings of the Philosophers, EETS OS 211 (London, 1939), about which its editor, C. F. Bühler, makes the following note (220.5-8, p. 366) on Ashby's Dicta Philosophorum (st. 145): "Philosophi dixerunt Alexandro imperatori, quomodo in etate tam tenera potuisti, & vt regna perquirere. Respondit: quia reconcilians inimicos amicos feci, & amicis beneficiis satisfeci: hec Tholomeus.

Philosophers asked a question

Of kyng Alex[an]dre, the emperour,

How in his tendre age in possession

Hathe gotten mony realmes with fauour.

He onswered, by two meanes with honnour,

Oon to reconcile his enemyes,

Another to do wele to his freindes."

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 spyyles bien brought. Bo "ex hoste Macedonibus in Herculis Liberique trophea deduxit." None of the Lat. MSS in confused about "Herculis Liberique." The confusion between Liber, -eri, "Liber," the Roman Bacchus, and liber, -eri, "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 "Heracles 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 goddesses (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 Liberi ultra ausus nemini
 esset temptandum, praestantissimorum deorum, tanto maiorem
 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
 regni sui parte" after "Palus." Tr has "cannis" for "coeno."
 It appears that the translator was either following a MS
 with "palam" intead 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 hebdomadaron beast which could carry elephants on its back."

433. like to the moon Bo "leaeanae simile."

Many Lat. MSS "lunae."

438. glayves. Bo "hastis."

443. Brunar. Bo n. 30, l: "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, l 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. comande (d). Bo "Imperavi." The present "Impero" is found only in SEt.

Tessalias. 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 promuscidibus tendentia. Quorum terga et
nigra et candida et rubri coloris et quaedam erant varia."

459-63. Kyng Porrus . . . nevertheless don.

Bo "Hos Porus capi habiles mihi in usus bellorum affirmabat
facileque averti posse, si ab equitibus [URRe ab equitibus si]
verberari sues non desisterent. Qui 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 trippyng . . . bfore foughten.

Bo "Nec mora trepidantes elephantī conversi sunt; tam plures
quam pugnae priores saltus petere coepere bucinis hominum
grunnitibus suum attonitī." URRe omit "quam pugnae priores"
and add "magis quam certamine pugne prioris" after "attonitī."
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. "attonitī," which modifies "elephantī," into a finite
verb without a subject, is disastrous to the structure of
the sentence.

467. we slough ca..ccccclxix. Bo "admodum non-
gentos octoginta occidimus." None of the Lat. MSS gives
the figure translated here.

468-69. I cam to the castels spyyled. Bo
 "onustus praeda in castra perveni." After "spyyled" all Lat.
 MSS except URReReg include the following sentence, also
 omitted in Wo: "Iussi tunc clipeis et lorica vallum prae-
 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 "peditum altos
 novem." There is much confusion in the Lat. MSS here, but
 none of them reads "novum" for "novem."

475. Faunos (<Lat. faunos Gk. Ἰαῖνες). 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. Cenophals. 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 adlaccessere temptabant et electis 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 aquationi 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.

493-96. And while so I busied . . . hervest.
Bo "Tum [I dum] hortor milites quia aequinoctiali [II noctuali] tempore id accidisset, non deorum ira quod [URRe om. quod] Octobri mense autumnoque [Oc autumpnisque] urgeret." 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 cummensi autumpnique," where the word "cummensi" was taken to mean "commencement" or "beginning."

496-97. Unneth . . . valey. UReEsTr "Vix tandem recollectis sarcinis ex integro in aptiore [most Lat. MSS, apriciore] valle." See n. 111-12.

501-02. unmesurable snowes bigan. Alexander "spent the winter [of 327-326] in the hill territories of the Aspasioi and Assakenoi" (A. Stein, On Alexander's Track to the Indus, London, 1929, p. 153), where the snowfall is considerable. See Map 2, C2.

504-08. ne that . . . to the deth. Bo "ut quam primum iniuria pedum tabesceret." The translation here is close to URRe, which replaces the above with "ne omnino earum accumulatione in castris frigore contraheremur. Sed quid dicam. Opus eque a me indictum complentes frigore contracti mortui 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 Liberī; 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 Liberī, quo perditos immisimus." URReRegP omit "Liberī." URRe have "de quo inaudita nimisque 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 mortī] eorum probavimus [URRe comprobavimus]."

534-36. as me kyng . . . to Olympī. Bo "ut me regem totius orbis terrarum cum sublimibus tropheis triumphantem in Macedoniam Olympiadi."

537-38. But alas . . . I have knowen. Bo "Quam rem frustra me petere ita cognovi." The translation here follows URRe "Sed pro dolor frustra me petere id hoc ordine cognovi."

538-43. Therfor, inquiryng . . . 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, iussi divertī signa in Fasiacen, antea Notī [URRe antiohu] ventī flatum secutus." In Oc "iussi" 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 "divertī." Still, the translator of Wo seems to be following a MS not used by Boer, though the locus desperandus of 542, "amaistu," probably arises from a similar sort of corruption as the meaningless "antiohu" of URRe.

544-46. So while . . . metyng. URRe "Dum itaque

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, "Emausa1" in Indian.

567-73. Wherfor . . . I saide. The closest Latin reading is URRe "Qua re tam incredibili illudi me a barbaris senibus existimans, peona eos impingi et aliqua contumelia iussi notari, [nisi haec ut astipulabantur continerent. 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. Forwh1, Because of.

anceps. Lat. "double-edged."

572. floterred, vacillated.

580-81. and that to array . . . vayne. 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 "Phasiace" 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. praeleng place. Bo "oraculi sedem."

595. arretted (<OF areter <Lat. reputare), counted.

596-7. with coveryng. Bo "a nobis petitaе." URRe "a nobis concupitaе."

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

610-11. And with . . . covered. Bo "Atque cum me more rituque salutaret." CnURReReg, etc., follow this with "metum [LGMBA me cum] simulatione silentioque textit."

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 paperemus adhortatus est," which gives a clue to
the source of "adorted."

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

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

636. Imbriouns. There is a good deal of variation
in the Lat. MSS here. The closest to Wo is URReReg "hibrio-
nas." 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 lection-
ibus traditis lateat, diiudicare non possumus. 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 timentes." URReReg omit "easque in
eclipse 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 þi nam to neuēn."

644. straw, strew. OED s.v. strew: "App.
repr. a dial. pronunciation (with rising diphthong) of OE
streawian var. of streowian."

645-47. forwhy . . . to smel to. Bo "qui [II, III
quia] negabat licere aut tus in eo sacrario igni uri 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 "olere."

647-48. torned to kisse. Bo "oscula dare."

651. Most Lat. MSS have a tag before Alexander's
 "Sumwhile he either . . ." answer here: ~~ie.~~, "Tum ille inquit."
 It is omitted, however, in URRePar as it is in Wo.

656. 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 radiis . . ."

smote (OED s.v. smite), shone strongly
 upon.

656-57. the toppes of hevenes. Bo "arborum
 cacumina." URReReg om. "arborum." URRe 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 silentio, nemo [URRe nec]
 palam pronuntiet.'"

664. stained, stunned.

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

666-67. we standyng . . . pralers. Bo "stantibus
 nobis comminus divina aures occupant [OmMpsPa occupavimus]
 oracula."

671. Of unrightwis batailles. Bo "Invicte bellis."

688. Perdicam. Perdikkas (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.

Diatanan. 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 Parmenio (ca. 400-330), the senior general Alexander inherited from his father Philip. He commanded the elite Companion 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 URRe "In hoc uno me consolabas."

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

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

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

715-18. set bifore 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 "e~~g~~ent."

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.

736. venym. There is almost universal agreement among classical historians that Alexander did not die of poisoning. See J. R. Hamilton, Plutarch Alexander (Oxford, 1969), p. 213-14, n. 77.2, for details of the controversy.

738. the wey. Bo "in via."

742-43. The termes . . . Porrus the kyng. Bo
 "inde [II unde] excede terminos luci nostri et ad Fasiacen
 Porumque [II add regem] revertere." The "vii" 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 "vii." 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
 responsioni, 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." URRe 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, Protesilaus, et Mistomus et Timotheus et Lacon et Traseleon et Deditus et Macon et Erocles et Silbrus et Sunsiclus et Perdicas et Philotas et praefectus praetorii Coracdas." There is some variation in individual MSS.

758-62. The priestis . . . praisynge. 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, pg. 1155-1159) auctorem **Ιωβάρις** (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

~~serpentes~~ lasere et albo pascuntur pipere; hi lumen in oculis profusum accipiunt. Hi vallem nulli adeundam incolunt."

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 pepero 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 "tricenun."
Tr "cccc." URReReg "vigenun."

772-73. amonges theym . . . thei fighten." Bo
"inter se quotannis vere 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 colligunt. 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.

781. Yaatis of Caspie. See n. 99-100.

783-84. Ewre wynde. Strictly speaking, the south-east wind, but here probably simply the east wind.

784. wee. See n. 199.

787-88. betyng with their hornes overtrade and beete. Bo "cornu suo transverberabant." URRe "cornu suo transverberantes transfoderunt."

788-89. Of the whiche . . . and tyme. Bo "Quibus ergo [II ego] occisis [om. URReReg] admodum novem [II octo] milibus quadringentis quinquaginta."

793. Alanen. So URReReg. Bo "Alconı." The name is unknown historically. Boer simply refers the reader to his note on Ditorıcam, reproduced at Wo n. 688 above.

793-96. as that he comaunde . . . to be made. URRe "ut praeciperet persis et babilonı(ı)s ut pilas solidas aureas duas pedum quınum altitudine habentes fecissent." The translator seems to have confused Lat. pıla "pillar," with pıla "ball."

796-97. and also . . . writen. Bo "et in his omnia facta mea scriberet [II scriberent]."

797-808. and put and sette . . . be had in glorie. 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 monumentum invidendum, ut immortalitas
 esset perpetua et nobis opinio et animi industriae, optime
 Aristoteles, indicium." There is considerable variation in
 the Lat. MSS here, which probably accounts for some of the
 confusion in Wo.

798-99. beyonde the sones and chieldren 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
5 alia mundi regna nominatissimum tam parva manu pertinaci temeritate aggredi ausus sis. Sed nec Darium nobis nec Persas Indis ulla ratione aequiperandos credideris. Et quoniam de militibus bellorum periculis innumeros amisisti, datur a nobis licentia revertendi aut residuis qui tecum
10 sunt, ut maxime aetati tuae parcas, quae vix sufficit tibi, si Macedoniam redire disponas, aut deditionem 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 . . . incidimus inscitas talis generis bestias, habentes capita leonum, caudas unguibus binis, latae ad mensuram sex pedum, quibus verberabantur homines, ut inutiles fierent. His erant intermixti grifi,
5 rostra habentes aquilarum et alia parte corporis dissimiles. Qui mira velocitate in ora oculosque nostros resiliebant et scuta clipeosque nostros caudis pedum binorum ternorumque crudelissime admodum verberabant. Qui partim sagittis, partim contis militaribus conficiebantur. Perdidit in eo
10 certamine ducentos sex milites bestiarum utriusque generis morsu; occidimus admodum sedecim milia.

Inde ad Occluadas fluvium venimus, qui sine flexu rectus ad oceanum ferebatur, latior stadiis ad ripam alteram viginti; erant arundines ad trecentae per litora, quarum
15 unam vix triginta milites possent ferre: excedebant enim arborum procerissimarum altitudinem. In his arundinibus stratum potentissimo ebore vidimus. Inhabitabant enim locum eundem milia elephantorum innumera, qui nos nescio quo facto lacessere non temptabant; alloquin crudelissime

20 percalcati eramus. Multis collectis dentibus ratibus ex
 arundine factis transnavigavimus amnem. Inhabitabant litus
 ulterius Indi beluarum ferarum contexti pellibus; non fuere
 inhospitales, qui nobis spongas albas purpureasque in manus
 dedere cum bucinis et genere coclearum, capientes binos et
 25 ternos congios, 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
 30 vincentes, cocco rubriores, posuerunt nobis et murenas
 habentes pondera ducentena, affirmantes esse maiores in
 vicino ipsis oceano, qui erat ad miliarium tertium et vices-
 imum, pisces praeterea scaros pondus centenum quinquagenum,
 qui gurgitibus nassis eburneis capiebantur, ne arundines
 35 morsu confringerent 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 arundineto, cum essent specie mirabiles,
 in affectu suo avide victos rumpebant aut veneria exanima-
 40 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

45 ad Notī ventī 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."¹ 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
 5 groundes 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 deformyte of al wrecchis, and wif fervent
 cruelte and trouble of al thest partie. This Alexander
 (after the triewe storie) of Philip and Olimpiadis was the
 10 sone; and of Aristotil the philosopher and of Nectanabus
 the phisicien a disciple. Of whom it is fals to be bileved
 or trowed is to be his sone, for the grete famuliarite and
 homlynnes that of the dere sones grace he had with Olimpiadas
 to that Nectanabus, and namly for the busy diligens that
 15 Nectanabus exercised unto Alexander and Olimpiadis his moder
 in liernyng. Wherof, and as it is brought and saide here
 that the same Nectanabus, with ful wil of soule, of a yong
 disciple slowgh, while suche a tyme evene with sharp
 disciplyne he brent in biholdyng in him. And also Philip,
 20 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 disceased from worldly and
 kyndly thynges, to hym succeded in his realme Alexander
 his sone, of myght most myghtiest, of strength [most strength]
 25 most strengest, of cruelte most cruel, whiche, as wel in
 houshold meyne as in straungiers, most woolest; and no man
 spared, of what estate, honour, worship, or condicioun that

he were, that he felt rebel agenst his wil.

Therfor, this Empire assumpt and taken, batailles
 30 to hym withstandyng, he tobrast, adoun pressed, and subdued
 of his subjectis, forsoth, aboute in every regioun and realmes,
 and tneir kynges; in realmes put in impositcions and tributes;
 and with hym in felawshippes in the right of bataille sum of
 the Siriens went with hym into Ynde. Whiche to the ascendyng
 35 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 hede. 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, forsoþ, whan he saw theym comyng,
 45 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
 50 of the kyng chaunged. Only oon of hem, whiche of al tho
 oþer 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 þe persone of the Prince of Priestis,
 55 God, of whos tymes he bare to have worshipped, and hym by
 shimmers and dreames til this now was in Macedony, hym to
 have seen in this same habric, is bfore 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
 60 to com to every soule had, and hath monysshed and warned
 thynges bigonne trustily to do. Whereof of that visioun
 havynge mynde, hym in this maner I have worshipped; God of
 whos instructioun I have don everythyng huyderto. I pur-
 sued in myght the actes and the thynges bi hym. Darie and
 65 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
 70 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. For-
 soth, he, with what precious juels that he myght, rewarded
 the kyng, with the remenaunt of other and to other priestis.
 75 Among whiche was offred to hym a Codicel or a bill of Daniels
 prophecie, whiche he comaunded to be rad before hym and of
 the reder rehersed. 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 gladdying turned to
 80 hymself, to no man bettir this to be convenient than to hym
 [than to hym], as this may be bi the prophecies of the
 oracle many likly thynges fallying. This the same, þo pries-
 f. 147v tis and worshipful Jewes many to afferme bien evene / witnes-
 sis. Of the whiche, the kyng more gladder made, comaunded
 85 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 tradiciouns of
 their faders and their cerymonyes þat thei myghten lieffully
 90 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 shewyng with the
 visioun as for the prophecie of Daniel, hym stiryng to that
 he most brennyngly entended.

95 Therfor, thiese gestis and deedis underdone,
 al the whiche went to the naciouns of the Est parties (as
 reason witnessith bifore writein) com ageyne 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
 100 hym and bi hym on went and waded as therof the pilgrimage of
 al the world thow myghtest bihold, the legacioun whiche
 unneth thow woldest trowe it myght com by the rumour or

tidynnes of hym. Therfor, with credy and hasti chastisnes
 wold, wnan as yit he thursted bloode at Babiloyne, bi his
 105 most famulier people yaven hym venyme to drynke, the yeere
 of his age .xxxii., after that he had be cōld lord of al
 the world, and after that .xii. yeeres the world under hym
 tremelyn with irn he oppressid, slowth, and lost. The
 whiche so dede the Princes of Macedoyne. Divers provinces
 110 bien lotted and wrappe to riche praies from the grete lioun
 lande. Here thow his whelpis to bite and mawe so thei in
 hemsilf wratheden in strif, and with the yevyn of praies
 thei brak, and divers and chaungeable batailes thei diden
 and comytted therfor. The cause and the bynnyng of
 115 batailes bitwene hem was the Epistel of Alexander, whiche
 comaunded whan he felt hymself that he myght nat live, al
 exuls to be restored to the fraunchice and liberte of his
 cuntrey. Forsoth, the myghti men of citees, of their
 grace dredyn lest thexiles received and taken to liberte,
 120 thoughten vengeance, and from the realme of Macedoyne thei
 to faile everiche in other. While oon agenst another sought
 hymself 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
 125 Macedoyne, that pursued Olimpiadim, the moder of Kynge
 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
 his moder Roxa, doughter of kynge Darius of the Percians
 f. 148r to / kepe, sent in to the top of Amphipolitan, forwhi and
 theym with Olimpiade he toke. Forsoth, bi proces of tyme,
 whan now .xiiii. yeeris wern past, the chield Hercules
 dredynge Cassander lest hym as lawful kynge to nym the people
 shuld aske and preferre, stilly he hath charged togyder with
 135 his moder to be slayne. From that, Cassander, he litel
 tyme livynge, died togyder with al the Dukes of Kynge
 Alexander, in nomber to .xxxiiii., unneth stode holl in al
 .xiiii. yeere after, but of myseries and wrecchidnesses with
 soule and voide and idel deformytes in theymsilf envious,
 140 in theymsilf provokynge, and soule to theymsilf dienge. And
 whiche as thei arbitred theymsilf of al the termes and endes
 of þe 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.
 145 This so that the historie made shewith the .cccclxiiii.
 yeere after the makynge of the citee of Rome, forsoth, with
 the consul and counsail of Omelius, whiche with the Taren-
 tynes nad bataille and nobly overcam, so as he tellith.

APPENDIX D

The "Parva Recapitulatio" is followed in the MS by an "Epitaphum" 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. 113 (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 l. 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 confecto melle veneno 2
 Abstulit et medio regnantem flore necavit, 3
 Bissenis primo quam populos dormitaverat orbis. 4
 5 Terra necne mari virtute potens speciali; 8
 Quem non preduri valuerunt frangere muri, 9
 Cuius nec mentem pelagus superare furentem, 10
 Cum mucrone suo vastaret cuncta cruento 11
 Atque solo muros equaret funditus altos. 12
 10 Quicquam in humanis constat virtutibus altis. 5
 Exuperat magnis belli virtute coruscus 6
 Orbis Alexander dom<1>tor seclique subactor, 7
 Atque solo muros equaret funditus altos. 12
 Hu<n>c sic magnanimum nimium contisque tremendum, 13

4. primo quam] H postquam orbis] H annis
 6. preduri] H perduri
 7. Cuius] H Eius
 8. Cum] H Quin
 10. Quicquam] H Quicquid
 11. magnis] H magnus coruscus] H choruschus
 12. dom<1>tor] So H.
 14. Hu<n>c] So H. Wo has omitted the abbreviation sign

for the nasal. Cf. que<m>, l. 22.

- 15 Tellus quem timuit, pontus quem ferre nequivit, 14
 Et cuius res robur stupere potentes, 15
 Quemque duces validi metuebant necne tyranni, 16
 Concussit subito mulier conspecta timore. 17
 Quamvis sit pronus pulsus virtute superba 18
 20 Terror et indomitam conversus pectoris iram 19
 Mens cum est mutata virique turbata est virtus. 20
 Hic que<m> pugnantem non quivit sternere ferrum 21
 [Milia conserto nec fortia multa duello 22
 Vincere prae fortis valuerunt robore cordis, 23
 25 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<m>] So H. Wo has omitted the abbreviation

sign for the nasal. Cf. Hu<n>c, l. 14.

non quivit] H nequivit

23-25. Milia . . . veneno] So H. Omitted in Wo.

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

References to line numbers in appendices are preceded by the letter of the Appendix in which the name occurs.

Alanen 793

Alexander 803; C1, 8, 15, 20, 21, 23, 115, 126, 128, 143;
D1, 12; Alexandri 1; Alexandro A2; Alexandrum
A1; Alisaunder 53, 382, 390, 393, 671, 696.

Amphipolitan C130

Antipater D2

Aristotil 804; C10; Aristotilem 2

Atrophos 733

Babilon 698, 734; Babiloyne C97, 104; Babiloynes 794

Bactaricen 117; Bactarynes 368

Bissyne C41

Borea B44

Brunar 443

Caspie 127; Yaatis of 99-100, 781

Cassander C124, 133, 135

Cenophals 480

Ceres (Seres) 775

Cloto 732

Daniel C93; Daniels C75

Darius 55; C129; Darium A6; Darie C64

Diatanan 688

Epirotes C22

Ethiope 528

Ethneos 528

Euphratis B44

Ewre 783

Fasiacen 584, 742, 748, 781

Faunos 475

Faustum 749

Felix 749

Gages (Granicus) 56

Gange B42

Granicus (see Gages)

Greeke 563, 651, 653, 696, 727; Greece C144

Hercules 408, 421, 516, 799; C128, 132; Hercule 413

Indi B22, 47; Indis A7; Indiae A2, 3 (See Ynde)

Italiens C98

Jaddus C35, 38

Jerusalem C35

Jewes C69, 83, 85; Jewis C53

Jordan 763

Jubar 656

Lachesis 732

Macedonum 1; Macedoniam A11; Macedony 37, 379, 536; C56;
Macedoyne C109, 120, 125; Macedoynes 213, 408;
Macedonyes 300, 391

Nectanabus C10, 14, 15, 17

Noti B45

Occluadas B13

Olimpiade 42, 698; Cl31; Olimpi 536; Olimpiadas C13;
Olimpiadis C9, 15, 20; Olimpiadin C125

Omelius (Emelius) C147

Parmenion C66

Perdicam 688

Percians 369; C79, 129; Perse 55; Persas A7; Perses 794;
 C65

Philip C9, 19, 22

Philotan 689

Pillea (Pella) D1

Porrus 63, 75, 108, 373, 382, 403, 428, 456, 459, 586, 743,
 747, 781, 790; Pori A1; Porus A2; Porum A3

Rome C146

Roxa (Hoxana) C129

Seres (see Ceres)

Siriens C34

Tarentynes C147-48

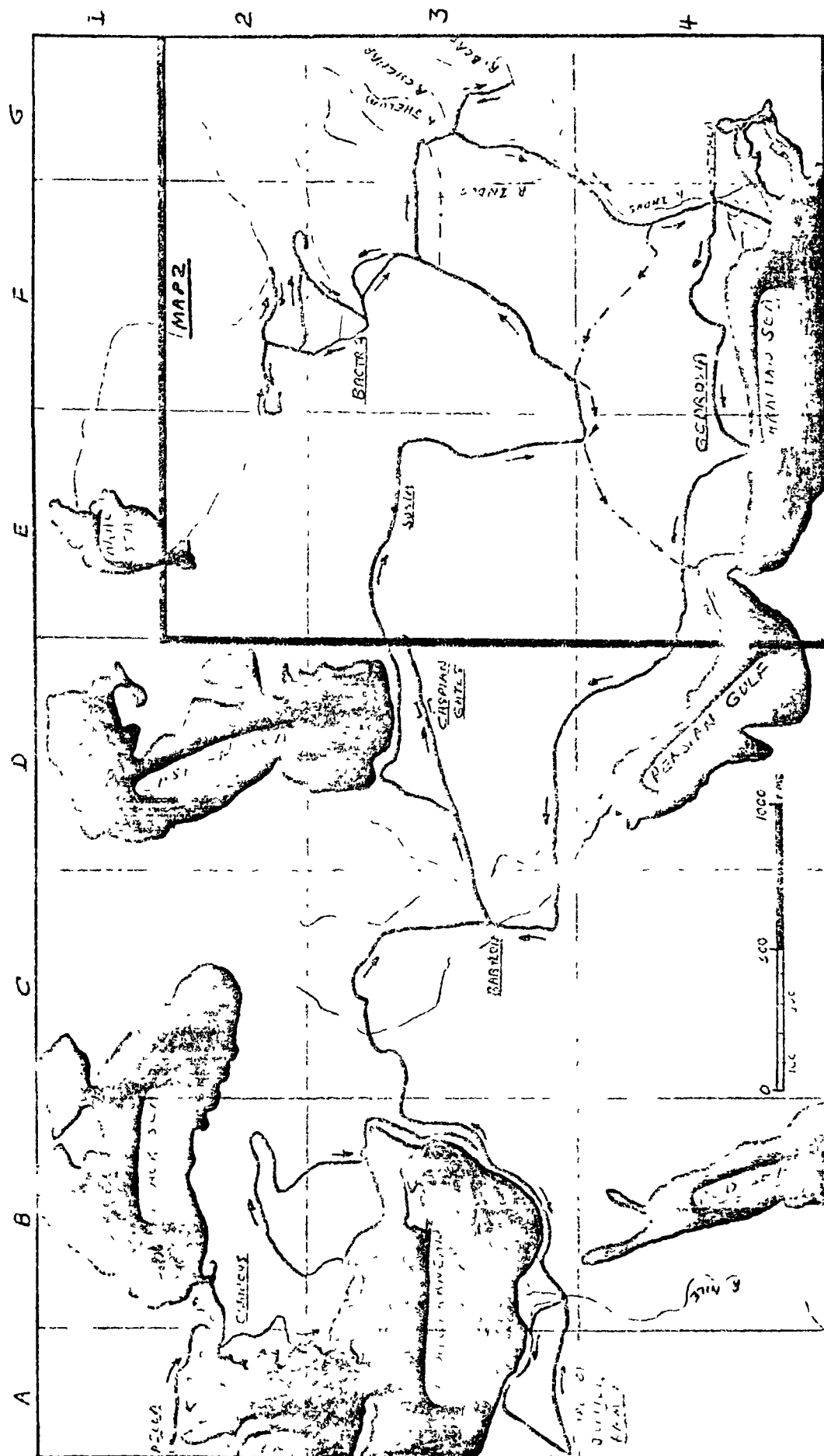
Tessalias 449

Tiranntis, Toth of 327

Ynde 7, 15, 63, 427, 440, 472, 562, 594, 651, 654, 670,
 758, 798; C34; Yndes 204, 327, 401, 475, 483,
 588, 599, 642, 770 (See Ind1)

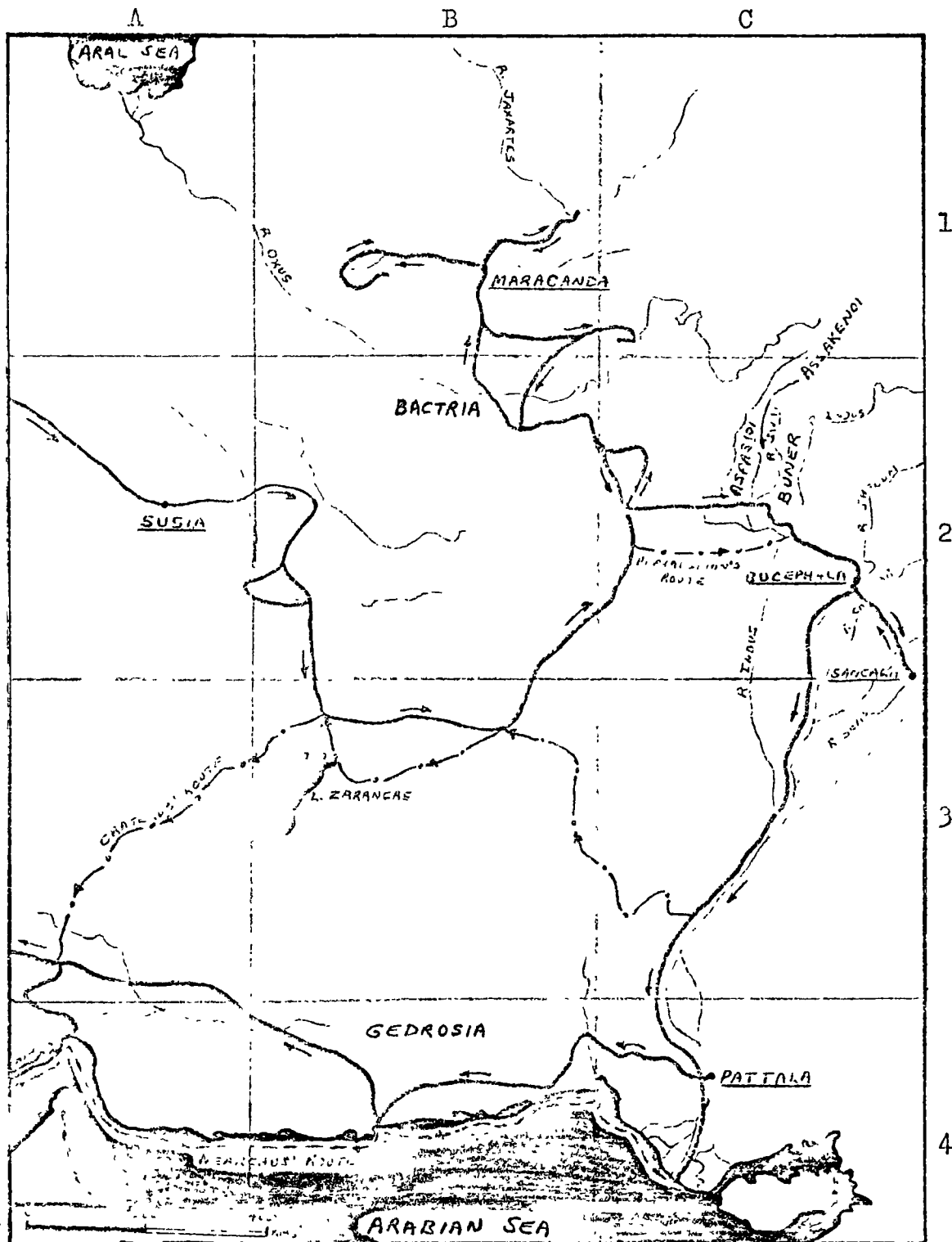
Zeверus 148, 152

PLATE II



Map 1
SIMPLIFIED SKETCH MAP OF ALEXANDER'S
CONQUESTS

PLATE III



Map 2

Alexander's Route through Afghanistan,
Beluchistan, 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.