Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Jahresbericht
der Zwölften Städtischen Realschule zu Berlin. Ostern 1898.

The Taymouth Castle Manuscript
of
Sir Gilbert Hay's
"Buik of King Alexander the Conquerour".

By

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BERLIN 1898.
R. Gaertner's Verlagsbuchhandlung
Hermann Heyfelder.
About the year 1580, the Edinburgh printer Alexander Arbuthnot published a small quarto, the original title of which seems to have been "The Anonie of Alexander". The only copy of it known to exist is in the possession of the Earl of Balhousie. It has lost the sheet containing the title-page, as well as another sheet in the middle of the volume. A short sketch of its contents drawn up by Sir Walter Scott appeared in Henry Weber's collection of "Metrical Romances", Edinburgh, 1810, vol. i, pp. lxxxiii—lxxvii. In the year 1831, David Laing reprinted the only copy of Arbuthnot's book for the Fannathye Club, under the title of "The Ball of the most noble and victorious Alexander the Great". But his edition, limited to about 100 copies, was not issued to the Members till 1834, and then appeared without any preface, notes, or glossary. A short Preface came out separately much later (1857), in Laing's "Adversarie", pp. 1—10. — In the concluding lines of the book printed by Arbuthnot, the author, whose name has not been handed down, speaks of having translated his Romance from the French, and of having, after seven years' hard work, completed it in 1483. The whole volume is divided into three parts entitled "The Foray of Gudfars", "The Anonie of Alexander", "The great Battel of Effensow", which contain the metrical translation of two episodes connected with the Old French Romance of Alexander the Great, viz. "Le Foure de Gifres", "Les Forc de Fous". The French original of Part i, "Le Foure de Gifres", is to be found in Michaud's edition of "Li Roman de l'Alexandre", Stuttgart, 1846, pp. 93—190, though not exactly in the same shape as it lay before the Scottish translator. Besides a good many deviations, abridgments, and enlargements, both texts show a very marked difference with regard to the order of the several tindales. For further information concerning this point, I beg leave to refer the reader to my Dissertation on Arbuthnot's book ("Untersuchungen über das schottische Alexanderbuch", Heil 1859, pp. 10—17). I only wish to add here that the Old French MSS. Bodl. 264 and Bodl. Hatton 67 at Oxford do not contain much nearer to the Scottish "Foray of Gudfars", although they do not differ quite so widely from it in the arrangement

1) Alexander Arbuthnot, the printer, must not be confounded, as has been occasionally done, with his contemporary, the poet Alexander Arbuthnot. — See the "Dictionary of National Biography", vol. ii, pp. 394—5.

of the various bands. Amongst the Old French MSS. of *Les Trames du Pauv* preserved in the British Museum (Additional MSS. 16 585, 30 584, 16 585; MS. Harley 9992) and in the Bodleian Library (MS. Bodl. 295), the Additional MS. 16 586, from which I had an opportunity of taking a copy, seems to me, notwithstanding its somewhat different conclusion, to bear the closest resemblance to Paris II. and III. of the Scottish translation.

In the course of my studies preparatory to an edition of Arbuthnot’s book which I have in contemplation, my attention was drawn to a hitherto unpublished MS. in the possession of the Margravine of Brandeburgh, at Tavmouth Castle, which contains Sir Gilbert Hay’s translation of an Old French Romance on Alexander the Great 1). David Laing, the first, so far as I am aware, that has mentioned this MS., says in his edition of Dunbar’s Poems, 1834, vol. i. pp. 42—43, that Hay’s work, a translation extending to upwards of 20,000 lines, was probably completed about the year 1600, and that the MS. in which it has come down to us, evidently appears to have been transcribed sometime before 1759, from a copy of “this noble bulk” written in 1499, which was probably also imperfect. He expressly adds that Hay’s translation is not to be confounded with the Bannatyne Club reprint of Arbuthnot’s volume.

Nevertheless such a mistake has been repeatedly made, presumably because the two works have nearly the same title. Bertram Baddeley on Dunbar’s Poems, p. xxiv, states, with the authority of Sir Gilbert Hay’s discovery of an old MS. volume at Tavmouth Castle and the liberality of the noble Proprietor in communicating it, brought to light another and more important undertaking which Sir Gilbert Hay had accomplished by rendering the metrical romance of Alexander the Great into Scottish verse, at the request of Thomas, first Lord Erskine (properly second Earl of Mar, of the name of Erskine), who succeeded his father in 1553, and died in 1594. The work extends to upwards of 20,000 lines; but the imperfect state of the MS., which exhibits an evidently inaccurate copy of the translation, added to its great extent, may possibly keep it from ever being printed entire. But some obscure lines introduced by one of the transcribers, at the close of the volume, contain the information already alluded to, of its having been translated at the request of Lord Erskine, by Sir Gilbert Hay, and of his having spent 24 years in the service of the King of France.

— In a note on this passage, Baddeley refers as follows to the Bannatyne Club publication of 1531:—“Extracts from the Duke of King Alexander the Conqueror, a MS. in the Library of Tavmouth Castle, 1531. 4°. Privately printed by the Secretary of the Bannatyne Club.”—He then goes on to say: “How long Sir Gilbert Hay may have survived, can only be conjectured. The Tavmouth MS. is transcribed from another copy which had apparently been written in the year 1499, and the mode in which the translator is alluded to, indicates that he had been dead for several years. This serves to corroborate the mention

Dr. Gregor, who, on the 4th of February, 1897, was, to the regret of all who knew him, removed by death from amongst his numerous literary works and plans, the noble owner of the MS., the Marquess of Breadalbane, consented in the most courteous and obliging manner to have the MS. sent to the University Library of Edinburgh for my inspection. Adverse circumstances, such as the Marquess of Breadalbane’s temporary absence from Taymouth Castle, having unfortunately delayed the sending of the MS. for about a month, did not come into my hands till three weeks before the expiration of my leave of absence (September 1900). Short as was the time which I had at my disposal, it sufficed for me to draw up a short summary of the Scottish text, and, moreover, copy out some extracts by way of specimen illustrative of Hay’s language.

Before entering into the details of my analysis of the Taymouth MS., I may perhaps be allowed to make the following remarks. In opposition to C. Innes’s assertion already alluded to, Mr. Webster of the Edinburgh University Library, who, at my request, had been so kind as to ask the Marquess of Breadalbane about the second copy, was told that there exists no other copy of Hay’s metrical translation at Taymouth. The MS. which had been so courteously placed at my disposal, proved to be the one mentioned by C. Innes in his listing of MSS., it being certainly due to a misprint, the author having the right number in his annotation on Dunbar, l. c. — That Laing is perfectly right in denying any identity between the Taymouth MS. and Arbuthnot’s book, is at first sight obvious from mere external evidence, the metre being entirely different in the two texts. Whereas Hay’s translation is written in the rhymed couplet of verses of five accents, Arbuthnot’s version is composed in the four-beat couplet. With regard to the contents of the two texts, there is another great difference — Hay’s work gives the whole of the fabulous History of Alexander the Great, from his birth to his death. The two episodes of “The Foray of Gadderis” and “The Avarie”, which make up the subject-matter of the 15,000 verses contained in Arbuthnot’s quarto, are likewise to be found in the MS., namely in folios 422—504 and 562—1094 respectively, but in a materially altered and considerably abridged form, being condensed into ca. 2500 verses 1). As regards the language, one point of difference may be worthy of special note, namely, that the author of Arbuthnot’s impression carefully avoids rhyming such a word as ay (O.E. aige), or he (O.E. heah), or deg (io. depa), where the a was originally pronounced with a final guttural, with such words as se (O.E. leon), he (O.E. heah), caruc, and the like, in which there is a pure e, without any after-sound 2). But in Hay’s translation, such distinctions are all but entirely lost.

As to the question at what time the Taymouth MS. was written, we are told in its concluding paragraph, which will be quoted at the end of this dissertation, that it was completed on Aug. 21, 1499 (not 1498, as Bayse and Balfour have it). Judging, however, from the apparently more modern handwriting, there is every reason to suppose with David Laing that the Taymouth MS., along with the concluding paragraph just referred to, was transcribed much later, in my opinion not before the middle of the 16th century, from a MS. written in 1499. Laing’s

1) To render a comparison between the two Scottish versions of “The Foray of Gadderis” and “The Avarie of Alexander” possible, I intend elsewhere to publish in separate fol. 422—504 and 502—1094 of the Taymouth MS, since the limited space of the present dissertation does not admit of their being given in full.
2) See P. Bayse, Anglia ix. 490.

supposition that this MS., of 1499, which the scribe of the Taymouth MS. had before him, was also imperfect, seems to be owing to, or is at least borne out by, the fact that in the place of the missing introductory chapters of the Taymouth MS., there are a good many pages left blank. In the same way, in fol. 223b—224a, there is a blank space indicating a gap of about 50 lines. Here, too, it appears, the transcriber was left in the lurch by his original.

The Taymouth MS. a pygmeous, small folio, show, on its first leaf, the entry: “Ex libro domini ducis Campbell de Glenorchy, aucto. faci Amor”; and a little farther below: “Rhe, John”. Then come thirty-six blank leaves, which are followed by 229 written leaves containing Sir Gilbert Hay’s translation of the Old French Romance of Alexander. The introductory part as well as the beginning of the story is wanting, so that the text commences in the very middle of a period. These 229 rather densely written leaves (having, on an average, 45 lines to a page) form perhaps only one third part of the volume, being followed by about twice as many blank leaves. The end of the manuscript volume is taken up by an anonymous poem of 63 seven-line stanzas (ababcc) containing, in a different hand from Hay’s work, “Duneane Lander abais Malaysiger’s Testament”, with an Appendix of 16 lines, entitled: “Off the McGregor’s Armes”. This interesting Testament has been discussed and printed by C. Innes in the “Black Book of Taymouth Castle”, pp. xi—xx. and 147—173.

The beginning of Hay’s translation, which has not been preserved, most probably contained the introductory remarks on the part of the translator, and then went on to describe the flight of Anestahonus, King of Egypt, to the Macedonian court, and his intercourse with Olympia during her husband’s absence. The first of the written pages 3) treats of King Philip’s victory and triumphant return. It begins as follows:

(fo. 1r)

Thas money hardie heart o’ greet renowne
Into the field vair shone and strikin down.
Scho saic ane inch ane dragonic marneus.
And ak the prince of Aronne
Qhilk shaw skil multiude of his menge,
He schaw as gow. his fortham vass sa fair,
And erie he swa shone thame in the thame;
And on their hotell strak on erie syde,
That thair was name his drifts drest abyde.
The king of this in hart was wunder proud,
Aunth his hame and cryt his sene hunde,
And erie the dragon derlie couth thaim deir.
It vas m an feocht vittle sword and spier.
Scho scho sic lach yvirs flyt hitt fret
And fall.
Lye as aene feynd had second cas fra holl,
That thair was newir man comth mak deuot.
But fast they frik likane a shadur gre.
King philip saw and followis on the chase,
And thit his cuntrie he konst he bes,
Oul the he had put his land in gomemne.
And maist his officiers and his ordaince,
He passis home again in his cuntrie.
And leid that nes for hys menge,
And quhen he cill his pauisse comin yin,
He met his spuous, the quen Olympis.

3) In numbering the leaves, I shall not take into account those left blank.
Schatzli him, said: "Welcome most ye he". But nevertheless I ken right veil the cace. And he beheld so great visithe child vas scho. "Olympia", he said, "what may this mean?" "Vite!" he said, "thow call his rope no thing; I rend and right guid woman ye had been."

Then follows (fol. 1b): "Of the violence that come to king philip". — At a festival proclaimed by the king, Nectahus appears in the form of a dragon and kisses the queen. Philip believes him to be a messenger sent by the god Ammon. In the following night (fol. 2a), the king dreams of a miraculous egg, which Aristotle explains to portend the supernatural birth and premature death of a future conqueror.

(fol. 2b) Now man ve spak of quene olimpessa.

Numrous prodigies accompany the birth of Alexander, whom Philip declares to be his own son. His outward appearance, his mental abilities, and physical strength, his education by Nectahus and Aristotle are described (fol. 4a). During a lesson of astrology, Alexander throws the sorcerer over the porpier of a platform. Nectahus dies, and the child is threatened by his pupil the secret of his birth, which Olympus does not hesitate to confirm. But she advises her son to suffer Philip to continue in the belief of Alexander's being the son of the god Ammon. At the age of twelve, Alexander learns the use of arms. He tames a wild horse, named Bucephal. Calling to mind an oracle relating to this horse, Philip now sees that Alexander is destined to be his heir and successor. He sends on him a warlike expedition against the rebellious King Nicholas of Persia and Media. The young prince meets his insolent opponent, and after having appointed a day and place for fighting, they part in anger. While they are preparing for a decisive battle, Samson, son to King Omar, arrives at the Macedonian camp (fol. 12b). Having been imprisoned by his uncle Dure for seven long years, he has at length made his escape. He at once distinguishes Alexander from amongst the courtiers by the beauty of his hair and face. The king receives him with great honour, and sends him to Nicholas as a summum to submit. The latter attempts by stratagem to draw the messenger on his side; but in vain. Samson returns to Alexander, accompanied by an old friend of his father's, whom he has discovered in the army of Nicholas. Now follows a long description of the battle, in which A. defeats and kills his enemy. In this description, fol. 23b—26b (headed: "Quodam Alexander et king Nicholas factus hand to hand") are evidently written in a different hand from the rest of the MS. — After the victory, the conqueror receives a letter from his mother to the effect that Philip, having repudiated her and disinherited him, as being the son of Satan, has offered his hand to Cleopatra, niece to James, Sosachal of Greece. A. hastening to her assistance, reaches the court in the midst of the festival in honour of the intended marriage. He kills Janus, and makes fun of the staggering and stumbling king, who tries to attack the intruder. Philip is eventually compelled to send away Cleopatra, restore Olympus to her hand, and re-instate A. as his heir. — Soon after, heralds sent by Darius arrive at the court of Macedon demanding a tribute. Philip falls into a violent passion and threatens to hang them, but, appeased by their representations and remonstrances, allows them to depart unhurt. He refuses their sovereign's demand, and sends him word that A. shall punish his arrogance. While A. is in Armenia, a body of traitors led by Peniausias of Bratianume attack King Philip and mortally wound him.

Alexander, on his return, hangs all of them on the gallows, with the exception of Peniausias, whom he leads in fetters to the bedside of the dying king. Philip strikes off his head, and then expires in the happy consciousness of having had his revenge.

A. mounts the throne and is solemnly crowned. He summons a parliament, and resolves on making war against Darius. After taking possession of Turgantes, Ilary, Stalone, Iteria, he dispatches messengers to Spaines, Galic, Humbardine, Lylit Britane, Germanic, lays Greece under tribute, and crosses over to Africa, where an oracle of the god Ammon predicts his future fame and early death. In the town of Stalone, henceforth called Alexandre, he causes a temple to be built in honour of Serapis and Ammon. He orders the bones of Jerome to be deposited in this temple, where, as we are told, they continued to lie until Pope Sylvester, whom King Constantius had placed over the whole of Romany and Germany, had them transferred to Constantinople. A terrible plague of serpents is at once put a stop to by Alexander's pious deed. The hero then marches his army against Jerusalem. With his permission, the inhabitants of that town send messengers to Persia formally renouncing their allegiance to Darius, after which they surrender to the Macedonian Conqueror. Sidon and Carthage are likewise taken by him, but when approaching the walls of Tyre, he meets with a stubborn resistance. The Tyrians, under the command of Bald, most vigorously vindicate the cause of Darius, whose vassals they are. Duke Betis sends them a reinforcement of 20,000 men. Dreadful skirmishes engage before the walls of Tyre. Seeing that the blockade is prolonged, A. sends 700 men out on the "forraye of Gadeheris". This episode, which extends over 3312 verses in Aristophanes' book (pp. 1—105), is, in the Pyrmouth MS., reduced to 675 verses (fol. 42b—50b), and begins thus:

Off the forraye of Gadeheris.

The king ordaineth his castell veill to help Upon one craige in middes of the de peb and stent. And garniseth) to keep that na veeschall.

Said to the town be say bring na victual. And syne land sidings before the town. He gart ordand) sa gret provisione Tha na mychtich no sel nor entre Into the towne, mother be land nor say. But tho the town sa hudge midichie vas That their na dalt velo in the place. But amerc of men and verveurs. But in the ost jame midichie forthvers, And gout with multys and with son. Qudair the king, to mak his purveying. Sevin hundeth botkevich ordand in foraying To pass furthe and to fetch thame victualis, And to furnels thame and garnels their veallis, and stan.

1) garniseth?
2) ordand?
Then in the morning quoth it as Light of Day,
Of fat castelli they assayed one michies pray.
And other thing that was to thame mistere
They tuk vithe thame and thocht to mak god
there.
The prey was assayed, and futten for to cache
Of discourses they send about the vache.
They draif on fast, of na man stuld they se,
The following verses of Hay's translation
of Cynthius's "Fornie of Gaderis" (fol. 50b)
correspond to the conclusion
of Arbuthnot's "Fornie of Gaderis".

Vithe that the duke vas in the town inclose.
And mony of the myrge the lyfe had lost.
And Gandelere vas dede and mony ma.
So vas yere of the kinsdames awa.
Vithe that the king his handla vrest,
Sayand: "Alas, my god, in the Istratic!
Now am I sicker, and I lyte this diery.
Aedra feme the flour of victorie!
Now sal me I never half joy into my hair,
And I may myf my members hole and quarte.
Quillh I his blade re-scheid into the ple.
Vithe that daimel re daimel that the rich."

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In fol. 54a—54a, we are told how A. takes the town of Gaderis, pursues and kills Duke Belis who has made his escape through a postern, and then returns to Gaderis. In the front, Duke Belis, confident of being soon rescued by Barra, has destroyed the Macedonian fleet and siege-works at Tyre. In all haste, A. repairs thither, renewes the siege, and succeeds in taking Tyre by storm. Belas is killed in the assault, and the town is mercilessly sacked and destroyed. — Barra hears of, and greatly wonders at, Alexander's exploits. Nevertheless he believes him still to be an inexperienced lad. Giving way to his anger and resentment, he sends him an insulting letter (fol. 54b):

And send till him ande message hoolidale.
Vithe certane bairnis and playkyis scaridamly.
That vas to say a goldelaf and a ball.
And one scourge stik to dryf a top vithe all.

At the end of the letter, Barra scornfully bids him return to his mother, and indulge in boisterous sports with his playfellows rather than run the risk of being hanged in Persia:

A dismisses the messengers of Barra with a defiant answer implying that he will most surely chastise his insolence. In his "Epistil to Antonich of Antioche", Darius does for assistance, and in return, Antiochus advises him not to undermine his young adversary. On being informed of Alexander's having made Andronyakia king of Jerusalem, Darius writes another letter, again urging his enemy to return to his mother. Full of disdain, he even sends him a bag of gold with which to defray the expenses of his journeys home. It so happens that A. is actually obliged to hasten to his mother who has suddenly fallen very ill; but before leaving, he sends a message to Darius promising an immediate return. After several victories gained on his way back, he reaches his country, where the joy of seeing her son again, at once restores Olympia to health. —

The town of Thebes (fol. 61a) refusing to do him homage, he makes use of all the arts of war in blockading it:

Vithe that mony mangie gott he go thame ill.
To git ane salt, sayand thay vas har churris.
And ans he gert to the valls huris.
And sum vithe mottakess begane for to mayne.
Sum seck vithe gennys and sum vithe ingne.
Sum other vithe cvelynquys and vithe crupel.
And vither vas fechtand in the mynis.
And sum maid eyre as he as the valls.
And thys the towne seigh about at all is;

Thebes being reduced to ashes, it is the turn of Corinth, Platae, and Athens. In Athens, Transagoras, who has fled thither from Corinth, and Demosthenes excite the people against A. They dissuade the citizens from complying with what A. demands. Accordingly, the Athenians refuse to give up to him the flower of their priests and philosophers, though they send him rich presents. By means of arguments drawn from astrology, Aristotle finally succeeds in mediating between the king's wrath and the citizens' obstinacy. The Macedonian hero enters the town in triumph, and great festivals are held in his honour. In the centre of Athens, there is a lofty column "made by Plato", from the top of which a lantern lights up the country far around. —After having broken the stout resistance of Lycedemmon (fol. 65a), Alexander successively takes Alberiane, Captippala, Orleans, Locxor. Darius now begins to feel alarmed and assembles his council. A prince of his realm secretly passes over to A., offering to betray his sovereign into the hands of his enemy, but A. nobly declines to accept such a shameful offer. Again proud and boastful letters are interchanged between the two kings. In consequence of what Ammon has advised him in a dream, A. undertakes to visit the hostile camp in disguise. Accompanied by one of his nobles, he comes to the river Tigris, which always flows at night, and Nielsen at dawn. He crosses the frozen river alone and reaches Parapolis. On pretense of being a messenger from A., he enters the palace of Darius and challenges him to submit;
fix a day for battle. Though entertaining some secret suspicion as to the person of the messenger, Darius hospitably invites him to table (fol. 70a):

Than Alexander vas serwit in couple round,
Of quilkun ilk ane var verthro ten thousand pound,
And als sa fast as he had toonit his coppis,
The cupis of gold inis his bosomme stoppis.

(fol. 71a)
The officiers his maners thay beheld
And to the king aside the maner told,
The quilk had thame to spake thairof na thing:
"Perseus is he the custome of his king."
This answere maid kine Dare rycht courteousie
And ay beheld his maners soberlie.

His person being reconocised by one of the couriers, the pretended ambassador abruptly leaves the hall, kills a torch-bearer who has stepped in his way, mounts his horse, and, crossing the already melting ice of the Tigris, gets safe to the opposite bank, whilst most of his pursuers perish. — Darius is praying in his temple, when the image of Exerxes suddenly falls to the ground, which shows him that his own destruction is near at hand. Though full of dire misgivings, he prepares for a decisive combat. In the ensuing battle, his army is thrown into confusion. His very elephants, on this occasion, prove of no avail. He takes to flight and strives to King Porsus of India for help. With the reinforcements sent by Porsus, he ventures another battle near Tara (fol. 75), but is once more beaten. His soldiers, for the most part, perish when fleeing across the Tigris. Being wounded himself, and despairing of his fate, he escapes to Persepolis, where he shuts himself up in his palace. Meanwhile, A. visits the tombs of Darius's ancestors in the temple of Marcus. These, his generals urge him to destroy, which he refuses to do. He sends messengers to his enemy's mother, wife, sisters, and daughters, beggimg them to be of good comfort. When the wife of Darius, overcome with grief, suddenly dies, A. generously undertakes to bury her with funeral honours. Darius now yields so far as to let him know that he is willing to give him his daughter Roxana in marriage and one half of Persia; but A. insists upon his entire and unconditional submission. In this extremity, Darius has recourse to treachery. He promises the hand of his daughter to one of his warriors on condition that he shall kill his mortal enemy. The Persian, dressed as a Macedonian, enters the hostile camp with the intention of slaying A.:

Then Alexander in takin of his ensenings
Had ordain fr to beorn on all his meugis,
As we do here the cors of sanct andrew
Or sanct flynas of france ye kynd snow,
So van yst prince in rod of macedone
And Alexander takin him bere upon.

The traitor slightly wounds Alexander, who generously pardons him. This plot having failed, Darius again sends to Porsus for help. (fol. 80a), and hastily repays his mother Radagona,

who exhorts him to obey the mighty Alexander. But he is defeated for the third time. Having sustained enormous losses amounting to 1,600,000 men, the unfortunate King of Persia, when trying to make his escape, is mortally wounded by two of his own people. He dies in Alexander's arms.

On the death of Darius, A. mounts the throne of Persia. The murderers of Darius, being found out by a stratagem, are "langit, drovin and hadit." A. then writes Roxana and sends a letter to Aristotle, ordering him to come to Persia and bring news of Olympia. Here (fol. 87a—87b) Hay episodically inserts what appears to be a Scottish version of an Old French fabliau, viz. "La Loi d'Aristote" by Heuric d'Aundel. When, however, compared with d'Aundel's work, the Scottish text is found to deviate from the former in some details and to be, moreover, considerably abridged. It runs as follows:

(fol. 87a).
Aristotell than quilk rok rychstraly sted
Vithie ane Lordy quilk lang tyme hadit he had,
Vas bairne to travell out of yot crountris
His hart so hooly on his art had he.
Scho best belonit vas sum tyme vithie king,
For he had hir lang tyme in monition.
In macedone vithie his mother schor vas
And best belonit vithie quen olimpess,
Quilkik in the first growing of their amoris
Scho gart the king stand in the brent tour.
Quien Aristotell his first desirat had
And in one gairding uatish scoth till him maid
To make his spire in ane may merin
In that gairding to here the foullis sing.
Siyand he schol bee hisi hirarily
Hairies list
In that gairding that naie bot than tay vist.
And sit to Aristotell scho part tour
That in that tyme scoth maid ane rekvis vow
That never man sooth half of his hir list
To ride on hir, but gif scho rraid him first
Vithie saulid and breynd girdit weil and fust,
Quilkik Aristotell consentat at the last,
And he him selfe the rydign gene scould gis,
And on his bock the saulid scoth sooth set,
And als the breynd bokit on his heid.
Scho van his vit vithe howoit fra hir raved.
The tryst vas baldin and keipit in the kynd,

Bot Aristotell of na tressone had mynd.
He vas as hoolit vithie hir he besevit.
He rekit nocht bot his vil of hir had be.
And in one gairding they met in ane crountris
Bot scho had varrit the lindy and the king.
And mine of thame had of otherv rity.
Su suttily vithe slichte schot governit hir.
And ordain thame til sit intill ane toure
Qhair thay micht se, and let thame vit the hoor.
And tymely in ane maner morning hir met
Into the gairding qhail that the tryst vas set.
He keipit tryst and come be tym of day
And in one heriere there in the gairding lay.
Quyllit that scho come thair cummanlis fow to kep,
And Aristotell up hir tuik guid keen.
Scho vas sa lusty in hir grot naure.
Mair anguyk na erdie creature.

(fol. 87b).
Scho vas bothe round and polyt in guid playe.
Ane sak scho had of smyllk sandle quites; Hik kyrill syne vas of ane claithe of gold
Vithie pretius stinis maist richelie to behold; Anae manill syne of grene dowall velusti.
The burbourl all vithe pretius stinis var sett.
Hir hore vas faw fro broune lornketand bu a kell.
And thanis sett; ane pretius connavali.
Al baire futtit, in hir hand ane mateine boke,
It vas ane lusty sicht on hir to laik.
Quoth va their mare but he was sadlit some, And scho lap on sidekien in longere hone, And syno scho rias the garieround about. Vithe that the ladres soon yai gaf one schent, And als the king ane lythly drytly smait. Than Aristotell hit him righvill beflytt. And vp he gest at and of the gowt com the rau. And theucht for till half shaine bir in the plaise. But or he micht the sodell fra him lay, Scho lap the gariering oure the narrowest yae. He va sa va that vithe nero he vedi, And him repetis of his robles doddin, And syno in vrathe he pasait fr the king. And to him vrest quhov luit ourcme all thing, And thairof made a hulk into that plaise, How mony kyndis of peromouris the vas.

In accordance with Aristotle’s advice, A. gained the affection of the Persian nobles by dint of liberal gifts. He then appeais his wife Renias to govern the state in his absence, and set out for “Iade maier.”

(fol. 59r.)

So it befell in middill ynde maier their vas. Ano riddle quene yat vas roch fare of face, Of Candis scho vas quene and emprie, Quhilk vas ano vorte woman bythvar and viue. For the grete less, lordship, and honour Quhilk scho hard of that vorte emprie, Scho gaf him sic ano favour and ano luff That scho had lever but shamie, tak, or regrafe At his plesiance a myght vithe him convay Nu all the gold of ynde maier and pers, And bost the vayis how scho mycht get kyndis Of his personis, his stature and his vaise. So purpait Scho to send their suittye Ano pointer quhilk of craft vas moit slyth, To payt his fasionne and his phisemone Vithe all the portrecture of his body, And in his secret closetscho it held And every day oft tymes it beheld. Syne till him send scho gret embassador

And of guld vemen and their gild chewis, And quhivy vye men or desuitt vithe schowris, And sic ane vengeance ordain he to tak, Sen hiddlesert that never vas sein ye mok; For mony a thowand sic vemen sea that day Vas vithe his clarks ourrdin, I dar veil say And dayly dos and ever maiere nall do, Bot sum assythe he maid the party to. And quhen the king the treasour saw contrevit, His hairs fra his vithe vese heladye removit, No never ever pleasant of hir he take, Nu vithe guld vitl vild never open hir lukt, Ano Aristotell tak hir and his best. Than after all thing vell amendit vas. Scho luftit him beat and mait vas in his grace.

The following 41 pages, viz. fol. 90a—110b, contain, in about 1800 verses, Hay’s version of “Les Voeux du Poët”, which may be compared with Parts ii. and iii. of Arbuthnot’s book, pp. 107—111 (in 9600 verses). Hay’s version begins as follows:

Tham tike the king in purpait for to pas In middill ynde to help the quin comun. Of quhilk the say lay sue hirit thair croth cilie5) 
Noun by Douair that vas a gret cite. Of quhilk the lord is callit Faneur. That wortheslie the king requait thare, And maid the king feawtis and leene band. Till bili of him his lord ship and his land, Syne tuck the way to turs the gret cite, Quhilor quene candis vas vont dueland to be. Thair on ano fair field, for fra ony tevisans, Neroe one forest they stent their pavilions, Endalang one rever, in ano ferce courstrie? 
To se the multitude of hir mergere. And luftis thair that nycht and on the morrow. Ano joyfull of that yat had na thocht of sorrow, And on the morne, als soine as day couthe spring, The king past furthe to heere the foultis sing. Endalang that rever in that faire forest, All him alience on, as he thocht best Armit at all vithe holme, spere and schield, As he vold pas to fecht into the feild. He vold never rydo, but he vor armit at all. For he vist no quhilt chance mycht hir bofil. And as he past shaine abnerie, So saw he cumand in one rod hir by. Ano mekhill man vithe berde and broodis here, In habit bala, in armit as he ver. Ano stivis how under his choli vas hant. Ano hever hat upon his hald vas set; His giovis vas of a gret rode cromen. Syd to the fute and hereynite lyk aloud.

The episode of the “Avowis” in the Taymouth MS. concludes thus:

(fol. 11a.)

Thus vas the feald discoustadt and ouercaine, And mony princis and presensers taine, And all the feald dispiluyste of riches And gold and jovett that hot number vas. Than all the dis is past to the cite, Vithe manckit vourship and vithe dignite, Quhur to the kaima caine dysemon, Vithe all the Ladys yat in the cite vae, And thanked him of his grace heartly, Syne to the pollicis past they in by, And first they enterit in the templ of marcis, And syne into the chaumer of dame venus.

From Epebooun (fol. 110b), marches onward to Kirknay and Siches, where he subdues the Nauglos and Siches. The aged queen of Middel ynde, sister to Duke Melchis, sends him an embassy of beautiful women, among whom there is one that has been nourished on poison from her birth, and whose emission consequently causes immediate death. Warned by Aristotel, A. discovers the queen’s treacherous intention, and gives orders that the women shall be burnt. Aristotel, who has meanwhile grown too old and weak to bear the fatigue.
of the Indian campaign, now returns home, after having composed for his lord a book entitled "The Governance of Princes", which is to replace his counsels in his absence. The contents of the book are related in fol. 12b—12d. It treats of the duties of a sovereign; one chapter is headed: "Of the Phoenicians". When on the point of starting for the residence of Candza, he has invited him to visit her. A receives from King Porous a letter which begins as follows (fol. 12c):

Porus, king of yade to paradise,
Quilkik over all kings of yours, ye buy the price,
Till Alexander, ane, thief and a reffer,
Vile other thistles in oit a gret perer.

A reads the letter aloud to his generals by way of showing them a specimen of Barbarian rudeness. He responds to this epistle by a valiant challenge. Both sides put themselves in readiness for a general engagement. A prepares a stratagem against the 560,000 elephants of Darius, viz. 1,000 breasted men filled with fire-brands. A tribe of serpents, which he finds on his way, are totally exterminated on account of their poisonous lives than brees; another nation marching against him is a great number of dogs are driven back with the help of a herd of swine. Crossing the frontier of India, he finds this country rich in gold and precious stones, but infested by venomous serpents and devoid of drinking water (fol. 125). His men begin soon to be discouraged. He first allows them to recover from their fatigue in the town of Fentynune, and then compares the Indians and their elephants in a great battle (fol. 125a); Porus himself escapes together with king Astaras of Nubia. His palace is set on fire and all his treasures and wonders (fol. 125a—125d) falls into the hands of the Greeks, who celebrate their victory by grand festivals. They subsequently set out in pursuit of Porus, and have to traverse vast tracts of arid land beneath a broiling sun, till at last they come to a river. But before gaining access to the water, they must subvert "vulne gymn and culturis" legion of wild beasts and hyaenas, which threaten to the river to expend their thirst (fol. 125b). A proceeds to the "land of Fenogyn or Medoglend", in an "Epistle of Alexander to queen Palisida of Amazons", he asks her to pay him tribute and do him homage. — "Quae pallisidae annusse ad epistill Alexanerd" (fol. 140a) refers to this, but offers her friendship and assistance. In a second letter conceived in a much milder tone (fol. 141b), A invites the husbands of the Amazons to come to his camp. They conduct him to the island inhabited by their wives, and here he meets with a very friendly reception. Leaving their hospitable realm, A leads his soldiers as far as the river Galus, where they pitch their tents opposite the town of Paulitre, which is occupied by Porus. In consequence of the heat and drought, a truce is agreed upon. Disguised as merchants, A and Aulius reconnoitre the town. They are led before Porus. A pretends to be "the king's treasure" or "treasure-master". Devising Porus into the belief of Alexander being dangerously ill, he easily prevails upon him to give him the very next day. In this battle, Porus is defeated and taken prisoner by Alexander, who makes him look the oath of fealty, and then allows him to his friendship. The King of India entertains his new bejewelled by splendid festivities.

After some other adventures, A comes to the Brahamans. In a letter to "King Brogramanar is coltia dydgwimur", he begs him for some information concerning their habits and customs.

"King Brrogramanar answer to the epistle of Alexander" (fol. 150a—151a) explains the wise maxims by which the life of the Brahamans is regulated. With this sober and sensible mode of life, Dindimus compares the unreasonable ways of the Greeks. He severely reproves Alexander's unbounded ambition and thirst for glory. In return, A angrily writes a second letter, in which he shows that the different natures of men do not allow them all to live in the same way. On the Brahman's exhorting him to a pious and godly life, he accuses him of gross ignorance and arrogance, and then shuns the Brahman's up in their own town in order to prevent them from having any intercourse with other people (fol. 151b):

Thus closit he yae portis vithe pillaris yyne,
Quilkikis nener mar vyr oppuynt syneyn,
Maid of mater callit abysyticon,
That ye re metall may never byre yare on.
Quilkikis prast Johnne senyne converit his
Throw myrcles of the Apostile Sanct Thomas.

Fol. 152b—153a contain Alexander's correspondence with Oxidras, King of the "terre de dre" or "lands of godal". A promises him whatever he chooses, but finds himself unable to keep his word when Oxidras asks for immortality. — Traversing dense forests inhabited by giants and a fruitful country remarkable for its marvellous orchards, A reaches Mount Aflamant. Leaving his army in the charge of Porus, he chooses ten companions, with whom he ascends the steps leading to the top of the cliff (fol. 154b). Here they enter a temple, "the kous of son and mone". A man, whom they find reclining on a bed, directs the king to a huge tree desitute of leaves. On its branches, there is a phoenix. After having learned the wonderful history of this bird, A proceeds to the Sun-tree, which is like gold, and to the Moon-tree, which shines like silver. The two trees foretell his premature death, which shall be caused by poison. A falls a prey to despair. Lamenting his unhappy fate, he is comforted by his soldiers. None but Porus inwardly rejoices at the king's grief. This prince abandons him in the country of Palesynhe, in order to raise a new army in India. But in a third battle, he is ultimately killed, and the Indians are re-established in their empire. — Fol. 153b—153c give a minute description of "How Alexander part to the pillares of Hercules and of the gret adveircours happenant him in ye seage". Not in the least daunted by the perils which, according to the prediction of an old knight, are awaiting him, A determines to see the Pillars of Hercules before starting for Babylon, the last object of his wishes. Guided by nature, his exhausted soldiers fall to murmuring at their unheard-of hardships. The king rides a good way before them to reconnoitre the land. Mounted on Bucephalus, he enters the "Valy pereold" in the vicinity of a temple, by a cross-road ("Otha here gangly, salt falt paine. Non enere mett tey sty salt turne agnae"). — "This is the better galt; Sal an no vegui they pas out throw the yffte". A dreadful storm arises; he meets with strange adventures. An inscription in golden letters tells him that, if he wants to pass with his army safe and sound, one of them must, of his own accord, sacrifice his life for his brethren. Wiling to die himself, he orders his host to pass without him and leave him in the dark valley. Foibleable phenomena and horrible monsters surround him. He puts up prayers to God. An evil spirit shut up in a cave by Hercules and Livis is set at liberty by Alexander, and shows him the way out, after which the king again confines him in his prison.
Having rejoined his troops, who are greatly suffering from the unfavourable weather, A. marches to the three wells of Health, Youth, and Eternal Life, which are on the borders of Paradise. His soldiers are restored to health by the first of the three wells. At the well of Youth, a man called En oeh, who opposes Alexander, is imprisoned for life (fol. 171). — Passing through wonderful nations, who are circumstantially described, such as men with dog's heads, headless people, Cyclopes, Pigmies, and many others, A. comes to the sea and the Pillars of Hercules. Whom he has destroyed the idols which crown the Pillars, raging tempests arise, and monstrous beasts threaten to destroy his army, which is only saved by his fervent prayers.

At this juncture, Queen Candace, refusing to yield her throne to her three sons Candoleus, Marceulos, and Coractaeus, offers Alexander her hand, sending him a declaration of love along with precious gifts. A. sends her other presents in return (fol. 174a). A second letter from Candace follows: at the same time, Candoleus comes to request Alexander's help against Duke Balanlyne, who has carried off his wife. A., having caused Ptolamy to put on royal robes, pretends to be Antigonus. He joins Candoleus in his expedition against Balanlyne, who is besieged, conquered, and hanged. Candoleus requires his wife, with whom he hastens to Candace. A., still personating Antigonus, accompanies the princess. Candace, on seeing her husband, is so pleased with the turn of events, that she, in turn, offers her hand to him, and he gives her a loving embrace and promise of loyalty.

Subsequently, to this long digression, the path leading to Paradise is described; then follows (fol. 176): "How Alexander went to Paradise". The god Ammon enlightens the king as to what he should do to attain his aims. A. sets out with four companions. They encounter various strange beasts on their way. A. ships expressly made for the occasion convey A. and his attendants to the walls of Paradise, the bliss and joys of which are described. On the king's demand a tribute from Paradise, an angel gives him a miraculous apple (fol. 179a), and prophecies his speedy death. On his return, A. is received by his army with shouts of joy. He continues his march through unknown lands peopled by strange tribes, and comes to Lagys, where he is presented with a prophetic bird, a hawk, which, like the apple, is to predict its possessor's death or recovery in case of illness. He successively traverses Albayn, Baladyne, and Bakirum near Sadoch, where a wise man, whom he offers to make a king, refuses this dignity on account of the vanity of all earthly things. Passing through the "Terre de die", A. attends a very remarkable trial in a court-of-law (a treason found and judg. purchased being disclaimed by vendor and buyer). On his return to Persepolis (fol. 180a), he leads his wife Roxana back to Babylon. While marching thither, the old Grandson of Tyre employs his help against Duke Melichis of Dedicfur and his allies, Daurius, Floridas, and their father, Lord Balthasar. A. grants his requests; a battle ensues, in which Melichis is killed, whilst Daurius and Floridas are taken prisoners. They are reconciled to A., whereas their father kills himself by abstaining from food. The two youths have both fallen in love with the daughter of Duke Melichis: A. marries her to Daurius, and consoles Floridas by the promise of procuring him a wife still more beautiful (fol. 182). In order to fulfil this promise, he defeats King Niclas, the intended husband of the daughter of the Carthaginian Admiral Jonas or Nubaseaus. She is now wedded to Floridas. The Admiral is taken prisoner in the battle of Carras; his vessels, the kings of Saba and Valery, take refuge in Carthage, where they are besieged by A. The town is conquered, the king of Saba falls, and the king of Valery swears fealty to A. and becomes his friend. On the news of these events, the Sultan Balthasar of Babylon
first enters into a haughty and insolent correspondence with the Conqueror (fol. 201), and then assembles a large army, with which he marches against him, though an oracle has predicted his own destruction. He is accordingly defeated, blockaded in Babylon, taken prisoner in a battle, and thrown into prison. The town surrenders; yet A. does not enter immediately, but first explores the surrounding country in order to ascertain whether there be any rebels left (fol. 204 a). He again spends a long period in feasting with Queen Candace, and attends the baptism of his son Alcarea, whom she has borne to him. About this time, he experiences a great grief; Bucophanes falls ill and dies. Through a province the excellent laws of which fill him with admiration, he returns to Babylon. The bird mentioned in fol. 193 a now prospers his death. With great pomp, he and Roxana enter the town in a solemn procession. A. commands a splendid banquet to be served. His hart vas set to liff thir vite his men In joy and mirth, quilib god him lyf val den. Bot quhen man has maid providence, And ever descends to the lowest end, To capture one to the zodiacs, And syne against his cours vpward he takis Fag God ye cuds ye conclusions. (fol. 200 b.)
The beast fely ay of ye qubill or severend. Vnto the crane yat stans in ye hich And everil gis renossis ay his mich. Is same bot God the hoor of chaising yat. And makis his cours but travellin or paine. Ay hich stage is mast vast all in sett. But man oucruhavin full sindill cumis agane In sommer, quhen ye some is at ye hich Till he estate fra that he can discoud, And of all grothre has vertew and mich, For haterent oft tymes thane helpis till ane end. Quhen it is hich yat1) it mon discoud.

From fear lest some poison should be administered to him in the dishes, A. has issued strict and minute instructions respecting the dressing of the viands. After the meal, he is crowned King of Babylon. He sends letters to Olympia and Aristotle, who reply by enjoining him not to be over-confident, but, on the contrary, pious, devout, and distrustful of all his enemies, and more particularly of Antipater's son. Aristotle further reminds him of the good rules and precepts which he had formerly written down for him. In memory of his virtues, A. erects golden statues in all parts of his realm. Fol. 208 relates his meeting with Diogenes, who calls him a great fool for his boundless ambition. Fol. 209 treats of the argumentum breviare of ye say and Alexander'. Struck with the bold manners and outspoken opinions of the captive pirate, A. pardons him and takes him into his service. — A monstrosity born in Babylon, the upper half of which is human, though dead, the lower in the form of a horrible beast alive, is declared to portend impending treason and the death of the king (fol. 210 a). The same prediction is repeated by the marvellous hawk from Paradise. Warned by a dream, A. dismisses Cassandra, but retains his brother Jobas in his service. The two now secretly conspire with their father Nicolas to kill Alexander. The emissaries of the deadly hatred which Nicolas and his sons cherish against A., are fully related (fol. 211 b). Cassandra sends a very strong poison to his brother Jobas, which the latter is told to administer to the king. On the occasion of a feast held for the purpose of cheering Alexanders melancholy mood, Jobas puts the poison into the royal cup.

1) gau?

(fol. 211 b.)

Than him to mein of his melancholy,
They ordain for to feist him ruly.
The quilk was done vithe gret solompin,
And maide him all the blithnes ye myghtt be.
Sync after men thay past to resesing,
And all maid say for comfort of ye king,
And all ye laides maide him company,
To gar he linf all his melanchy.

So every man about to pleis him vas,
Quilib thay him put in excellant blithnes,
That menny sayd they saw never man nor wyf
Him half as blyth in na tyne of all their lyf,
And yin a drink he askis healty.

Jobas presents the cup to A., who takes a deep draught and immediately feels the poison tell on him. Fol. 212—214 proceed to describe the dreadful sufferings of A., the grief of his friends, the king's own despair, his attempt at flight and suicide prevented by Roxana. A notary of the name of Symone is summoned. In the presence of the weeping queen, who is near her confinement, A. makes his will, and appoints Aristotle his executor. The will begins thus: I. Alexander, morache2) and empereur. Of all this vartil vestell, toune and toure, Quilib conquist hest cuntres mar and leu Fra paradysse into the pilleris of hercules And kest my sterd fra out into ye say — Had marc land beure, marc out into the gey obey.
The details of his will are set forth in fol. 216 a—217 b. Dreadful phenomena, such as earthquakes, thunders, and lightning accompanied by Alexander's death:
And all the folk lied in exis for rednes,
That sic ane mirken sunyene vas neir seir.
Nor jist before into this vartil had bene,
The some drew vp his beames fra the erde.
It semit yat god and all ye havins had sted,
That two yne tyne of crystis passione.
In havins vas neir sic ane mosion.

Aristotle comforts the people, who loudly lament over the king's body, which is arrayed in royal robes and laid out in state: And gif the redeo douins that I lie,
Behalde in ye latene buik and see.
And thow sal find that I feigne the nocht.
Quilib show the buik in this maner hes socht.
For I vail not for drede of misdeming

That men coud say it var lyk a losing.
So medall as into my buik I fand,
But gif I had for me ane guid varrand.
For treucle I half here seeny merylly case.
Quiliblis had I not some thame in ane vther place,

2) morache.
I could neath haif gavin ferne credence to it,  
And to this point that I will now rehearse  
No viethe my asin hande put it in vret,  
And viethe my hand vretis in this vres.

The former phenomenon, which again occur, and the loud wailings of the people are particularly described. In accordance with Alexander's last wishes, the "Dougerperius" convey the king's body to Alexandria, where it is buried in a costly tomb. With profound lamentations, Aristotle and the Twelve Princes paid farewell to the tomb (fol. 220b-221b). Aristotle sends a letter of consolation to Roxana. In the meantime, the news of Alexander's death, reaching Macedonia, gives rise to a rebellion on the part of Antipater and Pensions, the younger, in which Olympias falls a victim. She is killed, and her body is afterwards cast to the dogs. —  
Roxana betakes herself to Persis, where she is delivered of a son. Candace, Aesop, and Candebulus are, by Aristotle, summoned to Babylon, where great disputes have arisen respecting the succession. —  
Fol. 223b and fol. 224a exhibit a gap of about 80 lines. — In obedience to the testament, the young Aesop despatches Pheriscus and Alexander's step-brother Philippon to Macedonia, marries Thaïs of Egypt to Cleopatra, and then sets out for Greece in pursuit of Antipater and Pensions. Both of them are taken prisoners (fol. 224a) and put to death at Babylon with great tortures (fol. 225b).

All this was done after ye judgment.  
Of quhilk the pepuli vs so veel content,  
That thir traitours gat sic punittion,  
Syne all ye varild queye thair malesones.  
Qhahrofor gret foly is to vnterka  
Agains a prince sic tressouns for to mak.  
For all first thry or accoust of thair deid.

On Aristotle's appointing Ptolemaeus, governor to Roxana's son, in compliance with Alexander's will, the other princes begin to murmur; one province after another falls away from Macedonia, and regains its independence. It was not till much later, viz. under Julius Caesar, that all those states were again subdued and united under the authority of Rome.  
But theyr vas nemer mine that had as buill  
As Alexander the seage imperialis,  
The quhilk vas send be hauisles distancie.  
Of vikist men a panicessher to be.  
And first and foremost he was lyndis rys  
And had his bert to vertoe and justicie.  
For he set satner for viotning of men,  
But first into him self ye felt begane.  
This builk is not compytit almeris  
For kings and princes and lords that ar mychtie,  
But till all men that richcounyus valid lit.  
It sall thame gyde, telching and exemplifi gif,  
To gouerne thame viithe vertoe and justicue,  
That is to say, and thay viithe fame be sic;  
For treulie man that desyris na vit.