

CONQUERED BY BABYLON: FATE, FORTUNE, AND REWARD
IN WALTER OF CHÁTILLON'S *ALEXANDREIS*

William F. Hodapp

The storie of Alisaundre is so commune
That every wight that hath discrecioun
Hath herd somewhat or al of his fortune.
(VII.2631-33)

Thus Chaucer's Monk opens his version of Alexander the Great's story in the catalogue of *de casibus* tragedies that make up his tale in *The Canterbury Tales*. We can sum up this "common story," as the Monk has it, in a handful of sentences. Born in 356 BCE, Alexander assumed the throne of Macedon in 336 following his father Philip's sudden death. Already a seasoned warrior himself, he completed Philip's plan of conquest first by consolidating Greek city states under Macedonian rule before leading an army of Macedonians and other Greeks into Persia. Crossing the Hellespont in May, 334, he led this army—by some estimates 65,000 strong—on an eleven-year military campaign through Asia Minor, Palestine, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, the Hindu Kush, and into India, conquering the Persian King Darius III and the Indian King Porus, among many others. After managing to subjugate the Eastern portion of the then-known world, from a Greek perspective, Alexander turned his attention to Arabia, North Africa, and Europe but died of a fever in June, 323, at Babylon before beginning a new campaign.¹

Though living more than 300 years before Christ, Alexander of Macedon so piqued the imaginations of medieval European poets and their audiences that eventually he even became enrolled in the early fourteenth century as one of the Nine Worthies, those paragons of chivalric ideals depicted in late medieval literature and art.² By the time Chaucer wrote his fictive journey to Canterbury every rational person, as the Monk notes, had heard some if not all of his story. From World Conqueror to Worthy, the medieval Alexander story, though, is foundationally a twelfth-century phenomenon due, at least in part, to a growing interest in the Orient brought on by the Crusades (Lafferty 17; Maddox and Sturm-Maddox 3-4).³ Both intrigued and threatened by the Orient, twelfth-century Europeans were curious about encounters

between East and West, and one obvious approach to exploring the East was through literature. Considered primarily as history, the Alexander story offered Europeans a site for both examining Alexander's experiences in the East and reflecting on their own, whether real or imagined. Walter of Châtillon's Latin epic the *Alexandreis* both contributed to and was the result of this phenomenon.

As he tells his reader in the prologue, Walter composed the *Alexandreis* over a five-year period, likely completing it some time between 1176 and 1182 (Colker xv; Kratz 61-2; Lafferty 14; Townsend 14-15). Walter's peers noticed the poem almost immediately,⁴ and within a short time it became widely read and eventually adopted into the schools (Curtius 50; Colker xviii-xx; Townsend 15-16). With 209 extant manuscripts from across Europe and a place in the late-medieval school curriculum (Colker xxxiii-xxxviii), Walter's poem seems to have held pride of place as perhaps the Alexander story's most widely read version from the late twelfth century until well into the early modern period. Drawing primarily on Quintus Curtius Rufus's *Historia Alexandri Magni*, a first-century Latin history, Walter recounts—and in several places epitomizes—Curtius's narrative, reducing the detailed Latin prose text to some 5500 dactylic hexameter lines. A theme Curtius develops is the role of Fortune in Alexander's world conquest (Baynham 101-31). Picking up on this theme, Walter makes it central to his entire project, as a reading of the poem reveals and as Dennis Kratz discussed thirty years ago (75-154). Here, I wish to explore fate and Fortune in the *Alexandreis* as they pertain to reward and by implication punishment. Though Walter obviously admires Alexander—especially his ambition, generosity, and will—he remains ambiguous about him, too, as one who, ultimately, succumbs both to an overweening arrogance and to the allure of Eastern decadence.

That the role of fate and fortune in Alexander's conquest is a central theme seems clear even on a first reading, for Walter mentions the terms interchangeably over one hundred times in the course of the poem's ten books. After an invocation and dedication, for instance, the narrator moves rather quickly through Alexander's education at the feet of Aristotle to his coronation, where the newly-crowned king reviews his soldiers: the first catalog of troops in the poem. The narrator then turns to his narratee,⁵ stating,

Quos licet armarit telo prestantior omni
Virtus, tam uoluisse tamen supponere mundum

Quam potuisse sibi tam paucis milibus, eque
Mirror Alexandrum, monstroque simillima fati
Hec series, tot regna uni submittere paucos. (1.263-67)

And virtue, more superior than all other weapons, armed them.
Yet I marvel that with so few soldiers Alexander nevertheless
desired to conquer the world, that he was able to fulfill the
desire for himself, and that, as these select events show like a
portent of Fate, so many kingdoms submitted to this one man.⁶

Not surprisingly, then, we hear the theme almost from the
beginning: the events about to be recounted in the poem are themselves
like “a portent of Fate” bound up in the desire of “this one man.” The
fusion of Fate and Alexander’s desire or will—suggested here in this
passage—comes together more clearly when, after the Greeks’
amphibious landing in Asia Minor, Alexander surveys the land and
states, “Iam satis est, . . . socii, michi sufficit una / Hec regio. Europam
vobis patriamque relinquo” ‘Now, friends, this one region is enough for
me. I leave Europe and our homeland to you’ (1.440-41). The narrator
then continues:

Sic ait et patrium ducibus subdiuidit orbem.
Nam timor ille ducem, tanta est fiducia fati,
Regnorum quecumque iacent sub cardine quadro
Iam sibi parta putat. Sic a populantibus agros
Liberat et pecorum raptus auertit ab hoste.
Iamque iter arripiens Cyllicum sibi uendicat arces,
Conciliatque pii clementia principis urbes. (1.442-48)

Thus he spoke and divided their homeland among his
generals. For his trust in Fate was so great that he – the dread
of princes – thought whatever lands lay under the four
directions now were parceled out to him. So he liberated the
fields from ravagers, and having seized the cattle he drove
them away from the enemy. And then taking a journey he
claimed Cilicia’s strongholds for himself and with the
clemency of a righteous prince won over those cities.

Telescoping the opening salvos of Alexander’s campaign into just a
handful of lines, the narrator draws together Alexander’s “trust in Fate”

and his actions. For Alexander, it seems, Fate is his will—his course of action—and his will is Fate.

We see this fusion of Fate and will perhaps most clearly in the early books when, after the Greeks soundly defeated Darius's troops the first time, Alexander entered the city of Gordium, home of the legendary Gordian knot. To honor his father Gordias, King Midas had dedicated a golden chariot in Jove's temple; to secure the chariot, Midas so cleverly tied down the chariot's yoke that no one could untie the knot. The narrator states,

Certe fides urbis ita disposuisse tenacem
Fatorum seriem qui uinula solueret illum
Regno totius Asiae debere potiri.
Mouit Alexandrum supplendi fata cupido,
Extollensque iugum nexus dissoluere temptat,
Luctatusque breui, cum se contendere frustra
Conspicit, astantes ne triste reuerberet omen,
'Quid refert,' inquit 'proceres, qua scilicet arte
Quoque modo tacitae pateant enibmata sortis?'
Dixit et arrepto nodos mucrone resoluit,
Vnde uel elusit sortem uel forte reclusit. (2.80-90)

The city's sure faith was thus: Fate's firm order declared that the one who freed those bonds was destined to obtain rule over all Asia. Desire for fulfilling Fate moved Alexander. Raising up the yoke he attempted to untie the knot, and after struggling briefly, saw that he contended with it in vain. Lest the omen strike harshly those standing by, he said: 'What does it matter, o nobles, by which means or even skill the puzzles of secretive Fate are opened?' He spoke and snatching a sword cut the knots, hence he either mocked Fate or boldly revealed it.

Determined to fulfill Fate's decree, Alexander fuses Fate and his own desire through action. Though the narrator questions whether or not Alexander acted in good faith when he cut the knot, the narrator does not question that he indeed accomplished "Fate's firm order."

Though as a man of action Alexander enjoys much early success, he discovers, too, "durare salutem / Nulli continuam sed mixta aduersa secundis" [that uninterrupted prosperity endures for no one, but adversities are mixed with good fortune] (2.153-54). Following the

Gordian knot episode early in book 2, Alexander pushes through to the Cilician city of Tarsus on his march to meet Darius in battle. Arriving in the heat of midsummer, and finding the Cignus River, which flows through the city, enticing, he jumps in to cool off only to experience a seizure and subsequent chill and fever at the shock of the cold water. With news of Darius's approach and Alexander's illness, the Macedonian youth in a Boethian moment lament the immanent loss of their leader, saying, "Improba mobilior folio Fortuna caduco, / Tygribus asperior, diris immitior ydris, / Thesiphone horridior, monstroque cruentior omni, / Cur metis ante diem florentes principis annos?" 'O wicked Fortune, more changing than a falling leaf, more savage than tigers, harsher than dreadful hydras, more horrible than Thesiphone, and crueler than any monster, why do you mow the prince's blooming years before his day?' (2.175-78). Expanding his source, in which Curtius simply summarizes the Macedonians' anxiety (3.5, 33), Walter includes this complaint against Fortune, I would argue, to emphasize the theme and set up the goddess's appearance. The narrator states, "Audiit hec, ut forte rotam uouendo fatiscens / Ceca sedebat humi Fortuna" 'Drooping blind Fortune heard these words as by chance she was sitting on the ground spinning her wheel' (2.186-87), and the goddess herself then speaks:

"Inscia mens hominum quanta caligine fati
Pressa iacet, que me tociens iniusta lacescit.
Ius reliquis proprium licet exercere deabus,
Me solam excipiunt, que dum bona confera, magnis
Laudibus attoller, si quando retraxero rebus
Imperiosa manum, rea criminis arguor ac si
Naturae stabilis sub conditione teneri
Possem. si semper apud omnes una manerem
Aut eadem, iam non merito Fortuna uocarer.
Lex michi naturae posita est sine lege moueri,
Solaque mobilitas tabilem facit." (2.190-200)

O how the ignorant minds of men, pressed down by gloomy fate, lie in ruins when they unjustly and so often admonish me. They permit other goddesses to exercise their particular duty, but they except me alone, whom they extol with great praise when I confer good things. But if ever I take back my powerful hand from affairs, I am charged guilty of a crime as

if I could be held within the confine of a stable nature. If ever among all affairs I were to remain one and the same, then I would not merit the name Fortuna. My nature's particular law is to be moved without law, and movement alone makes me stable.

Walter's addition, here, of Fortune's appearance and complaint, meant only for the poem's narratee who overhears the goddess, reinforces the theme through personification. Reminding the audience—though not the complaining Greeks—of her true nature, Fortune turns her wheel, Alexander recovers, and the Macedonians promptly forget the peril of their king's near death.

As the narrative moves forward in the next several books, so does the Macedonian army. Following Alexander's brush with death, the Greeks swiftly prepare for battle with Darius, whom they meet first at Issus, where they defeat the Persian and capture his family though Darius himself escapes. Later, after summarizing the Greek conquest of Palestine, Egypt, and Mesopotamia, the narrator recounts the battle of Arbela near Babylon, where Alexander defeats Darius a second time and the Persian once again escapes. Babylon surrenders without siege, the Greeks enter the city in an orderly march, and the Babylonians welcome them with a show of wealth and pomp, causing the narrator to effuse, "Numquam tam celebri iactatrix Roma triumpho / Victorem mirata suum tam diuite luxu / Exceptit" [Never did boastful, bedazzled Rome receive her victor with such a distinguished triumph or such costly luxury] (5.491-92). At this moment marking a highpoint of Alexander's success, the narrator turns again to his twelfth-century narratee and states,

Si gemitu commota pio uotisque suorum
Flebibus diuina daret clementia talem
Francorum regem, toto radiaret in orbe
Haut mora uera fides, et mostris fracta sub armis
Parthia baptismo renouari posceret ultro,
Queque diu iacuit effuses minibus alta
Ad mone Christi Kartago resurgeret, et quas
Sub Karolo meruit Hyspania soluere penas
Exigerent uexilla crucis, gens omnis et omnis
Lingua Ihesum caneret et non inuita subiret
Sacrum sub sacro Remorum presule fontem. (5.510-20)

If divine mercy, moved by a pious groan and tearful prayers, were to grant the Franks such a king, the true faith would shine throughout the entire world without delay, Parthia, broken by our weapons, would demand to be reborn by voluntary baptism, noble Carthage that lay for a long time on scattered lands would rise up at Christ's name, the punishments that Spain deserved to pay back under Charles would be completed under the cross' banner, and each nation and tongue would sing to Jesus and willingly enter the sacred font under the holy bishop of Reims.

Revealing a preoccupation of his own time, the narrator sums up his esteem for his subject in this extended conditional sentence, a sentence that sounds familiar even in our own day: if only we had an Alexander, he seems to say, who by force of arms or reputation could conquer the world, we would establish a new world order.

Now at the poem's midpoint, the narrator opens book 6 with an apostrophe to Babylon itself, saying, "Ecce lues mundi, regum timor unicus /Rex erit ille tuus a quo se posceret omnis / Rege regi tellus" 'Behold the world's scourge, the one terror of kings....He will be your king, whom all the earth might choose for king' (6.1, 8-9). After this propitious opening, however, the narrator quickly introduces what begins a downward trajectory in the narrative. The narrator states,

Hos tamen a tenero scola quos inpresserat euo
Ornatus animi, poliendae schemata uitae,
Innatae uirtutis opus solitumque rigorem
Fregerunt Babilionis opes luxusque uacantis
Desidiae populi quia nil corruptius urbis
Moribus illius. Nichil est instructius illis
Ad Veneris uenale malum cum pectoral multo
Incaluere mero. (6.16-23)

The schooling that impressed him at a tender age, the ornament of the soul, the form of refined life, had taught the customary work of innate virtue; however, the works and luxury of empty Babylon, of the idle people (because nothing is more corrupt than the customs of that city) crushed the rigor

of these things. Nothing is more conducive to the venial evil of Venus than the heart grown hot with unmixed wine.

The schooling the narrator mentions here refers to Aristotle's instruction presented directly in Book One. In a 101-line—almost Polonius-like—passage of moral instruction (1.82-183), Aristotle tells the twelve-year-old Alexander to avoid advice from slaves, extol the honest, be just in judgment, lead by example in battle, be generous in victory, and remember “*virtus non queritur extra. / Non eget exterius qui moribus intus habundat. / Nobilitas sola est animum que moribus ornat*” ‘Virtue is not sought outside. It does not need externals; it abounds in inner morals. The soul that dresses in these morals is truly noble’ (1.103-5). As a final bit of advice—seemingly an afterthought—Aristotle says,

“*Cetera quid moneam? sed non te emolliat intus
Prodiga luxuries, nec fortia pector frangat
Mentis morbus amor, latebris et murmure gaudens.
Si Bacho Venerique uacas, qui cetera subdis,
Sub iuga uenisti: periit delira uacantis
Libertas animi. Veneris flagrante camino
Mens hebet interius. rixas et bella moueri
Imperat et suadet rationis uile sepulchrum
Ebrietas, rigidos eneruant hec duo mores.* (1.164-72)

What else might I advise? But let not wanton luxury soften you inside, nor let love, a mental illness that rejoices in murmur and subterfuge, shatter your vigorous heart. If you are idle with Bacchus and Venus, you who subdue others have come under their yoke: the soul's freedom is lost in empty madness. The mind grows sluggish inside Venus' burning forge. Drunkenness commands you to provoke quarrels and persuades you to build a vile tomb for reason: these two enervate strong morals.

In the flush of victory and the warmth of the Babylonian reception, however, Alexander forgets Aristotle's admonition. The narrator states:

*Hos inter luxus Babilonis et ocia Magnum
Ter deni tenere dies et quatuor, unde*

Terrarum domitor exercitus ille futurus
Debilior fuerat si post conuiuia mensae
Desidis efrenum piger irrupisset in hostem.

Among the luxury and leisure of Babylon the Great one lingered for thirty four days, during which his army, the future world dominator, was weakened if afterwards an unbridled enemy had rushed in on the lazy banquet. (6.28-32)

Though not stating it directly, the narrator implies that Fate alone protects the Macedonians during these thirty four days of excess for, had “an unbridled enemy” attacked, they likely would have lost. While after the Babylonian sojourn Alexander continues to find success in the field, finally conquering Darius and pushing ever eastward into India, this time of wantonness establishes a new pattern for the poem’s central character. Conquered by Babylon, he has, as Aristotle feared, “come under [the] yoke” of Bacchus and Venus.

Again, though the theme of Fate and Fortune permeates the narrative, Walter particularly emphasizes the theme’s conjunction with Alexander’s moral state near the end of book 8. Having begot a child with the Amazon queen Talestris, executed Philotas and his father Parmenion—two generals perhaps wrongly accused of an assassination plot—and captured and executed Bessus, who had betrayed and murdered Darius, Alexander “sicienti pectore regnum / Affectans Scitiae” ‘was thirsty in his heart, desiring Scythia’s realm’ (8.358-59), as the narrator says, and enters the Hindu Kush, a rough, challenging environment, as current geo-political events remind us daily. On the eve of Alexander’s military campaign against the Sarmatians, an embassy approaches and, in a 101-line passage, the eldest eloquently challenges Alexander to leave them alone to live their unadorned, nomadic life in peace. In the midst of his discourse, this presumably uncivilized Sarmatian admonishes Alexander as follows:

“Proinde manu pressa digitisque tenere recuruis
Fortunam memor esto tuam, quia lubrica semper
Et leuis est numquamque potest inuita teneri.
Consilium ergo salubre sequens quod temporis offert
Gratia presentis, dum prospera luditur a te
Alea, dum celeris Fortunae munera nondum
Accusas, impone modum felicibus armis

Ne rota forte tuos euertat uersa labores.” (8.448-55)

So then, remember to hold your Fortune with a tight grip and curled fingers for she is always slippery and light and can never be held against her will. Therefore, follow the beneficial counsel that the grace of the time at hand offers. While a fortunate game of dice is played by you, and while you do not yet reprimand the rewards of swift Fortune, place a limit on fortunate arms lest the changing wheel by chance overturn your labors.

Ignoring the man’s counsel and admonition, Alexander exerts his own will by force, eventually compelling the Sarmatians though, as the narrator states, “sed non sine cede suorum” ‘not without the bloodshed of his men’ (8.480). Thus, the narrator concludes, Scythia, never previously conquered, succumbs to “ille cruentus / Fatorum gladius, terrarum publica pestis” ‘that bloody sword of the fates, that universal plague of the earth’ (8.492-93). Once again, fate and Alexander’s will are one.

Although Alexander does not heed the Sarmatian’s warning about Fortune, the narrator’s narratee, to whom the passage on Fortune in book 2 is addressed, understands the import of the ambassador’s words. Standing outside the story, if you will, the narratee sees the inexorable trajectory of Alexander’s ambition and desire for world dominance. Satiating in India his thirst for Eastern expansion in book 9, Alexander hatches a plan to conquer the rest of the world and returns to Babylon to regroup. Meanwhile, in a mythological-allegorical episode (10.6-167), Nature, offended by Alexander’s pride and his plan to conquer the entire world, journeys to hell to enlist Leviathan in a plot to punish him. During a hellish council, they decide to poison him, which sets in motion the Greek general Antipater’s role, as Walter sees it, in Alexander’s death. Once in Babylon, then, Alexander receives embassies from Africa and Europe. Then, according to Walter, poisoned by Antipater during a drinking party, he takes ill suddenly. As death approaches, he musters his army and, in a final claim for control, says,

“Iam tedere potest membris mortalibus istam
Circumscibi animam. Consumpsi tempus et euum
Deditus humanis, satis in mortalibus hesi.

Hactenus hec. Summum dienceps rector Olympum
Ad maiora vocor, et me vocat arduus ether
Vt solium regni et sedem sortitus in astris
Cum Ioue disponam rerum secreta breuesque
Euentus hominum superumque negocia tectem.” (10.402-09)

Now I am not happy that my soul is hemmed in by mortal members. Having used up the time and given it to human concerns, I have clung to mortal things long enough until now. Hereafter, I am called to greater matters, to rule highest Olympus, and lofty heaven calls me so that I might settle on a throne of power among the stars and with Jove dispense the secrets of things, judge men's brief fates, and manage the gods' affairs.

Totally unaware of Nature's animosity, or even the direct cause of his imminent demise, Alexander once again attempts to harness fate by suggesting he wills this death and, turning prophet in these final moments, declares he is indeed heaven bound, summoned “*Consilio Iouis et superum*” ‘by counsel of Jove and the gods’ (10.416). Although he claims a glorious afterlife for himself, Alexander's ending is not so clear in the poem. At the moment of death, the narrator states, Alexander's spirit “*erumpens tenues exiuit in auras*” ‘bursts forth and expires into thin air’ (10.427). Unlike Pompey in Lucan's *Civil War* (9.1-18), an epic to which Walter alludes frequently in his poem, there is no apotheosis in the *Alexandreis* for its central character. Rather, as the narrator concludes, once dead “*cui non suffecerat orbis, / Sufficit exciso defossa marmore terra / Quinque pedum fabricate domus*” ‘he for whom the world was not sufficient had only five feet of tunneled earth, carved from cut marble, for his abode’ (10.448-50). This ending—in light of the Nature-Leviathan episode—remains dramatically ironic: his final reward of a bit of earth seems small compared to his ambition. And though he seems throughout to fuse fate and his own will, he is not able to do so in the end as he “expires into thin air.”

As Chaucer's Monk notes, everyone has heard of Alexander's Fortune and how the goddess turned his “*sys...into aas*” (VII.2661). Walter of Châtillon's *Alexandreis* was one of the chief narrative treatments of the story from the late twelfth century on. In Walter's poem, as Alexander pushes from Macedonia to the East, Fortune seems

Hodapp

to favor the conqueror. Things begin to change, however, when Alexander enters the gates of Babylon. Unable or unwilling to read the signs of decadence, Alexander and his men lose themselves in Babylon for thirty-four days, thus beginning the narrative's downward trajectory. Seduced by Eastern decadence to bear the yoke of Venus and Bacchus, Alexander forgets Aristotle's counsel and gives full rein to his ambition and thirst to conquer all. Ironically, on his return to Babylon, his thirst literally leads to his death as he quaffs the poisoned cup of wine, the punishment Nature and Leviathan devise for his overweening pride and ambition. Alexander's fate and fortune, shaped largely by his own decisions, lead to a reward that offers little beyond earthly fame. Although on his death bed Alexander prophesizes for himself an eternal reward with Jove among the stars, Walter's ambiguous ending suggests a reward much more limited in space and scope in spite of his status as world conqueror.

The College of St. Scholastica

Notes

¹For a fuller discussion of Alexander's life, see Cantor's and Green's biographies. On his army, its size, the logistics of supply, and the effect these variables had on his conquests, see Engels.

²The Nine Worthies were categorized in three groups of three: pagans (Hector, Alexander, Julius Caesar), Jews (Joshua, David, Judas Maccabeus), and Christians (Arthur, Charlemagne, Godfrey of Bouillon). As Lacy details, they first appear early in the fourteenth century in Jacques de Longuyon's *Les Voeux du paon* but quickly become a popular subject for both visual and verbal artists (407-48). In the late-fourteenth-century Alliterative *Morte Arthure*, for instance, the Nine Worthies form the centerpiece of Arthur's second dream, a turning point in the narrative that on the eve of total victory forecasts his change in fortune (3218-455). See Ross for a discussion of the Nine Worthies in manuscript illumination (107-11).

³For a detailed overview of Alexander in the Middle Ages, especially the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries, Cary (77-225) remains useful.

⁴Alan of Lille, for instance, attacks the poem in his *Anticlaudianus* (1.166-70), and Johannes de Hauvilla frequently echoes it in *Architrenius* (passim; xxv). Both poets composed these poems in the 1180s.

⁵Following Prince, I am here distinguishing readers from the poem's narratee, that is, "the one who is narrated to, as inscribed in the text" (*Dictionary* 57; see also his Introduction).

⁶Translations of the *Alexandreis* are mine throughout.

Works Cited

- Alan of Lille. *Anticlaudianus*. Ed. R. Bossuat. Paris: Vrin, 1955; Trans. James J. Sheridan. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1973.
- The Alliterative *Morte Arthure. King Arthur's Death*. Ed. Larry D. Benson. Exeter Medieval English Texts and Studies. Exeter: U of Exeter P, 1986. 113-238.
- Baynham, Elizabeth. *Alexander the Great: The Unique History of Quintus Curtius*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1998.
- Cantor, Norman. *Alexander the Great: Journey to the End of the Earth*. New York: Harper, 2005.
- Cary, George. *The Medieval Alexander*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1956.
- Chaucer, Geoffrey. The Monk's Prologue and Tale. *The Riverside Chaucer*. Ed. Larry D. Benson. 3rd ed. Boston: Houghton, 1987. 240-52.
- Colker, Marvin L. Introduction. Walter of Châtillon ix-xlv.
- Curtius Rufus, Quintus. *The History of Alexander*. Trans. John Yardley. New York: Penguin, 1984.
- Engels, Donald W. *Alexander the Great and the Logistics of the Macedonian Army*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1978.
- Green, Peter. *Alexander of Macedon, 356-323 B.C.: A Historical Biography*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1991.
- Johannes de Hauvilla. *Architrenius*. Ed. and trans. Winthrop Wetherbee. Cambridge Medieval Classics 3. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994.
- Kratz, Dennis M. *Mocking Epic: Waltharius, Alexandreis and the Problem of Christian Heroism*. Madrid: Studia Humanitatis, 1980.

- Lacy, Norris J. "Nine Worthies." *The Arthurian Encyclopedia*. Ed. Norris J. Lacy. New York: Bedrick, 1986. 407-08.
- Lafferty, Maura K. *Walter of Châtillon's Alexandreis: Epic and the Problem of Historical Understanding*. Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin 2. Brepols: Turnhout, 1998.
- Lucan. *The Civil War*. Ed. A. E. Houseman. Trans. J. D. Duff. Loeb Classical Library 220. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1928.
- Maddox, Donald, and Sara Sturm-Maddox. "Introduction: Alexander the Great in the French Middle Ages." *The Medieval French Alexander*. Ed. Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox. Albany: U of New York P, 2002. 1-19.
- Prince, Gerald. *A Dictionary of Narratology*. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1987.
- . "Introduction to the Study of the Narratee." *Reader-Response Criticism: From Formalism to Post-Structuralism*. Ed. Jane P. Tompkins. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1980. 7-25.
- Ross, D. J. A. *Alexander Historiatus: A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature*. London: Warburg Inst., 1963.
- Townsend, David. Introduction. *The Alexandreis: A Twelfth-Century Epic: A Verse Translation*. Trans. David Townsend. Peterborough: Broadview, 2007. 11-22.
- Walter of Châtillon. *Galteri de Castillione Alexandreis*. Ed. Marvin L. Colker. Padua: Antenore, 1978.