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ܟܬܒ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܕ ܒܒܠܐ
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ✤
УНИВ. БИБЛИОТЕКА
И. Бр. 14368

THE HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER THE GREAT,

BEING THE SYRIAC VERSION OF THE

PSEUDO-CALLISTHENES.

EDITED FROM FIVE MANUSCRIPTS,

WITH AN

ENGLISH TRANSLATION AND NOTES,

BY

ERNEST A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A.,

FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND TYRWHITT SCHOLAR; ASSISTANT IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES, BRITISH MUSEUM.

EDITED FOR THE SYNDICS OF THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

УНИВЕРЗИТЕТСКА БИБЛИОТЕКА

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM HENRY SMITH, M.P.,

BY HIS

DEEPLY OBLIGED AND GRATEFUL SERVANT

THE EDITOR AND TRANSLATOR.

The storie of Alisaundre is so comune
That every wyght that hath discrecioun
Hath herd somewhat or al of his fortune.

CHAUCER, *Canterbury Tales*, Group B, ll. 3821—3823,
or, Monkes Tale, ll. 640—642.

Seigneurs qui vivez à present,
Qui desirez ouyr croniques,
Lisez Alixandre le Grant,
Qui dit chouses moult magnificques.
En luy chouses diverses orrez
Pour vous oster merencolye ;
Car ses dits sont beaulx, bien narrez
Par grans docteurs, je vous affye.
Ou romant les pourrez vous veoir :
Chacun d'eulx y fait son devoir.

BERGER DE XIVREY, *Traditions Tératologiques*, p. XLVIII.

PREFACE.

SO far back as the year 1881 the late Professor W. Wright suggested to me that I should prepare an edition of the Syriac version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes and an English translation of it. I undertook this work in the hope that it would be useful not only to students of Syriac who will be glad of a new and amusing text to read, but also to the large and increasing number of enquirers into the folk-lore and legends connected with Alexander the Great who have not found time to learn Syriac, and to whom, necessarily, the contents of this ancient version are unknown. It may be argued that sufficient of the fabulous history of Alexander is known to us from the Greek text of the work which is attributed to Callisthenes, and from the Latin translations of it made by Julius Valerius and Leo the Archpresbyter. I am inclined to think, however, that a perusal of the Syriac version will reveal much of interest to the reader, and as it appears to represent a Greek text older than any known to us, that it will be of considerable help in determining one of the earliest forms of the Alexander story.

The Syriac text is edited from five manuscripts, the oldest of which was written about one hundred and eighty years ago: it has been divided into chapters which follow the order of the Greek text of Pseudo-Callisthenes published by Müller. The variant readings of the MSS. are printed at the foot of each page together with such emendations and corrections as it has

УНИВЕРЗИТЕТСКА БИБЛИОТЕКА

been found possible to make. A few misprints have crept into the text and they are noted on pages 255, 256.

The English translation has been made as literal as possible, and only the most necessary notes have been added. Wherever I have been unable to translate a word the fact has been shown by dots.

The short Glossary which follows the English translation makes no pretence of being a complete dictionary to the book. In it, however, will be found such words as have been omitted in the Castle-Michaelis Lexicon and examples of words and forms which are given there without any references to places where they may be found; it is hoped that they will be useful to the beginner. In all cases the utmost brevity has been studied.

In the short introduction to this edition of the Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes I have made a few remarks on some of the versions of the Alexander story based upon the careful works of Favre, Müller, Zacher, Berger de Xivrey, Spiegel and others. The Persian versions of the story I have not attempted to describe, for I have no knowledge of the language. Though late (A.D. 900—1300), they seem to me to be of considerable importance, for they in all probability represent Arabic originals which are no longer extant. Similarly I have not tried to discuss the story from the folk-lore point of view, for I possess neither the necessary knowledge nor the time.

The extracts from an unpublished Egyptian magical papyrus and the remarks on them have been inserted because they support the theory that the story of the magician Nectanebus being the father of Alexander the Great is one of Egyptian origin and composition. The chapter on Ethiopic versions of Pseudo-Callisthenes has been added, because, save for the short extract from the first chapter printed by the late

Prof. Wright in his *Catalogue of the Ethiopic MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 294, no part of it has, to my knowledge at least, been described or printed. It represents an Arabic original and is therefore of importance; besides this any new matter which helps to throw light on the history of the translations and age and travels of a book which has had more readers than any other, the Bible alone excepted, will be welcome. Zacher's observation with reference to the Syriac version of the Alexander story[1] applies equally to this.

My thanks are due to the German Oriental Society for the loan of the manuscript C, and to the American Oriental Society for their kindness in allowing me to have the manuscript B in my possession during the years in which this book was being prepared and was passing through the press. I am also much indebted to the Rev. Benjamin Labaree of Urmia, to Mr. Henry H. Lamb, British Vice-Consul at Scutari, and to Mr. Nimroud Rassam of Mosul, for the pains which they took in superintending the copying of manuscripts D and E, and for the numerous enquiries after ancient Syriac manuscripts of the Alexander story which they made at my request.

The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press have earned the gratitude of all Syriac scholars by their liberality in purchasing a fount of Nestorian Syriac type, which enabled the peculiar character and pointing of the Nestorian MSS. to be accurately reproduced; and my grateful thanks are due to Mr. C. J. Clay who has spared himself no trouble in the production of this, the first book printed in England in the Nestorian Syriac character.

[1] Diese Fragen erscheinen wol bedeutsam genug, nicht nur für die Alexandersage an sich, sondern auch für die orientalische Literaturgeschichte überhaupt, dass wir von den Kennern der syrischen und arabischen Literatur eine eingehende Würdigung und Erörterung derselben hoffen dürfen.

Zacher, *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, p. 193.

УНИВЕРЗИТЕТСКА БИБЛИОТЕКА БЕОГРАД

To the late Prof. William Wright I am most deeply indebted. He read through the whole of my copy of the Syriac text and the English translation before it went to press, and I had the great benefit of his unique experience and assistance in correcting the proof sheets of the whole of the Syriac text of the History of Alexander and of the English translation as far as page 128. Throughout the preparation of this and other works the ready helping hand, the judicious advice, and the warm sympathy of my master were never wanting.

لقد جدتَّ لي قبل السؤال بانعم اتتني بلا مطل لديك ولا عذر

فما لي لا اعطي ثناءك حقه واثني عليك جدواك في السر والجهر

سأذكر ما اوليتني من صنائع يخف بها همي ان اثقلت ظهري

The acquaintance which began in March 1877 ripened, during the five years in which I was his pupil, into a friendship which grew stronger each year after, and was only broken by his death on May 22nd, whereby the world lost one of its few great Semitic scholars*, and I a true friend.

ܗܵܕܵܐ ܕܲܚܢܵܢ ܕܲܗܘܵܐ ܕܲܗܘܵܐ ܗܘ ܕܲܚܢܵܢ ܗܵܕܵܐ
ܕܲܚܢܵܢ ܠܟ ܚܲܕ ܒܲܪ ܒܲܪ ܕܲܚܢܵܢ ܕܲܗܘܵܐ ܕܲܗܘܵܐ ܗܘ ܕܲܚܢܵܢ ܗܵܕܵܐ
ܗܘ ܕܲܗܘܵܐ ܒܲܪ ܒܲܪ ܕܲܚܢܵܢ ܗܵܕܵܐ ⁘

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

LONDON,
November, 1889.

* "Der bedeutendste englische Semitist und ein wahrhaft guter Mensch." T. Nöldeke in *Deutsche Rundschau*, August, 1889, pp. 306—308. See also the excellent accounts of his life and works by Prof. R. L. Bensly in the *Academy*, June 1st, 1889, p. 378; by Dr. Neubauer in the *Athenæum*, June 1st, 1889, p. 697; by M. J. de Goeje in the *Journal Asiatique*, 8ième Série, t. XIII. pp. 522—529, and *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xxi. N. S., pt. iii. pp. 708—713.

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INTRODUCTION.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SYRIAC MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

THE text of the Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes printed in this volume is edited from a manuscript in the British Museum (Add. 25, 875), and the variant readings printed at the foot of each page are taken from four MSS., of which the first and second belong to the American Oriental Society and to the German Oriental Society respectively; the third and fourth are in my own possession. The British Museum MS. has been described by the late Prof. Wright in his *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1872, Vol. iii. p. 1064, No. DCCCCXXII. It is of paper, about $8\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $6\frac{1}{8}$ in., and consists of 362 leaves. The quires, signed with letters, are 36 in number. Each page is divided into two columns of 28 lines. This manuscript is written in a good Nestorian hand, with numerous vowel points, etc., and is dated A. Gr. 2020—21[1] = A.D. 1708—9. The History of Alexander the Great is the twelfth and last article in the MS., and its colophon runs as follows (Wright's *Cat.* p. 1069):—

ܡܟܬܒܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܕܬܘܫܒܚܬܐ ܕܒܓܒܪܐ ܕܐ
ܡܟܟܐ ܕܫܢܬܐ ܒ ܥܒܕܢܗ ܚܛܐ ܕܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܒܟܐ

[1] There are really two years ٢٠٢١ and ٢٠٢١ given in the manuscript.

ܘܥܒܝܕ ܗܘ ܕܢܫܬܟܚ ܐܢܐ ܥܡ ܥܒܝܕ ܒܝܕ ܠܐ ܟܠ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܐܠܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܕܠܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܫܢܝ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܒܪܝܬ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܒܝܕ ܡܢ ܕܒܪܐ ܠܗ ܘܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܒܚܕ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܕܠܐ ܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܫܢܝ

agrees with that in A, and it also carefully marks *mărhĕṭânâ* and *mĕhăggĕyânâ*. For example: ܐܦ p. 1. 4; ܐܢ, ܐܢܢ p. 1. 10; ܐܬ p. 2. 3; ܒ p. 3. 12; ܒܝ p. 3. 15; ܐܒܝ p. 4. 1; ܐܐ p. 4. 5; ܐ p. 4. 7; ܐܢ p. 4. 17; ܒ p. 5. 12; ܐܒ p. 6. 9; ܐ p. 7. 16; ܐܢ p. 8. 15; ܐ, ܐ p. 10. 4; ܐܬ p. 10. 11; ܐܢ p. 10. 20; ܐ p. 13. 4; ܒ p. 14. 5; ܐ p. 16. 3; ܒ p. 16. 11; ܒ p. 16. 12; ܐ p. 17. 4; ܐ p. 17. 10; ܐ p. 17. 18; ܐ p. 18. 20; ܐ p. 19. 15; ܐ p. 19. 20; ܐ p. 20. 4; ܐ p. 21. 6; ܐ p. 23. 4; ܐ p. 23. 7; ܐ p. 24. 15; ܐ p. 25. 1; ܐ p. 25. 12; ܐ p. 27. 3; ܐ p. 27. 9; ܐ p. 39. 9; ܒ p. 40. 11; ܐ p. 44. 10; ܐ p. 45. 3; ܐ p. 45. 13; ܐ p. 46. 4; ܒ p. 51. 15; ܐ p. 52. 2; ܐ p. 56. 11; ܐ p. 59. 18; ܐ p. 61. 12; ܐ p. 65. 11; ܐ p. 69. 13; ܐ p. 72. 10; ܐ p. 72. 13; ܐ p. 73. 17; ܐ p. 75. 16; ܐ p. 85. 7; ܒ p. 87. 2; ܐ p. 87. 17; ܐ p. 90. 1; ܐ p. 94. 3; ܐ p. 97. 20; ܐ p. 103. 10; ܐ p. 104. 7; ܐ p. 104. 8; ܐ p. 107. 2; ܐ p. 108. 2; ܐ p. 113. 4; ܐ p. 115. 2; ܐ p. 119.

5; ܐ p. 123. 16; ܐ p. 129. 15; ܐ p. 131. 19; ܐ p. 132. 2; ܐ p. 134. 15; ܐ p. 134. 19; ܐ p. 137. 10; ܐ p. 138. 7; ܐ p. 138. 7; ܐ p. 138. 9; ܐ p. 140. 2; ܐ p. 141. 5; ܐ p. 141. 12; ܐ p. 148. 15; ܐ p. 149. 17; ܐ p. 155. 10; ܐ p. 162. 13; ܐ p. 164. 18; ܐ p. 165. 2; ܐ p. 166. 18; ܐ p. 169. 10; ܐ p. 170. 15; ܐ p. 171. 1; ܐ p. 179. 13; ܐ p. 181. 5; ܐ p. 183. 6; ܐ p. 186. 10; ܐ p. 190. 10; ܐ p. 191. 3; ܐ p. 191. 5; ܐ p. 191. 11; ܐ p. 193. 2; ܐ p. 195. 18; ܐ p. 199. 2; ܐ p. 200. 10; ܐ p. 205. 14; ܐ p. 207. 15; ܐ p. 209. 6; ܐ p. 209. 12; ܐ p. 221. 15; ܐ p. 223. 6; ܐ p. 223. 17; ܐ p. 225. 4; ܐ p. 226. 2; ܐ p. 227. 9; ܐ p. 228. 3; ܐ p. 228. 16; ܐ p. 229. 12; ܐ p. 231. 6; ܐ p. 232. 14; ܐ p. 235. 11; ܐ p. 239. 10; ܐ p. 245. 11; ܐ p. 245. 12; ܐ p. 246. 4; ܐ p. 247. 13; ܐ p. 248. 2; ܐ p. 250. 11; ܐ p. 257. 9; ܐ p. 258. 7; ܐ p. 259. 19; ܐ p. 262. 9; ܐ p. 263. 13;

ܫܘܝܐ p. 264. 2; ܫܘܝ p. 264. 8; ܫܘܝܐ p. 266. 12; ܫܪܝ p. 266. 16; ܫܘܝ p. 266. 18; ܫܠܝܢ p. 269. 12; ܫܠܝ p. 269. 14; ܫܐ p. 271. 11; ܫܘܝ p. 273. 3; ܫܘܝ p. 273. 18.

In this manuscript ܐܠܦܣ is usually written ܐܠܦܣ, with ◌̈ above; other words written with ◌̈ above are ܐܠܦ p. 11, note 8; ܐܠܦ p. 33. 21; ܐܠܦ p. 165. 5; ܐܠܦ p. 227. 7; ܐܠܦ p. 230. 2; and ܐܠܦ p. 239. 12. In this manuscript words at the end of a line are frequently divided; Alexander's name is generally written in full, ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ, while in A it is most frequently contracted. The MS. is paged from ◌̈ to ◌̈ : the following is the colophon :—

ܫܟܚ ܗܘܝ ܫܪܝܫ ܫܐܬܐ ܫܐܬ ܐܠܦ ܫܐ ܫܐ ܫܐ

ܒܫܡܗ. ܡܫܒܚܝܢ. ܕܟܠܟ ܕ ܐܢܬ ܡܫܡܫܗ. ܕ ܒܫܟ.
ܕ ܩܕܡ. (p. ٨٠) ܕܒܕܗ ܐܠܟ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܝ ܩܕ.
ܐܡܝ ✣

ܒܝ ܒܝ ܡܫܚܩܝ ܠܟ ܕܡܫܒܚܬܗ ܕܒܫ ܐ ܕܒܕܒ
ܒܠܟܣܢܘܢ ܐܠܟ ܩܕܝܫ. ܒܒܝ ܩܕܝܫ. ܒܒ
ܒܫܐ ܐܡܝ ✣ ܒܝ ܐܡܝ ✣ ܐܡܝ ✣ ܐܡܝ
ܒܫ. ܩܕܘ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܡܫܝܚ ܡܫܝܚ. ܡܫ
ܒܫ. ✣ ܒܫ ✣ ܒܫ ✣ ✣ ✣

tlemen), which is founded and ordered and built by the side of the most holy convent of Mâr Sargîs and Mâr Bâkûs[1]; may our Lord Christ make it to flourish, and guard its indwellers from all secret and open injuries. Amen.

"The deacon Aṣlan[2], the son of the deceased Muḥattas[3], the son of Aṣlan, the son of Ḳârâ[4], the most wretched of all the wretched, the most feeble of all the feeble, and most sinful of all sinners, blackened, that is to say defiled and begrimed, these pages. Pr'ythee pray on his behalf that peradventure he may obtain compassion from the Lord. Amen.

"The priest Perkins, by race an Englishman, that is to say from the country of America, the indefatigable and zealous preacher and teacher and guide of the confession of Nestorianism, took great pains and care to have a copy made of this book of the History of Alexander the Macedonian King, that he might read therein and profit thereby, and might benefit others. He has for a few years dwelt in a strange land in the country of Urmî[5], with his American brethren in the spirit, Eṣtâkan Ṣâhab[6] [Mr. W. R. Stocking], Mr. Haldè [Mr. A. L. Holladay], the doctor [Dr. Grant], Mr. Brayth [Mr. E. Breath], the printer, Mr. Merik [Rev. J. L. Merrick], Mr. Estâdor [Lieut. Col. Stoddart], and Mr. Jûns [Mr. W. Jones][7]. These American brethren

dence of the missionaries." Mr. Labaree says that the word صلا is used in modern Syriac for any dwelling surrounded by a high wall.

[1] Mr. Labaree tells me that the church of Mâr Sergius and Mâr Bacchus is about one mile from the village of Sîr, سير

[2] Turk. ارسلان, "lion." He died about the year 1877 being a very old man.

[3] متحتّس

[4] Turk. قرا or قره "black," but generally used with some other name.

[5] Urmî or Urmia is a district situated near the western shore of the lake of that name in Kurdistân, and is the seat of the large and flourishing Mission which was founded by Dr. Perkins and his companions, whose names are given above.

[6] In Urmî *Ṣâhab* is used after the name, as in Hindustân.

[7] The names of the gentlemen inserted in my translation are obtained from a perusal of *A Residence of eight years in Persia*, by the Rev. Justin Perkins,

forsook father and mother, brethren and sisters and kin, for the love of our Lord Jesus Christ. They came to this country of Urmia, they opened schools, they opened a printing office[1], they sowed spiritual seed in the field of the hearts of every one who is in name a Christian; they forsook the earthly mammon and loved heavenly riches; and the Lord God will give them a recompense for their works, whether it be good or whether it be bad. Amen.

"Blessed be God, and His name be praised to all generations world without end."

The manuscript C is dated A. Gr. 2162 (= A.D. 1851) and belongs to the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. It is of paper and consists of 196 leaves paginated from ١ to ههد; a column of 18 lines occupies a page (page ههم has only 15 lines and page ههد has 19), and the leaves are 8⅛ in. by 6⅝. Page ١ has an illuminated heading, and through the pattern endorsed on squares, the following letters are written around the top and sides:

(?) ܠ ܐ ܦܟܒ ܬ ܐ ܣ ܒ ܠ ܐ ܒ ܢ ܡ ܗ ܐ ܬ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܡ ܟ ܒ ܟ ܬ ܐ.

". . . the feeble one, the sinner deserving of perfect wrath."

The quires, signed with letters, are twenty in number. The manuscript is carefully written, with points, etc., as far as p. ههب, but after this the writing is not so good, and some of the pages appear to be by another hand. It agrees generally with B as to the text, but there are no glosses. The pointing has at times been carelessly executed, for example ܒܒ for ܒܒ; ◌ is used for ◌ in writing the same word in different places; ◌ is confused with ÷; and the same proper name is often differently vowelled. This manuscript was presented to the German Oriental Society by the Rev. Justin Perkins in 1852. It will be

Andover, 1843. A very interesting life of Dr. Perkins was begun in اصدرنا ارصدنا, p. 30, April, 1888.

[1] بصمه خانه = خوشكستا

seen from the extracts given below[1] that he mentions having made a translation of the History of Alexander the Great for the American Oriental Society. This may exist in the Society's Library, but I have never seen it. I only know of the translation of the extracts printed in the *Transactions of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. iv. pp. 359—440. A description of this manuscript was given in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, viii. ss. 835—837, by P. Zingerle. His estimate of the relation of the Syriac text to those of the Greek and Latin is very good, and is as follows: "Soweit ich es mit dem Werke von Weismann verglichen habe, nämlich bis zum 13. Kapitel, welches die Geburt Alexander d. Gr. erzählt, ist diese syrische Alexandergeschichte nichts andres als *eine Uebersetzung* des *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* und zwar nach der Berarbeitung des Julius Valerius, soweit die von Weismann gelieferten Auszüge in 2 Bande S. 227 ff. schliessen lassen; denn der syr. Codex beginnt ebenfalls mit der Berühmtheit der Aegypter in der Weisheit und den Wahrsagerkünsten .... Die Abweichungen der syrischen Erzählung sind der *Hauptsache* nach (so weit ich sie verglichen) wenig bedeutend: hie und da ein verschiedener Name oder eine kleine Erweiterung, eine Abänderung von Nebenumständen."

The colophon is as follows:—

ܫܠܡ ܒܥܙܪ̈ܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܫܡܗ ܢܩܪܐ ܥܠܝܗ ܫܡ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܫܡܗ ܢܩܪܐ ܥܠܝܗ ܫܡ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܣܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܫܠܡ ܐܢܐ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܟܬܒ ܐܢܐ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܟܬܒ ܐܢܐ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܟܬܒ

ܗܘ ܕܟܬܒ ܗܢ ܣܦܪܐ ܒܫܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܒܪܝܐ ܘܥܒܕ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܠܫܘܒܚܗ ܘܠܫܡܗ ܕܝܢ ܫܪܝܪ ܐܡܝܢ ܘܐܡܝܢ ܘܐܡܝܢ ܣܠܐ ܘܣܠܐ ܘܣܠܐ ܗܠܠ ܗܠܠ ܗܠܠ ܠܐܠܗ ܒܪܝ

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and the mistakes of which also were corrected by the scribe mentioned [below], from a codex the colophon of which was thus written :—'[This book] was finished in the month of Shĕbâṭ in the year [A. Gr.] 2159 [= A.D. 1848] in the days of the chief shepherdship of Mâr Shem'ûn, the patriarch of the East, and of the pious Bishop Mâr Abrâhâm, in the city of Shebânî[1] beneath the shadow of [the church] of Mâr Gîwargîs (George) the valiant martyr. The sinner Gîwargîs (George), the son of Zay'â, the son of Lâkîn, the elder, a kinsman of the house of Mâr Yôḥanân, the governor of Mâr Ḥazkiaîl of Bânâ, which is near Dâryân, wrote these pages; and Rabban, the elder and governor of Mâr Bîsh'ô Kĕmôlâyâ[2], had the book written; Amen.'"

E is a paper manuscript, about 9¼ in. by 6¾, consisting of 160 leaves. The quires, signed with letters, are 15 in number. One column of 20 lines occupies each page. It was copied from an old Nestorian Syriac manuscript in a library at Alḳôsh and the work was "finished on the Sabbath (Saturday) of the 18th day of the blessed month of Tammôz, in the year of the birth of our Lord and Redeemer and King and Vivifier, Jesus Christ, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-six. Glory be to Him who makes times to pass away but who never passes away! Amen. It was written in the city of Alḳôsh, the city of Nâḥôm (Nahum) the prophet, which is founded and ordered and built by the side of the convent of Rabban Mâr Hôrmîzd[3], the Persian. It was written in the days of the pious fathers the distinguished rulers, the pure and excellent shepherds, Mâr Leo, the thirteenth of that name, the high-priest, the Pope of Rome, and Mâr Eliâ the Catholicus, the Patriarch of Bâbêl of the East, who is also the twelfth of that name. May Christ establish their thrones to the end of days in the prayer of the Apostles and

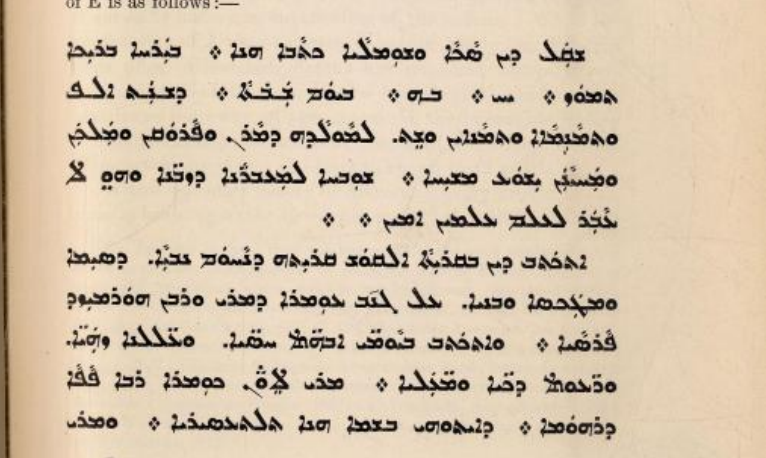
[1] Shebânî is in Tergawer, a Persian district on the border between Persia and Turkey; it is four hours' ride from Urmia.

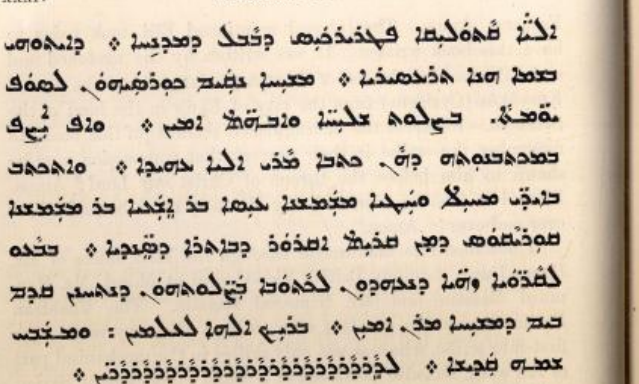
[2] I.e., the man from Kamûlâ in Gezira. See Assemânî, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, t. iii, i. p. 275; t. iii, ii. pp. 731, 732.

[3] For a description of sixteen monks who live in the convent of Rabban Hormizd and their convent; the destruction of the Patriarchal Library by the Kurds, الأكراد; the grave of the saint, etc., see Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, pp. 365, 366.

Fathers; Amen. The [above] mentioned Eliâ took pains to have this book written. It was written by the wretched and sinful deacon 'Îsâ the son of Êsha'yâ (Isaiah), son of the deacon Ḳûryâḳôs (Cyriacus) from the city of Eḳrôr in the land of the Sendâyê. I entreat the distinguished readers [of this book] to remember the scribe in their prayers, that compassion may be shewn to him before the throne of Christ our Lord; Amen. Blessed be God for ever, and may His holy name be praised for ever and ever! Amen."

I obtained this manuscript through the kind offices of Mr. Harry Lamb, formerly British Vice-Consul at Mosul, Mr. Hormuzd Rassam and Mr. Nimroud Rassam. The Chaldean Patriarch took the greatest care to have the copy made by a first-rate scribe, who was not only skilled in the mechanical part of the work, but also possessed of a sound knowledge of Syriac. When the copy was finished the Chaldean Patriarch collated it with the original, and was, in this manner, able to make a few corrections. Of the five MSS. A, B, C, D and E, E has the best readings and agrees the most closely with A. I believe that A and E were copied from the same manuscript. The colophon of E is as follows :—





A

THE EGYPTIAN ORIGIN OF THE ALEXANDER STORY.

For more than two thousand years the life and acts of Alexander the Great have been the subjects of numerous works and songs and poems, which have been written by many writers of many nationalities. The story of the deeds and of the events of his life has been eagerly received by every nation which it has reached, and the fame thereof has become so great that it has covered nearly the whole of the civilized world. It is not, however, the literal facts of the credible history of this king which have captivated the popular fancy of all nations, but the semi-mythical and fabulous legendary history which has sprung up round about them, and which has usurped the place of veritable history in the affection of the nations. While the careful work of Arrian[1] (written, it is true, nearly four hundred years after Alexander's death) has remained comparatively unknown by the side of the popular legends of Alexander which have found their way all over the world, the impossible history of Pseudo-Callisthenes has been translated into a large number of important languages and become known to all people.

Of the legendary history of Alexander, every version known to us is based upon the Greek history of him falsely attributed

[1] His Anabasis is based upon the lost works of the most trustworthy historians among the contemporaries of Alexander, such as Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, and Aristobulus, whose works he chiefly followed. See also Fraenkel, *Die Quellen der Alexander Historiker*, 1883; Petersdorff, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen;* Droysen (J. G.), *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen;* Sainte-Croix, *Examen Critique des Anciens Historiens d'Alexandre*, 1804; Petersdorff, R., *Eine neue Hauptquelle des Q. Curtius Rufus*, Beiträge zur Kritik der Quellen für die Geschichte Alexanders, 1884; Kaerst, *Forschungen zur Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen*, 1887; and Vogelstein, *Annotationes quaedam ex litteris orientalibus petitae ad fabulas quae de Alexandro Magno circumferuntur*, Vratislaviae, 1865.

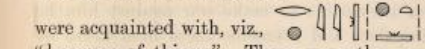
УНИВЕРЗИТЕТСКА БИБЛИОТЕКА

to Callisthenes, his companion and friend. In translating this work the redactors of all nations have found opportunities for adding narratives of the marvellous, the fruits of their own imagination, and they, each and all, have helped to make the incredible history of Alexander by Pseudo-Callisthenes more incredible still. The Egyptians made him a hero and an Egyptian after their own fashion; the Persians asserted that he was a Persian; and the Christian writers from the sixth to the thirteenth century described him as a devout Christian, and as one worthy to be honoured by visions and commands from our Lord Himself.

The first book of the history of Alexander according to Pseudo-Callisthenes is certainly of Egyptian origin, and its birthplace was Alexandria. Colonel Yule places the composition of the work as far back as A.D. 200[1], but there is no doubt that the legends which are contained in it were current some hundreds of years before; indeed, some of them must have been known within a few years of Alexander's death. I am unable to say that it was originally written in Egyptian, but it is probable that it was. Even if it was actually written down for the first time in Greek, it must, nevertheless, have been the work of an Egyptian who wished to confirm and spread abroad in the minds of the people of Egypt the idea which a large number of the people of Alexandria believed, or at least wished others to believe, viz., that Alexander was the son of a former king of Egypt, and that for him to become king of their country was only what was right and proper. It would certainly never enter the head of Greeks to compose and promulgate a story which made the wife of one of their kings to commit adultery with a fugitive king of a foreign country, especially with the king of a nation which they themselves derided, nor is it likely that they would acknowledge the offspring of this adultery as their king. On the other hand, the improbability of the whole story and of the miraculous nature of its details makes it precisely the kind of fable which we should expect to receive from an Egyptian who wished to prove that Alexander was an Egyptian. In other words, the fable of

[1] *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, Vol. I, Introduction, p. 110.

Nectanebus being the father of Alexander is a story quite in keeping with the other literary offspring of the lively Egyptian imagination which produced such stories as the *Tale of the Two Brothers*[1], *The Possessed Princess of Bechten*[2], *The Romance of Setna*[3], etc., and which, in the early times of the Coptic Church, imagined the marvellous events which we see described in the Life of Shenûti by Bêsa[4] and in the Encomium upon Pisentios, Bishop of Coptos, by Moses, Bishop of Keft[5]. Also the accurate description of Egyptian magical practices, the descriptions of the statues of kings and gods, the incidental allusions to the priests and gods of Egypt and to the customs of the Egyptians, make it certain that the man who composed the early part or the original book of the fabulous history of Alexander which was afterwards attributed to Callisthenes, was an Egyptian.

The story begins with the statement that the sages of Egypt were of divine origin and were masters of the powers of heaven and earth. They delivered their power over the elements to men by means of "invincible words" and by the powers of sorcery. The word "sages" naturally suggests the Egyptian name which was given to men who could read writing and who understood whatever science the Egyptians were acquainted with, viz.,  *reχi χet*[6], literally "knowers of things." These were the men who were called upon by the king in the *Tale of the Two Brothers* to explain to him the mystery of the lock of hair, and also by the king in

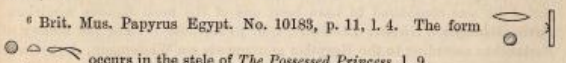
[1] For the Hieratic text see Birch, *Select Papyri*, ii, pl. ix—xix; for a hieroglyphic transcript see Budge, *Egyptian Reading Book*, pp. 1—27: and for an English translation see Renouf, *Records of the Past*, Vol. ii, p. 137 ff.

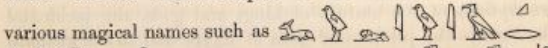
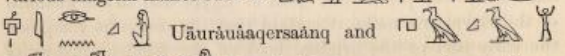
[2] De Rougé, *Étude sur une Stèle Égyptienne*, p. 97; for an English translation see *Records of the Past*, Vol. iv, pp. 53–60.

[3] Revillout, *Le Roman de Setna*, Paris, 1877.

[4] In *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de L'Égypte Chrétienne aux IVe et Ve Siècles*, ed. Amélineau, pp. 1–91.

[5] See Amélineau, *Étude sur le Christianisme en Égypte au Septième Siècle*, Paris, 1887.

[6] Brit. Mus. Papyrus Egypt. No. 10183, p. 11, l. 4. The form  occurs in the stele of *The Possessed Princess*, l. 9.

the *Story of the Possessed Princess*, to decide what should be done for the young woman who was afflicted by a disease which was caused by an unclean spirit. *Reχ χet* is a name often given to scribes. In the Egyptian papyri which have come down to us we find many specimens of the magical names of demons and of the formulae which are referred to by Pseudo-Callisthenes as forming the means by which the powers of the Egyptian sages were handed on to mankind. In the 162nd chapter of the Book of the Dead[1] various magical names such as  Uāurâuâaqersaânq and  Haqahaḳaḥrâ are quoted; and long lists of such names are given both in Egyptian[2] and Greek[3] magical papyri. In the Ethiopic version of the first chapter of Pseudo-Callisthenes it is said that Nectanebus uttered the names of the demons of the earth when he made use of his knowledge of magic; the "fearful names" there alluded to remind us of the abominable names of Āpepi the enemy of Rā[4].

Nectanebus, having acquired the knowledge[5] of magic, used it in a remarkable way to preserve his country from invasion by enemies. Whenever they came to make war against him he used to go into his palace and overcome them from there by means of magical practices. If they came by sea he took a basin of water and set it in the middle of his room, and having

[1] Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch der Aegypter*, pl. LXXVII.

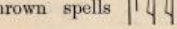
[2] Chabas, *Le Papyrus Magique Harris*, p. 151.

[3] Leemans, *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Publici Lugduni-Batavi*, t. ii, pp. 123, 127, 145, 153. Many of the names of the demons and powers mentioned in the Leyden papyri are found upon Gnostic gems in the British Museum collection.

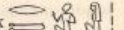
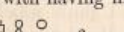
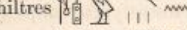
[4] See Brit. Mus. Egyptian papyrus No. 10188, page 16.

[5] It is difficult to discover how Nectanebus II., the last Egyptian king of Egypt, obtained his reputation for working magic. There is nothing in Egyptian history which, so far as I know, would explain the fact. Of the end of this king we know absolutely nothing, but it is certain that at a very early period he was considered to have been one of the most famous magicians. Favre, *Mélanges d'Histoire Littéraire*, t. ii, p. 15, note 1. For the history of Nectanebus according to the Egyptian monuments see Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, p. 716.

made models of the soldiers of the enemy and of those of his own army, he placed them in models of ships which he set upon the water opposite to each other. He then took a rod of wood in his hand, and uttered magical formulae and the names of certain demons. Presently the ships would draw near to each other and the wax figures would begin to fight. If the figures which represented his own soldiers were victorious on the water in the basin his soldiers were victorious on the sea; but if they were beaten and the ships sunk, the same result would happen to his army if they attempted to fight. One day, by this means, Nectanebus discovered that the gods of Egypt had handed over the country to the invader, for his ships were scattered on the basin of water, and were driven hither and thither by those of the enemy; on seeing this he disguised himself and fled away.

The custom of performing acts of sorcery by means of wax figures was a very old one among the Egyptians. If a man burnt a wax figure of a demon in the fire and uttered certain prayers or formulae over it while it was burning, it was supposed to be efficacious in guarding him from the power of that demon. Frequently professional exorcists carried this practice to a farther extent and by substituting the figure of a person, upon which his name had been written, they were thought to be able to do serious bodily harm or even to cause death to the person whose effigy was burnt. This practice was not only very old but also very widespread, and we now know that it was regarded as a crime by the Egyptians themselves. The fragments of a papyrus discussed and partly translated by the late M. Chabas[1] tell us that a certain man, who was a superintendent of cattle, obtained a book of magic with which he was able to work dire effects upon his fellow-creatures. The book contained not only the formulae necessary for obtaining these results, but also directions how to proceed. His powers were supposed to be so harmful that finally he was brought before an Egyptian court of law, and accused of working harm to various people of the town. He was charged with having thrown spells  *siḫ*, upon men and

[1] Chabas, *Le Papyrus Magique Harris*, p. 170.

women; with having made figures of people in wax   *reθ en menḫ* and so causing paralysis of their limbs; with writing love philtres  *nāu en meri;* with having terrified *seχennu*, men; and with having generally applied himself to the working of sorcery which Pharaoh did not allow any of his servants to do, and which was "abominated by every god and goddess." It may be asked why this man was prosecuted for carrying on magical practices? We may perhaps find a satisfactory answer in the 148th chap. of the Book of the Dead, where it is expressly stated that certain rites are not to be seen by anyone except the king and the *χer ḥeb*, or precentor, and that no priest or servant is to be allowed to see them in going and coming[1]. The fragmentary nature of the papyrus does not allow us to see what the sentence passed upon the sorcerer was; but it shows us quite clearly that we have in the person of the accused a man of pursuits like unto those of Nectanebus.

In addition to his power of working magic by means of wax figures and water this king knew how to cast nativities and to send dreams and visions to men and women. In Book I. chap. 5, we are told that when he wished to send Olympias a dream he went out into the desert, and gathered roots of grass which, after pressing and pounding, he used for sending a dream to her. The Ethiopic version tells us that he made a fire of grasses, that he melted into it a wax figure of Olympias, upon which he had written her name, and that after he had muttered certain incantations the god Ammon came to her in a dream, and worked her will.

I have not been able to find in Egyptian papyri any instance of working magic by means of wax or bitumen figures and water

[1] Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, pl. LXIX, l. 3.

analogous to that given above, but there are several passages where magical effects are promised, if a figure made of wax is burnt in the fire while certain formulae are recited. The following instances from an unpublished hieratic papyrus in the British Museum (No. 10188) will explain the method of procedure in such cases. The greater part of this papyrus is inscribed with a composition entitled "The Book of the overthrowing of Āpepi the enemy of Rā," which contains the following chapters:—

Chapter of spitting at Āpepi.
Chapter of defiling Āpepi.
Chapter of taking a lance to smite Āpepi.
Chapter of binding Āpepi.
Chapter of setting fire to Āpepi.
Book of overthrowing [Apepi] the enemy of Rā.
Book of turning back Āpepi.
Book of knowing the becomings of Rā.

In order to destroy the power of Āpepi, the demon of mist and blackness, the enemy of Rā, it was necessary to say a certain chapter of this composition "over an Āpepi written upon new papyrus with green paint, and over a wax figure of Āpepi with his cursed name engraved and inscribed upon it with green colour. Put it on the fire that the fire may burn the enemy of Rā. Let a man put a figure on the fire at dawn, at noon, and at night when Rā sets in the land of life. Put a figure on the fire at the sixth hour of the night, at the eighth hour of the day, at the arrival of evening until every hour of the day and of the night, by the day of the festival and by day and by month, by the sixth day of the festival, by the sixteenth day of the festival, and likewise every day. If this be done Āpepi, the enemy of Rā, will be overthrown in the shower, for Rā will shine and Āpepi will be destroyed in very truth. The figure is to be burned in a flame of dried grass, and the remains of it are to be mixed with dung and thrown into the fire. A repetition of this is to be made at the sixth hour of the night, at dawn on the eighth day. Āpepi is to be put on the fire, and is to be spit upon many, many times at the beginning of

every hour of the day until the shadow comes round. After this must thou put Āpepi on the fire, spit upon him, kick him with thy left foot and then the roarings (thunders ?) of the crocodile whose face is turned behind him will be repulsed. A repetition of this is to be made at dawn on the eighth day, for by it will Āpepi be slain at the *sekti* boat. A repetition of this is to be made when tempests boil in the east of the sky, when Rā sets in the land of life, in order that threatening clouds may not be allowed to arise in the east of the sky. A repetition of this is to be made many, many times in order that a shower and a rain-storm may not be allowed to arise in the sky. A repetition of this is to be made many, many times to keep away the shower, so that the sun's disk may shine and Āpepi be overthrown in very truth. It is good for a man to do this upon earth, and it is good for him in the underworld. Verily the man who does this shall attain to dignities which are above him, and he shall be delivered from every hateful and evil thing."

The following is the text with a literal translation :—

(Page 8, l. 6)

Āpep

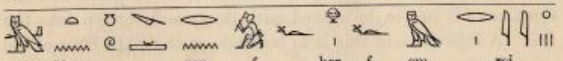
[This chapter is to be said over] Āpepi

nāuu ḥer shuu nemaut em rei

written upon papyrus new with colour

ua'ṭ ḥnā āru Āpep em menḥ χ[a]

green, and a form of Āpepi in wax engraved [and]

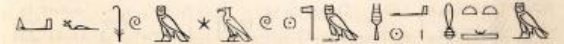


mātennu ren - f ḥer - f em rei

inscribed name cursed his upon it with colour

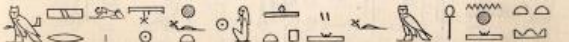
ua'ṭ erṭāṭ āu shet amm - f χeft Rā

green. Place [it] on the fire that may burn it the enemy of Rā.



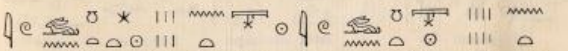
ṭā - f su em ṭûau em āḥā mâtet em

Let place him it at dawn, at noon, likewise at



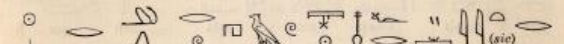
māsher χeft Rā ḥetep - f em Ānχtet

evening, when Rā sets he in the land of life,



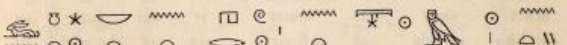
āu unnut vi ent qerḥ āu unnut viii ent

at hour sixth of the night, at hour eighth of



hru er peḥ ruhau nefer-it (*sic*) er

the day, at the arrival of evening until

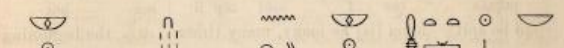


unnut nebt ent hru ent qerḥ em hru enti

hour every of the day [and] of the night, by the day of

ḥeb em hru em âbeṭu em vi enti

the festival, by day, by month, by sixth [day] of

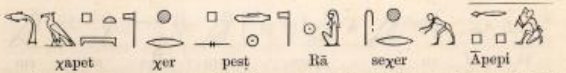


ḥeb xvi enti ḥeb mâtet hru neb

the festival, [by]sixteenth[day] of the festival, likewise day every.

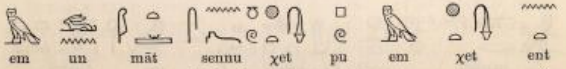
seχer Āpep χeft nu Rā em

[Then] will be overthrown Āpepi, the enemy of Rā, in



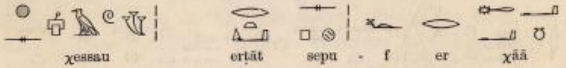
χapet χer pesṭ Rā seχer Āpepi

the shower, for will shine Rā [and] be overthrown Āpepi



em un māt sennu χet pu em χet ent

in very truth. To be burned, to wit, in a flame of

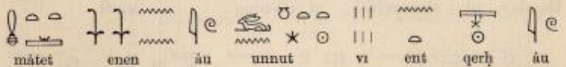


χessau erṭāt sepu - f er χāā

dried grass. Are to be given remains its to be mixed

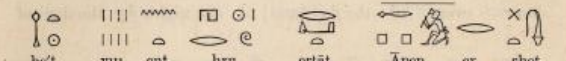
χer usesh smen em χet uāt āru χer - k

with excrement [and] put in fire one. Is to be done by thee



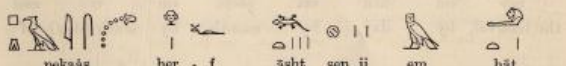
mātet enen āu unnut vi ent qerḥ āu

the like of this at hour six of the night, at



ḥe't viii ent hru erṭāt Āpep er shet

daylight of the eighth day. Is to be given Āpepi to the fire,



peḳaās ḥer - f āsht sep ii em ḥāt

to be spit upon [is] he many, many times at the beginning

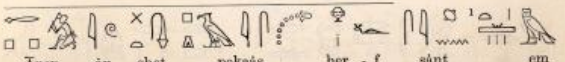
[1] The words over which a line has been drawn are written in red ink on the papyrus.

unnut nebt ent hru neferit er rer χebit

of hour every of the day until comes round the shadow.

år emχet enen ḥe't vi ent hru erṭāt χer-ek

After this [at] daybreak of the sixth day is to be placed by thee



Āpep āu shet peḳaās ḥer - f sånt em

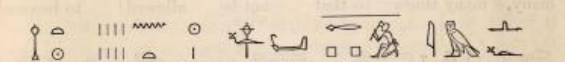
Āpepi in the fire, to be spit upon [is] he and defiled with

nemt - k åb χesef hemhemti ent ḥau

leg thy left, repulsed [are] the roarings of the crocodile backward

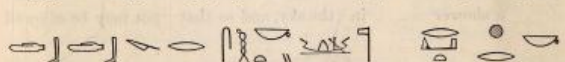
ḥrå årit en χer - ek mâtet enen åu

of face. Is to be done by thee the like of this at



ḥe't viii ent hru χesef Āpep åm - f

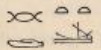
daylight of eighth day; repulsed will be Āpepi by it [and]

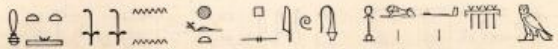


tebṭeb er sekti erṭāt χer - k

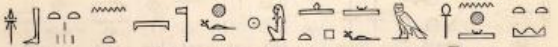
slain at the *sekti* boat[2]. Is to be made by thee

[1] Below the line, between and , are the signs .

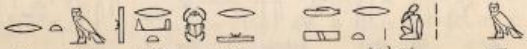
[2] The *sekti* boat was the sacred boat in which the sun was supposed to sail across the sky in the morning; the boat in which he went to the place of his setting was called the  *åṭṭet* boat.



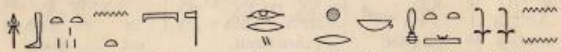
mâtet enen χeft pesâu shenreâ em
the like of this when boil tempests in



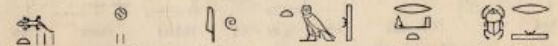
Âbtet ent pet χeft Rā ḥetep - f em Ānχtet
the east of the sky, when Rā sets he in the land of life,



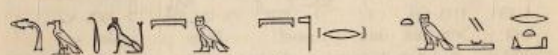
er tem erṭāt χeper ṭeshert em
so that may not be allowed to become red threatening clouds in



Âbtet ent pet âri χer - k mâtet enen
the east of the sky. Is to be done by thee the like of this

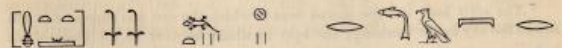


āsht sep ii âu tem erṭāt χeper
many, many times so that not be allowed to become

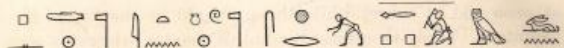


χaθ em pet temi erṭāt
a shower in the sky, and so that not may be allowed

χeper qerâu em pet âri χer - ek
to become a rainstorm in the sky. Is to be done by thee

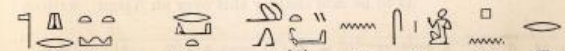


mâtet enen āsht sep ii er χapet er
the like of this many, many times against the shower, so that

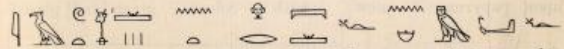


peṣṭ âtennu seχer Âpep em un
may shine the disk and be overthrown Âpepi in very

māt χut en âri - s ḥer ḥetep ta χut nef em
truth. It is good for the doer of it upon earth, it is good for him in



neterχertet erṭāt peḥti en se pen er
the underworld. Is given to attain person this to



âaut ent ḥer - f neḥem - f
dignities which [are] above him, delivered [is] he,

pu mā χet nebt bân tu em un māt.
to wit, from things all evil, foul, in very truth.

In order to overcome the fiends and companions of Âpepi it was necessary to recite a certain chapter of cursings "over an Âpepi with green paint painted upon new papyrus which is to be placed inside a case upon which his name is inscribed; tie up a case and put it in the fire every day. Kick it with thy left foot, spit upon it four times every day. When thou placest this form in the fire say, 'Rā triumphs over thee, O Âpepi; Horus triumphs over thee; and Pa-āa, life, strength and health! triumphs over his enemies' four times. Then must thou write the name of every devil male and female which thy heart fears, the name of every enemy of Pa-āa, life, strength, health! in life and in death, and the names of their fathers and mothers and children inside the cases; then put them in forms of wax and set them on the fire in addition to that with the name of Âpepi. Burn these when Rā rises, repeating the chapter the first time,

at noon and at sunset while there is light at the foot of the mountain. Verily thou must recite this chapter over every wax figure; the doing of this is of great good (or of great power) upon earth and in the underworld."

The following is the text:—

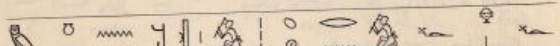
(Page 13, l. 16)

'teṭṭu re pen ḥer Āpep nānu

Is to be said chapter this over an Āpepi written

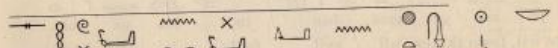
ḥer shuu nemaut em rei ua't erṭā

upon papyrus new with colour green [and] placed



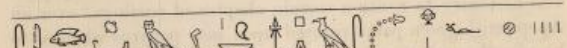
em χennu en neset ârų ren - f ḥer - f

inside of a case (?) being made name his upon it,



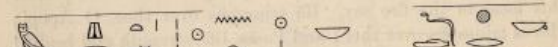
senḥu netet ṭā en χet hru neb

bind, tie up [and] give [it] to the fire day every.



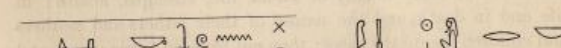
sân em nemti - k âbṭ peḳas ḥer - f sep fṭu

Spurn with leg thy left, spit upon it times four



em χerti ent hru neb 'teṭ χer - k

in the course of day every. Is to be said by thee

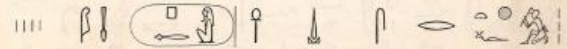


ṭā - k su en set mātχeru Rā er - ek

[when] placest thou it in the fire, "Triumphs Rā over thee,

Āpep sep fṭu mātχeru Ḥeru er χefti - f sep

O Āpepi, times four; triumphs Horus over enemies his, times

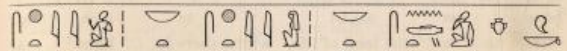


fṭu mātχeru Pa-âa ânχ u'ta senb er χefti -

four; triumphs Pa-âa, life, strength, health! over enemies

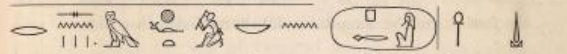
f sep fṭu âs - k nâut - nek enen ren

his, times four." Now thou, writest thou these names of



seχeti nebt seχeti nebt senteti âb - k

demons male all and demons female all [which] fears heart thy

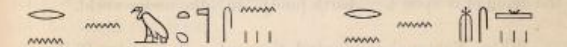


er sen em χeft neb en Pa-âa ânχ u'ta

at them, enemy every of Pa-âa, life, strength,

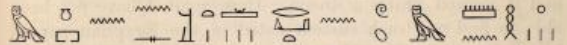
senb em mit em ânχ ren en âtf - sen

health! in death in life, the name of father their,



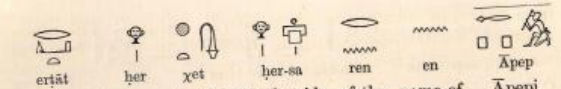
ren en mut - sen ren en mesu

the name of mother their, [and] the name of [their] children



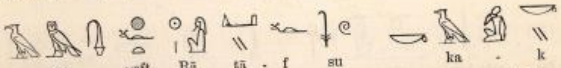
em-χennu en neset erṭāt en ârų em menḥ

inside of the cases placed in work of wax;



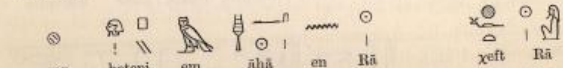
erṭāt ḥer χet ḥer-sa ren en Āpep

place [them] upon the fire by the side of the name of Āpepi



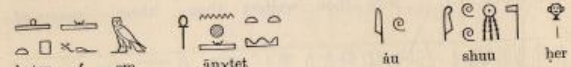
am χeft Rā ṭā - f su ka - k

and burn when Rā gives he himself (*i.e.* rises). Repeatest thou



sep ḥetepi em āḥā en Rā χeft Rā

[it] time first, at standing of Rā (*i.e.* noon), when Rā



ḥetep - f em ānχtet áu shuu ḥer

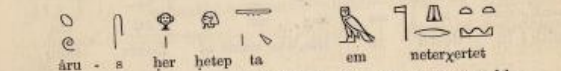
sets he in the land of life, whilst there is light at

uār en tu áu χut - nek enen áu

the foot of the mountain. Is to be recited by thee this over

semi nebt em un māt χut

image every in very truth; of great power [is]



áru - s ḥer ḥetep ta em neterχertet

the doing of it upon earth [and] in the under-world.

When Nectanebus wanted to send a dream to Philip he adopted another method: he took a hawk, and having muttered charms over it, sent it away with a small quantity of a drug, and it shewed Philip a dream. Here again I have not been able to find any such custom noted in the Egyptian papyri, but, judging from the minuteness of the description, there can be no doubt this was one of the many practices resorted to by

the Egyptian sorcerer to shew people dreams. The design engraved on the ring which is described in Bk. I. Chap. VII. was, most probably, something like this;—

Each of these four signs is found engraved on gems and scarabaei.

Throughout the work Alexander is always spoken of as the son of Åmen-Rā, and the accuracy of the references to him and to this god is fully borne out by the hieroglyphic inscriptions. His cartouches are;—

and read *suten net setep Rā meri Åmen se Rā Aleksânṭres se Åmen*, "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the chosen one of Rā, the beloved of Åmen, son of the Sun, Alexander, son of Åmen." Being the son of the god Åmen, who was frequently represented on the sculptures[1] by a ram, it was only natural that the two horns of this animal should be made attributes of Alexander the Great, and that he should be called "two-horned." In the Book of Daniel[2], though compared to a goat, he has only one horn; the writer of the book must, however, have been acquainted with the Egyptian notions concerning Alexander. According to Arabic tradition he was called Two-Horned because of his having captured the two horns of the sun, that is, the East and the West[3].

[1] and see Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, tav. xx—xxv.

[2] Daniel, chap. viii.

[3] وسمي ذا القرنين لبلوغه قرني الشمس وهما المشرق والمغرب

Pocock, *Hist. Dynastiarum*, text p. 96, Latin trans. p. 62. See also Ḳor'ân, Surah xviii, and Spiegel, *Die Alexandersage*, p. 57.

УНИВЕРЗИТЕТСКА БИБЛИОТЕКА

THE VERSIONS OF THE FABULOUS HISTORY OF ALEXANDER.

PSEUDO-CALLISTHENES.

THE work upon which all the legendary compositions relating to the history of Alexander are based is that of Pseudo-Callisthenes, which is thought to have been written in Greek about A.D. 200[1]. The Greek text of this work is extant in twenty manuscripts which have been enumerated and described by Zacher[2]. In the majority of them the name of no author is given, but some describe the narrative as the work of Καλλισθένης ἱστοριογράφος[3]. The text as printed by Müller[4] is edited from three MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, which represent three different versions of the work, viz.:—No. 1711 (fonds grec) = A; No. 1685 = B; and No. 113 (suppl. grec) = C. The text in the first of these is very corrupt, but as a whole, it represents the original or Alexandrian form of the legend. In the second the differences between legend and history are made to be less marked, and the authorship of the composition is attributed to Pseudo-Callisthenes. In the third we have a modified and amplified redaction of the story which agrees oftener with B than A, in this respect resembling most of the other MSS. known to us[5]. The Greek text of a manuscript at

[1] Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. I. p. 110 (Introduction).

[2] Müller, op. cit., *Introductio*, p. viii. col. 2, No. 13.

[3] Pseudo-Callisthenes: *Forschungen zur Kritik und Geschichte der Aeltesten Aufzeichnung der Alexandersage*, Halle, 1867, pp. 7—25.

[4] *Pseudo-Callisthenes primum edidit* Carolus Mullerus, Parisiis, 1877.

[5] *Codex A* scribam arguit vel plane rudem et negligentissimum, vel cujus oculis subjectum erat exemplar turpissimis vitiis ubique inquinatum. Adeo pleraque corrupta et lacera sunt.....Ipsa denique narratio uberior est de iis rebus, unde quæ prisca ejus forma fuerit intelligere liceat.....Codices B et C,

Leyden containing a version which follows A for the first nine chapters and B for the rest has been edited by Meusel[1]; it is of value for the study of the Syriac version. A German translation of the Greek codices A, B and C was published by Weismann[2].

It is improbable that any Greek text known to us represents the Alexander story as it was first written, but a study of the Syriac and Armenian versions and of the Latin translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes by Julius Valerius, which was made in the fourth century, will, in all probability, help us to restore it in many passages. M. Meyer thinks that, with the help of these versions, it can be restored to represent its form in the third century, for their variations represent Greek readings older than any that we have[3].

uti ætate non ita longe separati, sic oratione simillimi. Ubi res easdem eodem modo narrant, iisdem etiam verbis uti solent. Cetera indole valde differunt. Nimirum codex B narrationem habet quam cod. A breviorem. Alia omittit, alia contrahit, quædam mutavit et transposuit; nova præbet perpauca—Contra codex C voluminis mole reliquos longe superat. Fundus narrationis ea est recensio quam sequitur cod. B. Nam quæ cod. B habet, eadem eodem ordine iisdemque verbis in C leguntur pæne omnia. At intercalata iis sunt alia multa, quæ ex diversis plane fontibus auctor corrasit. Pleraque ætatem redolent infimam, multa ineptissima; ac tanta est scriptoris negligentia, ut non modo pugnantia inter se proferat, sed eadem etiam bis vel ter repetat. Müller, Introductio, p. ix, col. 1, x. col. 2.

[1] *Pseudo-Callisthenes, nach der Leidener Handschrift herausgegeben*, Leipzig, 1871. Reprinted from *Jahrbücher für Classische Philologie*, t. v. suppl. IV.

[2] Weismann, *Alexander, Gedicht des zwölften Jahrhunderts, vom Pfaffen Lamprecht. Urtext und Uebersetzung, nebst geschichtlichen und sprachlichen Erläuterungen, so wie der vollständigen Uebersetzung des Pseudo-Kallisthenes und umfassenden Auszügen aus den lateinischen, französischen, englischen, persischen und türkischen Alexanderliedern.* 2 Bde, Frankfurt a. M. 1850. For other accounts of Pseudo-Callisthenes see Berger de Xivrey, *Notices sur la plupart des manuscrits grecs, latins, français, contenant l'histoire fabuleuse d'Alexandre le Grand connue sous le nom de Pseudo-Callisthenes*, in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, t. XIII., Paris, 1838, pp. 162—306; Frocheur, *Histoire romanesque d'Alexandre le Grand, ou recherches sur les différentes versions du Pseudo-Callisthène* (in *Messager des sciences historiques et archives des Arts en Belgique*, 1847, pp. 393—436); Grässe, *Die grossen Sagenkreise des Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1842; Favre, *Mélanges d'Histoire Littéraire*, t. ii. pp. 1—184; Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*, t. I. bk. 2, cap. 10, t. III. bk. 3, cap. 2.

[3] *Alexandre le Grand dans la Littérature Française du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1866, t. II. p. 1—7.

The Latin Translations of Pseudo-Callisthenes by Julius Valerius and Leo the Archpresbyter.

The history of Pseudo-Callisthenes has been translated into Latin by Julius Valerius[1] and Leo the Archpresbyter[2]. Julius Valerius is supposed to have lived about the third or fourth century A.D.[3] His work was one of the sources of the *Itinerarium Alexandri*[4], a work of unknown authorship, which was composed about 340—345 A.D., and it was through this version that the peoples of the north-west and west of Europe became acquainted with the fabulous history of Alexander. The oldest manuscript of the work is preserved at Turin, and was written about the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century[5]. The Aesop mentioned in the titles of the work is generally thought to be the author of a very old recension of Pseudo-Callisthenes; Favre, however, considered his work to be quite distinct from that of Pseudo-Callisthenes, although many of the stories were common to both[6]. The Epitome of Julius Valerius was published for the first time by Zacher[7].

[1] The text has been published by Mai, *Julii Valerii res gestae Alexandri Macedonis translatae ex Aesopo Graeco.* In *Classicorum Auctorum e Vaticanis codd. editorum*, t. VII., Romae, 1835, pp. 61—246 and in *Bibliotheca Classica Latina*, ed. Lemaire, t. LXXIV. pp. 82—283; and by Müller at the foot of the Greek text of Pseudo-Callisthenes.

[2] The text has been published many times, but the most recent editions of it are Landgraf, *Die Vita Alexandri Magni des Archipresbyters Leo, Historia de Preliis*.....zum erstenmal herausgegeben, 1885, 8vo; Zingerle, *Die Quellen zum Alexander des Rudolf von Ems.* In Anhange: Die Historia de preliis, 1882, 8vo. A work on the Historia de Preliis is being prepared by Dr. A. Ausfeld of Brüchsal.

[3] Mai, op. cit. p. xi.

[4] The text has been published by Mai, *Itinerarium Alexandri*.....*edidit primus et notis illustravit A. Maius, nunc denuo publicat*, 1819 pp. 15—61; by Müller, at the end of Pseudo-Callisthenes, pp. 155—167; and by Volkmann, Numburgi (no date) pp. 1—29. See also Kluge, *De Itinerario Alexandri Magni dissertatio*, Wratislaviae, 1861, 8vo.

[5] Meyer, *Alexandre*, t. II. p. 11.

[6] *Mélanges*, t. II. p. 22; Meyer, *Alexandre*, p. 18.

[7] *Julii Valerii Epitome zum erstenmal herausgegeben*, Halle, 1867.

The translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes by Leo the Archpresbyter appeared for the first time in the XIth century, entitled *Historia Alexandri Magni regis Macedoniae, de præliis.* He had been sent on an embassy to Constantinople by John and Marinus, Dukes of Campania (914—965), and while there he spent his time in collecting books; among these was a Greek history of Alexander which the Duke John caused him to translate into Latin[1].

A Latin version of the History of Alexander, composed of a series of extracts from the works of Orosius, Josephus, Augustine, Bede and others, so arranged as to form a continuous narrative, was made in the twelfth century; it is usually attributed to Radulfus, Abbot of St Albans[2].

The Latin epic poem *Alexandreis* by Gaultier de Lille or de Châtillon is based upon the history of Alexander by Q. Curtius[3].

A small and late apocryphal Latin work which treats of Alexander's journey to Paradise is also known; the text was published by Zacher in 1859[4]. Some parts of the narrative, as, for example, the statement that Alexander was guided on his way through dark and unknown countries by a precious stone, remind us of the Ethiopic description of his journey in search of the water of life, in which we are told that a gem, which Adam brought out from Paradise, led him along the right path through the Land of Darkness (see p. cv.). M. Meyer admits[5] that the story may be of Hebrew origin, but he thinks that the traces of Christianity which are found in it do away with all chance of its being an exact translation of the Hebrew legend which makes

[1] The value of this translation has been discussed by Favre, *Mélanges*, t. II. pp. 67—77; by Meyer, *Alexandre*, t. II. p. 34 ff.; and by Zacher, *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, p. 108.

[2] See Meyer, *Alexandre*, t. II. pp. 52—63, and also his description of the *Compilation du MS. Douce*, p. 63 ff.

[3] See Ward, H. L. D., *Catalogue of Romances in the Dept. of MSS. in the British Museum*, Vol. I. p. 94. The poem has been published in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. CCIX., 1855, coll. 463—572, and by Mueldener, entitled *M. Philippi Gualtheri ab insulis dicti de Castellione Alexandreis*, Leipzig, 1863.

[4] *Alexandri Magni Iter ad Paradisum*, Koenigsberg, 1859. This composition has been described by Favre, *Mélanges*, t. II. pp. 86, 87.

[5] *Alexandre*, t. II. p. 49.

Alexander attempt to enter Paradise[1]; he would place the date of its composition in the first half of the XIIth century[2].

The Armenian Version[3].

The text of the Armenian[4] version of the Alexander story was published at Venice in the year 1842 by the Mechitarist Fathers, who based their edition upon ten or twelve MSS. which were written during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Among the undated MSS. was one which was illustrated with scenes in the life of Alexander, and which, from external evidence, was supposed to have been written during the twelfth or thirteenth century. This Armenian translation is considered to be a faithful equivalent of the Greek text from which it was translated, and to represent the oldest form of the work of Pseudo-Callisthenes; the Mechitarists place the date of this version in the fifth century and believe that it was made by Moses of Khorene[5]. Judging by the translations of parts of the contents given by Zacher it agrees closely with the Syriac version; and as it preserves in a fuller and better form many of the passages which are either given imperfectly or not at all in the Greek codex A and in the Latin translation of Julius Valerius, it is much to be desired that an Armenian scholar

[1] Eisenmenger, *Entdeckten Judenthums*, t. II. p. 321.

[2] See a discussion on the work by Israel Levi in *Revue des Études Juives*, t. II. p. 298; t. XII. p. 117.

[3] See Zacher, Pseudo-Callisthenes, pp. 85—101, and Favre, *Mélanges d'Histoire Littéraire*, t. II. pp. 34, 35. I am indebted to these works for the statements about the Armenian Pseudo-Callisthenes made above.

[4] *Padmuthiun Acheksandri Maketonazwui I Wenedig i dparani serbuin Chazaru.* Hami 1842 or "History of Alexander the Macedonian, Venice. At the printing press of Saint Lazarus, 1842." A notice of this work appeared in the *Hallischen Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung*, June, 1845, No. 129, ss. 1027—1029, and another by C. F. Neumann in *Gelehrten Anzeigen herausgegeben von Mitgliedern der k. Bayer. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, München, December, 1884, No. 250—252, coll. 961—965; 969—974; 977—983.

[5] The narrative of Pseudo-Callisthenes, or a similar history, was known to Moses of Chorene, for he says that Nectanebus was the last king of Egypt and that he was, according to some, the father of Alexander. See *Moïse de Khorène, histoire d'Arménie, texte Arménien et traduction Française*, par P. E. Le Vaillant de Florival, p. 175.

would undertake to make a translation of it into some European language. In a letter to Geier Dr. G. Petermann said, "Die Armenische Biographie ist, wie Sie ganz richtig vermuthet hatten, der *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, derselbe aber in der aeltesten Gestalt, oder wenigstens in derjenigen, welche der aeltesten zunaechst steht, ohne die vielen spaetern meist widersinnigen Zusaetze, ob er gleich auch wie alle andern Recensionen desselben des Wunderbaren Vieles enthaelt. Uebrigens ist diese Biographie, wie die armenischen Herausgeber ausdrücklich in der Vorrede bemerken—und wir mussen sie, die gelehrten Mechitaristen,...als die competentesten Richter in dieser Beziehung anerkennen—schon im 5ten Jahrhundert unserer Zeitrechnung uebersetzt worden; auch hegen sie die Vermuthung, dass *Moses Chorenensis*, der berühmteste Armenische Geschichtsschreiber, der Uebersetzer derselben sei, so wie sie meinen, dass ebenderselbe auch die Chronik des Eusebius in das Armenische uebertragen haben moege." Müller, *Introductio*, p. x.

The Syriac Version.

The Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes which has come down to us may be divided into three books or sections, which agree broadly with the three divisions which we find in the Greek codex A and with those of the Latin translation by Julius Valerius; these books or sections contain forty-seven, fourteen and twenty-four chapters respectively. The order of some of the chapters in Book I. is different from those in the Greek text, but the whole book substantially agrees with the Codex A.

In Book II. we have a lacuna of nearly eight chapters. The first sentence of Chap. VI. agrees with the first sentence of Chap. VI. of Müller's Greek text (p. 61, col. 1), but the Syriac then passes on immediately to Chap. XIV. of the Greek (Müller, p. 69, col. 1). This break can probably be accounted for by supposing that a couple of quires had fallen out of either the Greek or the Arabic translation of it from which the Syriac version was made.

Book III. corresponds generally with Book III. of the Greek text but omits the ten chapters which are interpolated into the Greek text of Codex A from the work of Palladius[1], Περὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰνδίας ἐθνῶν καὶ τῶν Βραγμάνων[2].

Although the Syriac work printed in the following pages agrees tolerably closely with the Greek text of codex A and the Latin translation of Julius Valerius, it will be seen on examining these versions that it cannot be considered a translation of either the Greek or the Latin or to represent any of the Greek and Latin texts known to us. Incidents which are extant in the Greek and are wanting in the Latin are found in the Syriac: similarly incidents which are extant in the Latin and are wanting in the Greek are preserved in the Syriac. For example the incident of the Egyptians enquiring of the oracle what had become of Nectanebus is given by the Greek and the Syriac, but it is wanting in the Latin of Julius Valerius. Also the augury of Nectanebus related in Chap. XII. of the Greek and Syriac texts is wanting in the Latin. Again the correspondence between Zintôs, Olympias and Philip, Alexander and Aristotle concerning the meagreness of the pocket money allowed to Alexander is given in the Latin and Syriac, but is wanting in the Greek text. The text of Aristotle's letter to Alexander in which he warns him not to undertake the building of so great a city as Alexandria, which is given in the Syriac, is wanting in both the Greek and the Latin texts. Other similar variations will be found in the second and third book of the Syriac version.

Of the Syrian translator of Pseudo-Callisthenes nothing is known. It seems most probable, however, that he was a Christian priest. Throughout his work he has used a number of rare words, and he appears, at times, not to have understood clearly the text before him[3]. Here and there he has turned a

[1] He is supposed to have been born in Galatia about A.D. 367; he was made Bishop of Helenopolis in 400, and died in the year 431.

[2] This work was first published by Joachimus Camerarius in *Liber Gnomologicus*, about the year 1571; it was afterwards printed under the name of Palladius together with S. Ambrosius, *De Moribus Brachmanorum*, and Anonymus, *De Bragmanibus*, by Sir Edward Bisse in 1665.

[3] See, for example, the description of an eclipse, Eng. trans. p. 95, and Müller, p. 121, col. 1.

passage in order to bring out a Christian sentiment. Thus when Darius dies he makes him say, "In thy hands I leave my spirit," a rendering which cannot have been made from the Greek καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν Δαρεῖος ἐξέπνευσε τὸ πνεῦμα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν Ἀλεξάνδρου. (Müller, p. 78, col. 1.) It is clear that the passage ܐܒܐ ܒܝܕܟ ܐܦܩܕ ܪܘܚܝ "My Father, in Thy hands I lay my spirit" (S. Luke, ch. xxiii. 46), was running in his mind. We have also "Shôshan, or Shûshan the fortress" mentioned twice[1] where there is no original Greek from which it could have been translated. Here the translator had in his mind the שׁוּשַׁן הַבִּירָה, Chald. שׁוּשַׁן בִּירַנְתָּא, of Nehemiah i. 1; and Esther i. 1; ii. 3, 5.

In Book I. chapter XXXI. we have a statement[2] regarding the identity of Serapis and Joseph the son of Jacob. Now this interpolation is clearly the work of the Syrian translator who had obtained his information on this point from the works of Christian writers. In the Oration of Meliton the Philosopher addressed to Antoninus Caesar[3] we have it expressly stated that "The Egyptians worshipped Joseph, a Hebrew, who was called Serapis[4], because he supplied them with sustenance in the years of famine," ܗܘ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܣܪܦܝܣ ܒܫܡ ܐܠܗ ܡܨܪ ܡܛܠ ܕܙܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܫܢܝ ܟܦܢܐ. and the same view is expressed by Tertullian[5], Maternus[6], Ruffinus[7] and Suidas[8].

In the composition which I have called *A Christian Legend*

[1] Eng. trans. pp. 133 and 153.

[2] Eng. trans. p. 39.

[3] For the text see Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, p. ـم.

[4] The Egyptian form of this name is "Osiris was also worshipped under the form of Apis, the sacred bull of Memphis, or as a human figure with a bull's head, accompanied by the name Apis-Osiris," Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, ed. Birch, III. p. 86. "Apis was a fair and beautiful image of the soul of Osiris," Plutarch, *De Isid.* 29, 30.

[5] "Nam Serapis iste quidem olim Joseph dictus fuit, de genere sanctorum," *Ad Nationes*, II. 8.

[6] *De Errore Profan. Relig.*, cap. 9.

[7] In *Auctores Hist. Eccl.* Basil. p. 256.

[8] See in his Lexicon s.v. Σάραπις, ed. Gaisford, Oxford, 1834.

concerning Alexander the Christian translator betrays himself by quoting a passage[1] from Jeremiah's prophecy concerning the evil which shall come upon the land through the invasion of the peoples from the north. Several other passages in the work shew that he was also acquainted with the prophecies which are given in the Gospels, concerning the evils which should fall upon the land of Judaea. Whether the writer of the metrical discourse upon Alexander and the gate which he built was Jacob of Sĕrûgh or not is of little consequence here; it is so evidently the work of a Christian translator that we need not discuss it at all.

When the Syriac translation was made I am unable to say; but I believe that we may assign it to some period between the seventh and the ninth centuries. Professor Wright thought that Syriac was not the native language of the translator, and believed that he had only acquired it in the schools for the purpose of studying the Bible and the Syriac translations of Greek theological works; he believed that the Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes was made from an Arabic translation of a Greek original, and placed the making of the work much later than I have done, namely in the tenth century[2]. Zacher placed the date of the making of our translation in the fifth century[3]. An older Syriac translation may have appeared in the sixth century, about the time when the first Syriac translation of *Kalîlag wĕ-Damnag* was made; I do not, however, see any evidence in the Syriac translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes which we have before us sufficient to justify us in assigning the work to that early period. Whether we assign the earlier or the later date to the translation it does not appear that the value of the work as a means for helping to restore the ancient form of the Alexander story will be impaired. Also it is certain that the Syriac translation represents one of the oldest forms of the story, older probably than any other known to us.

[1] English trans. p. 155.

[2] Wright, *Syriac Literature*, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. xxii. p. 850, col. 2.

[3] *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, p. 192. Wenn also die Abfassung des Julius Valerius in den Anfang des vierten, die der armenischen Uebersetzung wahrscheinlich in das fünfte Jahrhundert zu setzen ist, so würde die Abfassung dieser Syrischen Uebersetzung vielleicht ebenfalls noch in das fünfte Jahrhundert fallen, in jene Zeit, wo unter der Pflege der Nestorianer die Syrische Literatur in Edessa blühte und durch Uebersetzungen aus dem Griechischen bereichert wurde.

The strongest evidence that the Syriac translation was made from an Arabic translation of a Greek original is obtained from the Syriac forms of Greek proper names. The Egyptian name Necht-neb-f (Nectanebus) is represented in Greek by Νεκτανεβώς and in Arabic by نقطنبوس[1]; the Syrian translator reading by mistake نقطيبوس *i.e.* ـيـ for ـنـ arrived at the Syriac form ܢܩܛܝܒܘܣ which we have throughout the work. We have the correct transcription of this name ܢܩܛܢܒܘܣ in Bruns, *Bar-Heb. Chron.*, Syr. text, p. 35, l. 19. On page 20 (Syr. text), l. 8, we have the words ܗܒܐ ܕܡܟܘ for the Greek *κερασφόρος μηνί*. The rendering of *κερασφόρος* is sufficiently good, but what is ܗܒܐ? It seems that the Arabic translator did not know what *μηνὶ* meant, and that he transferred the word to his translation under some form like مينا, which was taken over into the Syriac version under the form of ܡܢܐ, which became corrupted into ܗܢܐ and ܗܒܐ. In the next line we have the name ܐܢܕܘܡܝܘܢܐ for the Greek Ἐνδυμίωνα. Now the Arabic form of this name would be something like اندیمیونا, which the Syrian scribe probably read ایدنمتونا, and hence arrived at the Syriac form of the word which we now have. On p. 52, l. 5, we have ܩܦܣܐ ܕܡܝܟܝܠܝܢ for the Greek Λαπιθῶν καὶ Κενταύρων. The Arabic transcription of these names was probably رفيتون قيقنطرون[2], the translator not understanding the passage, which the Syriac translator misread رفيتون وقيليطرون. On page 63, l. 5, the total of Alexander's forces is given as two hundred and seventy thousand: here clearly the Syriac translator read سبعين for تسعين.

[1] The form given by Bar-Hebraeus (*Historia Dynastiarum*, p. 89) is نقطابيوس

[2] R for L as in the name Ḳandarôs=Candaules. Eng. trans. p. 121.

On page 70, l. 14, we have ܗܒܣܘܟܣ, for the Greek Σεσόγχωσις; the Arabic transcription of this word سيسنقوسيس was probably read by the Syriac translator as سيسيقوس, hence the Syriac form which we now have. On p. 97, l. 4, we have ܚܕܪܐ for the Greek εἰς Ἄβδηρα. The Arabic transcription of the Greek would probably be بابديرا, the whole of which the Syrian translator read as the name of the place and transcribed ܒܕܪܐ (with *l* for *r*). On p. 99, l. 3, the Syriac form of the name Crœsus, Κροῖσος, is given as ܩܪܝܛܝܣ, which can only have arisen from the Syrian translator reading قريتيتوس instead of قريسوس. The Syriac form of Κανδαύλης is ܩܢܕܘܠ, and as the Ethiopic form of this name is also Ḳandarôs, it seems certain that they are both transcribed from an Arabic original. It has been shewn that the Syrian translator, probably from the absence of points, misread ـد for ـذ and ـذ for ـد, ـذ for ـد, تس for سد and يتيذ for يس, and the following example of the confusion between ق and ف will be interesting. On page 242, line 5, we have ܗܪܝܣܩܘܣ, Prîsḳôs, which is afterwards frequently written ܩܪܝܣܩܘܣ *Ḳrîsḳos*. An examination of the Index of Syriac forms of proper names will add considerably to the few examples given above of the confusion between the Arabic letters on the part of the Syrian scribe.

To sum up, then, the Syriac version seems to have been made from an Arabic translation of a Greek original by a Christian priest, whose native language was Arabic, some time between the seventh and the ninth centuries.

M. Jules Mohl believed[1] that Firdausi employed an Arabic translation of a Greek history of Alexander to complete the gap which he found in the traditions of his country. It is much to be wished that a manuscript of such an Arabic translation could be found, for there is little doubt that it would

[1] *Livre des Rois*, p. xlviii.

clear up many of the difficult passages which exist in the Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes.

To facilitate the comparison of the contents of the Syriac version with the Greek texts of Pseudo-Callisthenes I have added below a brief list of its contents. A short summary of the Greek texts A, B and C[1] and of the Latin translation of Julius Valerius has been printed by Müller in the introduction to his edition of Pseudo-Callisthenes, pp. x col. 2—xv col. 1, and by Weismann[2] in the German translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes at the head of each chapter. A complete summary and scholarly analysis of each chapter of the oldest Greek and Latin texts of the work, with remarks upon the Armenian version (said to have been made in the fifth century), has been given by Zacher in his *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, pp. 113—176. The letters A, B and C refer to the three principal Greek texts of Müller's edition; L to the Greek text published by Meusel[3]; and V to the Latin translation made by Julius Valerius, which is printed at the foot of the pages of the Greek text in Müller's edition.

Book I.

Chap. I. The sages of Egypt, of divine origin, ruled the earth and sea by their power which they delivered to mankind by means of magical words. Nectanebus the last king of Egypt was a great magician. His sorcery with a bowl of water and models of ships and men; conquers his enemies thereby[4].

Chap. II. A spy announces the coming of hosts of enemies. Nectanebus approves of the vigilance of the scout and dismisses him[5].

[1] For Müller's description of the characteristics of these MSS. see his *Introductio*, p. ix, col. 2; p. x, col. 1.

[2] *Alexander,.....der vollständigen Uebersetzung des Pseudo-Kallisthenes*, Band II, pp. 4—224.

[3] *Pseudo-Callisthenes nach der Leidener Handschrift, herausgegeben von* H. Meusel. Besonderer Abdruck aus dem fünften Supplementband der Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, Leipzig, 1871.

[4] AVL. So also the Armenian version. See Zacher, *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, p. 88.

[5] ABCLV.

Chap. III. Nectanebus discovers by means of the basin of water and the bitumen figures that the gods of Egypt have forsaken and betrayed the land. He shaves his head and beard, changes his raiment, and flees from Egypt by way of Pelusium. He arrives at Pella and dresses like an Egyptian prophet[1]. After Nectanebus had fled the Egyptians asked Hephaestus the head of the race of the gods what had become of him. He sends them an oracle which they inscribe upon the base of the statue of Nectanebus[2].

Chap. IV. Nectanebus goes about in Macedonia. Olympias, the wife of Philip, king of Macedon, sends for him to consult him about a rumour which she has heard of Philip's intention to divorce her. He casts her nativity. Description of the table and horoscope. He tells her that Ammon the god of Libya will appear to her in a dream, and that he will afterwards come and sleep with her[3].

Chap. V. Nectanebus causes Olympias to dream that Ammon had come to her[4].

Chap. VI. Olympias sends for Nectanebus to come and explain the dream; he tells her that Ammon will come to her in three forms[5].

Chap. VII. A god, *i.e.*, Nectanebus, visits Olympias under the forms of Ammon, of Hêraklês and of Dionysus. Nectanebus sends a dream to Philip in which he shews him the visit of Ammon to Olympias and her pregnancy[6].

Chap. VIII. Philip sends for the wise men to explain the dream, and they tell him that Olympias has become pregnant by Ammon the god of Libya[7].

Chap. IX. Philip returns home and finds Olympias ashamed to meet him. He comforts her and tells her that he has seen in a dream all that has happened[8].

Chap. X. Philip, suspecting the fidelity of his wife, upbraids her. Nectanebus in the form of a serpent glides into the room and embraces Olympias, and Philip is pacified[9].

[1] ABCLV. [2] ABCL. [3] ABCLV. [4] ABCLV. [5] ABCLV.
[6] ABCLV. See ܐܝܬܝ ܕܐܠܦܣܢܕܪ ed. Bruns, p. 35. [7] ABCLV. [8] ABCLV. [9] ABCLV.

Chap. XI. A half-bred hen lays an egg in Philip's lap; and a serpent crawls therefrom and dies. Antiphon the chief augur interprets this as referring to the glory and death of the child which Olympias is about to bring forth[1].

Chap. XII. The time for Olympias to be delivered comes, and Nectanebus consults the stars in order that the child may not be born under an unlucky star[2]. At a favourable time Olympias gives birth to Alexander, and the earth quakes and lightnings flash forth from the sky[3].

Chap. XIII. Philip names the child Alexander after a son borne to him by a former wife. Description of Alexander's appearance and the names of his tutors[4]. Bucephalus is sent to Philip by the Cappadocians as a gift[5].

Chap. XIV. Alexander, being twelve years old, learns the arts of horsemanship and war. Nectanebus makes a good augury for Olympias. He shews Alexander the planets, and is pushed by him into a pit, where he dies after having told Alexander his history and relationship to him. Alexander buries his father[6].

Chap. XV. Philip sends to consult the oracle at Delphi about his successor: Pythia replies saying that the subduer of Bucephalus shall be lord of Macedonia[7].

Chap. XVI. Alexander makes Bucephalus run through Pella, and Philip, remembering the words of the oracle, rejoices[8].

Chap. XVII. Alexander returns wise answers to the questions of Aristotle[9]. His liberality. Correspondence between Zintôs, Philip and Olympias, Aristotle and Alexander[10].

[1] ABCLV. See Zacher, *op. cit.*, p. 114.
[2] ABCLV. The description of the auguries of Nectanebus is shortened in LBCV. [3] ABCLV.
[4] ABCLV. The notice about the ancestors of Alexander given by J. Valerius only is from the fourth book of the Παντοδαπὴ ἱστορία of Favorinus. From the fact of this passage being found in the Armenian version, which was certainly translated from the Greek, Müller thinks that Valerius has here preserved a part of an older form of the Greek version than we at present possess. See *Pseudo-Call.*, p. 91.
[5] ABCLV. [6] ABCLV. [7] ABCLV.
[8] ABCLV. This is chap. XVII. of the Greek and Latin texts.
[9] ABCLV. This is chap. XVI. of the Greek and Latin texts.
[10] V. The Armenian version has preserved this correspondence between Alexander, his father and mother, Zeuxis and Aristotle. See Müller, p. 92.

Chap. XVIII. Alexander goes to the chariot races at Pisa; his quarrel with Nicolaus[1].

Chap. XIX. Description of the races. Nicolaus is conquered by Alexander and dies[2].

Chap. XX. Alexander returns to Pella and finds his mother divorced by Philip, who wished to marry a woman called Cleopatra; he goes to the feast in his muddy garments[3].

Chap. XXI. Alexander quarrels with Lysias the jester and kills him. His dispute with his father[4].

Chap. XXII. Alexander, having made his peace with his father, reconciles him to Olympias[5].

Chap. XXIII. Alexander is sent to put down a rebellion at Methône[6]. On his return he finds that Darius had sent satraps to bring to him the customary annual tribute; he sends them away empty with jeers[7]. The satraps cause a picture of Alexander to be painted to be carried back to Persia[8]. Alexander is sent to Armenia to quell an insurrection[9].

Chap. XXIV. Philip, having been enticed into a theatre by Theosîdos, a man who had fallen in love with Olympias, is stabbed[10]. Alexander returns from Armenia and finds that Olympias has been abducted by Theosîdos. He takes Theosîdos to Philip who slays him; Philip dies and is buried[11].

Chap. XXV. Alexander holds a council of war, and exhorts the people to rid themselves of the Persian dominion; he addresses the veterans of Philip's army[12].

Chap. XXVI. Number of the soldiers in Alexander's army[13].

[1] ABCLV.

[2] ABCLV. The Syriac text agrees with C only as far as it agrees with A and B.

[3] ABCLV.

[4] ABCLV. See Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

[5] ABCLV.

[6] ABCLV.

[7] ABLV. This incident forms part of chap. XXVI. in C, where it is narrated in a different manner.

[8] ABC.

[9] ABCLV.

[10] ABLV.

[11] ABLV.

[12] ABCLV.

[13] ABCLV. For the contents of chap. XXVI. in the Greek and Latin versions see Zacher, p. 117.

Chap. XXVII. His troops put to sea[1].

Chap. XXVIII. Passing by Sicily he goes to Rome[2]. The Romans send him gifts and a crown[3].

Chap. XXIX. He goes to Carthage in Africa: the people of the city pay tribute to him[4].

Chap. XXX. He sacrifices to the god Ammon of Libya, who appears to him in a dream. He dedicates a brass statue to Ammon. The god appears to him a second time in a dream, and tells him where to found the city which he wishes to build[5].

Chap. XXXI. Alexander builds a sepulchral monument and offers sacrifices at Taphosiris. Origin of the name of the place[6].

Chap. XXXII. He sacrifices in the temples of Zeus and Hêra, and to the god Serapis who afterwards appears to him in a dream. He asks the god to shew him where he shall build his city; having received an answer from the god he lays the foundations of Alexandria[7].

Chap. XXXIII. Aristotle, hearing that Alexander has begun to build a great city, writes to him and advises him not to do so[8]; Alexander, encouraged by the augurs, continues to build the city.

Chap. XXXIV. He goes to Memphis and is crowned by the priests. He reads the oracle upon the statue of Nectanebus, and proclaims himself to be the son of Nectanebus and the young king referred to in the inscription[9]. He exhorts the Egyptians to deliver themselves from the Persians.

[1] This is chap. XXVIII. of the Greek text.

[2] This is chap. XXIX. of the Greek text.

[3] ABCLV.

[4] ABCLV.

[5] ABCLV. Chapters XXIX. and XXX. of the Syriac = chap. XXX. of the Greek.

[6] ABCLV.

[7] ABCV. Chaps. XXXI. and XXXII. of the Syriac = chaps. XXXI—XXXIII. of the Greek. In the Syriac there is no mention of the comparison of the greatness of Antioch, Carthage, Babylon, Rome and Alexandria as given by AV; nor of the birds eating honey which had been strewn about, thereby pointing out where the beginning of the city (ABCLV) should be built; nor of the appearance of the snake (AV); nor of the indication of the parts of the town by the first five letters of the alphabet (ABCLV).

[8] There seems to be nothing like this chapter in the Greek and Latin texts.

[9] ABCLV.

Chap. XXXV. He goes to Syria and arrives at Tyre. The Tyrians do battle with him and repulse him[1]. Serapis appears to him in a dream and promises to him victory over the Tyrians. He attacks the Tyrians a second time and defeats them. Founds Tripolis[2].

Chap. XXXVI. The ambassadors of Darius tell him of the sagacity of Alexander and shew him his picture. Darius, having had the height of the picture of Alexander compared with that of his daughter Roxana, casts it away with scorn. It is carried off secretly by Roxana to her chamber where she honours it with spices and odours[3]. Darius, wishing to insult Alexander, writes an insolent letter to him and sends it to him with a whip, a ball and a box full of gold. In the letter Darius threatens to crucify Alexander[4].

Chap. XXXVII. Alexander encourages the minds of his soldiers who have been terrified at the words of Darius. He threatens to crucify the ambassadors of Darius, but does not do so in order that he may shew them how superior the customs of the Greeks are to those of the Persians[5].

Chap. XXXVIII. He sends an answer[6] to the letter of Darius with some mustard seed.

Chap. XXXIX. Darius eats the mustard seed. He writes to the satraps in the Taurus commanding them to beat Alexander with a whip for children and to take him to his mother. The satraps Gushtâzaph and Sâbântâr write to Darius and tell him that they are awaiting his arrival. Darius answers this letter and upbraids them for their cowardice[7].

Chap. XL. Darius writes again to Alexander, and promises to forgive him all the offences which he has committed against him if he will go back to his own country[8].

Chap. XLI. Alexander receives Darius' letter and writes an answer to it, in which he says that he is obliged to return to Macedonia because his mother Olympias is grievously sick; he promises to return to Persia and to occupy the land. While

[1] ABCLV. The Syriac text makes no mention of the capture of Gaza.
[2] ABCLV.
[3] There is no mention of this in the Greek texts.
[4] ABCLV. [5] ABCLV. [6] ABCLV.
[7] ABCLV. [8] ABCLV.

Alexander is on the road to his mother he engages in battle with one of the generals of Darius and defeats him[1].

Chap. XLII. Alexander goes to Achaia, Pieria and Phrygia; he makes offerings to Hector and Achilles. He saw the river Scamander which was five cubits wide[2].

Chap. XLIII. Alexander comes to Macedonia and finds his mother recovering from her sickness. He goes to Abdêra which city is shut against him[3].

Chap. XLIV. He goes to the region of the Euxine Sea[4]. The soldiers have no food to eat. He commands them to slay their horses, for they can be found in every place while Macedonian soldiers can not[5].

Chap. XLV. He comes to the Locri. At Akrantis he asks the priest of Apollo to consult the oracle for him. The priest refuses and Alexander attempts to carry away the tripod of divination. A voice from the temple rebukes Alexander and assures him that he shall be famous and his name renowned[6].

Chap. XLVI. He marches against Thebes. Description of the attack and defence of the city, the destruction of the houses and walls, and the slaughter of the people. A Theban bard turns aside the fierceness of Alexander's wrath and he orders the destruction of the city and the people to be stopped. The Thebans that remain are banished from their city, and Alexander forbids the name of Thebes to be mentioned again[7].

Chap. XLVII. The Thebans go to Apollo at Delphi to enquire when their city shall be rebuilt. Answer of the Pythia. Alexander goes to Corinth and is present at the Corinthian games; Clitomachus wins the three crowns and Alexander orders the city of Thebes to be rebuilt[8].

Book II.

Chap. I. Alexander goes to Plataeae and receives a favourable augury from the priestess. She is removed from her office by the governor of the district. Alexander deposes that governor

[1] ABCLV. [2] BCLV. [3] BCLV.
[4] ABCLV. [5] ABCLV. [6] AV.
[7] AV. See Zacher, *op. cit.*, p. 125. [8] AV.

and restores the priestess to her place, whereat the Athenians are displeased; he writes to them and orders them to pay a thousand talents of gold yearly as tribute[1].

Chap. II. The ten orators in Athens write to Alexander. He returns answer to the Athenians and demands that the ten orators be delivered up to him. The Athenians write to him and refuse both to deliver up the orators and to pay tribute. The council of the Athenians. Aeschines is in favour of going to Alexander, but Demades is not, and wishes to incite the Athenians to do battle with Alexander[2].

Chap. III. The speech of Demosthenes the Athenian. He approves of the conduct of Alexander in deposing the ruler[3].

Chap. IV. The Athenians approve of the speech of Demosthenes. He makes a second speech which convinces them of the futility of fighting with Alexander[4].

Chap. V. The Athenians send a crown of gold with a letter of thanks to Alexander. Alexander writes a letter to them in which he mentions many of their evil deeds[5].

Chap. VI. Alexander marches against the Lacedemonians[6]. He encamps by the Tigris and goes on an embassy to Darius as far as Babylon. He pretends to be an ambassador of Alexander[7], and is present at a feast of Darius and his generals.

Chap. VII. Alexander hides the golden drinking goblets in his bosom. He is recognised by Pasargês, quits the chamber and escapes on horseback. The picture of Xerxes in the palace of Darius peels off from the wall and falls to the ground[8].

Chap. VIII. Alexander counts his army and exhorts the soldiers to fight bravely[9].

Chap. IX. Alexander comes to the river Strangas and fights the army of Darius. Defeat of the Persians and flight of Darius[10]. He writes a letter to Alexander committing his mother, his wife and his daughter to his care. Alexander sets

[1] AV. [2] AV. [3] AV. [4] AV. [5] AV.

[6] AV. The other parts of chapter VI. in the Syriac belong to chapter XIV. of the Greek. Perhaps a couple of quires had fallen out of the Greek MS. from which the translation was made.

[7] ABCLV. See Zacher, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

[8] ABCLV. This is chap. XV. of the Greek.

[9] This is a part of chap. XVI. of the Greek. [10] ABCLV.

the palace of Xerxes on fire, but afterwards he repents and orders the fire to be extinguished[1].

Chap. X. Alexander sees the grave of Pâḳôr and the body of Cyrus in a golden coffin. He finds captive Greeks who had been mutilated and liberates them[2].

Chap. XI. Darius makes ready for a second war and writes to Porus, king of the Indians, asking help from him and promising to give him Alexander's horse Bucephalus. Alexander, hearing of this, arms his troops and sets out for the country of the Parthians. Darius then tries to escape but is pursued by Alexander[3].

Chap. XII. Bâgîz and Ânâbdêh stab Darius. Alexander finds him half dead and tries to comfort him. Darius commits his wife, his mother, and his daughter to Alexander's care and dies[4].

Chap. XIII. Alexander buries Darius with great ceremony. He makes a proclamation to the Persians, and crucifies the murderers of Darius[5].

Chap. XIV. He writes to the mother and wife of Darius; their reply. He writes to Roxana and takes her to wife[6].

Book III.

Chap. I. Alexander, hearing that Porus had marched with troops to the assistance of Darius, and, finding that Darius was dead, had returned to his own land, sets out for India to overcome him. His soldiers complain that they have too much

[1] ABCLV. This is chap. XVII. of the Greek.

[2] ABCLV. This is chap. XVIII. of the Greek.

[3] ABCLV. This is chap. XIX. of the Greek. See Zacher, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

[4] ABCLV. This is chap. XX. of the Greek.

[5] ABCLV. This is chap. XXI. of the Greek.

[6] ABCLV. This is chap. XXII. of the Greek. A and V end Book II. by adding the statement that Alexander sets out for India. B and C give the text of a letter from Alexander to Olympias and Aristotle in which he relates his adventures from the battle of Issus to the death of Darius and his own marriage. From this point onwards Müller has edited his Greek text from Codex C. Here the letter in C ends. B, however, adds in the first person, a description of the wonders which he saw in the far east, as a part of the letter, all of which C gives, in the third person, from Chapter XXXII. onwards. For a summary of the contents of BC and L see especially Zacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 132—143.

fighting to do. He addresses them and eventually they ask his forgiveness[1].

Chap. II. He receives an insolent letter from Porus, which he reads before his troops and then answers[2].

Chap. III. The Persians and Macedonians draw near to the Indians to fight. Alexander and his troops are afraid when they see that wild beasts are employed by Porus to fight[3]. Alexander makes brazen images red-hot, and the wild beasts in the army of Porus seizing these in their mouths are terrified, and run back to their camp and begin to fight the Indians themselves. Bucephalus throws Alexander off his back and dies. The Greeks and Indians fight twenty days and Alexander's troops wish to surrender to the Indians[4].

Chap. IV. Seeing this, Alexander challenges Porus to single combat, and Porus is slain[5]; he buries Porus and then makes ready to go and see the naked sages[6].

Chap. V. The Brahmans send a letter to him. Description of their style of living[7].

Chap. VI. Alexander asks the Brahmans questions; their replies[8].

Chap. VII.[9] Writes a letter to Aristotle giving an account of his travels. I first came to a place called Prasiakê[10] where we saw men with faces like horses. I sent Philôn to land upon what was thought to be an island: it turned out, however, to be an animal, which, disappearing under the waves, caused Philôn to be drowned in the vortex of waters caused by its sinking[11]. I saw a beast like an elephant which escaped from our weapons. I saw an eclipse. We marched from the Caspian gates to the frontier of the Indians, and met all kinds of beasts and reptiles. We marched from the tenth hour of each day until the third hour of the next. After twelve days' march we

[1] ABCLV. [2] ABCLV. [3] ABCLV.
[4] ABCLV. [5] ABCLV. [6] ABLV.
[7] ABV. [8] ABLV.

[9] The work of Palladius entitled Περὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰνδίας ἐθνῶν καὶ τῶν βραγμάνων is here interpolated and forms chaps. VII.—XVI. of the Greek text. Chap. VII. of the Syriac text is chap. XVII. of the Greek.

[10] AV. Major Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, London, 1871, should be studied for this and the following chapters.

[11] AV.

arrived at a city between rivers, where we saw reeds thirty cubits high. Thirty-six of my soldiers swim in that river and are devoured by alligators or crocodiles. We arrived next at a lake of sweet waters where we found an inscribed pillar of Sesonchosis. I lay down to sleep there and in the night saw red scorpions, horned snakes, lions, rhinoceroses, wild boars, wolves, leopards, panthers, beasts with scorpions' tails, elephants, and men with twisted legs and teeth like dogs and faces like women. I order the jungle to be set on fire and many of these beasts perish in the flames. When the moon had set the Mashḳĕlath[1] came into the camp and killed twenty-six men; when we had killed it three hundred men were necessary to draw it out of the ditch. We saw night-foxes, water crocodiles, bats as large as eagles, and night-ravens. We came to a wood inhabited by wild men with faces like ravens. We arrived at the country of the people whose feet are twisted, and next we came to the land of lion-headed men. We came to a river where we saw a tree which grew from dawn to the sixth hour of the day, and which diminished from the sixth hour until night. We marched through a wilderness and arrived at the ocean. We saw what appeared to be an island and twenty of my men tried to swim there, but beasts came up out of the water and devoured them. We came to the land of the people having their eyes and mouths in their breasts. We saw the "palm bird" (phoenix). After a march of sixty-five days we arrived at Obarkia and saw two birds, one of which spoke Greek. We next came to a mountain on the top of which a temple was built. In its windows were figures of Pan and the Satyrs; within the temple dwelt a god who revealed himself to me as Dionysus. I ordered our fifty Indian guides to be killed and we turned to go to Prasiakê. On our road we encountered a mighty wind, a black cloud full of fire and snow three cubits deep. We arrived at Prasiakê where were shewn the two talking trees which prophesied that I should die by the hands of my troops in Babylon. Having received gifts from the

[1] See Palladius, *De Bragmanibus*, p. 10, and the description and notes on Bestia dens Tyrannus vocata in Berger de Xivrey, *Traditions Tératologiques*, p. 268, and Zacher, pp. 153—158.

Indians of Prasiakê we marched towards the east[1], and after ten days arrived at a high mountain where a dragon lived. I caused the dragon to be slain. We marched on and arrived at a river called Barsâṭis and a high mountain. I left my troops, and with twenty of my friends marched to China in twenty-five days. Here I gave myself the name of Pithâôs and pretended to be an ambassador of Alexander. Gundâphâr the general of the Chinese army asked me questions, and finally gave me gifts and sent me away. We marched thirteen days and did battle with the natives of the country in which we arrived. We set out from thence and came to Ṣêbâzâz and afterwards to Sogd, where I built a temple to Rhea. We set out and arrived at a river called Barṭêsitôs over which I built a bridge of boats. Two days from here I built a city and a temple to Rhea. A body of men under the command of Paryôg seized a number of my horses and cattle; I pursued, overtook and slew him. We stayed there four months, and I founded the city of Merv there.

Chap. VIII. I marched from the land of Margiana to the country of the Samrâyê. Alexander's letter to Candace and her reply. Her gifts to him[2].

Chap. IX. Candace caused a portrait of Alexander to be painted secretly. Alexander gives orders to fight the chief of the Mârônikâyê who had carried off the wife of her son, Candaules. He changes places with Antigonus the chief of the Greek host[3].

Chap. X. Alexander disguised as Antigonus goes and sets fire to the city of the Mârônikâyê, and rescues the wife of Candaules[4].

Chap. XI. Alexander goes to the city of Candace and is welcomed cordially by her[5].

Chap. XII. Description of the palace of Candace. Candace leads him into her chamber and shews him his picture. She keeps the secret of his disguise[6].

[1] Here ends the epistle of Alexander to Aristotle in Müller's ed. p. 125, col. 2. What follows in the Syriac appears to be no longer extant in the Greek MSS.
[2] ABCLV. Chap. XVIII. of the Greek text.
[3] ABCLV. Chap. XIX. of the Greek text.
[4] ABCLV. Chap. XX. of the Greek text.
[5] ABCV. Chap. XXI. of the Greek text.
[6] ABCLV. Chap. XXII. of the Greek text.

Chap. XIII. Her son Ḳêrâtôr, instigated by his wife, wishes to slay Alexander. He delivers himself by his own astuteness and is sent away in peace by Candace, laden with gifts[1].

Chap. XIV. He goes to a hill with Candaules, and sees and talks with Sesonchosis in a cave there. He sees Serapis who promises him that, living or dead, he shall return to the city which he has founded, and be honoured as a god[2].

Chap. XV. He sets out for the land of the Amazons, and sends a letter to them. They send an answer in which their customs are described[3].

Chap. XVI. He writes another letter to the Amazons, and they send back an answer to it[4].

Chap. XVII.[5] On the road to the Amazons' land he encounters great rains and a fierce heat[6]. He crossed over the river Zûtâ(?) and the people, attributing the rains and thunders and lightnings to his coming, bring him sixty elephants and one hundred thousand chariots, and entreat him to depart from their land. Departing from thence he is met by five hundred Amazon women who bring him gifts of gold. Continuing his march a letter from Aristotle meets him[7]. He returns to Babylon. He writes to Olympias[8] an account of what he did after he reached Asia, saying: "After a march of ninety-five days I arrived at the cave of Hêrakles[9]. From thence we arrived at a land of darkness where beautiful women lived.

Chap. XVIII. We came to a great sea where we sacrificed white horses to Poseidon. We set out in five ships, and in three days arrived at the city of the Sun[10]. We arrived at the river Sakḥan which divides Asia and Europe, and afterwards came to the palace of Khusrau and Pâḳôr." Here follows a description of the wonderful things which he saw there[11].

[1] ABCLV. Chap. XXIII. of the Greek text.
[2] ABLV. Chap. XXIV. of the Greek text and chap. XXI. of C.
[3] ABCLV. Chap. XXV. of the Greek text.
[4] ABCLV. Chap. XXVI. of the Greek text.
[5] This is chaps. XXVII—XXIX. of the Greek text.
[6] V.
[7] V. See Zacher, p. 167.
[8] V.
[9] V. See Zacher, p. 168.
[10] ABCLV.
[11] ABCLV. See Zacher, pp. 168—172.

Chap. XIX.[1] A woman brings forth a four-headed monster which she shews to the king. Alexander, having seen it, sends for the Chaldeans, who explain the sign as referring to himself and to his death[2].

Chap. XX. Olympias sends an accusation against Antipater to Alexander. Antipater determines to have Alexander poisoned, and having dissolved a deadly drug in a vessel, sends it by the hand of his son Cassander to Babylon. Cassander enters into a conspiracy with Iollas, the chief cup-bearer, who had been scourged by Alexander a few days previously. Cassander, watching his opportunity, administers the poison to Alexander while he is drinking wine with his friends. Alexander falls sick, and Cassander sends the news to his father that the king is poisoned[3]

Alexander tries to drown himself in the Euphrates, but is prevented by Roxana his wife. He dictates his will. Ḳrîsḳôs (or Prîsḳôs) and Ptolemy make a compact to share equally whatever is left to them by Alexander[4].

Chap. XXI. Tumult among the Macedonian soldiers who think that Alexander is dead. He orders them to go to the hippodrome and is himself carried there on his bed. He addresses the Macedonian soldiers who wish to stab themselves and to die with him[5].

Chap. XXII.[6] Text of Alexander's testament[7].

Chap. XXIII. Alexander dies. His body is brought to Memphis[8] and from thence to Alexandria, where Ptolemy buries it[9].

Chap. XXIV. The number of the years which Alexander lived and reigned[10]. List of the cities which he founded and the day of his death[11].

[1] Chap. xxx. of the Greek text.
[2] ABCLV.
[3] ABCLV.
[4] A. Chap. xxxii. of the Greek text.
[5] ABCL. Chap. xxxii. of the Greek text.
[6] Chap. xxii. of the Syriac contains parts of chap. xxxiii. ABC and V, but neither follows nor agrees with either of them exactly. See Zacher, pp. 174, 175.
[7] A quaint work on this subject is the *Dissertatio historico-politica de testamento Alexandri Magni Macedonis*, 1709, by Wagner.
[8] BCLV.
[9] V.
[10] ABCLV.
[11] ABCLV.

A Christian Legend concerning Alexander.

This composition appears to be an abbreviated form of a legend the most complete form of which known to us is that given in the metrical discourse on Alexander attributed to Jacob of Sĕrûgh; both these works, in turn, are based upon chapters xxxvii.—xxxix. of the second book of Pseudo-Callisthenes according to Müller's Greek MS. C. The Christian legend has been burdened with many additions, evidently the work of the Christian redactor, which have no connexion whatever with the story. On the other hand many passages, as, for example, the account of his descent into the sea in a glass cage, have been entirely omitted. The names of places which are given us freely in this legend seem to indicate that it was drawn up at a very late period; that it is the work of Jacob of Sĕrûgh is improbable.

The short description of the manners of the Hûnâyê or Huns, and of the gate which Alexander built to keep them out, is based upon the twenty-ninth chapter of the third book of Pseudo-Callisthenes according to Müller's Greek MS. C, where it is stated that the door or gate was twenty cubits wide and sixty cubits high, and that it was covered inside and out with a substance (*καὶ καταχρίσας...ἀσοκίτῳ*[1]) which rendered it both iron and fire-proof. The description of the evils which Alexander is made to prophesy against mankind when the Huns break down this gate is clearly the work of a man who was acquainted with the popular traditions concerning the destruction wrought by Attila[2] when he overran Europe in the fifth century, and with the prophecies of the evil which should come upon mankind in the last days according to Jeremiah[3] and the writers of the Gospels[4]. The description of Paradise and its rivers is based upon the Bible account[5]. The following is a

[1] Müller, p. 143, col. 1.
[2] See Thierry, *Histoire d'Attila*, t. II, p. 221 ff.
[3] Jeremiah, chap. iv.
[4] S. Matt. chap. xxiv; Luke xix. 42—44; Mark xiii. 7—30.
[5] Sir John Mandeville's account of Paradise is based upon that of Pseudo-Callisthenes although he borrowed at second-hand. See the notes on Paradise

summary of the contents of the "Christian Legend" concerning Alexander.

In the second, or seventh year of his reign Alexander assembles the nobles of his kingdom and announces to them his intention to go and see the other countries of the world. His nobles describe to him the fœtid sea and the eleven bright seas. He sets out from Alexandria with three hundred and twenty thousand men. He prays to God. He comes to mount Sinai and passes over to Egypt, where he obtains from Sarnâḳôs the king seven thousand smiths. He puts to sea, and after four months and twelve days arrives at the dry land beyond the eleven bright seas. He sends thirty-seven men to hammer in stakes for the ships by the side of the fœtid sea; they die instantly. He travels towards the east and looking westward sees mount Mûsâs. He goes to the source of the Euphrates and then towards the north; he enters Armenia. Three hundred old men go to him and give him information about Tûbârlâḳ the king of the country. Description of the Huns, the names of their kings, their manners and customs. Description of Paradise. Description of the gate or door which Alexander made to shut in the twenty-two nations. The inscription on the gate. Description of the troubles and evils which should come upon mankind when the Huns should go forth through the gate. Tûbârlâḳ and his allies, and eighty-two kings, and one million, one hundred and thirty thousand men make ready to fight with Alexander. The Lord appears to Alexander and promises victory to him. Alexander and his three hundred and sixteen thousand soldiers do battle with the forces of Tûbârlâḳ and overcome them; sixty-two kings are slain, their hosts are scattered, and Tûbârlâḳ is taken prisoner. Alexander thus subdues Persia. Tûbârlâḳ brings to him gifts of gold and silver and precious stones, and pledges Persia to pay tribute for fifteen years. Six thousand Greeks and six thousand Persians are to guard the iron gate. Tûbârlâḳ prophesies the destruction of Persia by the Greeks. Alexander leaves Persia, establishes the Egyptian smiths in Bêth-Dĕma and Bêth-Dôshar, and goes

in the Roxburgh Club Edition of his *Travels*, by Mr. G. F. Warner, M.A., of the British Museum.

up to and worships in Jerusalem. He sails to Alexandria. He dies, leaving his silver throne to be placed in Jerusalem.

A Brief Life of Alexander.

This excellent summary of the principal events in the Life of Alexander has been edited by Prof. Paul de Lagarde in his *Analecta Syriaca*, pp. 205—208, from Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 12,154 fol. 153*b*—154*b*. The manuscript was written at the end of the VIIIth or the beginning of the IXth century. See Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 984 col. 1.

The Metrical Discourse on Alexander the Great attributed to Jacob of Sĕrûgh.

The English translation of this discourse printed on pp. 163—200 is made chiefly from the very faulty text published by Knös in his *Chrestomathia Syriaca*, pp. 66—107. Several of the passages are utterly corrupt, and when translated, make no sense; they have been generally corrected by the help of Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 14,624[1]. Most of the misprints in Knös' text have been corrected in the notes at the foot of the English translation, and all the important variant readings and additions have been added.

The Land of Darkness whither Alexander wishes to go calls to mind the passage in the Greek Codex C (Müller, p. 88, col. 2, chap. XXXVII.). According to Pseudo-Callisthenes (Müller, p. 89, col. 2), after his descent into the sea Alexander marched three days across a plain, and then arrived at the Land of the Blessed. Here he leaves all the old men and women that were with him, and with forty friends, one hundred boys, and twelve hundred soldiers sets out to explore the land. One curious old man, however, entreats his two sons, who are soldiers, to take him with them and they do so. After marching some time,

[1] This MS. was written in the ninth century. See Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS.*, p. 782.

Alexander and his company fall into difficulties, and he expresses a wish for an old man to be brought to shew them the way. The two sons, who had brought their father with them, confess to the king what they had done, and he is glad. The old man advises that she-asses which are suckling foals be obtained; that the foals be kept where the king and his troops now are; and that the king go forth with a few chosen troops to explore the land. If they lose their way the instinct of the she-asses will lead them back to their young ones, and the king will be saved. Alexander, following the old man's advice, sets out with three hundred and sixty warriors, and after marching some distance (*σχοίνους δεκαπέντε*), they arrive at a well the water of which flashes like lightning. Alexander, being hungry, orders Andreas the cook to prepare some food for him. Andreas, taking a dried fish, goes to the water of this fountain to wash it; as soon as the fish is moved about in the water it comes to life and swims away.

In this discourse the writer gives a full description of the manners and appearance of the Hûnâyê or Huns, which agrees in every particular with the notices of this warlike people given by ancient writers[1]. He was well acquainted

[1] See Ammianus Marcellinus, xxxi. 2; and Thierry, *Histoire d'Attila*, t. 1, pp. 7—9. Compare also the following: "Diese Hunjo des Ostens, welche ohne Zweifel die Hunnen des Westens sind, sowie die Peti (die Benennung für Hunnen, Türken und Mongolen) oder nördlichen Barbaren beschäftigen sich mit der Jagd wilder Thiere und der Viehzucht. Sie weiden ihre Pferde, Esel, Kamele, Rinder und Lämmer auf den längs der Flüsse sich hinziehenden fruchtreichen Auen, wandern hin und her, ohne sich bleibend anzusiedeln, und errichten weder Städte noch Festungswerke. Lassen sie sich irgendwo auf eine kurze Zeit nieder, so vertheilen sie das Land unter sich; jeder erhält eine bestimmte Strecke und macht sie urbar. Ihre vorzüglichste Nahrung erzielen sie aber immer aus wild wachsenden Gräsern, aus dem Ertrage der Jagden und ihrer Viehheerden. Sie fressen allerlei Thiere und widerliches Ungeziefer. Das Fleisch kochen und braten sie nicht, sondern machen es durch wiederholte Reibungen zwischen den Schenkeln ihrer Beine, oder indem sie sich, wenn sie zu Pferde sind, darauf setzen, mürbe und verschlucken es halbroh. Ihre Kleidung besteht aus den Häuten und Haaren wilder und zahmer Thiere und wird, da Niemand mehr als einen Anzug hat, so lange getragen, bis sie ihnen vom Leibe herabfault. Ein wunderlich schmutziger Aberglaube, den Göttern sei das Waschen und Trocknen besudelter Gegenstände unbehaglich; wenn diess geschehe, senden sie dem Menschengeschlechte zur Strafe Donner und Blitz; hat wohl die Hunnen, wie später die Mongolen, von dem Waschen ihrer Kleider

with their physical characteristics, which he describes most minutely, and also with the accounts of the troubles and evils which followed in the track of their conquests[1]. There seems to be no doubt that the description of the nation as given by the Syriac writer is meant to apply to Attila who is described as being "Forma brevis, lato pectore, capite grandiori, minutis oculis, rarus barba...simo naso, teter colore"...[2]. The statement that "where the wrath of God rises he sends the hosts of Gog and Magog" clearly has reference to the man who had five hundred thousand barbarians under his command, who tried to invest himself in the eyes of Christendom with the character and attributes of the predicted Antichrist[3], and who truly deserved the appellation of the "Scourge of God." The defeat of Tûbârlâḳ and his sixty-two kings by Alexander refers probably to the defeat of Attila and his hosts by the Romans, on the plains of Chalons on the Marne, after his invasion of the Western empire (A.D. 450—453); that Alexander happened to live nearly eight hundred years before the defeat of Attila is a matter which would trouble the Syriac writer very little. The story of the appearance of Christ to Alexander before and after the battle, as well as the prophecies put into his mouth, is of Christian origin.

The following is a summary of the contents of the discourse attributed to Jacob of Sĕrûgh.

Address to the Deity by the writer. Alexander gathers together the chief men of his kingdom, and tells them that he wishes to go and see the various countries of the world, especially the Land of Darkness. Having taken possession of Macedonia he goes to Egypt. His nobles point out the diffi-

abgehalten." Neumann, *Die Völker des Südlichen Russlands*, p. 26. "Neben der Jagd, der Viehzucht und dem Spiele, welchem die Hunnen sehr ergeben waren, ist Kriegführen, Rauben, Plündern und Morden ihre Lieblingsbeschäftigung." *Ibid.* p. 28. "In die Ferne schiessen sie mit Bogen, und bedienen sich der sorgfältig zugespitzten Knochen anstatt der Pfeile; in der Nähe kämpfen sie mit dem Schwerte." *Ibid.* pp. 28, 29.

[1] See Thierry, *Histoire d'Attila*, t. II. p. 221 ff.

[2] Jornandes, *Reb. Get.*, 11.

[3] Herbert, *Attila*, p. 360. For other works on the Huns see Howorth, *History of the Mongols*; Lebeau, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* (ed. St. Martin), vols. 4—6, Paris, 1825—27; Des Guignes, *Hist. des Huns*; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chaps. 34, 35; and Müller, *Attila der Held des fünften Jahrhunderts*.

culties of the road which he proposes to travel, and the impossibility of crossing the fœtid sea; nevertheless he determines to go. Ships are prepared for his army, which consists of thirteen hundred of the Âmôrâyê, and twelve thousand cunning workmen whom he obtained from Sôrîḳ the king of Egypt. He sets out, and after a voyage of four months arrives in India, where he begins to march in a northerly direction. After his proclamation of peace three hundred old men come to him and salute him as king. He asks them to shew him the way to the Land of Darkness. They tell him of the difficulties of the way, but as he persists in his intention to go there they promise to go with him. He sets out, and being questioned by the old men about his object in coming there, tells them that he is searching for the fountain of life. They advise him to go forward, and to take with him she-asses which are suckling young ones—these they propose to leave behind—so that if he loses the way, the maternal instinct of the she-asses will lead them back to their young ones. They also advise him to cause his cook to take with him a dried salt fish, and to command him to wash it wherever he sees a stream or fountain of water. The stream or fountain which causes the fish to come to life will contain the water of life.

The king and his company set out, and when the cook washes the fish in a fountain of water, which he sees by the road, it comes to life, and swims away and escapes. Alexander wishes to bathe in it and to live for ever; but he is not allowed to do so. He asks the old men whose territory is that which he sees beyond them. They tell him that it belongs to Tûbarlîḳî and that it is inhabited by the nations of Gog and Magog. Here follows a description of the peoples of Gog and Magog. Tûbarlîḳî is told of the arrival of Alexander, and he hires sixty-two kings to come and help him to fight him. Before the battle an angel appears to Alexander in a dream, and promises victory to him. Alexander encourages his troops to fight, and an engagement between them and the forces of Tûbarlîḳî takes place, in which the latter are defeated, and their king is taken prisoner. Alexander builds a brass and iron door, to shut in the nations of Gog and Magog, which was finished in the sixth month. A fiery watcher appears to

Alexander in a dream and brings to him the commands of the Lord concerning the treatment which he is to mete out to Tûbarlîḳî, and instructions concerning the division of his lands. Description of the evils which shall happen in the seven thousandth year, when the gate which Alexander has made shall be opened. Alexander, like Daniel, prophesies concerning the end of times. The woes which shall come upon the earth when the children of Gog and Magog break loose and overrun the earth. Hymn of praise to God and to our Lord Jesus Christ.

HEBREW VERSIONS.

The legend of Alexander being the son of Nectanebus appears to have been unknown to early Hebrew writers. In the first book of Maccabees[1] we have a brief notice of his conquest of Media and Persia, and the other countries of the world, and a statement to the effect that he divided his kingdom amongst those of his friends who had been brought up with him, and that he reigned twelve years.

Flavius Josephus, who lived A.D. 37—103, gives a description of a part of his expedition against Darius, and of his visit to Jerusalem[2]. According to him, Alexander first defeated the generals of Darius at Granicum, and afterwards Darius himself at Issus in Cilicia, when the wife and daughter of Darius fell into his hands. He next captured Damascus and Sidon and then began the siege of Tyre. Having taken Tyre and Gaza, Alexander marched against Jerusalem to take vengeance upon it, because, on a previous occasion, the Jewish high priest had refused to send help to him. Jaddua the high priest feared greatly, but when he heard that Alexander had drawn near to the city he dressed himself in his finest garments, and putting on his mitre, which was inscribed with the most holy name of God, he went out to meet him at the head of a procession of priests. Alexander did the priests and their city no harm,

[1] Chap. i. vv. 1—9.

[2] Josephus, *Antiquities*, Bk. xi. ch. viii, ed. Whiston, pp. 455—459.

and after they had shewn to him certain passages in the Book of Daniel[1] which referred, they said, to him and to his conquests, he promised to grant them any thing that they desired[2]. The remainder of the chapter on Alexander by Josephus is occupied by an account of his dealings with the Samaritans.

In the ninth or tenth century of our era, the Latin version of Pseudo-Callisthenes by Leo the Archpresbyter was turned into Hebrew by Pseudo-Josephus or Joseph ben-Gorion. Of this man very little is known. Gagnier thought[3] that he lived in the ninth century, as also did Zunz. Subsequently Zunz thought that he must have lived in the middle of the latter half of the tenth century[4], which is the date assigned to him by Steinschneider[5]. The History of Alexander by Joseph ben-Gorion begins in Bk. II. chap. 6, and occupies the remainder of the book. The value of the version and its variations from the *Historia de Prœliis* have been discussed by Favre[6], and a summary of each chapter has been published by Weismann[7]. The Hebrew text has been published many times, and translations of it have been made in various languages[8].

Another fabulous history of Alexander was composed in the thirteenth century by Samuel ben-Judah ben-Tibbon of Granada.

[1] The passages shewn were Daniel viii. vv. 3—8, 20—22, where the "kid of the goats [is] Alexander the son of Philip" ܗܘ ܓܕܝܐ ܕܥܬܘܕ ܠܡܫܕܪ ܠܐܣܟܢܕܪ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܦܘܣ; see Ceriani, *Translatio Syra Pescitto Vet. Test. ex cod. Ambrosiano*, Mediolani 1877, fol. 210 verso, col. 1.

[2] Good reasons for doubting this story have been given by Bishop Thirlwall, *History of Greece*, Vol. VI. p. 206.

[3] *Josippon sive Josephi Ben-Gorionis Historiae Judaice libri sex*, Oxon. 1706, p. xxvi.

[4] See his notes on Benjamin of Tudela, ed. Asher, 1841, Vol. II. p. 246.

[5] *Jewish Literature*, p. 77.

[6] *Mélanges*, t. II. p. 89.

[7] *Alexander, Gedicht des zwölften Jahrhunderts, vom Pfaffen Lamprecht*, von H. Weismann, Band II. pp. 495—503.

[8] ספר בן גוריון Conath, Mantua, 1480 (?) fol.; *Josephus Hebraicus*, Heb. et Lat., Basle, 1541; יוסיפין בן גוריון *Latine versus.....atque notis illustratus a* J. F. Breithaupto Heb. et Lat. Gotha, 1707. A German translation was published at Zurich by M. Adam in 1546; a Latin one by Gagnier at Oxford in 1706; an English one by P. Morwyng entitled *A Compendious History of the latter times of the Jewes*, London, 1561; and another by J. Howell entitled *The wonderful.....history of the later times of the Jews* in 1684.

Many rabbis regard it as a translation of a Greek work composed by Ptolemy the son of Lagus[1].

A Hebrew version, or original, of the *Iter ad Paradisum* has recently been described by Israel Levi in the *Revue des Études Juives*, t. II. p. 298, and t. XII. p. 117. For references to passages in the Talmud and other Rabbinic literature where notices of Alexander are given see Weismann, *Alexander*, t. II. p. 503; the preface to Israel Levi's article in מקיצי נירדמים; and Eisenmenger, *Entdeckten Judenthums*, t. II. pp. 321, 733, 734, 735.

ARABIC VERSIONS.

In the tenth century Eutychius or Sa'îd ibn-Baṭrîḳ[2] (died A.H. 328), the Patriarch of Alexandria, composed his universal history, in which he says that the king of Egypt, fearing to fall into the hands of Ochus, king of Persia, changed his garments, and shaved his head and beard, and fled to Macedonia. The name of this king is given as Pharaoh Shânâḳ فرعون شاناق[3].

Gregory abu-l-Farag or Bar Hebraeus (died A.H. 664), in his History of Dynasties says that Artaxerxes the Third, surnamed the "Black," and called Ochus by the Greeks, obtained the mastery over Egypt; that its king, Nectanebus, fled away to Macedonia, where he went about in the guise of an astrologer; that by his flattery he succeeded in seducing Olympias, the wife of Philip, the king of Macedon; and that she bore to him Alexander the "two-horned[4]."

[1] See Weismann, *Alexander*, B. 2, p. 503; and Favre, *Mélanges*, t. II., p. 90. An anonymous Hebrew version of the history of Alexander has been published by Levi in the *Sammelband*, II., of the Society מקיצי נירדמים. I owe this reference to Dr. Ad. Neubauer, but I have not been able to see the publication.

[2] The work of Eutychius was edited with a Latin translation by Edward Pocock under the title *Contextio Gemmarum, sive, Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini Annales*, Oxon. 1656.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 267.

[4] Pocock, *Historia Compendiosa Dynastiarum auctore Gregorio Abul-Pharajio*, Oxon. 1663, p. 89. See also *Greg. Abulphar. Chron. Syriacum*, ed. Kirsch, p. 35.

The histories of the reign of Alexander by the chief Arabic writers have comparatively little of the marvellous in them. Mas'ûdi[1] (died A.H. 346) merely describes the principal historical events of Alexander's life, giving only a few of the various traditions concerning him, together with a summary of the legendary account of his travels in India. Ja'ḳûbî[2], Ibn al-Athîr[3], and Tabarî[4], have all of them brief accounts of Alexander's conquest of Darius, and the tradition that he was of Persian origin is mentioned. None of these accounts can in any way be considered as translations of a version of Pseudo-Callisthenes[5].

Persian Versions.

Between the tenth and fourteenth centuries a large number of works, based upon Arabic compositions, were written upon Alexander and his deeds by Persian writers. Of these the most important are the histories of Firdausî[6],

[1] See كتاب مروج الذهب *Les Prairies d'Or*, ed. *Barbier de Meynard*, Paris, 1861—1877, t. II. pp. 125, 248, 249, 250, 260; t. IX. p. 21. An edition of Mas'ûdî's work entitled التجزء الول (الثاني) من مروج الذهب ومعادن الجواهر في التاريخ was published at Bûlâḳ in the year 1867 بولاق ١٢٨٣ مصر القاهرة 4to.

[2] He lived A.H. 260. His work has been edited by T. Houtsma, *Ibn Wâdhih qui dicitur Al-Ja'qûbi Historiae*, Lugd. Bat. 1883. For his account of Alexander see pp. ٩٣ and ٩٧.

[3] He died A.H. 630. For his notice of Alexander see *Ibn-el-Athiri, Chronicon*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, t. I. p. ١٩٧.

[4] He died A.H. 411 or 416. See *Annales quos scripsit Ibn Djafar..... At-Tabari*, ed. I. Guidi, Prima series, II. pp. ٦٩٢—٧٠٤.

[5] For the summary of the travels of Dhu'lkarnein or Alexander the Macedonian by Muḥammad the Prophet see Ḳor'ân, Surah xviii.

[6] See *Le Livre des Rois par Abou'lkasim Firdousi, publié, traduit et commenté par* J. Mohl, كتاب شاهنامهٔ فردوسي Pers. and Fr. 7 tom. Paris, 1836, fol.; *Le Livre des Rois par Abou'lkasim Firdousi, traduit et commenté par* J. Mohl, 7 tom. Paris 1876—1878; J. Atkinson, *The Shâh Nâmeh of the Persian poet Firdausi, translated and abridged in prose and verse, with notes and illustrations, London*, 1832; Turner Macan, *The Shah Nameh containing the History of Persia from Kioomurs to Yesdejird*, Calcutta, 1829; Firdusii, *Liber Regum, qui inscribitur Schahnameh*, ed. J. A. Vullers et S. Landauer,

Nizâmî[1] and Mirkhwând[2]. I have no knowledge of the Persian language and must therefore refer the reader to the works of Spiegel[3], Weismann[4], and Favre[5] for a description of the contents of the various Persian versions of the Alexander story. There seems to be some doubt as to whether Firdausî based his work upon older Persian or Arabic forms of the Alexander story. De Sacy thought[6] that the greater part of the ancient history of Persia was translated from Pehlevi into Arabic, and Malcolm believed[7] that Firdausî found the materials for his poem in the Arabic versions of the original documents. M. Jules Mohl[8], however, was of opinion that Firdausî employed an Arabic

Lugd. Bat. 1876; and for a native edition of the text see شاهنامهٔ فردوسي طهران ١٢٦٥—٦٧ [Teheran 1849—50]. Firdausi was born at Shâdâb near Tûs A.H. 320; he died A.H. 411 or 416. For a list of his works and editions of them see Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, London, 1879—1883 pp. 533—539 and 1089.

[1] See Nizâmî, Ganjavi, *The Sikandar Nâma e Bara, or Book of Alexander the Great,.....translated for the first time out of the Persian into prose, with critical and explanatory remarks.....*by H. W. Clarke, London, 1881; *Nizâmî's Leben und Werke und der zweite Theil des Nizâmischen Alexanderbuches. Mit persischen Texten als Anhang. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Persischen Literatur und der Alexandersage von* Dr. W. Bacher, 2 pt. Leipzig, 1871, 8vo. [An English translation of this work was published in London, 1873]; for native editions of the text see [بري] سكندر نامه, Lucknow, 1878, 9 [١٢٩٠—٦] لكهنؤ and سكندر نامهٔ بحري Cawnpore, 1878 [كانپور ١٢٩٠]. An edition of the second part of the work, *i.e.*, Sikandar-Námahë Bahry, was published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* by Sprenger, Calcutta, 1852—1869. An illustrated prose version of the *Sikandar Nâmah*, different from that of Nizâmî, in seven books, was published in Persia A.H. 1274 (1857—8) fol. I owe the knowledge of the existence of this last book to Mr. A. G. Ellis of the British Museum. Nizâmî died about A.H. 600.

[2] See Mîr Khwând (Muḥammad ibn Khâvand Shâh). *History of the Early Kings of Persia*, translated by D. Shea, London, 1832. An edition of the text entitled كتاب تاريخ روضة الصفا was published at Bombay in A.H. 1271 [بمبئ ١٢٧١]. Mîr Khwând died A.H. 903 aged 66 years.

[3] Spiegel, *Die Alexandersage bei den Orientalen*, pp. 13—50.

[4] Weismann, *Alexander*, Bd. II., p. 526 ff.

[5] *Mélanges*, t. II., pp. 5—13.

[6] *Mém. sur Calila et Dimna*, p. 13.

[7] *History of Persia*, I. p. 137.

[8] *Livre des Rois*, p. xlviii.

version[1] of a Greek original to complete the gap which he found in the traditions of his country. His words are "Firdousi parait n'avoir pas trouvé de matériaux persans pour le règne d'Alexandre le Grand...mais au lieu de se livrer à son imagination dans un sujet qui y prêtait beaucoup, il aime mieux emprunter les contes dont les soldats grecs, à leur retour en Grèce, avaient rempli l'Occident. Ces contes avaient été recueillis en plusieurs collections, dont quelques-unes existent encore en grec et en latin et dont une avait été traduite du grec en arabe. C'est à l'aide de cette dernière que Firdousi a rempli la lacune qu'il avait trouvée dans les traditions de son pays, en y adaptant le conte persan qui fait d'Alexandre un chef de race persane, fils de Darab, roi de Perse et d'une fille de Philippe de Macédoine, du même que les rédactions alexandrines des fables grecques relatives à Alexandre lui donnaient pour père l'Egyptien Nectanebo."

Turkish Versions.

Upon the Iskender Nâmeh of Niẓâmî, Aḥmedî[2] of Kermiyân (died A.H. 815) based his Turkish poem called *Iskender Nâmeh*. "He adopted the main features of the Alexander legend as shaped by his Persian predecessor; but he tells the story in his own way and adds much original matter. He weaves into the narrative philosophical digressions on the origin and figure of the world, on man, his bodily structure and mental faculties, virtues and vices, etc. More than a quarter of the poem is taken up with a review of Eastern history, placed in the mouth of Aristotle, who tells Alexander of the kings who reigned before and who shall reign after him. The poem was composed on the first day of Rebî' II, A.H. 792, corresponding to the years 1700 of Alexander, 759 of Yezdegird, and 310 of Melikshâh[3]."

[1] The author of the *Mugmil ut-tewârich* held a similar opinion (Favre, *Mélanges*, t. II. p. 7). A chapter of this work was edited by Reinaud in his *Fragments Arabes et Persans inédits relatifs à l'Inde*, Paris, 1845.

[2] His full name was Tâj ud-Din Aḥmed ben Ibrâhîm el-Aḥmedî.

[3] Rieu, *Catalogue of the Turkish MSS. in the British Museum*, London, 1888, p. 162 *b*.

A Turkish translation of an Armenian life of Alexander was made in the seventeenth century by Jeremias Tschelebi (1635—1695)[1].

Ethiopic Versions.

The versions of the History of Alexander the Great in use among the Ethiopians are of two classes, viz., I. those which have in them a stratum of historical fact underlying large masses of fiction, and II. those which are works of pure imagination. The Ethiopians, in common with a large number of Oriental nations, have taken considerable pains to have translations of the History of Alexander the Great made into their language, but the translators seem to have allowed their fancy to run wild when they filled in the details of the historical events, which were described in the manuscript histories from which they made their translations. The Ethiopic translations were made from Arabic versions which had been made, I believe, from Greek originals. Ethiopic translations were sometimes made from Coptic[2], but an examination of the recently discovered fragments of the Coptic[3] version of the History of Alexander the Great shews that it has nothing in common with any of the Ethiopic versions known to me now. In respect of the age of the Ethiopic translations of the History of Alexander, in the absence of direct evidence it is only possible to assume that they came into existence some time between the XIVth and XVIth centuries, when so many Ethiopic translations from the Arabic were made[4].

A brief but favourite summary of the life and deeds of Alexander the Great among the Ethiopians is that which is

[1] Weismann, *Alexander*, Bd. II. p. 607. See J. von Hammer, *Geschichte der Türkischen Poesie*, p. 71 ff.; Favre, *Mélanges*, t. II. p. 14; and Neumann, *Geschichte der Armenischen Literatur*, p. 241.

[2] Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic MSS. in the British Museum*, p. iv.

[3] *Journal Asiatique*, Série iii. t. ix. pp. 5–38.

[4] Wright, *Catalogue of Ethiopic MSS.*, p. iv.

translated from 'Abû Shâkir, of which notices have been given by D'Abbadie[1], Wright[2] and Zotenberg[3]. The conquest of Persia and India by Alexander and the most important expeditions undertaken by him are concisely recorded, and the fabulous element which plays so large a part in all other Ethiopic accounts is here almost wanting[4].

Most important of all Ethiopic versions of the History of Alexander the Great for the study of the versions of Pseudo-Callisthenes is that which is, so far as I know, contained in a single manuscript only, viz. Brit. Mus. MS. Orient. No. 826 ff. 2 *a*—147 *a*[5]. This MS. is of vellum, measuring about 11⅝ in. by 7½ in., and was written in the present century. It was one of the manuscripts which were destined by king Theodore of Magdala (መትክዳላ *Maḳdalâ*) to form the library of the church which he intended to build there in honour of the Saviour of the World, and was brought to England by the British army in 1868. The version of the Alexander story given in this MS. has been translated from an Arabic work based upon Pseudo-Callisthenes. In places it runs almost word for word with the Syriac, and the forms of Greek proper names which occur in it agree often with the Syriac transcription of them. A large number of the proper names which are found in the Syriac version are not present here at all, and it seems to have been the custom of the Arabic or Ethiopic translator to omit the most difficult passages, as, for example, that which records the speech and computation of the stars by Nectanebus just before the birth of Alexander. Some passages of the Greek and Syriac are very much amplified, some are abridged, and some are translated twice over in different words. The Arabic or Ethiopic translator seems to have been a Christian priest. The legend which gives the account of Alexander's expedition against Gog and Magog is brought into the middle of the Ethiopic version, which seems to indicate that this is its proper place.

[1] *Catalogue Raisonné de MSS. Ethiopiens*, p. 81.
[2] *Catalogue of Ethiopic MSS.*, p. 310, col. 1.
[3] *Catalogue des MSS. Ethiopiens*, p. 245, col. 1.
[4] For the portion of the Ethiopic translation of Al-Makîn's "Universal History" relating to Alexander, see *Brit. Mus. MS. Orient.* fol. 69 *b*, col. 3 ff.
[5] See Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic MSS.*, p. 294.

The length of the Ethiopic version of Pseudo-Callisthenes renders it impossible to give a complete English translation of it here, but I give a free rendering of the first few chapters and a summary of the rest, that students of the Alexander story from the folk-lore point of view may know what the chief contents of this unique manuscript are. The Ethiopic title of the work is ዜና: እስክንድር: "The History of Alexander." After the usual beginning, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Gracious," the scribe says that, by the help of God, he will write an account of Alexander according to the histories that have been written by the wise men who have described his rule over the seven parts of the earth; his expeditions from the east to the west; his rule over the whole earth; his sailing over the sea እልፅንስ: *el-panṭas;* his flying through the air; and his journey into the darkness and into the places where God brought him. Nectanebus ብኑጣኢስ *Bekṭânîs*[1] is described as a very great magician and as a man learned in all the knowledge of the Egyptians, ጥበበ: ግብጸውያን:; he knew what was in the depths of the sea, he knew all the lore of the stars, and by their appearance he knew what would come to pass. By means of this knowledge he ruled over all the kings of the earth, and they were all subject to him through the greatness of his magical powers. When hostile forces came against him to slay him and to capture his land, it was not his custom to go out to meet them with soldiers set in array, but he used to go into a chamber and shut himself in, and he used to take a brass vessel ንዋየ: ዘብርት: and fill it with water, like a river (or sea), and say over it the words which he knew. Then he took wax and held it over the fire and made models of the ships of the enemy, and he set them on the water in the vessel like ships in the sea. And he said over them the names of demons of the earth and fearful and terrible words, and the ships of wax rode upon the water like the ships of the sea. When enemies came up against him from the sea he submerged the wax models of the ships by his magic, and this caused the ships of the enemies who wished to come and slay him to sink into the sea. If the enemy came against him by land (fol. 3 *a*, 1) he used to make wax models of

[1] See Zotenberg, *Chronique de Jean, Évêque de Nikiou*, p. 276.

men upon horses አመሳለ፡ እፍሪሕ፡ ዘሰመዕ፡ like unto the soldiers of the enemy who were coming against him to kill him, and he uttered over them fearful and terrible words, and the enemy was overthrown before him, and submitted and became subject unto him. And this and such like things he used to do with every one whom he wished to slay. He never went forth against his enemies with soldiers and instruments of death. He used to make models of the soldiers of the two armies in wax, then he set a space between them, and then he pronounced the names of demons of the earth and invoked them and prayed them to come to him and to help his army to overthrow the enemy before him. In this manner he lived and acted for many days, and he brought many men into misfortune through his magical powers.

Chap. II. Now during the days of his rule over Egypt ግብጽ፡, one of the scouts of his army came and told him that nine kings with their armies, and innumerable multitudes of people with them, were coming against him. The names of these peoples are thus given on fol. 3 *b*: the Midianites, መደናዊያን፡ Madanâwîyân, the Sargîyâwîyân ሰርጊያዊያን፡, the Ḳîmanâwîyân which are in Tarsês አልቂማናዊያን፡ ዘበ፡ ጥርሳስ፡, the Antâwîyân, አንታዊያን፡, the Halabâwîyân ሐለባዊያን፡, the Saḳâgâfîwîyân ሰቃጋፍዊያን፡, the Emâhînâwîyân አማሕናዊ[ያ]ን፡, the Agamâwîyân which are in Ḳâdês አገማዊያን፡ ዘበቃደስ፡, the Gûergûe ጉርጉ፡, and the Saraḳâwîyân: ሰረቃዊያን፡. Nectanebus praised the vigilance of the scout and told him that armies and arms were alike useless to overcome these hosts, and that only stoutness of heart and silence could do it. He added, "as one lion overcomes many people and as one wolf scatters many sheep, so likewise will I, with one word, destroy the peoples who have come against me by sea and by land."

Chap. III. (fol. 3 *b*, 2). After this Nectanebus left the army, and went into the chamber in his palace where he worked his magic, and he looked into the water which was in the brass basin ማየ፡ መቅለድ፡ ዘብርት፡, and after he had said over it the words which he was wont to say the gods of Egypt appeared to him, and he asked them to help him when he made the models of his army and those of the enemy to meet. Now it came

to pass at this time that the gods took no notice of his request; although in days of old he was able to talk with them at all times. When he saw that his magical powers had no effect upon the gods and understood thereby that his rule over Egypt had come to an end, he was very sorrowful. And he rose up and took as much gold as he could carry and as much silver as he wished, and having shaved off his hair and beard and changed his raiment, he went out from his palace quickly, and crossed the sea in a ship and came to the city (*sic*) of Macedonia, in the gate of which he sat dressed like an astrologer and one of the prophets of Egypt. Meanwhile the Egyptians went to their god, and asked him to tell them what had become of their king. Now the god, who was hidden in a place called Sanôbî ሰኖቢ፡, appeared to them and told them that their king had fled, that he would not return to Egypt, and that he had cast away everything for the salvation of his soul in peace[1]; and the Egyptians heard the oracle and believed it.

Chap. IV. (fol. 4 *a*, 2). Now the name of Nectanebus spread abroad in Macedonia, and the fame of his renown and of his learning came to the ears of Olympias, ልሙብያስ *Lĕmbayâs*. And she wished to ask him questions and to talk with him about her husband Philip and the subject of her divorce. Nectanebus came and found her dressed in beautiful apparel; she was very beautiful to look upon, and she was playful, and his heart was drawn out of him to her. He saluted her by saying, "Peace be to thee, O Macedonian queen," but she neither spoke to him nor answered him nor returned his greeting. He said to her again, "O my lady, why dost thou not answer me?" Olympias then saluted him and asked him to sit down, and when he had sat down, she asked him if he was a prophet of Egypt and if his works were as marvellous as they were said to be. Having satisfied herself that he possessed the power of foretelling events she asked him to help her. Nectanebus then enumerated the different kinds of augurs that existed. Here the Ethiopic text

[1] The translator, either Arabic or Ethiopic, has utterly missed the point of the answer of the oracle. The Ethiopic runs እስመ፡ ኀጥሠከመ፡ኒ፡ ጎየ፡ ወሊደገብዕ፡ እኽ፡ ኀበ፡ ግብጽ፡ ወውእቱ፡ ጊዜ፡ ወረዛ፡ ወእኮ፡ አረጋዊ። ወመነ፡ ኵሉ፡ በእንተ፡ ድኅነተ፡ ነፍሱ፡ በሰላመ።

becomes so confused that the sense given by the Greek is quite lost. Nectanebus then put his hand inside his garments እበአኑ፡, and brought forth a tablet, ሰሌዳ፡ *salêdâ*, of gold studded with stars in precious stones, and upon it were inscribed pictures of the seven planets which were arranged according to the hours of the day and night. The stars or planets which are mentioned are the Sun[1], Moon[2], Jupiter[3], Venus[4], Mars[5], and Mercury[6]; the scribe has omitted the seventh planet or Saturn[7] (fol. 5 *a*, col. 2). Each planet was represented by a precious stone. After examining the stars carefully Nectanebus tells her that he will help her, and that the gods who come forth from the depths of the earth shall come to her, and that she shall bear a son to them who shall avenge her upon Philip, because he has treated her badly. He adds that the god is noble in appearance, that he will wear a ram's horns, and that he will sleep with her. Olympias then declares that if this comes to pass she will consider Nectanebus to be a god and not a man.

Chap. V. (fol. 6 *a*, 1). Then Nectanebus went out to the field and pounded and crushed drugs, and he made a model of a woman, and wrote upon it the letters of the name of Olympias, and threw it in the fire, and he repeated words and names over it; and Olympias dreamed a dream in which the god Ammon was united with her.

Chap. VI. (fol. 6 *a*, col. 2). In the Ethiopic version the description of the god is wanting.

Chap. VII. (fol. 6 *b*, col. 2). Nectanebus disguises himself with ram's wool and horns, and takes the form of a serpent and goes into the chamber of Olympias. Afterwards she sends for him and prepares a chamber for him (fol. 7 *b*, col. 1). When

[1] ፀሐይ፡ [2] ወርኅ፡ [3] አልሞስተር፡ Arab. المشتري

[4] አዝሐር፡ Arab. زهرة [5] አልመረክ፡ Arab. مريخ

[6] ዕጣርድ፡ Arab. عطارد

[7] ዙሐል፡ زحل For Ethiopic lists of the names of the stars, see *Brit. Mus. MSS.* Add. 16211, fol. 55 and Add. 16247, fol. 64. According to a native historian names were given to the planets by Seth, the son of Adam. See Zotenberg, *Chronique de Jean, Évêque de Nikiou*, pp. 28, 239.

Olympias is troubled about her pregnancy Nectanebus promises that Ammon አሞጣኖ፡ will help her. Then Nectanebus took a bird ረዋጺ፡ (fol. 8 *a*, 1) and muttered words over it, and it flew through the sky over lands and cities and seas, and came to Philip by night, and that same night he had a wonderful dream in which he saw a terrestrial divinity of great stature, wearing ram's horns and having his head and beard shaved, sleeping with Olympias. In it he saw also the queen's womb sealed with a gold ring, upon which were engraved the head of a lion and a spear.

Chap. VIII. (fol. 8 *a*, col. 2). The interpretation of the dream is substantially the same as in the Syriac.

Chap. IX. (fol. 8 *b*, col. 2, l. 15). This chapter is almost identical in sense with that of the Syriac. Olympias sends, however, for Nectanebus after Philip has talked with her.

Chap. X. (fol. 9 *a*, col. 1, l. 19). Philip upbraids Olympias, and says that she is with child by Ammon. Nectanebus, in the guise of a serpent, glides into the chamber where they are sitting, and hisses fearfully. Philip is terrified when he sees the serpent, and Olympias says that its voice was thus when he came to her and said that he was the god of all the world; when Philip heard this he was glad that he was to have a son.

Chap. XI. (fol. 9 *b*, col. 2, l. 14) is the same as in the Syriac.

Chap. XII. (fol. 10 *a*, col. 2, l. 23). Nectanebus stands and calculates the stars, and advises the queen not to give birth to her child. He prevents her by force from so doing until a fortunate hour arrives, and then he allows her to bring forth. Here the Ethiopic text is much confused, and all allusions to incidents in Greek mythology are omitted.

Chap. XIII. (fol. 11 *a*, col. 1, l. 2). Macedonia and Abrâkâ አብራኽ፡ are mentioned. In appearance Alexander was like (*sic*) his parents Philip and Olympias, and when he was six years old he went to school to learn Greek learning, war and astronomy. The incident of the Cappadocians sending a gift of horses to Philip is omitted.

Chap. XIV. (fol. 11 *b*, col. 1, l. 14). The incident of the departure of Philip to another city and the sending for Nectanebus by Olympias is omitted. Alexander goes to the top of the mountains to see the stars, and Nectanebus says, "Verily

thou art my son, and the god knows that thou art my son; I slept with thy mother in the temple and she conceived thee; do not despise my word, for I am a great king, and I am the king of Egypt." When Alexander heard this he threw Nectanebus down from the top of the mountain and he died. When Alexander met Philip his father he said, "I have killed the priest of idols," and when Philip asked him what he had done he told him. After this Alexander is sent to Aristotle ለርስ በጦሊስ፡.

Up to this point the Ethiopic version runs fairly closely with the Syriac, but from here onwards the sequence of events as given in the Syriac and Greek is much disturbed.

Chap. XXIII. (fol. 12 *a*, col. 1, l. 19). Now Philip used to give tribute to the king of Persia who ruled over the empire of Nimrod, the mighty man who worshipped fire and established priests thereto, who spread the Magian belief ሃይማኖት፡ ጦገሳዊት፡, and who had intercourse with his mother and sister and daughter. One day when the ambassadors of the Persian king Darius came to ask for tribute Alexander saw them, and came down and talked with them. His scoffing message to Darius is not given in the Ethiopic, but he promises to go to Persia riding upon Bucephalus, whom he describes as "my horse which was born with me" ፈረሰየ፡ እንተ፡ ተወልደት፡ ምስሌየ፡. The chief ambassador instead of admiring Alexander's discourse says that "the boy knows not what he says." Then Darius sent two greater messengers with a golden box ሀፀ-ነ፡ filled with sesame seed ፈረ፡ ሰሊዎ፡, among which was a precious stone. When the ambassadors came to Alexander they gave him their letters, and he opened them and read them; then he went and sat upon his father's throne, and took the golden box, and found therein sesame seed and a jewel. And he said to his friends, "Interpret these things for me," but they refused, saying, "Thou knowest these things better than we do." Alexander said, "Sesame seed is food, and food is to be eaten; the Persian army is like sesame seed, and we will devour it as we devour sesame seed. As for the gem, it is like the head of a king and the Persian king has God given into my hand." Alexander then sent back an insolent message to Darius, but Philip wanted

to send him to Persia so that Darius might do what he liked to him. Chap. ends fol. 13 *b*, col. 1, l. 9.

Chap. XVI. (fol. 13 *b*, col. 1, l. 10). Now there was in the house a horse that was born with Alexander, and no one could go near him or mount him, and he was kept chained with six chains day and night. Alexander however went up to him and mounted him, and then his father gave orders that the horse was to be well looked after, for he was very fleet and could go a distance of 300 ሙሕዋር፡ in one hour. The chapter ends fol. 14 *a*, col. 1, l. 9.

After this Alexander mounts this horse, and taking his army with him, he goes to the East. Next we have a prayer in which Alexander acknowledges his submission to God; he took for his teacher Aristotle, whose belief was the belief of the philosophers who say "The heavens declare the glory of the Creator, the Maker of all and King of all, who killeth and maketh alive, in whom and from whom are all things" (fol. 14 *b*, col. 1). Alexander prays to God, and advises his friends and nobles not to commit sin. He says that he is king (fol. 15 *a*, col. 1); and speaks of the redemption of man's soul; his friends promise to do what he wishes (fol. 15 *b*, col. 1), and crown him and present an address to him (fol. 16 *a*, 1), to which he replies (fol. 16 *a*, col. 2). He then writes an address to the people of his palace which begins on fol. 18 *a*, col. 1 and ends fol. 19 *b*, col. 2, l. 11. His title "two-horned" ዘክፅሉ፡ አቅርኒህ፡ occurs for the first time in this manuscript in this address. The Ethiopic writers explain this title by saying that he was so called because he "ruled in the two horns of the Sun, the east and the west[1]." He next writes to his army (fol. 19 *b*, col. 2, l. 11,—fol. 21 *b*, col. 2, l. 8), and then to all the kings of the earth, saying that God has given him the world, and that he will help them to know Him as he knows Him (fol. 19 *b*, col. 2, l. 12—fol. 23 *a*, col. 2, l. 16). A copy of this proclamation is sent to Darius

[1] ወቦ፡ ዘይቤ፡ ተሰ ምየ፡ ዘ፮ አቅርኒህ፡ እስመ፡ ነገሠ፡ ዘ፮ አቅርኑ፡ ፀሐይ፡ እመ ሠዒት፡ እሰከ፡ ሙዕራብ፡፡ Brit. Mus. MS. Orient. 818, fol. 125 *b*, col. 1, ll. 23—27. See also D'Abbadie, *Catalogue de MSS. Éthiop.*, p. 81; and the Ethiopic translation of Al-Makîn's "Universal History" in Brit. Mus. MS. Orient. 814, fol. 69 *b*, col. 3.

ደራ: king of Persia, who read it before all the army. Darius, "king of kings," next writes a letter to the men of Tiberius Cæsar ሰብእ: ዋብያርእ: ቄሳር: the Roman, in which he abuses and curses Alexander, and begs them not to allow him to come into their country (fol. 23 *b*, col. 1, l. 5—col. 2, l. 11). Presently Darius heard that Alexander had arrived at the great river called Kôparôs ቀጶርስ:, and he wrote him a letter beginning, "To Alexander, the king of the Greeks, son of Philip, the two-horned, my servant." He reminds him in it that Philip paid tribute, and insists on his doing likewise (fol. 24 *b*, col. 1, l. 8). Alexander orders that the ambassadors who have brought this letter to him shall be slain, but he spares them eventually to shew the superiority of the manners of the Greeks to those of the Persians. Darius imagines that Alexander has slain his ambassadors, he therefore sends others with another letter (fol. 25 *b*, col. 2, l. 9—fol. 26 *a*, col. 1, l. 13). Alexander sends a reply to this last letter which begins "From the servant of God, the two-horned" (fol. 26 *b*, col. 1, l. 4), and determines that all his letters shall begin in this manner (fol. 26 *b*, col. 2, l. 12). In it Alexander tells Darius that if he kills him he will only be killing a thief, and he says that the sesame seed represents Darius' army which he will overthrow because his trust is in God; in return, however, he sends a little mustard seed ፈረ: ሳናፕ: that Darius may know what the Macedonian army is like. The letter ends fol. 27 *b*, col. 1. In a second letter to Darius Alexander threatens to come against him (fol. 27 *b*, col. 2, l. 8). The ambassadors who bring his letters to Darius praise him greatly, and tell Darius that he ate some of the sesame seed: Darius then orders one of his soldiers to eat some of the mustard seeds; the soldier, not knowing how pungent they are, throws a handful into his mouth, but he cannot swallow them and so spits them out. On the report reaching him that Alexander has set out to come against him Darius writes to the satraps under his rule demanding their help; but meanwhile Alexander returns to Egypt (fol. 28 *b*, col. 1), and founds a city after his name. All Egypt submits to him except Tâḳâtelô, Nôbâ and Ethiopia; the people of Africa come to do homage to him. He passed through Syria and came with his army to Palestine. While there he wrote to the chief priests of the sanctuary of Jerusalem calling

upon them to submit to him; this they declined to do, saying that they were under the dominion of the king of Persia (fol. 29 *a*, col. 2, ll. 9—16). When Alexander marched into Jerusalem with his army all the Jews and the governor of the town, who had been appointed by Darius, submitted to him. The priests went out to meet him carrying a book of the Law (fol. 29 *a*, col. 1, l. 24) and the prophecy of Daniel the prophet concerning Alexander spread out on the top of a spear. Alexander said, "What is this that I see with you?" and they replied, "It is the writing of God which came down by the prophets, and the prophecy of Daniel who prophesied concerning thy kingdom." When Alexander saw this he wept, and came down from his horse, and went near to the writing of the Law and the Prophets and worshipped God; then he went into the Temple and asked God to direct his paths. He admired greatly the beauty of the Temple, for it was morning. When the soldiers ask Alexander why he honours the Jews who slew the prophets he says that he only honours the name of God which they carry upon their persons[1]. The chief priest gives Alexander a copy of the prophecy of Daniel and then, after a little talk, he leaves the Temple (fol. 30 *b*, col. 1).

Going eastward Alexander crossed the Euphrates, and built a city there which he called Baratâ በራታ:, he next came to a country called ደሰት: Dasêt. He fought with Darius at a place called ቢዛ: for forty days, and after a further five days' fight with Ardeshir, Darius' general, nearly all Darius' army was killed. Alexander then marched against the royal city of Darius, but before he attacked it, he addressed his army with words of encouragement (fol. 31 *a*, coll. 1, 2); the battle was obstinate, and Darius gained some advantage over Alexander, who wrote to Darius and said that he was going back to his own country (fol. 32 *a*, col. 1, l. 21), and asked for a truce. Darius refused to allow this, whereupon Alexander made a very fierce attack upon him and utterly routed him. Darius escapes by crossing over a river (fol. 32 *b*, col. 2) and takes refuge in the temple of his god (lit. the house of the idol), where he laments

[1] See the *History of the holy men in the days of Jerusalem*, in Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic MSS.*, p. 309.

his fate (fol. 33 *a*, col. 2). When Darius heard that Alexander had captured his wife and daughter he wrote commending them to his clemency, and sent to him gold and silver and jewels and clothing. Alexander reads this letter to his friend Salonôs who asked why Darius had not done this before (fol. 34 *a*, col. 1). When he had slain all Darius' nobles, Darius wrote to Porus ፎዝ: *Puz*) king of India asking for help; Porus replies (fol. 34 *b*, col. 1, l. 18—35 *a*, col. 1, l. 17). Alexander then asked his soldiers to find out men who will give him information about Darius; two men called Ḥâshîsh ኃህሊሠ: and Arsalâs አርሰላስ: offered to do this, but they stabbed Darius thinking to gain a reward (fol. 35 *b*, coll. 1, 2). Alexander came up and finding Darius stabbed, dismounted and put his head upon his knees, and exhorted him to rise up and to become king of Persia once more (fol. 36 *a*, col. 2). Before his death Darius asked Alexander to do three things for him; Alexander promised to carry out his wishes and asked to be allowed to marry his daughter (fol. 37 *b*, col. 1). Darius dies and is buried by Alexander (fol. 38 *a*, col. 1). Alexander issues a proclamation to the Persians (fol. 38 *a*, col. 2—38 *b*, col. 2, l. 23). Alexander promises to reward the murderers of Darius (fol. 39 *a*, col. 1), and crucifies (fol. 39 *b*, col. 2) them. He writes to the mother of Darius (fol. 40 *a*, col. 2—40 *b*, col. 2, l. 19), and Roxana (ረሲቅ *Rasîḳ*) writes to him applauding his kindness to them (fol. 41 *b*, col. 2, l. 19). Alexander writes to her (fol. 42 *a*, col. 1, l. 19), and goes to see her; and next writes to the mother of Darius ሰረጎ: Saragô (fol. 42 *b*, col. 1).

About this time Alexander heard that Porus had come to fight with him and he set out to meet him; his troops grumble on the way (fol. 42 *a*, col. 2—44 *a*, col. 2). Alexander writes to Porus (fol. 44 *a*, col. 2, l. 14), and Porus replies (fol. 45 *a*, col. 1, l. 9); on the receipt of this letter Alexander marches against him (fol. 46 *a*, col. 1, l. 7). Porus writes again (fol. 46 *a*, col. 1, l. 21), and Alexander sends a reply (fol. 47 *a*, col. 2, l. 14), which Porus reads to his nobles (fol. 48 *a*, col. 1, l. 14). Porus collects rhinoceroses and lions to fight against Alexander. Alexander also makes 24,000 metal rhinoceroses, which his soldiers make red-hot by lighting fires inside them (fol. 48 *b*, col. 1). The hostile forces meet and Porus' beasts run away, but Porus throws

Alexander's horse upon the ground by sorcery, and prevents Alexander from pursuing him by keeping him there while he makes good his escape (fol. 49 *a*, col. 1). Alexander then challenges him to single combat (fol. 49 *b*, col. 1); Porus accepts the challenge and is killed (fol. 50 *a*, col. 1). Alexander addresses the Indian army and afterwards buries Porus (fol. 50 *b*, col. 2).

The defeat of Porus accomplished Alexander set out to go to see the Brahmans, አልበረጎዊያን: *al-Baragânâwîyân*, who, hearing of his arrival in their country, write to him (fol. 51 *a*, col. 1, l. 22) and mention Baal Peor ፈጎረ: (fol. 51 *b*, col. 1, l. 2); Alexander reads their letter and goes to them (fol. 52 *a*, col. 1), and asks one of them:—

"How do you live, and how do you die?" fol. 52 *a*, col. 2, l. 12.

"Have you no graves in which to bury your dead?" fol. 53 *a*, col. 2, l. 3.

"Are the dead more in number than the living?" fol. 53 *b*, col. 1.

"Is death mightier than life?" fol. 53 *b*, col. 1, l. 22.

"What is the wickedest thing in creation?" fol. 54 *a*, col. 1, l. 1.

"Is night older than day or day older than night?" fol. 54 *a*, col. 2.

"Who is He that has never been born?" fol. 54 *b*, col. 1.

"Which is man's strongest limb, his right hand or his left?" fol. 54 *b*, col. 1.

After Alexander had asked these questions the Brahman asks him to give them immortality; he says that he is unable to do this because everything depends upon the will of God. He writes to Aristotle (fol. 56 *b*, col. 2, l. 11), and then wishes to go and see the grave of a king on an island, but eventually sends one of his friends there with 800 men (fol. 57 *b*, col. 2). After a march of twelve nights they come to a city situated between two rivers (fol. 58 *b*, col. 1), and see the pillar upon which is inscribed "I am Sesonchosis (ፕስ: *sic*) king of the world" (fol. 59 *a*, col. 1). The *Mashkĕlath* is described as being "greater than a rhinoceros" (fol. 59 *b*, col. 2, l. 14), and as having required forty men to kill it (fol. 60 *a*, col. 1) and three hundred men to cut it open. Alexander then came to a country where the men were like ravens ቁዐት: (fol. 60 *b*, col. 1); and the

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Macedonians stayed there seven days and slew six thousand of them. They met creatures half men half beast (fol. 60 *b*, col. 2, ll. 3—6); they saw the people who had "legs like a camel" (fol. 61 *a*, col. 2, l. 15); the men with lions' heads (fol. 61 *a*, col. 2, l. 25); the tree which grew and diminished (fol. 61 *b*, col. 1); and the river which was full of birds (fol. 61 *b*, col. 2, l. 21). They came to the sea called Pontus, where twenty of Alexander's men were devoured by beasts (fol. 62 *a*, col. 2). After a march of 65 nights he comes to a place where there were two birds, one of which said, "O two-horned one, behold, thou marchest through a land in which no man has ever before walked; it is not good for thee. Why dost thou not go back? Behold, thou hast slain Darius the king of all the kings of the world (fol. 62 *b*, col. 1), and also Porus the king of the Indians who was lord over demons and devils, and who had captured all the ends of the world. Now, therefore, turn back from this place, for what thou hast done is sufficient for thee." In this place Alexander goes into a temple where there is a chain weighing 300 በሃምር: according to the weight of Constantinople (?) (fol. 63 *a*, col. 1, l. 8), and sees there a throne with 2500 steps (fol. 63 *a*, col. 2, l. 3) and two candlesticks, each of which is 40 cubits in height. In the temple is a nameless god who tells Alexander that he will bring him to the place where Enoch, Elijah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and those like unto them dwell (fol. 64 *a*, col. 1, line 11).

From this place Alexander goes to "a city of India" (Prasiakê), and is obliged to stay there thirty nights on account of the snow (fol. 64 *b*, col. 2). He asks the Indians if there is any thing wonderful to be seen in that country and they tell him of two talking trees (fol. 65 *a*, col. 2) which "speak in all tongues." After a journey of ten days they reach a place where there is a garden, and in it are two figures of the sun and moon and a great altar called "the rising of the sun and moon," because the sun and moon rise here (fol. 65 *b*, col. 2, l. 20). Taking fifty men he goes into the temple, and the trees speak (fol. 66 *b*, col. 1). One of them prophesies his death in the land of Babylon, and says that it will be caused by poison being administered to him by friends (fol. 67 *a*, col. 1). After a march of fifteen nights they come to a city called Sapîn (fol. 67 *a*, col.

2, l. 7), the people of which tell him about a god in the form of a serpent which lives in the mountains at a distance of three days (fol. 67 *b*, col. 1); Alexander kills the serpent by stratagem (fol. 69 *a*, col. 1, l. 8). He next arrives at a river called Barsâṭis (?) near which he builds a city which he called Masḳâmâ (fol. 69 *b*, col. 2, l. 22) or "Alexandria the second" (fol. 70 *a*, col. 1, l. 13). From here he marches to a place called Ḳasmâḳâtîn, and then, after a march of fifteen nights through marshes and fifteen nights through deserts, he arrives in China, ሲን: *Sîn* (fol. 70 *b*, col. 1, l. 8), the king of which country presents him with many beautiful things (fol. 73 *b*, col. 2—74 *a*, col. 1). Leaving China Alexander comes to a land where the people have heads of wolves (fol. 74 *b*, col. 1, l. 20), and next to a place called Dârâ where he sacrifices to the "great god." He comes to Sôd (Sughd) and founds the city of Samarḳand (fol. 76 *a*, col. 2, l. 12); and having built five hundred boats to cross a river (fol. 76 *b*, col. 1) he goes to Persia to see the city called Sâmera (fol. 77 *a*, col. 1, l. 4), which is governed by a queen called Candace. He writes to her (fol. 77 *a*, col. 2), and she replies (fol. 77 *b*, col. 1). The list of the gifts which, according to the Syriac, she gives to him is omitted, but she sends a painter to paint his portrait (fol. 78 *a*, col. 1). Candaules ቀንደርስ: *Ḳandarôs* (fol. 78 *a*, col. 2, l. 1) her son goes to the land of Ḳarûmân, and his wife is stolen from him (fol. 78 *a*, col. 2). Alexander changes places with Ptolemy and, calling himself Antigonus, goes off with 3000 horsemen to rescue the wife of Candaules (fol. 79 *b*, col. 1): he succeeds in bringing back the wife (fol. 80 *a*, col. 2). Alexander then journeys on to see Candace in her city (fol. 81 *a*, col. 1), and when he sees her and finds that she is like his mother Olympias, he weeps (fol. 81 *b*, col. 1). The narrative is now told by Alexander in the first person; he describes the chamber in which he first saw her (fol. 82 *a*, col. 1) and the second chamber and her bed room (fol. 83 *a*, col. 1); afterwards Alexander marries her ሰንበ: ሥኔላሃ: ወእቱ: ዕለተ: ወይእቲ: ሌሊተ: (fol. 84 *a*, col. 2, l. 14). The Ethiopic form of the name of her eldest son is Ḳanîra, Syr. Ḳĕrâṭôr (fol. 85 *a*, col. 2, l. 18). After Alexander has been dismissed by Candace, her son Candaules takes him to see the temple of a god, built on a hill (fol. 86 *b*, col. 2), with whom he holds a conversation and asks questions. He

next writes to the Amazons, *Mertâs* (sic) and their queen replies (fol. 87 *b*, coll. 1, 2); he then makes his way back to Persia (fol. 88 *a*, col. 1, l. 22). At this period Aristotle writes to him (fol. 88 *a*, col. 2), advising him to do some good act before he dies, and reminding him that he has done a very great work for a young man of thirty years, for which he should thank God.

On fol. 88 *b*, col. 2, l. 2 begins the Ethiopic version of Alexander's expedition against the Huns, which, according to it, took place in the seventh year of his reign. Prîsḳôs is not mentioned at all, but the "eleven bright seas" (fol. 89 *b*, col. 1) and the eleven lands situated in a land ten miles away and the great sea are all described as in the Syriac version. The waters of the fœtid sea are like pus መግል፡ (fol. 89 *b*, col. 2, l. 14), and when Alexander asks some of the people if they have seen it they say that they have (fol. 90 *a*, col. 1). He then assembles 32,000 men (fol. 90 *b*, col. 1, l. 17), prays to God (fol. 90 *b*, col. 2), and goes to Egypt where he obtains 7000 skilled workmen (fol. 91 *b*, col. 1); he sets out with all his forces, and after a journey of four months and twelve days they arrive at a land "behind" the twelve great seas (fol. 91 *b*, col. 2). At the fœtid sea thirty-seven men bring his ships to anchor, and he sees a pillar with an inscription (fol. 92 *a*, col. 2). He passes through lands called Ṭârakes, Martaḳut, Rûḳêl, Dafâr, Ṭarmât, Ḳânem, Hûr and Maraḳ, through the mountain of Mûsâs (fol. 93 *b*, col. 1, l. 13), and arrives at a place called Nalhemyâ, where three hundred sages come to him (fol. 93 *b*, col. 2) and tell him that this place is in the territory of Persia, and that they are subject to Akseyûs አኽስዩስ፡ the Persian (fol. 94 *a*, col. 1, l. 11). They also tell him that the mountain which he sees extends to the Ocean (ቦንጦስ፡ *Bônṭôs*), that it comes to an end near the land of Persia and that roads go from it to Adorbaigân (fol. 94 *a*, col. 2, l. 5). Alexander enquires what are the names of the kingdoms in this land, and they tell him Mâgûg (Magog), Yâgûg (Gog), Nûlî, Agma'a, Amrâbân, Namû, Bargîs, Samraḳ, Hôsâč, 'Asfû, Salgû, Katlûbî, Amrâḳ, Ḳawâbir and Hanâ (fol. 94 *b*, col. 1). The Ethiopic translator says that he has seen in another book a description of these kingdoms, and he gives their twenty-two names as follows: Mâgûg, Yâgûg, Nûyâl, Yûal, Aknûk, Asâkâbîr, Ḳaryâwîyân, Kerba, Lakan, Daba'ân, Ḳarṭân, Rabaan, Zanâbên, Dûlî, Marḳû, Ṭarḳî, Mâyâwîyân, Kalbâtâs, Manzê'a, Yûmân, Kaslĕwî and Malkî (fol. 94 *b*, col. 2). Their manners and customs are described (fol. 94 *a*, col. 1—fol. 95 *b*, col. 2, l. 15); the people called Nagâshâwîyân have faces like dogs (fol. 96 *a*, col. 2, l. 12).

The old men are next questioned by Alexander about Paradise and its four rivers Sêḥun, Gihon, Euphrates and Tigris (fol. 96 *a*, col. 2), and they tell him that God drew them into the earth.

Alexander then gathers together 3000 men and they make a gate twelve cubits in height (fol. 97 *b*, col. 2) to shut in Gog and Magog. He writes a prophecy on the gate that these nations shall go forth in the eight hundred and sixty-fourth year (fol. 98 *a*, col. 2, l. 10), and that when they have gone forth twenty thousand Greeks and Persians and Arabs shall be gathered together under four thousand kings (fol. 98 *b*, col. 2, l. 8), and that multitudes of men shall be slain.

The iron gate being finished Alexander sets out to go to the land of darkness (fol. 99 *a*, col. 1). When he arrives there a god of the country describes to him the land and the sea that is in it (fol. 101 *a*, col. 1), and tells him that the throne of God is set in this land, and that it is supported by an angel having the faces of a bull, a lion, an eagle and a man; beneath it flows the river of the water of life (fol. 101 *a*, col. 1). Beyond this land of darkness are seventy other lands, and beyond there are other seventy lands (fol. 101 *b*, col. 1), and a mountain eighty thousand measures high which rests upon water (fol. 104 *b*, col. 2, l. 15). In this land there is no distinction between day and night (fol. 106 *a*, col. 1), but Alexander prays to God, and He makes his paths straight so that he is able to proceed (fol. 108 *b*, col. 1). He travels in the dark land for two years (fol. 110 *a*, col. 1, l. 11), and finally comes to a place beyond which the people tell him that there is nothing. He insists on advancing, and leaving ten thousand of his troops (fol. 110 *b*, col. 1) to live and to wait for him there for ten years, he sets out with some of the natives for guides; the king of the land also gives him a precious stone, which was one of those brought out of Paradise by our father Adam, to shew him the way (fol. 111 *a*, col. 1, l. 20). The stone

pointed out the right road and led him to the fountain of life; Alexander had a dried fish with him which he put into the water to see if it would live and swim, and as soon as the fish touched the water it came to life, and darted away and escaped (fol. 111 *b*, col. 1). When Mâtûn, that is El-Khidr or the "Evergreen" (Elijah), saw that the fish came to life he took off his clothes and bathed in the water of life, and dipped himself therein three times, saying, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" (fol. 111 *b*, col. 1). The sixty thousand kings that live in that land contend with El-Khidr (fol. 111 *b*, col. 2), who asks their permission for Alexander's army to go through the land because he is doing God's will (fol. 112 *a*, col. 2). Alexander passes through the land, and comes to a place where the water was so clear that he thought it was the water of life. He saw there emeralds and jacinths and other precious stones and a bird with a ring in its nose with which he talked (fol. 113 *a*, col. 2). At a place near here he finds much gold, and he makes for himself a crown of it, in which he sets the stone which came from Paradise (fol. 115 *a*, col. 1). From there he travels east and west and flies through the air, higher than the eagle, and sees all the stars of heaven: he writes a book about all these things (fol. 115 *b*, col. 1). He next sets up a great furnace and casts a door and walls of iron to keep out Gog and Magog (fol. 116 *a*, col. 1), the children of Adam, who are like wild beasts (fol. 116 *a*, col. 2, l. 14). He prays to God (fol. 116 *a*, col. 2, l. 14), and then sets out for the sea which is behind the heavens and the land which has never been trodden before by man (fol. 116 *b*, col. 2). He flies through the air by the help of three eagles (fol. 116 *b*, col. 2), and when on the sea he sends out these eagles one after the other to look for land (fol. 117 *a*, col. 1). Having crossed the sea Alexander sets out for Babylon (fol. 118 *b*, col. 2), where he seeks for the seven wonderful things which Solomon made (fol. 118 *b*, col. 2—fol. 120 *b*, col. 1). He is twice attacked by fever; he writes to his mother (fol. 121 *a*, col. 1 and fol. 121 *b*, col. 1), and he receives a second letter from Aristotle (fol. 127 *b*, col. 2). Ten whole folios (129—139) are filled with a discourse in which the names of Pharaoh and Job occur, and which points out the benefits which accrue to those who do not commit sin.

On fol. 139 *a*, col. 1 his second letter to Olympias is begun, in it he tells her that having left Babylon he came to the Pillars of Hercules ኦምዓወ: ሐርቀሊስ:, where he stayed ninety-five days. He found there a door of gold and one of silver: each one of them was twelve cubits in height. He saw there twenty thousand five hundred crowns of gold which he took, and left the country (fol. 139 *b*, col. 1), and journeying on he came to the country of beautiful women (fol. 139 *b*, col. 2). After another march he came to a river or sea called Dalîṭûn, where it is very dark (fol. 140 *a*, col. 1), and after five days more he arrived at the city of the sun where there is a palace of gold. Near this place there was a very great darkness (fol. 140 *a*, col. 2), and eventually he came to the river Yôrdânôs, on the confines of Asia and Armenia (fol. 140 *b*, col. 1). Here he saw a golden bird, like a dove, in a cage of gold, which he wanted to send to his mother; but the people of the place begged him not to do it, and he did not. He also saw there the golden objects which were in the city of Dios and which were brought thither when the Persians ruled Egypt (fol. 140 *b*, col. 2), and the golden throne with eight steps, etc. The letter to Olympias ends fol. 141 *a*, col. 2.

Meanwhile the day of Alexander's death was drawing nigh. He had made a feast (fol. 141 *b*, col. 1), when Iollas (Eth. Yôlyôs) came and proposed to him that he should invite his friends to drink with him, and twenty-one of Alexander's friends were straightway invited. Watching his opportunity Iollas gives Alexander the cup of poisoned wine, and he drinks, and knows that he is poisoned (fol. 142 *a*, col. 1, l. 11); the news of the success of the plot is sent by Iollas to Antipater at once. Alexander leaves the feast chamber and tries to drown himself by night in the Euphrates, but is stopped by Roxana his wife (fol. 142 *b*, col. 2). On the following day Bardaksa (Perdiccas), Kâbâs (Lysias?), Abaṭlemîs (Ptolemy) and Lîsîmikos (Lysimachus) write his testament, and he addresses the Macedonian soldiers who think that he has been poisoned (fol. 143 *a*, col. 1). One of them called Bûkelâs (Phainoclês?) addresses Alexander, and seventy of them wish to die with him (fol. 143 *b*, col. 1). Alexander's testament begins (fol. 143 *b*, col. 2). He bequeaths twenty thousand dînârs to the Christian temples of

Egypt (fol. 144 *a*, col. 2, l. 4) and to the temple of Ammon. If Ahrûksênâ (Roxana) bears a son he is to be called Alexander (fol. 145 *a*, col. 1). The names of the provinces of Alexander's empire and of the rulers whom he appoints over them are horribly corrupt in the Ethiopic version, and can only in a few places be identified. He orders a gold coffin to be made (fol. 145 *b*, col. 1), and commands that gifts be made to the temple of Hercules (fol. 145 *b*, col. 2); and having given directions concerning his coffin and the filling of it with myrrh and other spices (fol. 146 *a*, col. 1), he dies. His body is brought to Babylon in Egypt, and many of the nobles of the city of Memphis come out to meet it, but they refuse to allow it to be buried there; they advise Ptolemy to bury it in the city of Alexandria, and he does so (fol. 146 *b*, col. 1). He lived thirty-eight years and began to reign when he was fifteen years old. Twenty-two nations were subject to him among the barbarians and thirteen others; he founded twelve cities which are enumerated (fol. 146 *b*, col. 2). He was born on the first day of the month Ṭer[1] at sunrise and he finished his days on the first day of the month Mîyâzyâ[2] ሚያዚያ: at sunset[3]; on account of his death taking place on this day it was called ሕጽጽተ: ኢሎሰዓታተ:.

It will be seen from the foregoing pages that the Ethiopic version of the Alexander story reproduces in one form or another most of the principal incidents of the life of Alexander the Great according to Pseudo-Callisthenes. Whether the Ethiopic or the Arabic translator is responsible for the chapters which are omitted I cannot say. The proper names are much corrupted, and it is clear that the Ethiopic translator has helped to make the confusion greater. For example we have Pûz for Porus which shews that he read ز instead of ر; and we have Mĕrtâs ምርታስ: for Amazons. The Arabic transcription of the Greek form of the name would be something like امزناس or

[1] The fifth month of the Abyssinian year, corresponding roughly to Dec. 27—Jan. 25.

[2] The eighth month of the Abyssinian year, corresponding roughly to Mar. 27—April 25. See also the Ethiopic version of Joseph ben-Gorion, Brit. Mus. MS. Orient. 822, fol. 20 *a*, col. 1, ll. 6—9.

مزناس which the Ethiopic translator has clearly misread مرتاس *Mertâs*; many instances of the confusion between the letters ك and ل, ف and ق and ز, ر, د, ب and ي could be given.

In the fabulous histories of Alexander the Great which are commonly found among the Ethiopians the work of the imagination plays so large a part that it is difficult to discover the grain of fact which has given rise to the fantastic stories which have come down to us. In them Alexander is made to hold interviews with Christ, Who tells him that He will take upon Himself flesh in the fulness of time; he is made to preach sermons on the advantages of living in chastity and continence like Elijah and St. John; and he is made to abolish the worship of idols throughout his dominions. The accounts of his travels which are given in these stories are based upon the incidents of his Indian journey according to Pseudo-Callisthenes, but the hand of the Christian redactor or scribe has ever been active in adding details which savour of the marvellous and the impossible. In the desert he meets Elijah and Enoch, who leave him in a chariot of fire; he is instructed by the Holy Ghost concerning virtue and the six doors of the heart; and he learns the mystery of the Holy Trinity. Philip his father having learned by means of the astrolabe of the incarnation and death of Jesus Christ throws himself into the sea; the Holy Spirit tells Alexander that his father will be counted as one of the martyrs[1]. When Alexander returns home he gives all his goods to the poor, and then exhorts men and women to lead good and holy lives. The above are specimens of the contents of these fabulous histories of Alexander; it will be seen that they are of little value for any other purpose than that of amusement.

[1] See the full summary of the contents of such a history in Zotenberg's *Catalogue des MSS. Éthiopiens*, pp. 243—245, and D'Abbadie, *Catalogue raisonné de MSS. Éthiopiens*, p. 81.

The Coptic Version.

The existence of a Coptic version of the history of Alexander was first pointed out by Bouriant[1], who published the text from three mutilated leaves of a manuscript of the work found at Aḫmîm[2], the ancient Panopolis, in Upper Egypt, which are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. The composition is in Sahidic, the dialect of Upper Egypt, and M. Bouriant thinks that it was written in the xvth century of our era; the contents do not agree with those of any other version known to me and I am not able to say from what language the work was translated. The first fragment refers to an expedition of Alexander in Judaea, and the second and third give some details of an expedition into Gedrosia.

Miscellaneous European Versions.

Translations of the Alexander story were made into French[3] by Alberic de Besançon, Lambert li Tors and Alexandre de Bernay[4], Thomas of Kent and many others. It was also rendered into German by Lamprecht or Lambert[5], into Italian[6],

[1] *Fragments d'un Roman d'Alexandre en dialecte Thébain*, in *Journal Asiatique*, Série 8, t. ix., 1887. See especially the remarks by M. Maspero on pp. 37, 38.

[2] The ancient Panopolis, a town situated on the east bank of the Nile not far from This. See Champollion, *L'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, t. i. p. 257.

[3] In his scholarly monograph *Alexandre le Grand dans la Littérature Française du Moyen Age*, M. Meyer has given the history of all the French versions of the Alexander story. See also Favre, *Mélanges*, t. ii. pp. 97—114, and Talbot, *Essai sur la légende d'Alexandre le Grand dans les Romans Français du XII^e siècle*, 1850.

[4] The text is published by Michelant in the *Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins* in Stuttgart, t. xiii., entitled *Li Romans d'Alexandre*, par Lambert li Tors et Alexandre Bernay.

[5] See Weismann, *Alexander, Gedicht des zwölften Jahrhunderts, vom Pfaffen Lamprecht*, Frankfort, 1850; and the authorities on this version quoted by Meyer, *Alexandre*, t. ii. p. 71, and Favre, *Mélanges*, t. ii. p. 127.

[6] Favre, *Mélanges*, t. ii. p. 119; Commenza el libro del nascimento. De la vita. Con grandissimi fatti. Et della morte infortunata de Alexandro Magno, Venesia, 1477.

Spanish[1], Norwegian[2], Swedish[3], Dutch[4], and English[5]. In 1880 the facsimile of an ancient Slavonic manuscript, belonging to P. P. Vyazemsky, containing a history of Alexander was published[6]. Malay and Siamese[7] histories of Alexander are also known.

[1] Favre, *op. cit.* p. 115.

[2] Favre, *ibid.* p. 143.

[3] Favre, *ibid.* p. 143. The Swedish work was printed at Wijsingzborg in 1672, edited by J. Hadorphius. See also *Konung Alexander; en Medeltids dikt, från hatinet vänd i Svenska rim omkring år* 1380...*Efter den enda kända handskriften utgifven af* G. E. Klemming, Stockholm, 1844.

[4] Moltzer, H. E., *Roman van Cassamus in Bibliothek van Middelnederlandsche Letterkunde*, Afl. 2, 1868.

[5] See Weber, *King Alisaunder in Metrical Romances*, Vol. i. pp. xxxi, lxxiv, and 3—327, 1810; *The Romaunce of Alexander*, Edinburgh, 1850; Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, p. 180; *The gestes of the worthie king and emperour, Alisaunder of Macedoine*, and Favre, *Mélanges*, t. ii. pp. 139—142.

[6] Issued by the Early Russian Text Society at St. Petersburg. *An account of Alexander the Great in ancient Serbian Literature* was published in the *Messenger* of the Society of Serbian Literature, 2nd Series, Vol. ix. at Belgrade in 1868. I owe this information to Mr. J. T. Naaké of the British Museum.

[7] Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Vol. i. Intro. p. 110.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER THE SON OF PHILIP KING OF THE MACEDONIANS.

BOOK I.

I. Now there used to be Egyptian sages, who were sprung from the families of the gods. They measured the earth, and stood thereon; they put in commotion the waves of the sea; and laid hold of the great Nile by its measure. They calculated the ordering of the stars of heaven. They delivered all these things to the world by the might of invincible words and by the powers of sorcery. Men say then of Nakṭîbôs (Nectanebus)[1] who was the last king of Egypt and was famed for great discoveries, that he was through his perfect knowledge the glory of Egypt, and to him were the creatures of the world subservient by reason of his magic. This king was a marvel, for when suddenly the hosts of the enemy were standing ready at his gate[2], and wished to come to battle, he used not to trouble his camp, neither did he bring weapons of war for the use of the men, nor polished iron that glittered, nor was it his wont to contrive the stratagems or plans which are necessary for war; but he used to go into his palace and to set a brazen basin in the middle of the hall and to fill it with rain water. He then made small

[1] The *Necht-neb-f*, or Nectanebus II of the hieroglyphics. Egyptian history is silent as to the end of this king. An *ushabti* figure bearing his name was found at Memphis (Mariette, *Mon. Div.*, p. 32) and hence it has been supposed that he was buried there. Diodorus says (XVI. 49—51) that he fled to Ethiopia. A statue of this king is in the British Museum.

[2] Or rather, *getting ready against his land*.

УНИВЕРЗИТЕТСКА БИБЛИОТЕКА * БЕОГРАД *

models of ships and men in asphalt[1] and placed them in the basin. And he took in his hand a rod of plane wood[2], and then uttered those words which he knew, and invoked the angels and Ammon the god of Lybia[3]. Now by this form of sorcery which took place in the basin, he was wont to contrive plans, until those models of ships and men which were in the basin went forth against the enemy and turned them back. In this manner he held constantly by his skill for a great length of time the kingdom of Egypt.

II. After a while, a certain man, a spy from among the guards who were there, came to him and answered and said, "O Nectanebus, while as yet thou hast peace, seek deliverance for thyself, for behold innumerable multitudes of hosts of enemies are making ready and coming against thee, to wit the Tûrâyê (*or* mountaineers), the Alâni, the Gûbarbĕdâyê, the Armenians, the Medes, the Arabs, the Midianites, the people of Adôrbâigân, the Belsâyê, the Âlôsâyê, the Shabrônḳâyê, the Alînîḳâyê, the Galatians, the Ṭêbarînîḳâyê[4], the people of Gurgân, the Chaldeans, the eaters of fish and of beasts of prey, multitudes without end of the nations from the regions of the East, mighty men, with a vast host, hastening to come to this land of Egypt which is thine. Consider now what is expedient and useful [to be done]." When the spy had spoken after this manner, Nectanebus laughed and said to the scout, "Thou hast done well, and hast acted properly as regards the watch which was entrusted to thee, in that thou hast spied out these things for me; but thou hast spoken timidly and not courageously. For I have observed that host of men which is coming, and they have no strength, although their will is very ready. One little word of wisdom however is able to turn back many, and a man who does good things can overwhelm a multitude of armies in the waves of the

[1] Or *bitumen*, حصا, in Arabic قفر and قير. The Greek text has "of wax", ἐκ κηρίου (see Müller, p. 2, col. 1). The Ethiopic version has also "wax".

[2] Or rather, *teakwood*, ساج. The Greek text has "ebony" (see Müller, loc. cit.).

[3] صاصا, transcription of the Greek genitive Λιβύης.

[4] Or people of Tabaristân?

sea." And when he had spoken these things to the spy, he called him and said to him, "One dog is able to turn back many deer, and one wolf is able to destroy a whole flock of she-goats. Do thou, then, with those numerous horsemen that are under thy orders, go and keep thy watch carefully; for by one word I am able to overwhelm and drown in the waves of the sea this innumerable band of enemies."

III. And Nectanebus went into his palace, and put out all the people, and remained by himself. Then he filled the brazen basin with rain water, made those ships of asphalt spring up[1] in the middle of the house, took the rod of plane wood in his hand, and began to speak those words which were full of terror. And when he had spoken them, he looked into the basin, and saw all the gods of Egypt leading the ships and guarding them. When he saw that Egypt was betrayed by her gods, he left his kingdom and fled. He shaved the hair of his head and his beard, and put on other apparel; then he took as much gold as he was able [to carry] and departed from Egypt, and went by way of Pelusium. Now when he had travelled through a multitude of countries and a number of nations, he came to Pella of the Macedonians. And he put on linen clothing like the Egyptian prophets and astrologers (*lit.*, those who shew the signs of the zodiac), and sat in the midst of the highways, and the people of the land came to ask him questions. In those times he was renowned. And after Nectanebus had gone away from the land of Egypt, all the Egyptians drew near to Hephaestus, the head of the race of the gods, and besought him with entreaty to shew them what had happened to Nectanebus the king of Egypt, and at what place he had arrived. Then Hephaestus promptly sent to them an oracle concerning him by the hands of the priests, saying, "The king of Egypt who has fled, a mighty man and a warrior, but an old man, will after a time bring a new lord, a young man, mightier and more powerful than he, who will kill him and seize his land; and he shall traverse the world, and shall subjugate all the enemies of Egypt to your service." And when the Egyptians had heard this oracle, they forthwith inscribed it with letters (*lit.*, carvings) under the tablet of brass on the stone

[1] The word اصحب, *he made to grow*, or *spring up*, does not suit the context well, and is probably corrupt.

pedestal upon which [the statue of] king Nectanebus stood, that they might see what would be the issue of the oracle.

IV. And Nectanebus was going to and fro openly in Macedonia, and many people came to see him and to ask him questions. He was so renowned that even Olympias[1] the queen desired to enquire of him as to what was about to happen. Now Philip, the husband of Olympias, had gone to war, and she commanded that Nectanebus should come to her. And when he had come and had entered the royal palace, he saw the beautiful countenance of the queen, whose countenance was more beautiful than the moon. He was a man innocent of women, but at the sight of Olympias his mind was excited and his heart burned with love for her. He stretched out his hand, and saluted Olympias, and answered and said to her, "Peace be with thee, O queen of the Macedonians." Now he could not persuade himself to call her "lady," for as yet the royal manner of speech was in his mouth. Olympias answered and said to him, "Peace be with thee, O doer of good things, and knower of everything; come, seat thyself." And when he had sat down, Olympias said to him, "Art thou really an Egyptian? for in thy speech there is no lying." Nectanebus answered and said to her, "Those who have had experience of me speak well [of me]." Olympias said to him, "By what wisdom and knowledge, or by what power, knowest thou to speak correctly what is going to happen?" Nectanebus answered and said to her, "O queen, well dost thou know how to put a question; for the interpreters of dreams are of many kinds, and the knowers of signs, those who understand divination, Chaldeans [or] augurs, and casters of nativities; the Greeks call the signs of the Zodiac 'sorcerers'[2]; and others are counters of the stars. As for me, all these are in my hands, and I myself am an Egyptian prophet, a magus, and a counter of the stars." And while he was saying these and other such like things to her, he was scrutinising her with great earnestness and intentness. Now when she saw in what manner he was looking at and scrutinising her, she answered and said to him, "O sage, whilst thou wert enumerating thy wisdom and skill in these things, why didst thou gaze on me lustfully?"

[1] In the Syriac *Olympiâs*, from the acc. 'Ολυμπιάδα.

[2] This clause seems to have been mistranslated, or to be corrupt.

Nectanebus answered and said to her, "I looked at thee carefully for the sake of becoming well acquainted with thee; for there is something which I heard a long time ago, and which I now remember. It was revealed to me of old by my god, who said to me 'In the future thou wilt give augury to a queen, and everything that thou shalt say to her shall really come to pass.'" And when he had thus spoken to her with such like words, she straightway brought out into the midst a beautiful and magnificent table of ivory which belonged to the palace, set with splendid stones and of great value, the qualities of which the mouth of man knows not how to describe, for it was made of acacia wood and gold and silver. Three circles were fitted to it after the manner of belts. Upon the outer belt there was a representation of Zeus with the thirty-six *decani*[1] surrounding him; upon the second the twelve signs of the Zodiac were represented; and upon the third the sun and moon. Then he set the table upon a tripod, and he emptied a small box which was set [with stones] after the manner of the table upon the table, and there were in it [models of] those seven stars that were in the belts, and in that one which was in the middle, which they call in Greek 'the watcher of the hours' (τὸν ὡροσκόπον), were set by the crafts of art eight kinds of precious stones; and he arranged them upon the table with the other gems. Thus he completed his representation of the great heavens upon so small a table. He arranged a sun of crystal and a moon of adamant; and Ares, whom they call in Persian *Vahrâm* (بهرام), of a red stone, the colour of blood; Nâbô the scribe, who is called in Persian *Tîr* (تير), of an emerald; Bêl, who is called in Persian *Hormazd* (هرمزد), of a white stone; Baltî, who is called in Persian *Anâhîd* (اناهيد), of

[1] On the top of the table were represented in the inner circle the sun and moon; in the middle circle the twelve signs of the zodiac; and in the outer circle the thirty-six *decani*, three to each sign of the zodiac. Lepsius in his *Chronologie der Aegypter*, p. 71, gives a list of them, and shews which three belong to which sign. He also gives a list of them at pp. 68, 69, from five different sources, with the list of Salmasius and an emended text. See also Brugsch, *Astronomische und astrologische Inschriften*, pp. 137 foll.; and *Description de l'Egypte*, t. IV. pl. 20.

a sapphire stone of a dark colour, and the horoscope of copper (?), which is called in Persian *Farnôj* (فرنوج)[1]. And after he had set these in order, he said to Olympias, "Tell me, O queen, the year, the month, the day and the hour of thy birth;" and she told him. Then Nectanebus calculated his own nativity and that of Olympias, that he might know if the stars of both of them coincided exactly. And when he saw that they were precisely the same, he said to her, "It is fitting that thou shouldest tell me thy mind, and what thou wishest to ask, and what it is that thou desirest?" She said to him, "[I wish to ask] concerning my husband Philip, for I have heard a rumour that, after he returns from the war, he will divorce me, and will take another wife." Then Nectanebus answered and said to her, "This report about thyself which thou hast mentioned, O queen, is false, in so far as that it will happen now shortly; after a time, however, it will actually be done. But I, being an Egyptian prophet and a magus, am able to help thee in many things, when thou hast need of it in any such matter as this. Now, however, it is granted unto thee—according to what thy nativity which is before me reveals—that a god of the land shall sleep with thee; thou shalt be pregnant by him, and thou shalt bear a son to him, who shall avenge thee upon Philip thy husband for the offence which he has committed against thee." Olympias answered and said to him, "Who is this god who thou sayest will sleep with me?" Nectanebus answered and said to her, "He will have horns on his head, and will be clothed in the rich apparel of Ammon the god of Libya." Olympias said to him, "What is the age of this god, and what is his appearance, and the form of his figure?" Then Nectanebus answered, "He is of middle age, and his form and appearance are thus; upon

[1] Possibly the modern Persian برنج, *burinj*, or پرنگ, *piring*. The Persian word برنج is used in modern Syriac under the form of ܒܪܢܓ, and the American missionaries use it to translate נְחֹשֶׁת, Heb. נחשת, in their version of the Bible (e.g. Gen. iv. 22; Ps. cvii. 16; Dan. x. 6), and the History of the Jews published by them in their monthly journal, ܢܚܫܬ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ. See the number for 1887, p. 44, col. 2, line 34.

each side of his head he has the like of ram's horns. Do thou, however, O queen, prepare thyself to sleep with him; but first of all in a dream thou wilt see this god who is going to sleep with thee." Olympias answered and said to him, "When?" Nectanebus said to her, "It will not be far off, but to-day; therefore I counsel thee to prepare thyself magnificently like a queen, for in this very night he will unite with thee in thy dream." Olympias said to him, "If it be that I see any such thing, I will not only hold thee to be a prophet, but I will worship thee as if thou wert a god."

V. Now when they had spoken these words with one another and conversed, Nectanebus went forth from the royal palace, and went out swiftly and speedily to the plain. Then he hastened to the desert, and gathered those roots which men use for dreams, and he pounded and pressed them all; and in a dream of the night Nectanebus by his magic sent to Olympias what she desired, so that in her dream she thought that she was actually sleeping with the god Ammon, and that he was embracing her, and that of his own free will he abode with her, and that when he had done with her he said to her, "O woman, behold, thy womb will avenge thee."

VI. And when Olympias awoke from her sleep, great terror laid hold of her because of this dream; and she sent and called Nectanebus to her. And when he had come into her presence, she commanded that everyone should go forth from her. Then Olympias answered and said to Nectanebus, "Behold I have this day seen a dream according to what thou didst say unto me, and the god Ammon sleeping with me; but I wish that when I am awake, he should sleep with me continually. This I require of thee, and thou art able to supply this need. I wonder now if I shall obtain this through thee." Nectanebus answered, "Nothing is more feeble than I, but inasmuch as thou desirest this, that thou mightest see him when thou art waking, it is right for me to consider, because a dream is one thing, but the thing that thou requirest is another. Now, I have thought that since thou hast this desire, bid them construct a place for me close by thy bedchamber, that, if thou art terrified when the god comes to thee, I who know thee may strengthen thee; for this god when he comes to thee will be in

the form of a serpent and will creep and crawl on the ground, sending forth loud hisses. Then he will return, and his horns will be in the form of those of a ram; thus will he be. Then he will return again, and will appear in the form of the hero Hêraklês; and he will return a third time, and appear in the form of Dionysus, decorated and ornamented with ringlets; and he will return yet again, coming back and appearing in my own form." When Olympias heard these things, she said to him, "O prophet, thou hast spoken well; abide now in one of the bedchambers within the palace where I sleep, and if it happens that, being awake, I see such things and know that I am pregnant by the race of the gods, I will honour thee and will hold thee to be the father of the child." Then Nectanebus answered and said to her, "Behold, I have told thee beforehand concerning the snake; now therefore fear him not, but trust thyself the more to him, and be fearless."

VII. When therefore all these things happened as Nectanebus had said, the queen was not terrified at all at the change of the forms of the gods, but she feared when she slept with the form of the serpent. Now when he had done with her, he again stood over her, and set his mouth upon her mouth, and said to her, "An unconquerable seed, and one which shall not be subject to any man, flows into this womb." And when Nectanebus had said these words, he went to his own bedchamber; and afterwards at this time he slept with her in the form of Ammon and of Hêraklês and of Dionysus. And when she was great with child, she lifted up her eyes and saw Nectanebus, and she answered and said to him, "O prophet, what shall I do when Philip my husband returns from war and finds me pregnant?" Nectanebus answered and said to her, "Fear not, O queen, this Ammon of the three-fold form is able to help thee in every way, and can shew Philip in a dream [what has happened], that thou mayest be without blame and without care." So for a long time Olympias was beguiled by these words and played the harlot with a man, thinking he was a god. Then Nectanebus the Egyptian king brought a hawk and muttered over it his charms, and made it fly away with a small quantity of a drug, and that night it shewed Philip a dream. In his dream it shewed him a god, whose

form was fair, of middle age, with horns upon his head like the god Ammon, who was sleeping with Olympias. And when he had done with her, he said to her, "Behold thou hast in thy womb my seed, and thou shalt bear me a child who will avenge thee and Philip his father." And in the same dream he saw as if a river like the Nile flowed and went forth from the couch on which they were lying; and [he saw] the figure of a man sewing linen. He saw too the womb of Olympias sealed with a gold ring, with a gem on which was engraved the head of a lion holding the sun in his claws, or in his paws, and there was a whip beside him, and a hawk which overshadowed him with its wings[1].

VIII. Now when Philip had seen these appearances in his dream, he rose up early in the morning, and sent and brought into his presence the wise men the interpreters of dreams, and related before them the dream which he had seen. Then they answered and said to him, "O king Philip, as thou hast seen in the dream, so shall it be; behold, Olympias is pregnant, but she is pregnant by a god. Forasmuch as thou hast seen her womb sealed, surely it is pregnant; for an empty vessel is not sealed, but only one that is full. And whereas thou hast seen the form of a man sewing linen, this seed is Egyptian; for they do not sew linen in any other place but Egypt. And his fortune is not little, but great and mighty and glorious and renowned, because [the womb] was sealed with a seal of gold, and there is nothing more valued than gold, for even the gods are worshipped for the sake of gold. And the lion which held the sun in his claws, and the whip which was [engraved] on the ring, [shew that] he will go to the east, and will walk like a lion in his might; and he will subdue all countries and cities with his whip. And as for the god whom thou didst see, of middle age and with horns on his head, this is Ammon the god of Libya, and the seed is his." Now when the learned in dreams had given the explanation in this manner, Philip believed of a certainty that Olympias was pregnant by a god.

IX. And when [Philip] had conquered, he returned from the war, and came to his own house and greeted Olympias.

[1] Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, ch. 2, says that Philip dreamt that he sealed up the queen's womb with a seal, the impression of which was a lion.

Then she was ashamed; and when he saw that she was agitated through fear of him, he answered and said to her, "To whom didst thou deliver thyself to be defiled, O Olympias? He has not, however, defiled thee, for thou shalt bear a son by him, and shalt name him the son of Philip; for I have seen in a dream everything that has happened to thee, and therefore I leave thee in peace. Kings are able to contend with everything, but to contend with the gods they are not able." And when he had said these things to her, he heartened her and Olympias regained her selfpossession.

X. Now it fell out one day, because Nectanebus was within the royal palace, that he heard Philip say to Olympias, "Thou art an erring woman, for thou art not with child by a god, but by one of the human race." And while they were thus speaking together, Nectanebus by his sorcery changed his own form and assumed that of a huge serpent, and he hissed with a loud voice in the midst of the hall where Philip was standing, gliding in a terrible manner, and hissing as he went, so that all who heard quaked and trembled at his voice. And when Olympias saw her lover, she lay down upon her couch, while the monster reared himself up over her, and suddenly he straightened himself out. Then Olympias spread out her hands and embraced his neck, whereupon the serpent opened his mouth and placed his lips upon her lips, kissing her repeatedly just as a man kisses his friend out of love. And while it was doing thus, every one in the palace and Philip too saw it. Philip answered and said to Olympias, "O great queen Olympias, and all the rest of you who stand before me, I saw such a serpent as this when I was fighting with my enemies at yon time, and also the mind of many of the enemy was humbled and made weak thereby. But as for me, from this time forward I will glorify and praise myself because men will call me father of one sprung from a god."

XI. Now after some days, when Philip was sitting in his summerhouse by the side of the royal reservoir of water, and all kinds of birds were pecking grain before and around him, he was reading in the book of the philosophers. Suddenly a halfbred hen which was being reared in the house happened to sit in Philip's lap. Now she was but a small [bird], and when she had sat in his lap, she laid an egg thereon. When Philip saw this

egg, he put it upon the ground; but the egg rolled about and broke, and immediately a small serpent sprang from within the egg and crawled round about it. Then it turned back and began to enter the egg again, and when it had put its head within the egg, it died immediately. Now when Philip saw such a wonder, he was sore afraid and was much troubled; and straightway he commanded, and they called the chief of the Chaldeans at that time, whose name was Antiphon, into his presence. And when he arrived, Philip related to him the matter just as it had occurred. And when he had told it to him, Antiphon answered and said, "O king Philip, the child that is to be born to thee will be a son, and he will be a king; he will traverse the whole world and subjugate all men by his power, and he will not be conquered by man; but when this [son of thine] shall retrace his steps and return to his own place, within a few days he shall die. For the serpent is a sign of royalty, and the egg is the whole world; and the serpent which went forth from thence and went round about it, when it returned and put its head into it, died immediately: even so in this manner, when he has traversed the whole world and returns to enter his own land, he will die." And when he had spoken according to this augury, Philip gave him many gifts and he went home.

XII[1]. Now when the time for the delivery of Olympias had arrived, she sat upon the childbed, and the birthpangs began to pain her. Nectanebus was standing before her and calculating the stars of heaven. When he had made his calculation, he said to Olympias, "Rise up for a little, O queen, from the seat until an hour pass, for the sign of the Scorpion holds this hour, and Saturn and the Sun and the Balance are opposed to it, and a vast host of wild beasts devour him who is born in this hour. In this hour the signs of the heaven revolve swiftly; but be strong and restrain thyself, and pass by this hour, for in this hour Cancer [predominates], and Saturn was plotted against by his children, and he was born in Gemini; and he bound him and cast him into the ocean and he was deprived[2] of his superiority,

[1] With this chapter compare in particular the Greek of Cod. A, as given by Müller, p. 11, in the note. The text is very corrupt in both Greek and Syriac.

[2] Literally, "*emptied of*". The Syriac text is obviously somewhat confused, and I am therefore not sure of its rendering.

and Bêl obtained the throne of heaven in his place. In this hour Leopos (?) was born, who taught wandering[1]. In this hour the horned Moon[2] forsook the Balance[3], and descended from her height to the earth, and was united with the simple Endymion[4]; and she gave birth to a beautiful son by him, but he died by the flame of fire, therefore whosoever is born in this hour dies by fire. In this hour home-loving Baltîn (Venus) was with her husband, and she was slain by the hand of Arês without sword and without wound. In this hour the women who worship Baltîn (Venus) set up mourning and weep for her husband. Let this hour pass, because the god Arês stands in it wrathfully and threatens. In this hour Arês the lover of weapons and the warrior, naked and unarmed, placed his trust in the men of (?) Electryône the daughter of the Sun, and he stands put to shame; therefore everyone born in this hour will be despised and of no account among men. Restrain thyself in this hour too, O queen, for the star of Nâbo the scribe holds the sign of the zodiac, and he was born in [the sign of] the horned Goat, and afterwards his children rid themselves of him, and were estranged [from him], and went to the desert. In this hour Rhea was born; do thou then sit upon the childbed, and bear bravely thy pains as best thou mayest, because Bêl is the lover of virgins. In this hour Dionysus was born, the gentle and humble, who makes to dwell in peace, who taught gentleness. And under this sign of the zodiac, Ammon with the ram's horns was born over Aquarius and Pisces of Egypt (?). In this hour Bel was born, the father of men, and the king of the gods, and the ruler of the world, who establishes royalty. In this hour give birth, O queen." And when Nectanebus had finished speaking, the queen brought forth. And when the child fell upon the ground, suddenly there was the noise of thunders and lightnings, and mighty earthquakes, so that the whole world trembled.

[1] Or *mendicity, begging.* [2] Reading *Selêne*, as proposed p. 20, note 8.

[3] The word ܡܟܫܠܢ in the Syriac text is evidently a gloss upon ܡܬܩܠ ܡܟܫܠܢ. On the names of the signs of the Zodiac in Syriac see Sachau, *Inedita Syr.*, p. ٥٥٥, and Noeldeke in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, xxv, pp. 256—8. Compare Maimonides ספר המדע פרק ג'.

[4] The Syriac name seems to be a corruption of the Greek accus. Ἐνδυμίωνα, which might be written ܐܢ̈ܕܝܡܝܘܢ.

XIII. And when Philip saw these things, he said, "I had determined that thou shouldst not rear him, O woman, because he was not begotten by me; but since the several parts of the world have given such signs as these concerning him, he must be of the seed of the gods. Let the gods now rear him; let the name Alexander be given him in remembrance of the son who was borne to me by a former wife." And when Philip had spoken thus, he gave orders that they should surely rear the boy with watchfulness, solicitude, and care; and he commanded all the towns of Thrace and Macedonia to bring crowns to him. And the child grew, and was weaned; and he became strong, and increased in stature and wisdom; but as regards his form and appearance, he was neither like Philip, nor Olympias his mother, nor the god by whom he was begotten, but his features and looks differed from theirs, for his hair resembled the mane of a lion, and one eye was different from the other, one being white (light) and the other black (dark); and his teeth were sharp like a razor, and his steps were firm like those of a lion. From his person then it was evident what he was destined to become afterwards. He had for his tutor in his boyhood a great man whose name was Lekrânîḳos (?) the Pellaean; and his master in letters was Âpos (?) the Lemnian; and his teacher in geometry, which is [used] for measuring lands, was Philip; and his master in the art of speaking with brevity was Ârespîmôn (?); and his teacher in philosophy was Aristotle the Milesian; and his instructor in war was Ardippos the Dmaṭskian (?). And after a long time, when the child had reached boyhood and youth, he began to accustom himself to the manners and customs of royalty, for one of the gods had shewn him in a vision [that he was to be a king]. When then he was with the boys at school, he used to hold contests with the rest of the boys, and he strove and did not stir from his place, until he had gained the victory over all of them.

Now at that time the princes of the Cappadocians brought as an offering to Philip from their herds of horses a foal of great size, bound with fetters of iron, for, said they, he devours men. And when Philip observed his appearance and beauty, he said to his friends, "True it is what is said in the proverb, for they

say, 'something bad springs up by the side of anything good'; but now since the chiefs of the Cappadocians, my friends, have brought me a present, accept it from them, and let him be kept in restraint and guarded in an iron-barred enclosure, and let the dead bodies of evildoers, by whom crimes worthy of death have been committed, and who are appointed to be slain by the decrees of the judges, be thrown to this [beast]." And when Philip had thus spoken, they executed his orders with all speed.

XIV. And after these things, when Alexander was twelve years old, he went with Philip his father to war, and he practised horsemanship, and exercised himself along with skilful and brave horsemen. And his training was so good, that Philip himself applauded, and answered and said to him, "I love thee, my son, because thou art right well trained in the art of gaining the victory in war; but it grieves me that thy appearance does not resemble mine." Now it fell out that Philip went to a certain city on some business, and certain thoughts were stirring in Olympias after the manner of women, and she commanded to call Nectanebus to her presence. And she answered and said to him, "Look by thy wisdom concerning me, and see what Philip meditates in his mind about me." Then Nectanebus set a small table before her in the midst, and placed in order upon it the gems of the signs of the zodiac; and Alexander was sitting in that place. And he began to compute the signs of the zodiac, and answered and said to her, "O queen, the guidance of the will of the gods suffers not by anything which takes place by chance. The place of thy constellation is now exceedingly great beyond all expectation; so do not abandon thyself to care and doubt. For I have observed and seen, and just now the Sun stands against the sign of the Baltîn (Venus) of Philip, and quenches his desire and longing and turns him away from the love of women." And Olympias answered and said to him, "Is the sign thus, O Nectanebus?" He answered and said, "It is thus; would that thou wert able to understand, that I might shew thee this sign in the heavens, and thou mightest understand that it is even as I have said to thee." When these words had been spoken, Alexander answered and said to Nectanebus his father, "My father, are all the signs of the zodiac to be recognised in the

heavens as thou hast said?" And Nectanebus said, "Yes, my son." Alexander says to him, "I wish to see them." Nectanebus said to him, "This shall be this very night, if the sky be clear. Come with me to the open plain, and thou shalt see them, provided the sky be clear." Alexander said, "My master, since thou knowest [the heavens] so accurately, it befits thee to know also thine own nativity." Nectanebus said, "Yes, my son, I know also my own nativity." Alexander said, "I desire to ask thee this [question], though thou knowest that it is not of a matter which concerns me that I ask, but it is necessary to learn what I have seen; now tell me of thy death, in what manner it will be." Nectanebus said, "This is [the manner of] my death; I shall perish by the hands of my son." And while they had talked of these things together, the day had passed and the night was come, and the moon had risen in the heavens, and the signs of the zodiac were visible. Then Alexander walked behind his father, whom he knew not, and they went outside the city. Then Nectanebus lifted up his eyes, and said to the boy, "Observe how gloomy this sign of Saturn is, how much this [sign of] Arês resembles blood, how this [sign of] Baltî (Venus) stands in joyfulness, how favourable is this [sign] of Nâbo the scribe, and how bright is the sign of Bêl." And while the eyes of Nectanebus were fixed upon the signs, and both of them were walking along together, and there was a pit very near them, the boy Alexander pushed Nectanebus and pitilessly cast him into the pit. And when he had fallen, he answered and said to Alexander, "What wast thou thinking of in thy mind, O my son Alexander, that thou hast stretched out thy hand against me and hast cast me into this pit?" Alexander answered and said to him, "O teacher, what is upon earth thou dost not know, [and yet] thou dost investigate that which is in the heavens; it did not become thee, seeing that thou knewest not what is upon earth, to dare to investigate and examine and vex thyself with what is in the heavens." Then Nectanebus lifted up his voice and said to him, "I knew, O my son, that some such thing as this would befall me, but I was unable to help my life in any way, for no man is able to flee from what is decreed." Alexander answered and said to him, "I blame also thy lack of knowledge, in that thou didst say that

thy death would happen by the hands of thy son, and thou didst not know that thou shouldest die by my hands." Then Nectanebus said, "I did indeed say that I should die through my son, and I have not lied in what I said, for thou thyself art my son." Alexander said, "Am I thy son?" Then Nectanebus answered, "Hear, my son, what I say regarding thee, that thou mayest know about thyself." So Nectanebus went on to speak from the beginning, of his being king when he was in Egypt, and of the rumour which was reported to him by the spy; of the divination in the bowl, and of his foreknowledge of the betrayal of Egypt by the hands of its gods; of his flight from Egypt, of his arrival in Pella, and of his teaching the ordering of the signs of the zodiac; of his thoughts concerning Olympias, of his desire for her love, and of his sorcery; of Ammon, and Hêraclês, and Dionysus, and of his union with Olympias, and of her pregnancy; of Philip's dream, of the serpent, and of the heaven of constellations. And when he had spoken these words, his soul departed from him and he died.

Now when Alexander knew that Philip was not his father, but that he was begotten of the seed of Nectanebus, he was afraid to leave the body of Nectanebus in the pit lest wild beasts should devour it. Then love of his father entered into his mind, and he took up the body upon his shoulders, and came back to the royal palace. When Olympias saw Alexander carrying the body of Nectanebus, she said to him, "A second Telamonian Ajax! what is this that thou art carrying, my son?" Alexander answered and said to her, "Æneas carried his father upon his shoulders affectionately and lovingly, because [Anchises] was an old man and decrepit; but I carry this body cruelly and as a parricide." Olympias said to him, "Hast thou slain thy father Philip?" Alexander said, "I have not slain Philip, but Nectanebus have I slain." Olympias said to him, "Was Nectanebus then thy father?" Alexander said, "Yes; the gods sent him to thee according to the will which they had." And he forthwith laid down the body from his shoulder and began to speak of the time of the night at which he went forth, and of the pointing out [by Nectanebus] of the constellations, and of the pit, and of his pushing [him in], and of what he said, and of his replies.

When Olympias heard all these things, she blamed herself, and [wondered] how Alexander was able to carry so great a body upon his shoulders; and in the midst of her affliction she derived consolation from the strength of the youth, [thinking] that, although she had fallen and had been led astray, it was no mean man that had seduced her, but a king of Egypt, and that her pregnancy had taken place by the fate of the gods. And when the boy had said these words, he turned to the corpse of Nectanebus, and buried his father as a son should do, and like an Egyptian in the burial place of his caste; and he said to him, "Who will be master of the constellations after thee, and will know who shall be king?"

XV. Then Philip returned from whence he had gone, and sent his servants to Polias the diviner at Delphi to ask of the diviner, that he might know who would be king after him. When they drew near, and came to the fountain of Castalia, they asked an augury. And the virgin Pythia answered them saying, "Say ye to Philip, the father and lord of Macedonia, 'He that shall receive the kingdom, being sent by the gods, the rulers of the world, to this kingdom of the Macedonians, this is the sign that I have seen concerning him; he shall make the mighty steed which is called Bucephalus (the interpretation of which is Bull-head) run through Pella.'" And when those who had been sent to bring the augury returned to Philip, they told this sign to him, and he, after he had received this augury, used to watch when he might see this sign; and he used to enquire of every one who made a horse run through Pella what its name was and how it was called.

XVI[1]. Now when Alexander was nearly old enough to reign[2], he went to a distance to the place [where Bucephalus was kept]; and he looked and saw from the door, and went out and saw the horse guarded by an iron grating, with its whole body bound with chains; and he saw that the horse was very excited and furious. By reason of the smell of the human bones and skulls which he devoured, the place itself was foul, and the

[1] This is ch. xvii. of the Greek text (Müller, p. 16).

[2] After the words "to reign" the Syriac text has the unintelligible word ܟܕܐ. A clause has also fallen out after "to the place".

horse emitted a foetid odour from his mouth. When Alexander saw the many human bones lying under him near his feet, he questioned those who had the care of him, saying, "I want to know what is the reason that this horse is bound in this manner?" And they said to him, "This horse is a man-eater." Now when Alexander heard this speech, he marvelled and drew near to the iron grating, and admired the strength and size and beauty of the horse. He was especially struck with wonder at his being so terrible and at his fierce appearance. And after the horse took no notice of him, he put his hands gently through the railings, and put a bit into his mouth; and the horse licked the hand of Alexander with his tongue. Then Alexander began to rub his side and legs, and he was quiet. And when he saw that the horse was gratified, he commanded and they took away the railings from him. And he led the horse out, holding the bridle with his right hand, while with the left he stroked the horse's body, and the horse wagged his tail like a dog. And when Alexander saw that he was so gentle, he led him by the bridle and brought him out into the street, and he saw upon the right side of the horse a birthmark in the form of a wolf, a sign that was born with him, and this wolf held a bull in its mouth. Then [Alexander] mounted and rode upon him, and made him run through the city [of Pella]. Now it happened that Philip was sitting upon the wall of the city, making the horsemen pass before him by number, and he enquired of them the names of their horses, if peradventure there might be one who had a horse called Bull-head, for he had learned the augury from the diviner. And while Philip was sitting upon the wall, Alexander came up to him at a gallop; and when Philip saw Alexander guiding the horse with his hand and standing upon his feet, he said, "My son Alexander, the whole oracle refers to thee; I believe that after my death thou wilt reign, and that thou wilt rule the whole world."

XVII[1]. Then Alexander, after he had made the horse gallop, took him away and put him in his own stable; and he drew near to Aristotle the sage and saluted him, and answered and said, "Peace be with thee, my teacher." And

[1] Chap. xvi. in the Greek (Müller, p. 15, col. 2).

Aristotle answered and said to him, "Peace be with thee, Alexander; come and stand by the side of thy companions in order." And when he had taken his place by the side of his fellows, Aristotle answered and said to him[1], "Be thou rich, O son of a king! O excellent youth, filled with wealth, if the kingdom comes to thee after thy father, what wilt thou give me or wherewith wilt thou enrich me?" He replied, "O teacher, if the dominion comes to me, I will make thee a ruler." And he said to another, "And thou, what sayest thou to me Kalḳalva?" Kalḳalva[2] answered and said to him, "I will make thee my secret counsellor." And he said to another, "And thou, what wouldst thou give me, Partion?" And he said, "I will make thee a companion and associate." And he said to Alexander, "And thou, what wouldst thou give me, Alexander?" Alexander answered and said to him, "Ask not now concerning that which is future, and take not a pledge of me for the morrow: wait and see if I live until the morrow; and if I live, I will do that something, and times and seasons are commanded for me." And Aristotle said, "Peace be with thee, O Alexander, ruler of the world! From thy nature thou art known to be the future ruler of the world." Now Philip heard all these things concerning Alexander, and when he heard them he rejoiced greatly; he was however a little grieved in his mind that the looks of Alexander did not resemble his own.

[3]Now Alexander was exceedingly liberal in everything; accordingly, that which his father and mother were wont to send him for expenses, he divided among his friends. Then Zintôs (Zethus? Zeuxis?)[4], Alexander's tutor, sent a letter to Philip and Olympias, and in it there was written thus: "To my lords Philip and Olympias from your servant Zintôs greeting. Know ye that what ye send to Alexander for his expenses is not sufficient for him, because he distributes it all in gifts; and now

[1] This is a mistake. The Greek has "to one of them".

[2] This name is corrupt. Partiôn may be Παρίων or Πωρίων.

[3] The following paragraph does not appear in the Greek, but Müller gives a Latin version (Pseudo-Call. p. 16).

[4] In some places the MSS. write ابنطوس *Zintôs*, in others ابذلوس *Ziyântôs*.

see and look into this matter, and do according to what appears right unto you."

When Philip had read this letter, he wrote a letter to Aristotle, Alexander's teacher [as follows]: "From Philip and Olympias to Aristotle, greeting. Our servant Zintôs, whom we have sent for the purpose of educating and training Alexander, has made known to us by letter that what we send him for expenses is not sufficient for him, because he gives many presents; now he thus informs us as if blaming and murmuring against thee, and it is of thee he complains."

When Aristotle had heard this, he wrote a letter to Philip and to Olympias his wife and made answer [saying]: "In every way it becomes us [to acknowledge] that this giving of presents by Alexander proceeds from us and is the result of our teaching[1]. Ye also yourselves have examined and seen that he is wise and superior in everything, and in knowledge and understanding he is not at all like [other] youths, but he is well fitted by his wisdom for the business of life; neither does he do anything unseemly or improper, but everything whatsoever ye command him that he does."

Then Philip sent this letter to Zintôs the tutor, and he himself wrote to him thus and said: "From Philip and Olympias to our servant Zintôs greeting. We wrote and informed Aristotle, Alexander's teacher, concerning his affairs, according to what thou didst write to us, and we desire that the answer which he sent to us should be conveyed to thee. Do thou therefore take it and read it, and do thou what is right and proper."

After Aristotle knew that Alexander's father complained of him, he wrote a letter to Alexander, and in it thus informed him: "From me to my son Alexander greeting. Philip thy father and Olympias thy mother have written and informed me, saying, 'That which we sent for expenses is not sufficient for him, because he distributes it all in gifts.' Now I know that thou wilt not do what is not right, and I know not from whom thou hast learned this practice, which thy father and thy mother disapprove of, and I too; but if thou hast done anything which

[1] The context seems to require "giving of presents", but the Syriac more literally has "that Alexander's training has been by us, and that he will go forth from our teaching."

befits not thy skilled knowledge, in thy wisdom correct it, O wise and beloved son. Be thou well."

When Alexander had read this letter, he immediately made answer to Aristotle: "From thy son Alexander to Aristotle, my master and chief and teacher, greeting. What my father and mother send me for expenses is not sufficient, nor is it adequate for me; and instead of doing that which was right when they heard that the amount was too small for my expenses, that is, to blame themselves, they now complain bitterly [of others]."

And Alexander also wrote a letter to Philip his father and Olympias his mother, in which was as follows: "From Alexander to Philip and Olympias greeting. That which ye have sent to me for my expenses by the hands of Zintôs is not sufficient, for I am Alexander; and, moreover, I have not spent it in an improper manner. I have also seen Aristotle's letter, and I will never blame Aristotle, because from him I have received knowledge and instruction in good things: but I do blame you, because ye have shown such parsimony to me, who am your son, while ye also blame me and cease not, and think nothing good of me."

XVIII. So the youth Alexander returned from school, being fifteen years of age, and came home with honour. And when Philip saw him, he embraced him and kissed him. Then Alexander said to his father, "Bid me, O my father, to embark in a ship and go to Pisa, for I would enter and see the horse and chariot races." Philip says to him, "Dost thou desire to see the contest?" Alexander says, "Nay, my father, but I will go thither myself to the contest, and will contend with them with horses and chariots, and I will moreover bring back the crown of victory." When Philip heard these words, he rejoiced, and said to Alexander, "Go, my son, and good luck go with thee. I know, my son, that thou wilt not contend like a king's son, but like a king himself; and I will entreat the gods that thou mayest return with victory, my son. Go now into the stables, and [take] forty colts and sixty wheels and chariots, together with harness and bridles and everything which thou mayest require, that thou mayest not lack horses in the contest. Take too ten thousand darics for thy expenses, and go, my son, and good luck go with thee; and keep thyself in good training, for this contest is great

and renowned." And Alexander said, "Do thou but give me the command, and I will go without taking aught; for I have trained horses and exercised colts, which I myself have trained." Then Philip kissed Alexander, and admired him for his will and purpose, and said to him, "My son, everything shall be according to thy wish." And Philip went with him to the harbour, and commanded to bring a ship. Then he commanded to bring the horses, the chariots, and the baggage, and they brought them and placed them in the ship. And Alexander and his friend Hephaestion embarked in the ship. And they loosed the ship and departed from their kinsfolk. And when they had disembarked from the ship, they received many gifts from their friends[1]; and Alexander commanded his servants to feed the horses regularly and to anoint them with oil; and he and his friend Hephaestion went to the place where the nobles were wont to walk.

And while he was walking in this place in the costume of an athlete, Nicolaus the king of Ârêṭâ[2], who had brought a large retinue to the contest and combat, saw that Alexander was small in stature (now Nicolaus was huge in stature, rich in property, great in strength, and fair in appearance), and he answered and said, "Who is this? and from what country does he come?" And when he had learnt that he was the son of king Philip, and had come on account of the contest, he answered and said to him, "Peace be with thee;" and Alexander answered him, "Peace be with thee; and who art thou?" Nicolaus said, "As whom dost thou greet me? I am Nicolaus of Halêq, and the son of Karyânâ[3]." And Alexander said, "Do not boast of this, and be not insolent (?) on account of such things, and do not be out of thy senses because of thy royalty, because thou knowest not the manner of thy death; for thy fortune and fate, O Nicolaus, remain not in one place; for this fickle fortune[4] has the habit of

[1] An inaccurate rendering of *καὶ λαβὼν ξενίαν* (Müller, p. 18, col. 1).

[2] The Greek text has *ὁ υἱὸς Ἀρείου* (var. *Ἀρδέου*) *βασιλέως Ἀκαρνάνων* (Müller, *loc. cit.*).

[3] It is possible that ܩܪܝܢܝ may stand for ܩܪܝܢܝ ܣܛ, *ὁ υἱὸς Ἀρείου*, and that ܟܪܝܢܝ ܣܛܘ may be a mistake for ܟܪܝܠܝ ܟܠܕ, *βασιλέως Ἀκαρνάνων*.

[4] Syr. *fate of Kêwân (Saturn)*.

departing even from him that is great, and of going to him that is little." Nicolaus said to him, "Thou hast spoken rightly as regards one that is weak, and hast made known that thy fate is thus; but my fate does not change in this manner, neither does it depart. Now, therefore, inform me of thy business, and for what reason thou hast now come hither, whether to see the contest, or to take part in it; for thy stature and thy appearance are not like those of an athlete." Alexander said, "Get thee gone from my presence, for it is not to be seen that thou art in any way like me." Nicolaus said, "I asked thee this question, for what thou hadst come hither, whether to see this contest or to take part in it, because thou art the son of Philip the Macedonian." Alexander said, "If thou desirest to hear and to know, give me thine ear and I will tell thee. I am not one of those who will look on at the struggle, but I am one of those who will perform valiant deeds at the contest; and though I be little and short in stature, yet I am mighty in chariot races, and I will defeat the proud." When Nicolaus heard this speech, his gall was stirred up within him, and he answered and said, "Look and see to what a pass this strife of Zeus has come, that even a mere boy, the son of Olympias, has come to take part in it, and so we think that it is the sport of children. By the life of my father, if they should make only a sprinkling of drops of water come to his mouth upon his chariot, his soul would depart from his body." Then he looked at him from head to foot, and despised him greatly, and spat, saying, "Go, get thyself a rag, and wipe away thy sweat with it, because thou art famished, and thy sweat is abundant." And he shot out his lip at him, thinking him to be already dead and not alive. Then Alexander said to him, "Nicolaus, I swear this oath by the race of my gods and ancestors, and by my conception from the divine seed in the womb of my mother, that in this contest I will defeat thee in the strife of horses and chariots; and I will come to thy country, and will subdue thee and all the people therein with the point of my spear." And when he had spoken these words, they separated one from the other.

XIX. And on the third day all the athletes went prepared to the race-course and to the place of the contest with horses and chariots. Now the athletes were nine in number, and four

of them were king's sons; the fifth was Nicolaus, the son of Hêlââ and king Ḳeryânâ[1]; the sixth, Kesṭios, the king of the Philippians (?); the seventh, Ksosios (?), the king of Bithynia; the eighth, Alexander the son of Philip, the king of the Macedonians; and the ninth, Aristoteles of Pisa (?); with the rest of the ..... and the chariots from various places. Callimachus from Aḳimtarnêtos (?), Anistippos (Aristippus) from Corinth, Ṭrîdîṭ (?) from Ârôntîr (?), Sephîlââ (?) from Lêbâria (?), Elḳârôn (?) from Phocis, Armîtos (?) from Lôdâ (?), Nîḳînâmos (?) from Ḳrîmîtos (?), Pardânîs (?) from Klôphiôn (?), all these were assembled together in one place. And they placed a boat of silver in the midst of the race-course, and this boat was of pure silver. And they proclaimed the names of the horses that were yoked to the chariots, and they made the horses stand beside the gates. The first gate fell by lot to Nicolaus, the second to Kesṭos, the third to Bantîrâ Eustanîḳâ (?), the fourth to Klîtmâos (Cleitomachus), the fifth to Adasṭâos (?), the sixth to Ksômios (?), the seventh to Ḳôrantîdos (?), the eighth to Alexander, the ninth to Nîḳômos (?). Now these athletes were clothed in garments of various colours; the first had put on sky-blue apparel, the second and third scarlet robes, the fourth green vestments, the fifth and sixth yellow apparel, the seventh dark blue clothing, and the eighth and ninth purple raiment.

So they mounted the chariots, and the war trumpets were sounded; and the athletes punished the horses with bit and whipcord, and suddenly the horses started and went forth with a rush, each contending as to who should get first; and they urged on their horses with lashes. Now Ksîṭos (?) got foremost, Nicolaus second, Timotheus third, Elîḳiôr (?) fourth, Ḳlinathmâchos (Cleitomachus) fifth, Philaeus (Piêris) sixth, Aristoteles seventh, Nicolaus eighth, and Alexander ninth. [They kept this order] in the first, second and third rounds; but in the fourth round the chariot of Kesṭios (?) was overturned, and the horses and chariot and rider fell head over heels. Then Nicodemus turned his horses to the left, and wished to pass through them all and get first in the race, but he too stumbled over the chariot of Kesṭios. Then Ḳimrênêos (?), when he wished to turn his

[1] See page 22, note 3. The Syriac translator has blundered sadly hereabouts, and the scribes have made confusion worse confounded.

horses to the right, was unable to pass because of those that were overthrown. Then Elîḳiôr too stumbled over the chariot of Ḳimotheus[1], and fell. And Klinathmâchos (Cleitomachus) wished to turn back his horses and chariot from the midst [of the strife], but was unable to do so on account of the horses and chariots which were overthrown before and behind him; and he too fell. When Nicolaus saw that Alexander was behind all these, he wished that Alexander would pass on to the front, and that he might be behind him, in order to throw him down and kill him; and Nicolaus began to turn his horses aside from before those of Alexander. Now Alexander understood this artifice of Nicolaus who was wishing to kill him. When Nicolaus had turned his horses to the left, Alexander saw an empty space between two chariots which had been upset and overthrown, and he guided his horses before Nicolaus, and passed through that spot to the front. When Nicolaus saw that he had passed him, he guided his horses after him; but when he reached the spot through which Alexander had passed to the front, he was upset by the struggling of the horses which were down, and fell. Then Alexander began to urge on his horses alone; [but Nicolaus], in order to save himself, leaped out of his chariot, and stood upon his feet, and began to call out, saying, "O thou that art not able to conquer lawfully, there thou runnest by thyself! Every one knows that the foremost was overturned and fell, until the arena was full; and now thou runnest by thyself, and thinkest to receive the crown of victory!" Now, inasmuch as the people of Pisa were spectators and judges at this contest, they commanded all the tumult to cease, and made a proclamation by their heralds to all the people who were sitting in that place, saying, "O men of Pisa, dwellers in the city and its suburbs, and ye too, O Athenians, and ye people who have come from a multitude of places, we declare that we all have seen that, when Ksîṭos (?) was first in the race, he was tripped up among the horses and fell, and the other six charioteers stumbled over him. Moreover Alexander drove on contrary to the rules of the contest. Let them therefore return, and bring back their horses."

[1] This name should clearly be *Timotheus*.

Then in accordance with this command, they brought Alexander back and ordered that other horses should be yoked to the chariots in the place of the eight on the left side, because that horse of Ksîṭos (?) had been injured. And when they had spoken in this manner, and each charioteer had changed one of his horses and had put another in his place, then Alexander too changed one horse and yoked Bucephalus in his stead. So they all returned to the gate of the race-course; and when they were ready, the trumpet sounded again, and they all started together, and urged on their horses with severe lashing, all [running] furiously until they reached the farthest[1] turn together. Now when they had reached the turn, Nîḳîmos (Nicodemus) passed first, Eliḳiôr second, Philaeus third, Alexander fourth, Nicolaus fifth, Aristippus sixth, Ḳrîṭomachos (Cleitomachus) seventh, Timotheus eighth, Kasṭîs (?) ninth. They went the first, second and third rounds, and at the fourth round the horses of Aristippus lagged behind the horses of Ḳritomachus (Cleitomachus), and Ḳîmîs (Nicodemus) restrained his horses, and turned and went to one side. Then Alexander, who had been fourth, became first; and after him Nicolaus was foremost. He wished to let Alexander pass a little ahead that he might come up with him and kill him, on account of the enmity which existed between Philip, Alexander's father, and himself, for Philip had taken by force a number of villages and their inhabitants from Nicolaus. Then Alexander, being full of wisdom, gave Nicolaus room to pass before him. Now after he had passed Alexander in this way, he was meditating some means whereby he might gain the crown of victory, so he stopped his chariot before Alexander, and beckoned with his hand to Nicanor (Eliḳiôr ?) and Pîthâos (Philaeus ?), as much as to say, "Do ye who are behind me keep to the left side," to the intent that they might get Alexander between them and might lay hold of him and kill him. Then Eliḳiôr (?) and Pîthâos (Philaeus) turned their horses to the left behind Alexander; and when they had come close to Alexander's chariot in this manner, so that Alexander was already contending with these two, then Nicolaus looked behind him from his chariot, and stooped down to lay

[1] Literally, *the lowest turn*, or *bend*, the farthest point of the course where they turned homewards.

hold of the thongs of the bridles of Alexander's horses that his two allies might come up with him. Then Alexander turned his whip upon his horse Bucephalus, and smote him without sparing upon his back, until the horse was beside himself with rage and fury, and raised his fore feet in the air, and struck at Nicolaus, who died immediately with his hand upon the bridle of the horses. And again Alexander smote Bucephalus with the lash mercilessly and pitilessly, until the horse, from the pain of the blows, stretched forward his mouth and seized the right hand of Nicolaus between his teeth and lifted him from his chariot. Now Nicodemus, wishing to come to the assistance of Nicolaus, drove his horses with care, and when he had come alongside of Alexander's chariot, he smote Bucephalus violently upon his head with a stick. Then Bucephalus let go Nicolaus, who was already dead, and seized Nicodemus by his left hand, and dragged him from his chariot. Nicodemus, crying out and shrieking with pain, begged Eliḳiôr to come to his assistance. Then Alexander guided his horses to the left, and when he (Eliḳiôr) had come up alongside of Nicodemus, he (Alexander) turned again from the left [to the right], and Eliḳiôr was tripped up by the axle of Alexander's chariot wheels, and fell head foremost, he and the horses and the chariot; and he died together with his horses.

Then Alexander obtained the victory mightily and gloriously, and gained the four crowns of victory. And a herald proclaimed in the race-course, "These four crowns of victory belong to Alexander the son of Olympias and of Philip the king of the Macedonians; [the judges] have awarded them to him for his strength and his might and his victory." Now the names of the horses that were yoked to Alexander's chariot were these: the first Ksithîdos (Xanthus ?), the second Îdâdô (?); the third Achlios (or Ulios ?); the fourth Bucephalus; and by the might and strength of these four horses he obtained the victory over four athletes, Nicolaus, Nicodemus, Eliḳiôr and Philâdâos (Philaeus). Thus by good fortune Alexander won the crown, and with his horses obtained the victory; and he turned to go to his mother Olympias. Now when he had come to Iûnûsia (?) the priest, [he said to him], "Receive this crown which Zeus has given to thee;" and he answered and said to

him, "Now thou hast vanquished Nicolaus; so also wilt thou vanquish all nations and peoples which dwell upon the earth and [all] thine enemies."

XX. After Alexander had received this augury, he went to Pella. And when he had arrived there, he asked for his father; and he found his mother Olympias divorced by Philip and put away from being his wife. Now on that very day Philip was going to take a certain woman whose name was Cleopatra, the daughter of king Athlîs (Attalus), to be his wife. And when all the guests were seated before Philip, Alexander came in amongst those that sat at meat. And when he saw his father Philip reclining like a bridegroom at the head of the table, he went straight in with his horses, and said to his father, "Receive from me these crowns of victory, the fruits of this my first labour. I will give my mother Olympias to another king to wife, but I will not invite thee to the feast, even as thou hast not waited for me until I returned." And when he had spoken these words, he drew near just as he was, in the dress of an athlete, and sat down by his father, with his garments unwashed from the mud and stains of the contest. At these words Philip was filled with anger.

XXI. Now there was a certain man called Lysias, Philip's jester, who was sitting with him on the same couch. This Lysias answered and said to Philip, "O Philip, thou possessest a number of countries; if from thy youth until now thou hadst had a wife like Cleopatra, thou wouldst now have had a son, and him not from adultery, and his look and face would have been exactly like thine." When Alexander heard this speech, he was at once greatly enraged, and he overturned the table which stood by the couch, and took a dish, and hurled it suddenly at the head of Lysias, whose soul immediately departed from him and he died. When Philip saw these things, he seized a carver's knife, and leaped among the guests, and wished to stab Alexander; but when he got near to him, he stumbled and fell heavily. When Alexander saw this, he answered and said to him, "He who wishes to seize and enslave the land of Asia, is unable to go a single step among his guests, and cannot save himself from stumbling!" And having said this, he drew near and went and took the knife from the hands of Philip

and smote the guests and left them half dead, Rphithôn and Kilitârôn with the rest of their companions; and the house was filled with the slain as at yon time [when Ulysses slew] those who were.....because of Pkitîrpos (Penelope)[1]. XXII. Now after Alexander had acted in this manner, and had taken vengeance upon the guests and gone forth, the servants took Philip who was sick and laid him upon a bed, and carried him into a bed chamber, and his sickness was very sore. After a few days, Alexander went to Philip, and sat by his side, and said to him, "O Philip (for now I call thee by thy name, and perhaps it might not be pleasing to thee were I to call thee father, nor from this time will I call thee by the name of father), I have not come to thee of my own will,—[for] thou art not my father, nor I thy son,—but I have come as a friend and an associate, that I may be a mediator between thee and thy wife in respect of that which thou hast violently done unto her. But since I stood up at the beginning, I will not make [many] words[2]. Tell me this: did Alexander act in an unbecoming manner when he slew Lysias, who spoke that disgraceful speech mockingly? and didst thou thyself act well when thou didst rise up and lift a knife upon thy son? And thou wishest to take another woman to wife, and wantest to forsake the wife who has not done thee any wrong! Rise now and heal thyself, for thy disease is not bodily but mental; for a man becomes more ill through a mental than through a bodily ailment. Now therefore I Alexander will go and beg of my mother and persuade her to make peace with thee again. My father,—I have again

[1] The last sentence of this chapter is so corrupt in the Syriac as to be untranslateable. The Greek text (Müller, p. 21) contains references to the battle of the Lapithae and the Centaurs, and the slaughter of the suitors of Penelope by Ulysses.

[2] This clause is somewhat obscure and may be corrupt. The Syriac seems to agree with the Latin translation rather than with the Greek text (Müller, p. 21). If we follow the Greek, we should read:

done wrong in that I have called thee father, but although I do not wish to call thee by this name, yet nature acknowledges that which is the truth." And when he had thus spoken, tears were flowing from Philip's eyes. When Alexander saw Philip weeping, he went to his mother, and said to her, "O my mother, be not angry any longer at that wrong which my father has done, for he has not forgotten the offence which thou thyself didst commit against him, and the more so, since I am the mediator, whom they call a Macedonian, though I am in truth an Egyptian. Now therefore, O my mother, go in and first of all entreat thy husband that he may be reconciled to thee, for it is right that thou shouldest be subservient to thy husband inasmuch as thou art a woman." And when he had spoken these things to his mother, holding her by her hand, he went to his father. Philip was lying on his bed, and had turned his face to the wall. Alexander answered and said to Philip, "O my father—for henceforward I will call thee father, and I do not shun what is right,—turn thy face hither, for behold I have brought my mother, and have set her before thee, having implored her with many prayers and much entreaty until she gave her consent. I have moreover persuaded and begged of her to forget the offence which thou didst commit against her and to put it away from her mind. And now do ye embrace one another before me who am your son, and be ye now reconciled, that I too may be happy in reconciling and re-uniting you who begat me, and in urging you to make peace with one another." By this speech he reconciled his father and mother, and on account of this all who dwelt in Macedonia applauded Alexander, and every one held his wife in honour, and because of the death of Lysias, every one guarded his mouth from speaking calumny.

XXIII. Whilst these things were taking place, a certain city called Methônê had rebelled against the sovereignty of Philip, and he sent Alexander thither to make an end of the inhabitants by war. When Alexander had gone thither, he persuaded the people of the city by his words to return to the service of Philip; and the people of that city did so through Alexander's words and admonition, and went back to the service of Philip.

When Alexander had returned from thence and come back, he found men in the garb of foreigners sitting at the gate of Philip. Alexander asked them, "Who are ye?" They said to him, "We are satraps, servants of Darius the king." Alexander says to them, "For what purpose have ye come?" They say to him, "To receive the customary tribute from Philip thy father." Alexander said to them, "By whom have ye been sent?" The satraps say, "We have been sent by Darius the king of the Persians." Alexander said to them, "And for what is the tribute ye receive?" They say to him, "Ten men of lands and waters." He says to them, "Why does your master lay tribute upon what God has appointed and given for food? It is not right for Philip, being a Greek, to give tribute to the Persians. By the good fortune of Zeus, this is a matter of greed and not of royalty; now therefore turn and go, and say to your lord Darius, 'When Philip had no children, his hens used to lay golden eggs, but from the time that his son Alexander has been born, they have become barren, and do not lay eggs any longer. Now I will go thither in person, and will take the tribute from thee which until now thou hast received from my father.'" And when he had spoken these words to them, they departed from the gate of Philip, and he deigned not to give them a written answer. Now when those ambassadors perceived the pride, the greatness, and the understanding of Alexander, they wondered, and when they heard his wisdom and his well trained words, they marvelled. And they hired and brought a very skilful painter, and said to him, "Paint Alexander accurately upon linen just as he is," that they might take it to their own country. And when he had painted him, they took the picture and went to their own land; and Philip rejoiced, when he saw the wittiness of Alexander's speech and the might of his deeds. Again the country of the Armenians was disturbed, and Philip sent Alexander thither with a large army of soldiers, that he might either bring them to peace or contend with them in battle.

XXIV. And when Alexander had departed from his father, a certain man named Theosîdos[1]—a small man and slight in

[1] The name is evidently corrupt, but cannot be emended with certainty at present. Possibly *Theodosius*, the Greek and Latin texts have *Pausanias* (Müller, p. 24).

body, purseproud and honoured because of his money, who had come from the land of the Thessalonians and had a multitude of slaves, and whose mind and heart were inflamed with love for Olympias, and because of his love for her he gave goods and gifts to many people of the city, and communicated his secret to them—this man sought to slay Philip by some means, for he saw that Alexander was not in the country. Now in those days there was in the city an amphitheatre which was called the Olympic, and certain people, partisans of Theosîdos, by his instruction and advice, begged Philip with tumult and clamour to go with them and see the contest of the athletes. And Philip, because he was unacquainted with the craft of Theosîdos, was persuaded to look on with them. Now in the middle of the spectacle the partisans of Theosîdos made a disturbance and an uproar in the theatre by his advice and command. Theosîdos himself was outside the theatre, and when he heard the uproar and disturbance, he rejoiced, and together with his partisans armed himself and went into the theatre, and gave people to understand that he had come in to assist Philip. Then he brandished the spear that was in his hand, and pretending that he was going to smite another, cast it and pierced the heart of Philip, whilst feigning to be a helper of the king. Philip straightway fell to the ground, and Theosîdos with his companions went out at once from the theatre, because they thought that Philip was already dead, but his life yet remained in him. Then Theosîdos went swiftly to the royal palace, and going to Philip's apartment, he seized Olympias unexpectedly and carried her off to another apartment in the palace, for he thought that Philip was dead, and he said to himself, "Alexander is still a boy, and Philip is dead; therefore, if I take Olympias to wife, I myself will become king."

Now on that day Alexander returned with victory from the war with the Armenians, and came to the city of Pella; and when he saw that the whole city was in an uproar, he asked, "What is the reason that the city is thus disturbed?" And when he had learned what had happened, he was furiously angry, and went on horseback to the palace, and found Theosîdos and Olympias there, and at once raising up his whip[1], he smote Theo-

[1] The Greek text has λόγχη, *spear*, and the Latin translation *jaculum*. See Müller, p. 24, col. 2, at the foot, and p. 25, col. 1, first line.

sîdos as Heracles smote Armînos (?), because he held Olympias in his embrace, for Theosîdos wished to escape and save himself. Now Alexander was very near slaying his mother too. And when Theosîdos had fallen, and Olympias saw her son Alexander, she lifted up her voice and wept at the change her fortune and lot had undergone. And when Alexander heard that Philip was still alive, he gave orders to carry Theosîdos tied to poles, and he went to his father. And when he saw that Philip was near death, he wept bitterly and bade them raise him up from the couch; and when they had lifted him up, he put a sword in his hand, and made Theosîdos stand before him, while his life was still in him, and he said to Philip, "This is he that slew thee." And Philip said, "Is this he?" And Alexander said to him, "Yea, it is he." Then Philip stabbed Theosîdos with the sword and slew him. And he said, "O my son Alexander, my soul will not depart in sorrow, since I with my own hands have slain him that slew me. My son, mighty and great shalt thou be, for I call to mind the day of thy conception, when the god Ammon spake to Olympias thy mother, saying, 'Behold in thy womb is one who shall avenge the cause of his father and his mother;' and thus my son has avenged the cause of both of us." And immediately Philip died. And Alexander with his nobles and the princes of the Macedonians buried him honourably, and Olympias too went to the grave on foot.

XXV. And when Alexander had returned from the grave, he gave orders to inform the Macedonians that they should assemble on the morrow in the midst of the city by the pedestal of the statue of Philip his father; and he himself came there, and all the Macedonians gathered together unto him. Then Alexander went up and stood by the statue of his father, and lifted up his voice, and said to the Macedonians, "To you I speak, ye inhabitants of the land, Macedonians, Thracians[1], Greeks, Thessalonians, and peoples of every race; to you too, O Amphictyons and the rest of all the peoples of the Greeks, and you Athenians and Corinthians; hear my speech and the counsel with which I counsel you, and trust yourselves to me, and form

[1] In the Syriac Tarmāḳâyê or Tharmāḳâyê.

a league with me, that we may go against the barbarians our enemies, and may free ourselves from the bondage of the Persians, and bring them into bondage to us, and subjugate them to ourselves." And when he had said this, many applauded him; and he came down from the statue and gave orders to write letters to every country and city under his rule, as follows: "Let every one who approves of my advice come to the city of Pella." Then many troops of men came with good and ready will, as if a god were urging them on[1].

Then Alexander opened the door of his father's treasury, and clothed every man with all kinds of armour. But when he commanded those who had carried arms in the bodyguard of Philip his father to take them up again, they answered and said to him, "O good king Alexander, we are greyhaired and aged men, and we have been with thy father Philip in a number of wars during the whole time he was in the world, and we have become wearied and exhausted by many battles, and we speak truly before thee when we say that we have not sufficient strength in our bodies to bear arms; therefore we now ask to be excused from military duty and service." When they had spoken these words, Alexander looked on them with a gloomy face and said to them in anger, "I desire particularly that ye should go with me to war. It is true that ye are greyhaired and aged, but all kinds of warfare have been experienced and seen by you more than by these young men, for the aged by their experience and knowledge are stronger than those who are in the vigour of youth. Many a time, therefore, when young men neglect the safety of their lives, and do something which it was not their intention to do, they come into difficulties and distresses thereby; but as for you, ye greyheaded and aged men, I know that ye first of all consider carefully, so that, when ye are about to do something, no mistake or [cause for] repentance may arise thereby. Now therefore go ye with me to the war, and be ye with me as ye were with my father; for I desire that ye go with me in this capacity, not that ye should make war, but go with me as persons of tried knowledge and experience. Ye will be a shield to the young men, and the

[1] Or, *as if there were some one sent from God to urge them on.*

knowledge of the aged will be thus mingled willingly with the strength of the young; and so we shall obtain a great victory, and the aged shall serve for knowledge to the youth, and shall rescue and deliver [them] from troubles like a shield. And this too I wish you to know, that the victory of the young is the life of the old, while the defeat of the young is affliction and trouble to the old. Therefore, ye veterans, rejoice and exult in the victory, and divide the crowns of victory with them, for by your knowledge and experience and understanding, ye veterans, the young men will become conquerors."

With these words then Alexander encouraged Philip's bodyguard, and persuaded them to go to the war; and they consented, and drew near and received arms from Alexander.

XXVI.[1] The horsemen also gathered together to Alexander in countless numbers, as did the foot soldiers who served willingly, and the troops of Philip his father, 50,000; Thessalonians, 30,000; Greeks of every tribe, together with the Pokotolanians [Paphlagonians?][2] and Lacedaemonians, 80,000; Skophians [Scythians?][3], 60,000; Corinthians, 70,000 [besides the former 70,000 which he had sent][4]; in all 270,000[5]. He armed these out of the armoury of Philip his father.

XXVII.[6] And he made them embark in triremes and in large transport ships, and put to sea, and he made the Macedonians dwell by the sea Dithâos (?) and Thrace, which was under his dominion[7].

XXVIII.[8] And [from thence] by Lucania and Sicily he came to Rome[9]. And as soon as the inhabitants of Rome heard [of his arrival], they sent him six hundred talents of gold by the hands of their chiefs, together with the golden crown of Zeus which

[1] Compare Müller, p. 27, col. 2, and the Latin version.
[2] See Müller, p. 28, line 6 of the note.
[3] See Müller, *loc. cit.*
[4] This clause is incorrect or misplaced. It is not taken into account in summing up the total.
[5] The total ought to be 290,000.
[6] Corresponding to ch. xxviii. of the Greek text (see Müller, p. 30).
[7] Very unintelligible. But compare the Latin version in Müller, p. 28, at the foot. "The sea Dithâos (?)" seems not to be named in any of our Greek texts.
[8] Corresponding to ch. xxix. of the Greek text (Müller, p. 30).
[9] See Müller's note 8 on ch. xxix. (p. 30).

was in the Capitol, one hundred pounds of gold [in weight], and they brought it as a gift before Alexander. They also sent one thousand horsemen as auxiliaries to Alexander's army, and they entreated him to take vengeance for them upon the Chalkidonians[1], who had rebelled against them. Then Alexander said to them, "I will do you this favour because of this honour which ye have done me; and I will recompense you for this honour by subduing your enemies in war, while the victory in the war I will give to you."

XXIX.[2] Then Alexander set out from Italy, and came by sea to Africa. And when the generals of the Africans had heard the fame of him, they came to him and entreated him, saying, "Free our city from the Romans." Then Alexander was angry at this speech, and said to them, "O Carthaginians, either be yourselves brave[3], or give tribute to the brave." When they heard this speech, they set their faces to war, and they all went and armed themselves, and they could not be persuaded to come to Alexander. Then Alexander made war upon them; and when they fought, they were unable to stand before the army of Alexander. Then they returned and entreated him, saying, "Permit not the Romans to rule over us." Again Alexander said to them, "Ye Carthaginians, I have [already] said to you, 'Either be yourselves brave or give tribute to the brave.' Now therefore go, and whatever tribute is right for you to give, of that give justly; for henceforward [the Romans] shall receive tribute from you." When the Carthaginians saw that they had no remedy, they made a statue of brass to Alexander and set it in the midst of the city: and they made a box of wood and fastened it upon a stone in front of the feet of the statue. They then collected the tribute of their country for four years, and placed it in the box; and the Romans waited for four years, and then they came and took that tribute and carried it to Rome.

XXX.[4] And Alexander departed from the Carthaginians,

[1] i.e. the Karchedonians or Carthaginians. Χαλκηδών = Καλχηδών = Carthage (קרת חדשת, *Neapolis*).

[2] Corresponding to ch. xxx. of the Greek text (Müller, p. 31).

[3] Literally *good*.

[4] Corresponding to the remainder of ch. xxx, in the Greek text (Müller, p. 31).

and made some of the troops put to sea in ships and vessels, and commanded them to remain opposite the islands of the Plâthâyê[1], while he went parallel to them on the land with a few troops to the country of Libya. From thence he dismissed all the troops of the Âlômôhdâyê (?), because he offered sacrifices there to the god Ammon, especially because he remembered the words of Olympias his mother, which she spake to him, saying, "Thou wert begotten by Ammon, the god of Libya." And Alexander answered and said to the god, "If the words be true which my mother Olympias spake to me saying, 'I bore thee to the god Ammon of Libya,' shew it me to-day in a dream." Now when Alexander was asleep, he saw in a dream the god Ammon speaking with him and saying, "Thou art of my race, and thou hast in thee parts of the characteristics of four gods; and if thou dost not believe that it is possible for a mortal and corruptible man to be born of the race of an immortal and incorruptible god, I tell thee that they are able, as men, to be of the race of the gods, not in respect of the nature of the body, but in respect of wisdom, intelligence and fore-knowledge. Therefore by the union of the race of the gods with men, they are able both to know and to do everything that is marvellous and difficult in the world. Now thou hast in thee somewhat of the race of the serpent, and of Hêraclês, and of Dionysus, and of Ammon. Through the serpent thou wilt encircle the whole world like a dragon; through Hêraclês thou wilt be strong like Hêraclês, and thou wilt shew forth in thy person the finding of power and might; through Dionysus thou wilt be continually in pleasure, and merriment, and joy; and through Ammon who is like myself, thou wilt hold a rich sceptre, and thou wilt be lord of the world in royalty and wealth. As regards these words, have then no doubt." When Alexander had seen all these things in his dream, he awoke from his sleep, and commanded that a statue of brass should be made to Ammon in the midst of the temple of Ammon, and he set it up on a pillar, and upon the base

[1] In the Greek εἰς τὴν Φαρίτιδα [var. Πρωτηΐδα] νῆσον.

[2] There is nothing like this clause in our Greek texts, so that the word ⟨illegible⟩ remains a puzzle.

of the pillar he wrote thus: "This statue Alexander his son made to his father Ammon, and set it up in this temple."

And again, when he was dreaming, he made supplication to the god Ammon, and said, "O my father, shew me the place where to build a great city which shall be named after me, and from which my memory shall not pass away." And again the god Ammon appeared to him in a dream, saying, "Alexander, king of the Macedonians, I grant thee to build a city in.....[1] in the fields where they plough the furrows, and it shall be famous and renowned, and possessions and wealth shall abound in it, and the supreme god shall dwell therein. Around it shall be the river Nile, and it shall water its fields with abundant moisture, and many shall be nourished by its produce, for this river without any [human] labour will lay the hamlets and arable lands beneath its irrigation, and no damage shall arise therefrom."

XXXI. And when he had seen this vision in his dream, and had quitted the land of the Âmôndîḳâyê (?), a stag came towards him. When he saw that stag, he turned round and said to his nobles, "If it be granted me to build a city in this land of Egypt, when I command and shoot an arrow at this stag, it shall strike it." And having taken the weapon, he shot an arrow at the stag, but the arrow glanced off the stag in its rapid flight, and having run a long distance it stumbled and fell by reason of the wound, and died on the spot. Then Alexander cried out and said, "O thou that didst die without feeling, thou hast shewn me the place which I require;" therefore to this very day they call the spot upon which the stag died, "He that died without feeling." So Alexander ran and came to that spot, and on this side of the stag a sepulchral monument was built, and they call it, "The tomb of the god Âslîs (Osiris)[2]." In this place too he commanded to offer sacrifices; and from thence he returned and came to the stag[3], and he found a large mound, and fifteen (twelve) towns lay around it, the names of which were: Sṭîlîmos, Paḥḥârâ, Imthâos, Aḳlios, Înôḳpîlas, Pithônos, Lindos, Ḳiphrîn, Espâsîd, Mîmisṭîrâ, Phîlâos, and Hanḳîṭos in the centre of the mound,

[1] In the Syriac *in Âlîs Wâlis*, which looks somewhat like a corruption of *Hêliopolis*.

[2] Ταφόσιρις or Ταφοσίριον.

[3] The Syrian translator confounded ἔδαφος with ἔλαφος (Müller, p. 32, col. 2).

which they called "the great city." And when Alexander saw this, astonishment laid hold of him at the waters which were encircling the villages; and he wondered at the greatness of the waves how marvellous they were, for although they entered the sea, they did not mingle [therewith]. And he found there also a place which they called Melââ, and its waters used to enter the sea one cubit and make a great commotion. Then Alexander asked, "What is this place? and who built it?" And they said to him, "First of all Dios, whom they call Zeus, and next Irthâos (?)." And from these towns twelve rivers went forth and mingled with the sea. And Alexander saw that the greater number of these rivers, as well as the springs of the city, had been stopped up, and that all the streets and squares were destroyed; and there only remained two rivers which were not obstructed, and whose place of outlet was not destroyed, and whose mouth mingled with the sea: the name of the one was Lûḳthesnêdos, which great river they call that of the god Serapis (this Serapis is Joseph the son of Jacob, whom the Egyptians used to hold as a god[1]), and from it there went forth another which they call Ôḳôrîda (*or* Euḳôrîda), and yet another large stream which they call Klîdnâva; and the name of the other great river was Nûphîrṭîr[2]. When Alexander saw that spot around which mighty rivers and large streams ran, he remembered the dream which the god Ammon shewed him, and he saw that there were fifteen (twelve) towns upon that one spot.

XXXII.[3] And he heard that there was a temple of Zeus there, and one of Hêra[4], whom they call 'the mother of the gods.' And when he had entered the temple, he bowed down there and sacrificed. And while he was examining the temple, he saw there two tablets[5] of red marble, which were very beautiful, fixed under a statue, and upon them was engraved a legend in

[1] This statement regarding the identity of Serapis and Joseph is probably an interpolation by the Syrian translator or by a later hand.

[2] For the Greek text corresponding to this passage see Müller, p. 32, note 14.

[3] See ch. xxxiii. of the Greek text (Müller, p. 36, col. 2).

[4] The Syriac text has Ahlâ, ܐܗܠܐ, a corruption of ܗܝܪܐ

[5] The Greek text has *obelisks*.

hieroglyphs[1], which ran thus: "After that I Sesonchôsis[2], the ruler of the earth (or world), was first recognised as lord upon earth, I erected this statue in honour of the great god the Sun, the equal of Serapis, in gratitude for the benefits which I have received from him." And when Alexander had read this legend, he considered Serapis to be the first god. He went also to the spot where he was told that the temple of this god existed, and in the temple he found a golden cup of the god's upon the ground, and on the cup there was written as follows: "I Ahlâ[3], the son of the mighty Promêtheus[4], made this cup for the great god Serapis before mankind were brought forth." And when Alexander had read this legend he said, "It is evident from this that Serapis is the first god, for this cup was fabricated when as yet Prometheus had not made men; and thus also did Ammon shew me in a dream, saying, 'I will grant thee to build a city where the first god dwells.' And now I will supplicate this [god] and will entreat a favour from him, because Sesonchôsis[5] too has shewn me by his inscription that he appeared [as] the first god in this world." Then Alexander offered sacrifices to Serapis, and made supplication to him saying, "If indeed thou art he who has governed the world from olden time until now, and hast revealed thyself at the first as god, instruct me, O Serapis, how to build the city which I have in my mind, and I will give it the name of Alexandria; and inform me also whether they will make my name to pass away from it and will call it by the name of another king." And when he had spoken these words, he slept; and he saw in his dream that the [god] took him by the hand and brought him up into a high mountain, and said to him, "Alexander, art thou able to lift up this mountain and to remove [it] to another place?" Alexander answered and said, "How can I, my lord?" Then

[1] Literally, "in letters of the priests."

[2] In the Syriac ܣܝܣܘܟܘܣܝܣ, *Sisiḳôsas*, for ܣܝܣܘܢܟܘܣܝܣ *Sisonḳôsis*.

[3] There must be some error here. A little above we had ܐܠܗܐ for Ἥρα.

[4] In the Syriac *Parmêthos*.

[5] In the Syriac ܣܝܣܝܩܘܢܘܣ, *Sisiḳônos*, for ܣܝܣܘܢܟܘܣܝܣ.

the god said to him, "Even as thou art not able to remove this mountain, so another king will not be able to remove thy name from this city, nor to set his own name upon it." And again Alexander said, "My lord Serapis, what might and strength shall there be in Alexandria that [men] shall carry its name into the world?" Serapis said, "In the same manner, when the city is built, [people] will call it 'the great city,' and the fame of its greatness shall be spoken of in the whole world, and men innumerable shall dwell therein, who shall be famous through thee. Gentle winds too shall minister unto it with the favourable temperature, and the knowledge and craft of its inhabitants shall be renowned throughout the world, for I will build it with cunning, and I will be a helper to it. Storms shall not disturb the sea, neither shall drought nor heat be therein; winter and cold shall not remain therein, neither shall there be in it the mischief and destruction of demons, and there shall be but few earthquakes in it, and they shall not cause much damage therein, for these are caused by the envy of wicked devils. If the armies of all the kings of the earth were to encamp round about it, they would not be able to injure it in any way. It has been decreed that it shall be renowned in the world, and alive or dead, hither shalt thou come, and in the city which thou hast made to be inhabited, thou shalt have thy grave." And again Alexander said to him, "My lord Serapis, I desire to know what thy real name is." And again Serapis said to him, "First of all consider in thy mind, for if thou art able to comprehend one of a hundred of the powers of heaven, or to speak twenty of their two hundred names, thou art able to understand my name[1]." And when the god had spoken these words to him, Alexander said to him, "My lord Serapis, tell me this also, where, and when, and by what death I shall die." And the god said to him in a dream, "Man that is born is without anxiety, and honourable, and comely, when the time of his death and the manner thereof are concealed from him; for mankind, though mortal, are wont to think in their minds that they are immortal, and that this world will not be dissolved. But if thou desirest to know by what death

[1] This passage seems to be quite corrupt. The Greek text (Müller, p. 38, col. 1, lines 6—9) is simple enough, turning upon the numerical value of the letters in the name of Σάραπις.

thou shalt die, know that thy death will be fair and peaceful; thy sickness will be like that of one who drinketh poison; fear not then, for thy death will not be caused by any bodily sickness, and shouldst thou die in thy youth, thou wilt be innocent of a multitude of evils."

And when Alexander had seen all these oracular responses in his dream, he commanded them to call the architects,—that is the chief carpenters,—three skilful and cunning men[1]; one was Sinḳarṭîn of Ârontios[2], another Aryânâos the Egyptian, and another Ḳrirmâtîn of Ḳôḳellîn. And he set them over the building of the city, Sinḳarṭîs to lay the foundations, and Aryânâos to measure and plan the streets and squares, and Baryâthmîn (*sic*) to build houses in the city; and Alexander gave them five hundred thousand talents of gold, each talent consisting of four hundred pounds. The length[3] of the city was from the grave of Asîlis (Osiris) to Barṭînâ, and its breadth from Dânôd to Îḳarsṭra which they call 'by Hermopolis.'

XXXIII.[4] When Aristotle, the teacher of Alexander, heard of the building of the city, he sent to him saying thus, "Nay my lord, do not begin to build so great and mighty a city, nor to make people of various countries and tongues to dwell therein; peradventure they may rebel against thy service, and take the city from thee; and again, if [the people of] the city should hold a festival and games, the herald would not be able to make the proclamation in many days; and if all the winged fowl in creation were to be gathered together, and if thou didst store up all the barley meal in thy dominions in one spot, it would not suffice for the nourishment of the people that are in it." And after this message had come to Alexander, great grief took hold of him, and he was anxious and perplexed; and he commanded them to call the Egyptian soothsayers who were skilled in augury, and related to them this message. And when the augurs had heard this message, and had seen that the king was in grief and trouble,

[1] See Müller, p. 33, col. 2, last paragraph.

[2] As Ârontios is almost certainly Ὀλόνθιος, *Sinḳarṭîn* must represent Κράτης or Κράτερος. If so, then *Aryânâos*, or *Arînâos*, *the Egyptian*, is probably = Ἥρων Λιβυκός, and *Ḳrirmâtîn of Ḳôḳellîn* = Κλεομένης Ναυκρατίτης.

[3] Compare Müller, p. 32, col. 2; and see also p. 33, col. 2, at the top.

[4] There is nothing like this chapter in the Greek save a few passages in the first paragraph of ch. xxxii.

they said to him, "O king, begin the building of the city, for it will be great, and renowned, and abounding in revenues, and all the ends of the earth will bring articles of trade to it. Many countries will be fed by it, but it will not be dependent on any country for sustenance; and everything manufactured in it will be esteemed by the rest of the world, and they will carry it to remote lands." And when Alexander had heard this speech from the soothsayers, he gave orders to build the city from Dedaḳnâtos as far as Ḳaiôphâ.

XXXIV. From thence he went into the middle of the country of Egypt, and commanded his troops to await him in Eslôna[1]. And when he had come to Egypt, all the Egyptians, with the priests and prophets of their gods came to him, and glorified him with a loud voice, saying, "Welcome, O Sesonchôsis[2], the youthful god and ruler of the world;" for he went to the city of Memphis, and they seated him upon the throne of Hephaestus[3], and clothed him after the manner of the Egyptians. Then he saw there a statue of a king, which was made of black stone, and he read the letters which were engraved beneath its feet, and the legend ran thus: "The king of Egypt who fled, a mighty man and astute and aged, after a time died, [and] there became king[4] a young man and strong, who shall surpass him in bravery, and shall go round the whole world by his might, and shall bring all mankind into subjection to the Egyptians, and shall give you might and power." Then Alexander asked, "Whose statue is this?" And the prophets said, "Of the last king of Egypt, Nectanebus." Alexander said, "And why are these letters inscribed beneath?" The prophets said, "It is an augury which the great god gave at the time when the Egyptians drew near to seek their king." When he heard this, he went up to the pillar on which the statue stood, and embraced the image with his arms, and kissed it, and answered and said to the Egyptians, "Ye men of Egypt, this is he that begat me,

[1] In the Greek *Tripolis* (see Müller, p. 38, note 1 on ch. xxxiv.).

[2] In the Syriac *Sisnîḳos*.

[3] In the Syriac *Esiphastos*.

[4] There is evidently some error in the Syriac translation at this place. The Greek text runs (Müller, p. 38, col. 2), Ὁ φυγὼν βασιλεὺς ἥξει πάλιν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, οὐ γηράσκων ἀλλὰ νεάζων, καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμῶν Πέρσας ὑποτάξει.

and this is my father. I am the youth whose father is Nectanebus; and he is concealed, but I am revealed to avenge your cause on your enemies. I am however astonished, how ye have remained and stayed in this country and have not utterly perished by the hands of your enemies, since the wall of your city is so weak, and ye have no fortified place for treasure houses; but I think that your preservation is chiefly due to the many rivers which encompass your territory. Now that tribute which ye were wont to give to Darius, give to me; not that I may put it in my treasury for my own use, but that I may use it for expenses for my city Alexandria, so that ye [really] give it to your protectors." Then they brought him much gold, and a crown of gold, and [other] presents and large gifts, and they took [them] before Alexander, and they went with him as far as Pelusium.

XXXV. Then he commanded his troops to get ready, and he took them and they went to the country of Syria. Then all the country of Syria gave the right hand to him, and came under his rule. And they drew near and came to Tyre. Because the Tyrians had heard from Apollo the augur, "When a mighty king shall march through the plain of Tyre, Tyre shall be taken away from its deep place," the Tyrians of their own accord promptly drew up in battle array against Alexander, and fought with him, and slew many men of Alexander's host, and would not allow them to enter the city. And Alexander was fiercely enraged, and his anger rose, and he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and said, "O my lord Serapis, thou art a god and hast made me a king; shew me now if I shall be able to take Tyre." And when he fell asleep, he saw in his dream the ranks of the singers (or satyrs), who were standing before Dionysus and singing and dancing, and they had garlands of young vine branches with their clusters on their heads; and Dionysus was standing and holding a Tyrian daric in his hand, and he gave it to Alexander; and a cluster of grapes from the garland on the head of Dionysus fell to the ground, and Alexander trod upon it and squeezed out the wine from it. When Alexander awoke, he gave orders to call those skilled in dreams; and when they came and heard the dream from him, they answered and said to him, "O king, it is granted to thee to take the land of Tyre; for the daric which Dionysus

gave thee represents the country which is going to be delivered over to thee; and those grapes which thou sawest fall from the garland of Dionysus are the people of the city who are to fall and be crushed beneath the feet of thy hosts; and the wine which thou didst see is the blood of the slain which will be shed." Then Alexander commanded to give gifts to those men skilled in dreams, and to assemble the troops, and to fight with the Tyrians. And the Tyrians were conquered, and surrendered[1] to Alexander; and Alexander made a war in Tyre, the fame of which has gone forth into the whole world. And the city and three noble and famous men from three towns were destroyed by Alexander in this contest[2]. The towns were by the side of the city, and according to the name of the three towns he built a city and called its name Tripolis. And Alexander appointed the satrap of Phœnicia to take charge of and guard the country.

XXXVI. Now when the ambassadors of Darius, who had been sent by their lord to Alexander[3], had departed, they spoke of the sagacity and wisdom and astuteness of Alexander. Then Darius asked them, "What manner of person is Alexander?" Then the ambassadors brought forth and shewed him the likeness of Alexander the Macedonian which they had had painted, and when Darius saw the likeness, he gave orders to carry it to Roxana[4] his daughter, and he bade them compare her height with that of the picture. And when he had measured the picture, he took it up and cast it with his hands to a distance, and he thrust out his lips in scorn as one mocks at a young child. But Roxana, the daughter of Darius, took the likeness in secret, and carried it to her bed chamber, and kept it there, and honoured it continually with sweet spices and odours, for from the time that Roxana saw it her love went forth to Alexander.

Now Darius was meditating in what way he could avenge himself on Alexander, first of all, because of his contempt for his ambassadors; and secondly, because, after his father Philip's

[1] Literally, "gave the hand."

[2] This passage is obviously defective and corrupt. See Müller, p. 40, col. 2.

[3] See chap. xxiii.

[4] In the Syriac *Rôshnâk* or *Rûshnâk*.

death, Alexander assumed the royal crown of his own will and became king; [and thirdly, because] Alexander had taken his troops and had come to the country of Darius and seized his lands. Then Darius sent to Alexander a whip and a ball and a box full of gold, and wrote him a letter, and gave it to his ambassadors to deliver to Alexander. And while Alexander was marching through the country [of Syria], the ambassadors of Darius met him, and gave him Darius's letter. Then Alexander ordered the letter to be read, and found that there was written therein as follows: "From the king of kings and the kinsman of the gods, who is enthroned with the god Mithras, the son of the stars, Darius the Persian, to Alexander my servant, greeting. I have heard of thee that thou by thy evil destiny hast set thyself to come from thy land to mine and to do mischief. Now we command thee, withdraw and return, and go to thy mother, and sleep in the bosom of thy mother Olympias, for as yet thou art a child, and art in fact not educated; therefore I send thee a whip, wherewith thou mayest train thy youth; and a ball, wherewith thou mayest play with the boys of thine own age, and not meddle with the business of men; and a box full of gold for thy expenses, that thou mayest be able to retire and go back to thine own country, for I have heard of thee that thou art poor and mean and feeble; and therefore I have given orders that the tribute of Philip thy father shall be left with thee. Do thou therefore restrain thyself from worry and folly, and [check] this crowd of robbers which thou hast gathered together and brought with thee, for as the chief of a band of robbers dost thou go round about and disturb our cities. Art thou able to comprehend the number of the stars of heaven? If all the people in the world were to come as allies to thy army, thou wouldst not be able to make an end of and destroy the kingdom of the Persians, for I have tens of thousands of horses and warriors, even as the number of the sand which is upon the shore of the sea. And I have sent thee ten measures of sesame seed, that thou mayest know that I have myriads of troops even as these grains of sesame. I have also gold as [abundant as] the sunlight in the world: therefore I have sent thee a box [full of it], that if thou hast no money for expenses, thou mayest expend this on thyself, and, together with

the robbers thy companions, mayest be able to return to thy country. Now therefore repent of the things thou hast done, and count thyself an offender; for if thou art not persuaded to do what thou art commanded by me, and in thy disobedience still persistest in this thy contention, we will give orders to send the police after thee to take thee and bring thee to us, for thou art not one of those after whom it is fitting to send [armed] men, but we will send the police against thee and they will fetch thee, not as the son of Philip but as a leader of robbers, and we will crucify thee upon a tree."

XXXVII. And when they had read the letter before Alexander, great terror fell upon all Alexander's troops. And when he saw that the face of his troops was sad because of the words of Darius's letter, he answered and said to his troops, "Ye men of Macedon, ye who are my fellow soldiers, wherefore are your minds troubled by the letter of Darius as if his words were true, or as if he had any power at all? Now this boasting and arrogance that is written in his letter is a mere pretence, and there is no truth in it; for among dogs there are some which are small and feeble, and yet they bark with a loud voice, thinking they may be able to effect something by their loud barks: and in the same manner does Darius act, for in reality he is unable to do anything; therefore he has written these words, that we might imagine them to be true. Do ye however prepare yourselves and be ready, and fight with all your strength, that we may be victorious; and do not do your duty sluggishly and feebly, that we may not be conquered: and now fight bravely, that we may receive the crowns of victory." And when he had spoken these words, Alexander stretched out his hand, and took a handful of the sesame seeds which Darius had sent, and put them into his mouth, and ate some of them, and said, "They are numerous, but they have no taste." And when he had said this, he gave orders to tie the arms of the ambassadors who had brought Darius's letter behind their backs and to crucify them. Then those men were afraid, and by reason of their fear they said to Alexander, "My lord, what offence have we committed? for we whom thou desirest to slay are ambassadors." Alexander said to them, "Blame Darius your master and not me, for he who sent this letter did not send it as to a

fellow king, but as to a man who is the chief of [a gang of] robbers. Now therefore I am going to slay you as if ye had really come to a robber chief." They said, "My lord, Darius wrote such a letter as this because he did not know who thou wert; but now we see that thou art a prince and hast a mighty army, and that thou art a warrior and a king, and rich in knowledge, and the son of Philip. Show then this act of grace to us, that thy compassion may appear in our persons, so that when we return to Darius, we may there bear witness as to everything that we have seen here." He said to them, "Do not imagine that I have mercy upon you because of the fear through which ye have made supplication to me, and so set you free from death; for I had not originally intended to slay you, but only to let you know the difference between the knowledge of the Greeks and that of the barbarians, how much that of the former is superior to that of the latter. A king does not kill ambassadors."

When Alexander had spoken in this manner, he gave orders to release the ambassadors, and at the time of sitting down to meat he commanded to make them sit down before him. And when they had come in and sat down in his presence, they began to speak before him of the ambushes which he ought to make in his war against Darius, and how it behoved him to make war craftily and to take Darius prisoner. Then Alexander said to them, "Be silent and say nothing to me. Had it not been your purpose to return and go to Darius, I would have listened to your advice; but since ye are going to return to Darius, I do not wish to listen to you, lest, if any contention should arise between one of you and his fellow, and this matter be carried to Darius, he may take away on my account these lives which ye have obtained to-day from me by grace." Then these ambassadors made obeisance to him and applauded him for this speech.

XXXVIII. On the following day Alexander sat down and wrote an answer to Darius as follows: "From Alexander, the son of Philip and of his mother Olympias, to the king of kings, who moves the heavenly hosts, and who is enthroned with the god Mithras, the kinsman of the gods, the son of light, Darius the sun, the god of the Persians. It [must appear] disgraceful

and bitter to him that hath such greatness and excellence and superiority, who is the counterpart of the gods, and who together with the sun lights and warms the whole world, whose throne is in the firmament with the god Mithras, when he feels that he may be defeated by his servant Alexander, a despicable and contemptible man, and still have to walk in the world beneath the sun and the moon. But do not imagine that any one of the gods is pleased to share his name or his fellowship, or the likeness of his glory, with mortals, or that they will give victory to the mortal man who assumes to himself the name 'divine;' but they will be angry and wrath with him who takes the immortal and incorruptible and unchangeable name, and applies it to one who is mortal and corruptible. And now I regard thee thus, since, because thou art not able to perform the deeds of brave men, thou desirest to call thyself by the name of the gods, and to draw down their heavenly power upon earth by words, and to set it upon thyself. But now I am coming against thee and will enter into war with thee; and I come against thee as against a mortal king, even as I myself am mortal. Now fortune and opportunity and victory are given by the power and command of the heavenly One; I have therefore committed myself to the immortal gods, and entrusted myself to them, and I shall be victorious over thee. Why didst thou then inform us in thy letter of the vast amount of thy gold and silver? For the sake of thy wealth will we fight the more against thee, until all thy possessions become ours. As for thee.....[1] among all nations and peoples, saying, 'So great a king and warrior as this Darius died by the hands of a little Greek boy;' whereas if thou slayest me, it will not be accounted as bravery and as a great triumph, because thou wilt have slain merely a 'robber chief,' according to what thou didst send in writing to me. Thou hast also sent me a whip and a ball and a box of gold. Now though I know that thou hast sent them to me in mockery, yet I have accepted them as a good omen, an augury of victory, and a prophecy of the gods. I have received the whip, and as a chief and the head of kings I will smite and subdue with my weapons all my enemies. As for the round ball, it is a sign that I shall hold the whole world; for the

[1] The Syriac text is corrupt and untranslateable. See Müller, p. 43, col. 1.

overcame, and took no disgrace to yourselves. And shall ye now be worsted before a little boy, and disgrace yourselves? And if ye do this, what excuse will ye have to offer to us? since none of you will be wounded in the fight, nor smitten in the war, nor pierced by a spear; and what answer [for your conduct] will ye make to us, having disgraced the rule of the Persians? or do ye think, pray, that you will be found of any use?"

XL. After these things Darius heard that Alexander had come to the river which is called Estalraglos[1], and he wrote a letter to Alexander, in which was thus written: "From the great king Darius to Alexander the great and mighty, whose name God has set upon the earth,.....[2] And thou hearest that even the gods hold me in honour, and yet thou hast dared to cross over rivers and mountains and the sea and to come to me; and it was not enough for thee to assume the crown of royalty without my permission, and to acquire a kingdom and dominion in Macedonia, but thou hast also taken men inexperienced in war from every country, and with a mob like a swarm of ants hast thou come to our country to do mischief. It would have been but right for thee before doing these things to have informed us that it was planned by thy evil mind to do them, and then thou mightest have done them; and we, having learnt these things, would have prepared what was requisite for us. Even now however, turn and go, and return to thy country. I have sent thee sesame seeds, that if thou art able to number them, thou mayest know also how many are my troops. Turn back from where thou art and go to thy country, and I will no longer remember against thee this damage which thou hast done."

XLI. Then the ambassadors of Darius took this letter, together with the sesame seeds, and carried it to Alexander. And as soon as he had read the letter of Darius, he again filled his hand with the sesame seeds and put them into his mouth and said, "They are many but tasteless." At that time a report

[1] This name seems to be corrupted from the words ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩ ΤΙΝΑΓΡΩ, according to the reading of the Cod. A (see Müller, p. 44).

[2] There is some corruption here in our text. The Syriac words mean "of Darius like this."

reached Alexander that Olympias his mother was seized with a great and sore sickness. Then he wrote a letter to Darius as follows: "From Alexander to Darius the king. Thou writest many new and artful words to me, and thinkest in thy pride that thou wilt glorify thyself by words, [which is] more than is right and beyond thy capacity. This is a sign of inferiority, and thy shame and disgrace will increase and become more in the world than that of other kings thy equals. Neither imagine this, that I now return because of the words of the letter which thou hast sent me; but the sickness of my mother Olympias compels me to return and to go to Macedonia. But I will make ready to come again against thee. So I retire from thy country in good order and in strength and might, like the blossoms of a tree glorious in its bloom; and I will become firm in thy land, like a vine branch which is cut off from the tree and planted in another spot. But as for these sesame seeds, which thou hast sent me to inform me of the number of thy army, I send thee a little mustard seed that thou mayest know that a little mustard is more pungent than a great deal of sesame."

Then Alexander wrote this letter and gave it, with the mustard, to the ambassadors, and sent them away; and he himself turned to go to Olympias his mother. While he was on the way, a report reached him, that one of Darius's generals was encamped in Arabia, and forthwith he marched against him, and they engaged in battle one with the other, and many men perished on both sides. So great was the number of slain there that even the sun was saddened by the sight of the multitude of dead and of the blood which was shed on the ground, and he shrouded his light as in a cloud, because he too was ashamed of this sight of pitilessness and want of mercy, and was grieved and desired not to look upon such impurity as this[1]. And when they had fought together thus violently for three days, Darius's general was defeated and gave way before Alexander, and fled with his troops and went back to Persia.

Before Darius took in his hand the letter which Alexander had sent, he questioned the ambassadors, saying, "What did Alexander do with the sesame seed which I sent him?" The

[1] Compare Meusel, p. 737, lines 1 and 2; Müller, p. 46, col. 2.

ambassadors said to him, "He took a handful of it and put it into his mouth; and when he had eaten it, he said, 'They are many but tasteless!'" Then Darius took a handful of the mustard seed and put it into his mouth, and when he had eaten it, he said, "They are small but very pungent." When Eumenes the general heard this speech he said to him, "Thou hast spoken rightly, my lord the king, for although the army of Alexander is small, yet it is fierce and warlike, for of my army they have slain a multitude, both horse and foot."

Then Alexander gave orders to bury the corpses of the numbers of Macedonians and Persians who had died in this battle, for he did not neglect such a thing as this.

XLII. And when Alexander was ready, with the spoil which he had taken, to go to Achaia[1], there too he captured a number of cities, and others of them he made horsemen and footsoldiers. And he departed from thence and went to the city of Pieria[2], which is in Bebrukia, of which city people say that the Nine Muses (that is, the Sciences) went forth from it. And from thence he came to Phrygia, that is Ilion, and in that place he offered sacrifices to Hector, whom in the Persian tongue they call Sôṭî; and he made offerings to Achilles, and to the river Âlis, which they call Pôlîs[3], and to the rest of the warriors. He saw the river which they call Eṣḳamlîs (Skamander), into which Achilles leaped, the breadth of which was five cubits. He saw also the river Ôltîs (?), which was not very large, even as Homer wrote of it. And he answered and said to the rivers, "Happy are ye in that ye have found heralds (to proclaim your merits), even Homer himself who has named you in his poem great and glorious! Your deeds however, and the sight of your works, are not so worthy of admiration as the words of him who wrote of you." And when Alexander had made this speech, Krintîmos (?) drew near to Alexander the king of the Athenians and said, "O king Alexander, I too can put in writing this thy bravery and all thy actions in a better manner

[1] This name is evidently corrupt.

[2] In the Syriac *Pilea*.

[3] This clause seems to be corrupt. The Latin translation (Müller, p. 48, col. 1) merely has "atque illic Hectora Achillemque unaque alios heroas divum honore participat."

than Homer wrote concerning these (rivers), because the might of thy deeds and thy wars is greater than these." Then Alexander said to him, "Would that thy deeds were better than the words which Homer spake concerning them."

XLIII. And Alexander departed thence and came to Macedonia, and when he had entered there he found his mother Olympias recovering from her sickness; and he remained there with her a few days, and departed thence. And after these things he came to Abdêra[1]; and when the people of Abdêra heard it, they shut the gates of their city that Alexander might not enter it. And when Alexander saw this, he was exceedingly angry, and gave orders to set fire to it. And when the inhabitants of the city saw that they were setting their city on fire, they cried out with a loud voice and said to Alexander, "O king Alexander, we have not closed the gates of the city on this account, as if we wished to fight against thee, but we have shut them for this reason, lest when Darius hears of it, he may think we have delivered up the city into thy hands of our own will, and may utterly destroy us out of the world." Then Alexander said to them, "Open the gates according to your former custom; for I am not going to enter your city at present, but at the time when I shall have conquered Darius."

XLIV. And he departed thence, and came to Ḳûsîṭîres and to Nûṭirâ, to the shore of the river Usṭîn[2], and he saw the lake which they call 'the second death', and the country was a place of cannibals; and a scarcity of food overtook them in that place, and they had nothing to eat and were distressed in their souls therein. Alexander bade them slay the horses which were in the camp, that the horsemen and footsoldiers might eat; and they ate and were satisfied; but they were all grieved about the horses, and were all without horses. Then Alexander said to them, "O my comrades, ye are alive instead of the horses, and in very deed ye are more needed than they. I know that horses are also necessary, but God forbid that ye should die, for of what use would the horses be then? But now our horses being dead and we alive, we shall be able by our strength to

[1] In the Syriac Bâbedlâ or Bâbeldâ.

[2] Probably *the Euxine Sea*, ὁ Εὔξεινος πόντος. The other names are also obviously corrupt.

find a land of food, where we shall also find horses. Horses may be found in many places, but Macedonians cannot be found everywhere." And by these words he persuaded his forces.

XLV. And he departed thence and came to the Locri, whence they obtained food and horses; and they remained there one day. And from thence he came to Akrantis[1]; and thence he went to the temple of Apollo, and there he begged and entreated of the priest to ask an oracle from Apollo for him. And the priest said to him, "Thou art not permitted to ask an oracle from here." When Alexander heard these words, he was angered and said to the priest, "If thou dost not ask an oracle for me, I will take this tripod of divination and carry it away from here, even as Heracles did to his gods when they did not wish to give him an oracle." Having spoken these words, he straightway took the tripod of divination, which king Ḳrîthîthos [Croesus] of Lydia had made, from its place, and put it upon his shoulders. And when he had taken it, he heard a voice from within the temple which said, "Alexander, if Heracles did any such deed as this, he did it to the gods his equals; but thou art a mortal man. Strive not with the immortal gods, that the gods may be thy helpers and may tell thy power in the world." And when he had heard a voice like this, again another voice from within the temple answered and said: "O Alexander, listen to the oracle of Apollo which I have heard, and hearken and I will speak to thee. Men shall tell of thy power and thy name in the world, and thy name shall last for ever, because thy might and thy deeds will be great and glorious." When Alexander had heard these words, he said, "O Apollo, henceforward I will believe this augury, as I likewise so believed thy father at yon time."

XLVI. And he departed thence and began to march towards Thebes. And when he had drawn nigh and arrived at Thebes, he demanded of them four thousand men to recruit his army. But when they heard this request, they closed the gates of the city, and answered him never a word, but straightway armed themselves and mounted the wall. And four hundred men said from the wall to Alexander, "Come and

[1] Ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀκραγαντινοῦ (Müller, p. 49, col. 2).

fight, or else depart from our city." When he heard this speech, he laughed, and answered and said, "Men of Thebes, who of your freewill have shut yourselves up, and who now command me saying, 'Either fight or depart from our city,' I am therefore going to fight with you, and by the fortune of Zeus, I will not make war with you as with brave and tried men, but I will fight with you as I would with weak and despicable fellows who are fit for nothing. Therefore shall ye be smitten with the point of the spear, because ye have of your own free will shut yourselves up in a cage. It is fitting to fight with valiant men and warriors in a plain or in a level place; but for effeminate men who live in cages it is good that they should be shut up in chambers and die like young girls." And when he had said this, he commanded a thousand horsemen to ride round the wall, and to shoot arrows at those who stood upon the wall. He likewise commanded two thousand footmen to destroy the foundations of the wall with picks and spades, and the upper part of it with long hooks and iron crowbars[1]. He also commanded four hundred other foot-soldiers to set fire to the gates of the city with burning torches, and other foot-soldiers to let go the battering rams[2] with violence against the wall and to shatter the wall. Now the battering ram is a warlike instrument used for the assault of cities, made of a huge log, the head of which is bound with iron, and fashioned in the shape of a ram's head; and it is fitted and fixed upon a revolving wheel, and men urge it forward with force from a distance, and grasp it and let it go with great violence, and it goes with impetus and strikes the wall or the gate, and wherever it strikes it makes a breach. Meanwhile Alexander with ten thousand men, slingers and casters of javelins[3] was fighting against one of the gates of the city. And when the fire had taken hold of the wall on all sides, and the arrows and missiles from the slings were shaking the wall everywhere, and were shot over the wall into the midst of the city, and fell like

[1] In the Greek καὶ μακροτάτοις δυυξὶ τε [καὶ] σιδηρίοις μοχλοῖς. The Syriac words are unknown to me.

[2] Literally "ram's heads."

[3] The Syriac has *casters with the right hand*, but the Greek word is λογχοβόλων (Müller, p. 50, col. 2).

lightnings when they flash from heaven to earth, the people who were wounded with the stones from the slings were many, and within the city and in the houses they were smitten by the arrows and missiles, and died. The city of the Thebans was burning three days and three nights; and on the fourth day, the gate of the city, at which Alexander was fighting, fell down all at once, and Alexander entered the city with a number of men; and when he had entered he commanded to throw open the other gates. And the four thousand horsemen with their horses[1] entered the city, and Alexander commanded them and said to them, "Slay all the people of the city." Now the walls of the city and the houses were broken up by the fire and were falling down. Then the army of the Macedonians made haste to slay the people, as the king had commanded them; and on a sudden much blood was shed in the city. When Alexander saw the great bloodshed and the destruction of the Thebans, he rejoiced in his mind and was glad. As the Macedonians desisted not from slaughter, neither were the blades of their swords sated with blood, and the Thebans, since they had no deliverance nor place of refuge, were perishing [before them], a certain singer who was a Theban by race, a man well trained and wise and of understanding, and who knew the Macedonian language,—this man, when he saw that the whole city of Thebes was on fire, and that every class of people in it were perishing, groaned bitterly like a man who was mourning for his country. Then he took his pipe in his hand and chanted skilfully and cunningly in the Macedonian tongue in strains doleful and sad and full of lamentation, and came before Alexander. Now by that mournful song and lugubrious strain Alexander's anger was a little pacified, and he spake with a loud voice to his forces saying, "Fellow soldiers, this singer knows how to work ill, for that implacable anger [of mine] against the Thebans, behold, he has extinguished."

And when the singer came into the presence of Alexander, he said, "Mighty king, great in power, and rich in knowledge, listen with compassionate heart to the voice of the Thebans thy

[1] The Syriac text has "with their heads" or "chiefs." Considering the Greek text (Müller, p. 51, col. 1), we must read either "with their horses," or "with their arms." The former seems better.

servants who have rightly received their chastisement, who have not understood that thy power is like unto that of the gods. Now therefore we worship thee as a god, and take thee as a lord, the greatest of the gods. All we Thebans are in thy victorious hands that never yield: let thy mind be pacified and spare us. Know also that the destruction of the Thebans will be an injury to thyself in the first place, because thou too art a Theban and a son of our divine race, and thy serpent's head, which [thou dost inherit] from thy father, is from here; for the country belongs to Zeus. Dionysus, glorious in his being, and beautiful and splendid in his appearance, was born here; and Heracles, the hero of the twelve labours, the son of Zeus and Alcmene, appeared here; and Ammon, clothed with pride and .....his horns[1], was born in Thebes. All these gods are thy fathers and thy progenitors; and when they were born, they were born for the rest and the peace and the joy of men, and their aid and protection were extended over all mankind. Do thou too, therefore, rest from thine anger, and turn again to thy compassion; put away wrath, and draw nigh to gentleness; for thou too art of the race of the gods. Turn not away thy face from this beautiful gate which they call after Dionysus, which is now burning with flames of fire and ready to fall; and do not uproot this place built with oxen (?), for a temple like this [has never been] made in all [the world]. With a kind heart turn thy face [toward us], and look upon thy servants; for behold, small and great are perishing by one blow! Spare this great temple, thou that art of the race of the three gods; despise not the strength of the mighty Heracles, nor the pride of the glorious Ammon, nor the watchfulness of the beloved Dionysus. That these walls are thus rent asunder and falling is a great disgrace to the Macedonians. Knowest thou not, king Alexander, that thou thyself art a Theban, and that Philip was not thy father? Look and spare and compassionate the Thebans thy countrymen, for behold they all entreat thee with supplication, with the gods upon their hands, and they are seized with weeping on account of thee. Look at this Heracles, who for

[1] In the Syriac text the name of "Darius" has taken the place of an adjective referring to the god Ammon and his horns.

the sake of the peace of mankind wrought twelve wondrous deeds in the world. Do thou also be like him, and turn thy wrath to mercy; and as the rain that waters the ground, do thou too in thy mercy rain down goodness upon them. Please all the gods, and do not ignorantly uproot the city of thy ancestors. Look, O king, and see, for this wall Zêthus the shepherd made, and Amphion who sang to the lyre[1], and they dwelt therein; and in this place Cadmus took Harmonia to wife; and in this place Aphrodite committed adultery with the Thracian. Do not then stupidly and without counsel uproot and destroy this place, founded by all the gods. For Zeus the first (of the gods) slept in this place three nights and begat children here, and then ascended to heaven. This high altar which thou seest is that of Hera, the mother of the gods, and this tripod of divination belonged to Teiresias; and all augury went forth from here. In this place Ardîpos perished by the hands of Phôkos[2], and this river which thou seest is.....[3] and this is the fountain the pipes of which are silver, which the gods gave[4]. This place dense with foliage belongs to Artemis; she came to bathe therein, and the lustful Actaeon appeared to her naked, but he was severely punished by her, because he desired to see what was not lawful. And in this mountain which thou commandest to be destroyed, Artemis followed the chase. Why then dost thou despise in this manner the gods whose offspring thou art? for thou art of the race of Heracles."

While the singer was chanting these verses to Alexander in a lugubrious voice, anger seized on Alexander and he gnashed his teeth, saying, "O thou of evil race, fellow-counsellor and plotter with devils, thou stringest words together to the sound of the pipes, and thinkest that thou wilt be able to lead Alex-

[1] In the Syriac "and Alôros and Olympion."

[2] Both names in this clause are obviously corrupt. The Greek text has Λέαρχος and Ἀθάμας (see Müller, p. 52, col. 1, line 20).

[3] Too corrupt to admit of translation. The corresponding Greek is, οὗτος ἀπόρρους ἐκ μέσου Κιθαιρῶνος Ἰσμηνός ἐστι βακχεῖον φέρων ὕδωρ (Müller, *loc. cit.*, l. 26, 27).

[4] Or according to another reading, "and this is the fountain in which the gods placed pipes of silver." The corresponding Greek words (Müller, p. 52, col. 2, line 2) are αὕτη θεῶν πηγὴ καὶ ἱερὰ κρήνη, ἐξ ἧς ἀναβλύζουσιν ἀργυραῖ νύμφαι.

ander astray with words strung together and learned by heart, and knowest not that thou art leading thyself astray and not me. Even if this city be really, as thou sayest it is, the dwellingplace of the gods, thou knowest now that it has been destroyed on account of the baseness of the Thebans. Its temples too have been polluted and defiled, and therefore it is right that I should purify them by fire, because, according to what thou thyself hast said, the city belongs to my ancestors. This too I desire to know; since ye know, as ye yourselves say, who I am and by whom I was begotten, and that I am the offspring of the gods whose temples are here, why did ye come forth with battle and war against your own countryman? It would have been far more fitting, had ye given horsemen and foot-soldiers to aid me, and had ye thought within yourselves saying, 'Alexander is our countryman, and now that he is in difficulties it is good for us that we be his helpers;' it would also have been right for you to have received the Macedonians with kisses and affection as if they were your brethren. But now that ye have contended in war with Alexander, and have made trial of his arms, and have seen that ye are not able to stand before him, ye string words together, saying, 'Alexander is a Theban and our own countryman.' Now therefore I make known to you that ye should not have contended with nor opposed in war one that is your countryman, more especially one who is of the race of the gods, as ye yourselves have said; and on account of this deed ye are all guilty of death; but everyone who up to the present has escaped death I will let live for the sake of the skill of this singer. Go whithersoever ye please, for ye shall no longer have a home in Thebes, and no one shall be allowed to make mention again of the name of Thebes, and whoever shall name its name shall die; for henceforth this name shall no longer be a name, and this city shall be no city." Then he straightway expelled from the country those Thebans who remained alive, and he himself departed with his troops.

XLVII. Those Thebans whom Alexander had expelled from their country went to Apollo at Delphi to divine and to ask an oracle, if a time would come to their country when their city should be rebuilt. Then the Pythia drank of the water of

the fountain of Castalia, that she might receive an oracle therefrom: and straightway she answered and said to them, "When the three athletes Polynicus, Antimachus [Clitomachus] and Tarḳâtîs (?) hold contest with one another, then will Thebes be rebuilt." When they heard this oracle, they turned and came from thence, and were continually awaiting [the fulfilment of] this augury.

Alexander went to Corinth, and arrived there while the Olympic games of the Corinthians were going on. Then the people of Corinth asked Alexander to become a spectator of the Olympic games with them; and Alexander consented, and went to the place of the contest, and sat with the Corinthians, and distributed crowns and gifts to the athletes who were victorious in the contest. On that same day a man from the city of the Thebans was present at the Olympic games, and he contested bravely in the athletic exercises, and his name was Antimachus [Clitomachus]. Now this man had written down his name and held himself ready to contest with three athletes.× And when the man came into the arena, he threw two of them dexterously and skilfully to the ground, at which even Alexander marvelled and applauded him greatly. And when he came to Alexander to receive the crown, Alexander said to him, "If thou art able to throw this third man also, go, first of all take up the contest with him, and then return, and thou shalt receive the three crowns at one time and gifts, and whatsoever favour thou shalt ask of me I will give thee." Now when this athlete took up the third contest, he exhibited in it many tricks of skill in wrestling, and then he threw his adversary to the ground. And when he rose up from off him, and came to receive the crowns, the herald said to him, "What is thy name, and from what city art thou, that I may proclaim concerning thee and may make known thy deeds?" He said to the herald, "My name is Antimachus [Clitomachus] but I have no city." Alexander said to him, "How is it that so brave and expert and trained and skilful a man as thou art, who in one contest hast thrown three athletes, and who art now about to receive from me the crowns of victory, hast no city?" The athlete said, "O illustrious king and doer of good things, formerly, when Alexander was not king, I had a city; but after Alexander became king, he

× Διὸς scil. καθ' ἕνα πάλη, παγκράτιον Kampfrichter: Πάλη, Παγκράτιον

destroyed my city and made its name no name." Then Alexander recognised him by his speech to be a Theban, and handed to him the three crowns of victory, and bade the herald proclaim him to be of the city of Thebes, "but", said he, "I command the city to be built anew, because of these three × gods who aided him in this contest."

× four scil. καθ' ἕνα πάλη, παγκράτιον Kampfrichter: Πάλη, Παγκράτιον

BOOK II.

I. Again Alexander set out from Corinth and came to Plataeae, a city of the Athenians, where they worship Proserpine[1]; and when he entered the temple of the god he found a priestess weaving purple. And as soon as she saw Alexander she said to him, "King Alexander, it is granted to thee to be renowned and chief among all men." When Alexander heard this speech, he commanded gifts to be given to her. A few days after, he who was ruler in the land went into the temple; and when the priestess saw the ruler, she said to him, "They will now speedily remove thee from this thy rule." The ruler however did not believe her, but he laughed in his anger and said to the priestess, "O woman unworthy of the office of divination, when Alexander entered this place, thou saidst to him, 'Thou wilt be chief and famous among all mankind'; and now when I come thou sayest to me, 'They will remove thee from thy rule.' Now I will make an interpretation of this augury of thine on thyself." So he gave orders and expelled her from her office of priestess, and set another in her place. Then the priestess said to the ruler, "Be not angry at this, for the gods determine beforehand everything that is to be, and indicate it to men in various countries, especially concerning the affairs of governors and rulers and distinguished men. When Alexander entered this place, it fell out that I had just thrown purple upon the garment which I was weaving and had begun to weave; now purple is a well known sign of royalty: but now, when thou didst enter, I was cutting off the garment from the loom, and this is a sign that the end is come to thy work, and that they will remove thee from the rule."

When Alexander heard that the ruler had removed that

[1] The Syriac text has "worship fire," but the word ܢܘܪ seems to be an error for ܟܘܪ, i.e. ἡ Κόρη (see Müller, p. 54, col. 1).

priestess from her office, he commanded that she should be reinstated therein, and he made another ruler in his place. And it was straightway done as Alexander had commanded. But the ruler who was dismissed went to the Athenians, and related to them everything which Alexander had done to him. When the Athenians heard this, they considered it, and it displeased them much, and they reproached Alexander. When Alexander heard this, he wrote a letter to the Athenians, and put in it as follows. "From king Alexander to the Athenians. Since my father died, I have by destiny received the kingdom, and I have subdued most of the nations of the regions of the west, and all of them have received me with good will as king. I have also taken from them troops as auxiliaries to my army, and by their strength I have subdued the country of Europe, and have destroyed from its very foundations the city of the Thebans who of their own will did wickedness. And now I am come to this region of Asia, because I desire to know how ye will receive me. Therefore I have not written a letter of many words to you, but I speak briefly. Ye Athenians, either be brave, or surrender to the brave, and give a thousand talents of gold every year (as tribute)."

II. And when the Athenians had read this letter, they returned answer: "We the ten orators that are in Athens write thus to Alexander. During the time that thy father was alive, we were much afflicted by his living; and when he died, we were very glad at the death of Philip thy father (whose bones ought to be dug up), whom all the Greeks too hated. And now in the same manner we are incensed against thee, that a foolish boy and impudent, wicked and audacious, should demand a thousand talents every year, and under such a pretext should stir up war with us. Now however, if it be that thou really seekest war, come against us thus in battle array, and we shall be ready." When Alexander had read this letter, he wrote another letter to them. "From Alexander to the Athenians. I have sent Prôdis[1] thither to cut out your tongues and to seize those ten orators who are in your city, and to bring them to me as they deserve; and ye who have not known

[1] Or *Phrôdis*. The Greek and Latin texts have *Leontas* (Müller, p. 55, col. 2).

how to be persuaded by words will then be persuaded by the blaze of fire and the conflagration, at the time when ye see the demolition and destruction of your city. Now therefore send to us those ten orators, that perchance our thought may be for good and our pity be upon the land."

Again they wrote in reply to him: "We will not send them to thee, neither will we do that thing on account of which thou desirest to make war, namely to give tribute." Now when they were gathered together, Aeschines the orator stood upon his feet, and said to the people of the land: "Men of Athens, what is this delay that ye meditate so upon a thing like this? If ye desire to send us to Alexander, send us; and if not, we ourselves will go to Alexander trustfully. Now Philip was a lover of wars, and his star was given to battles and contests; but Alexander was trained by the hands of Aristotle, and he was at school with us. And we are confident that when we go to Alexander, he will be ashamed before us who are his teachers and fellow-learners, and his furious disposition will turn to love."

And when Aeschines had spoken thus, Dêmâtheos [Demades], a young orator stood upon his feet and said: "How long, O Aeschines, wilt thou send forth from thy mouth such timid and alarming words, (saying,) 'Let us not fight with Alexander.' What is this demon of timidity that has power over thee, that thou speakest such words to the people of Athens, and givest them such counsel? Dost thou desire by such counsel as this to make enmity between us and the king of the Persians on account of this silly and proud boy, who has adopted the impudence and insolence of his father, and now wishes to intimidate the Athenians? and even thou wishest to cast terror upon them now. Why pray should we fear to fight with Alexander? We who have chased away the Persians, we who have conquered the Lacedaemonians and the Corinthians, we who in battle have put to flight the Phocians, we who have routed the Zacynthians, shall we be concerned because of this boy Alexander? As to what Aeschines has said, that when Alexander sees his teachers, he will be ashamed before them, and will turn away his wrath, and his disposition will become loving towards us as towards his friends,—he has disgraced us all; he has turned out and removed one who was a ruler in our land

and has put in his place another who is our enemy." And the youthful orator went on: "Aeschines has said, 'When he sees us, he will be ashamed before us,' but he wishes in this way to deliver us naked into his hands. Let us fight," said he to them, "with that headstrong Alexander, for the disposition of the young is ever set upon pride, and their strength loves battle. Some will say, 'Alexander destroyed the Tyrians'; but they do not know that the Tyrians were fit for naught. Others will say, 'Alexander rased the city of the Thebans'; but they do not know that the Thebans were worn out and exhausted by continual battles and wars, wherefore Alexander prevailed over them. Others again will say, 'He led captive the Peloponnesians'; but this was not because of bravery, but owing to a scarcity of food and a famine in their land. Now I remember the mighty Xerxes[1] who essayed the sea with boats and ships and galleys, and covered the dry land with his horsemen, and darkened the brightness of the atmosphere with the sheen of his weapons, and filled the land of the Persians with Greek [slaves]. If then we turned back from here so great a prince and warrior as Xerxes, and broke his boats and ships on the sea, and drove away his horsemen from the land,—I do not mean we who are here present, but Ḳûdḳânôr and Antiphon and Mîsîchîs and Ḳeryâdklîs[2] and the rest of the mighty Athenian warriors who were among us at that time,—shall we now be afraid to make war with this impudent boy Alexander? If however ye wish to send us to Alexander, we are willing to go and die. But we tell you that words are our weapons, and that we are not different from dogs which have merely voice; and ye know that very often the sound of the barking of ten dogs is sufficient to deliver a flock of timid sheep from the claws of the wolves."

III. And when Demades had spoken all these words in the assembly, the Athenians rose and begged of Demosthenes that he would stand up and give counsel beneficial to the commonwealth. Then Demosthenes stood upon his feet and made a sign with his hand to the assembly to be silent. And when

[1] In the Syriac *Khusrô* or *Chosroes*.

[2] These names are evidently very corrupt: in Pseudo-Callisthenes (Müller, p. 57) we find Cynaegirus, Antiphon, and Mnesochares or Mnesicharnus.

they were silent, he said to them: "Fellow citizens,—I do not call you Athenians, because I myself am an Athenian and not a stranger,—ye know that our lives are the life of the commonwealth and that our death in the same way (is its death). Therefore it becomes us with great deliberation to give the advice which will give life to the commonwealth. For this reason too it is necessary for us to conquer. If we are able to fight with Alexander, let us fight; but if we are not able, let us submit to him. Now Aeschines, who has made a speech, has spoken to you craftily; he did not say (to the people) to fight with Alexander, neither did he say not to fight. He is a very aged man, and has given many good and fitting counsels in many assemblies. On the other hand, Demades is a young and inexperienced man, and therefore he has said, 'O Athenians, we —(to wit) Antiphon, and Krintmâkhos, and Ḳandnâḳîr, and Amnismâkhos, and Ḳardânâkêlos,—[1] turned back Xerxes the mighty king and the rest of those vast crowds and many kings.' But the people of the Athenians of whom thou hast made mention, who were famed of old for their prowess, O Demades, we have not with us now; those mighty warriors whose names thou hast called to mind as having been of old with us in Athens, that we might fight against Alexander trusting in their strength. But as they are long dead, and we have no other warriors in Athens like unto them, I do not wish that we should fight with Alexander, for every time has its own strength. We orators then, our strength and our weapons are words, but in power to fight we are weak. O Demades, what thou didst say, thou saidst rightly. During the time that he was king, the mighty Xerxes was defeated in many battles; but Alexander has carried on thirteen wars and has not been defeated in one of them, on the contrary he has seized many countries without any fighting and has captured famous cities. Demades has said, 'The Tyrians are of no use in battle; and the Thebans, who were never before defeated in battle, were weary and worn out and exhausted, and therefore they were defeated; the Peloponnesians were defeated on account of the scarcity and famine, and not by the hands of Alexander.' He heard that

[1] These are the same names that appeared above, with the addition of Krintmâkhos = Klitomachus.

there was a famine in their land, and he, who was ready to go against them in war, sent them clothes and food from Macedonia; and when the general Antigonus saw Alexander (doing thus), he said to him, 'Dost thou send clothing and food to people with whom thou wishest to make war?' Alexander said, 'It is much better that I should fight with them and subdue them than that we should fight with them in a starving condition and utterly destroy them.' Now as regards this ruler in whose stead Alexander commanded another to be put, why are ye angry? He is a king, and that ruler wished to withstand him. If ye judge the case rightly, ye will all be grateful to Alexander in this matter, and will be angry with the ruler, because he is a (mere) ruler, and when he removed a priestess and prophetess of the gods, Alexander restored her to her place."

IV. And when Demosthenes had spoken such words as these, and had given the people of the country this advice in this speech, he received much praise from the Amphictyons and was applauded in a variety of ways. Demades stood silent, while Aeschines applauded; Lysias agreed with Demosthenes, and Plato said, "This is my opinion too." Dadnaḳînôs said, "I too am persuaded by this advice;" and Herliṭâ said, "Let it not be otherwise[1];" while to the rest of the people of the country what Demosthenes had said appeared good.

And again Demosthenes said: "As Demades said, king Xerxes filled the land of the Persians with Greek captives; and he praised and applauded Xerxes, who turned the Greek captives into slaves for the Persians. And now he wants to make war with Alexander, who is a Greek, and wishes to bring the Persians into subjection to the Greeks. Demades in his speech praised him that is an enemy, and wishes to make an enemy of him that is a friend and fellow countryman. Consider this too, ye Athenians: no king has ever carried war into Egypt, except Alexander the son of Philip alone, and even he, when he went, did not go with the object of making war, but to consult the oracle, in what place it was granted to him to build a city after his name, from which his name should never be

[1] The Syriac translator has taken ܐܒܕܢ??? and ܐܠܟܣܝ to be names of single persons, but the Greek text has οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες for the former and οἱ Ἡρακλεῖς (?) for the latter.

forgotten. He received the oracle, and built the city, and completely finished it; and [it is] the [Alexandria] which is in the country of Egypt that was under the Persians[1]. [The Egyptians] entreated him that they might be with his army as auxiliaries against the Persians. Then Alexander, filled with wisdom, made answer to them, saying, "It is far better for you, ye Egyptians, to remain dwelling in your own country by the banks of the Nile, and to till your land by its overflowings, than to put on the weapons of Arês and to march far away to war." So the Egyptians came under Alexander's rule, and he built a city in the land of Egypt and gave it to the Greeks. It is for this reason that, when the army of the Macedonians is under service and engaged in fighting, the Egyptians supply it with clothing and corn. In this manner he made Egypt subject to the Greeks, and brought men of all nations to it and made them dwell therein. Just as that land is abundant in crops and tillage, in the same way that city too is become very populous, and they pay large taxes and tribute to the Greeks. If then the Egyptians, who are loved by the Greeks, have taken upon themselves to give tribute to Alexander the Greek, and have counted him to be their lord, why do ye, who are Greeks, wish to be enemies of Alexander and fight with him? Go forth then to fight with Alexander; but Fortune is his slave[2]."

V. And when Demosthenes had spoken these words, the Athenians were unanimously convinced, and they sent to Alexander a golden crown of victory weighing fifty pounds, together with a letter of thanks and gratitude and praise. They wrote down too therein the speech and opinion of each man upon this matter, and sent them to him. And they chose the oldest and best known men from among the Athenians and sent them on an embassy to him, but the ten orators they did not send to him. Then the ambassadors went to Alexander at Plataeae and laid the crown and the letter before him. When Alexander had read this letter and had heard the counsel of Aeschines and the teaching of Demosthenes and the bold words of Demades and the consenting of the people and the praise of the Amphictyons, Alexander composed another letter to them

[1] The Syriac text is evidently defective in this passage.
[2] Literally, "time has given him the hand (of submission)."

and wrote to them as follows: "From Alexander the son of Philip and Olympias to the Athenians. I will not write to you as king until I make all cities subject to the Greeks; but I write to you to send me the ten orators; not that I am going to do them any harm, but that I may salute them as masters and teachers. It is no plan of mine to come against you with weapons and troops, lest ye should count me an enemy; but I think of coming to you with those ten orators, instead of with nobles and princes, and of setting you free from many anxious thoughts and cares. Ye however think otherwise, because ye know your own minds and thoughts, and are aware that ye are guilty in regard to us. At the time when the Scythians[1] fought with the Macedonians, ye were auxiliaries to the Scythians; but when the Corinthians made war with you, the Macedonians assisted you and delivered you from the hands of the Corinthians. We erected a statue of Athene in Macedonia, while ye have swept away from its place the statue of my mother which stood in the temple of Athene in your city. Do ye think that this recompense is just which ye have made unto us? because ye remember all these things, therefore ye are in trouble, saying, 'Alexander will seek revenge upon us.' And because your own minds and thoughts and the deeds which are done by your hands are perverse and crafty continually, therefore ye expect the same behaviour from others. Moreover ye have not left a single man of the glorious and honoured men that are among you whom ye have not despised and ill treated. Ye confined in prison Euclid; and ye cruelly oppressed Tirmastênîs (?)[2], who was the counsellor of right measures, who went to king Cyrus as an ambassador on your behalf. Did ye not disgrace Alcibiades, who was a good general over you. Did ye not also slay Socrates, who was a herald in Hellas? Philip my father too, who assisted you in three wars, ye treated ungratefully. And now ye blame Alexander, who took vengeance for you upon a ruler who had removed your priestess of the goddess Athene, whereas I reinstated her and dismissed the doer of the deed and

[1] Read, as in the Greek text (Müller, p. 60, col. 1), *Zacynthians*.
[2] AE *Tirmastenîs*, BCD *Tirmtênîs*. The single MS. of the Greek text has Ἱπποσθένης, but the Latin translation gives, *Demosthenes*, which Müller follows (p. 60, col. 2).

set up another in his stead. I have read the letter which ye sent me, and by the speeches made the counsel given in your assemblies I have learned of your disturbance. Now Aeschines gave you good advice, and Demades courageously and bravely invited you to war, and Demosthenes gave you excellent counsel. Now then let the Athenians be brave, and let them have no fear of me, and let them fight for freedom; for it would be a disgraceful thing that, while I am fighting for your freedom, ye should not be fighting for yourselves. At present however I require nothing from you, until I conquer Darius."

VI.[1] Then Alexander departed from thence and went to Macedonia [Lacedemonia]. And he came to the border of Persia and encamped by the river Tigris. And Alexander went on an embassy to Darius as far as Babylon. And the Persians came and informed king Darius; and when they had spoken, and Darius had seen Alexander, he bowed himself down and did reverence to Alexander, for he imagined him to be the god Mithras, who had descended (from heaven) and had come to assist the Persians, for his aspect resembled that of the gods; for the crown of gold that was fastened on his head resembled the rays (of the sun), and the robe which he had on was woven with fine gold, and the pieces of armour which were upon his arms were wrought with fair silver, and his sandals were of gold, and his belt was made of pearls and emeralds[2]. And Darius was standing and examining his apparel, and ten thousand horsemen, who formed his body guard, were standing near him, Then Darius asked Alexander, "Who art thou?" Alexander said, "I am the ambassador of Alexander and I have brought a message from him to thee. Thus he says: 'Thou hast delayed to make war on me, and the Macedonians say that because the heart of Darius is timid in battle, therefore he is reluctant (?) to fight.' Now therefore, do not delay but send word to me when thou desirest to come to battle." Then Darius said

[1] The first sentence of this chapter corresponds with the first sentence of Chap. VI. in Müller's Greek text (p. 61, col. 1), but the Syriac text passes on immediately to Chap. XIV. of the Greek (Müller, p. 69, col. 1). Perhaps a couple of quires had fallen out of the Greek MS. from which the translation was made.

[2] In the Greek text it is Alexander who well nigh bows down before Darius, and the subsequent description is that of the Persian king.

to him, "Peradventure thou thyself art Alexander, and not an ambassador"? for Alexander spoke very boldly, and not gently like an ambassador. Darius said to him, "I am not frightened at thy words. Do thou now, according to the custom of ambassadors, partake of a meal with me, for so did Alexander treat my ambassador." Then Darius reclined upon his couch, and his nobles and princes sat at meat before him[1]. The first was Darius, the second Bar-nôrag his brother, the third Vashnêi, the fourth Dôzvarg, the fifth Bâmar, the sixth Zâdmihr, the seventh Vârdar, the eighth Kni'ar[2], the ninth.....the king of the barbarians, the tenth Prôdîs the chief of the host, the eleventh Prîyôz the general, the twelfth Rêbîthmâs; and opposite Darius, in the middle, sat Alexander who was the ambassador.

VII.[3] And all the people were wondering at him because he was small in stature, but his words were very keen. And when they had eaten, they called for wine in a jar. Every golden cup which they passed to Alexander, he poured the wine upon the ground and placed the vessel in his bosom; when they saw what he was doing, they told Darius; and Darius, when he heard it, rose from his couch, and came to Alexander and said to him, "O doer of valiant deeds, why dost thou act in this manner, putting all the drinking cups in thy bosom?" Alexander said, "When my master Alexander makes a feast for his nobles, he gives all the golden drinking cups to them, and I thought that thou wouldst act in the same way; but now, since thou hast not a similar custom, behold the drinking-cups are before thee, command and I will restore thy gold to thee." Then Darius said, "I too command that they leave thy gold to thee." Meanwhile all the Persians were looking at Alexander and marvelling, because his words were mighty and full of knowledge. When then a certain lord, whose name was Pûsâk [Pasargês], who had once been sent by Darius to Macedonia, on an embassy to Philip, Alexander's father, had carefully scrutinised

[1] Compare the text of Codex A in Müller, p. 69, note 23.

[2] This name *Kni'ar* is no doubt corrupt; and instead of the name of the king of the barbarians we have the Syriac words *wa-m'ar'thâ*, meaning "and the middle."

[3] Chap. XV. of the Greek text (Müller, p. 70).

Alexander, he recognised him, and said to Darius in the Persian language, "O doer of good things, king Darius, give orders that they guard this ambassador most carefully, for he himself is Alexander, and I recognise him by his appearance and know that it is he." When Darius and his nobles and princes heard this, they began to speak with one another, and to watch Alexander closely. Then Alexander perceived this, and rose up from the banquetting hall, and sprang towards the king's gate, with all the vessels of gold, which he had in his bosom; and at the king's gate he found a sentinel, holding in his hand a flaming torch of cedar-wood, and he slew him and took it from him. And he mounted a horse and dug his heels into its flanks, at the same time holding the blazing torch of cedar-wood before its eyes; and the horse by the light of the fire galloped furiously down the road and came to the bank of a river. Then messengers went out after him in haste, but the greater part of them fell into pits and holes because of the darkness of the night. Now Alexander by the might of the gods crossed the river, but when he had reached the other side and the fore feet of the horse rested on dry land, the water which had been frozen over suddenly melted, and the hind legs of the horse went down into the river. Alexander however leaped from the horse to land, and the horse was drowned in the river. When the messengers came to the bank of the river and saw that Alexander had crossed over, while they were unable to pass over after him, they marvelled and said one to another, "Great is Alexander's luck, which has given him a passage over so great a river and he has been able to cross it." And when they returned, they came to Darius and informed him of Alexander's escape and of his crossing the river. Darius was in great trouble, and a sign suddenly appeared to him; for the picture of king Xerxes, whom Darius loved, was painted on the wall of the banqueting room, and suddenly it peeled off from the wall and fell to the ground under the very eyes of Darius. After Alexander had crossed the river, he rested from his running and from his toil, and getting on his feet, he walked on; and in the darkness of the night he saw Âmôrôs [Eumêlus] the general standing by himself, in great trouble because of Alexander and

weeping. Then Alexander told Âmôrôs all the things which had befallen him.

VIII. And then he took him and went to the army, and commanded the whole army to be gathered to one place, and he himself stood in the midst of them. And when he saw that his army was despised in the sight of Darius, he said to himself, "O heavenly Zeus, give victory to this small band of Macedonians;" and when he had counted them, the army of Macedonians consisted of a hundred and thirty thousand, besides the rest of the peoples that were with him; and they were all skilful and brave. Then Alexander went up to a high place and said to his troops: "My fellow-soldiers and friends, I know that our army is small, but it is not right for us to be afraid on this account, for one man of us through his bravery is better than a hundred of them. The bees that make honey are very numerous, and whithersoever they fly they darken the air by their flight, but when a little smoke comes near them, they all flee away and are dispersed. Now the army of Darius is like nothing but a swarm of bees; therefore fear them not." And when Alexander had spoken thus to his troops, he inspired them with courage and stirred them up and incited them to fight.

IX. And he departed from thence and came to the river Estṛakînôs [Strangas]. Then Darius encouraged his troops, saying, "Fear not, though ye be very few in number;" and Darius was troubled on account of the smallness of his army. And when he found that the river was frozen, he crossed the river and commanded the heralds to cry with a loud voice and to invite the Macedonians to battle. Now the troops of the Persian phalanx were without number and were prepared for war with weapons of all sorts and with chariots and with long scythes. Then Alexander clad in armour came at the head of the Macedonians, and he was riding upon the horse called Bucephalus, which no man dared to approach, for the power of the gods was upon him. Then from the camps of both sides the horns and trumpets sounded the fearful blasts of war, and the two armies closed with one another. And from the second to the fifth hour the fight was so fierce that the whole river side and the valley and the

ravines were filled with the corpses and blood of the slain. Now although such was the case, the troops of the Greeks did not turn their faces from the fight. And when Darius saw that a great number of the mighty men of his army were dead, and that the Macedonians did not turn their faces from the battle, fear fell upon his heart, and he turned the reins of the horses of his chariot, and the whole host of warriors turned back after him. Then Alexander's foot soldiers armed with long scythes pursued them and mowed them down like corn in the field. And Darius being vanquished came to a certain river, and finding it frozen, he himself crossed over it in his chariot; but when the army of Darius came to the bank of the river, the troops began to cross over it, and suddenly the ice of the river melted under them, and the army was drowned in the river, and those that remained upon the other side of the river were slaughtered by the Macedonians. Then Darius went into his palace, and threw himself upon his face on the ground, and began to weep for the army of the country, for all the warriors of the country were dead and had perished, and for the land which had been emptied of its mighty men; and he began to say: "Woe is me, which of the stars is it that has destroyed the kingdom of the Persians? I, Darius, who subdued many lands and cities and nations, and reduced a multitude of islands and towns to slavery, have now entered my palace in flight and discomfiture. I who with the sun traversed the world—but in brief, it is not right for a man to rely upon his destiny, for if his luck turn and there be an opportunity, it lifts up and exalts the most despised of men and seats him above the clouds, while it brings down the lofty from his height and casts him into the depths." And when he had said this, he rose up from his palace and collected his thoughts, and composed a letter to Alexander and wrote to him thus: "From Darius the king to my lord Alexander. Know first of all that thou art born a man; and I will give thee this token that even thou mayest not meditate anything too great for thee. Because even the mighty Xerxes, who shewed me the light,—he whom the Greeks so loved, as thou must have heard[1],—meditated something too high for him, and

[1] The Syriac text appears to be corrupt in this passage.

afterwards, having given his mind to greediness, he who lacked nothing, neither gold nor pearls, nor precious stones nor statues of brass, when his good luck left him, returned from Hellas defeated. And now, call thou these things to mind, and be gracious to us and have mercy upon us, for we have now fled to thee for refuge. Behold now my mother and my wife and my daughter, those who have been given to me by the gods as a joy from the god of gods; they were famed and honoured throughout the whole world; do thou take them as thy slaves. And I will shew thee the treasures which my ancestors laid up from the beginning upon the earth. And I will entreat the gods that henceforth thou mayest be master over the Palhâyê [Parthians], and the Persians, and the rest of the nations of the world, all the days of thy life; because Zeus hath exalted thee. Farewell."

And when Alexander had read this letter, he gave orders to assemble the troops that they might consider the matter together. And when they were gathered together, Plimthiôn [Parmeniôn] the general said: "O king, if we receive the treasures and possessions and land which have been wrested from us, we must deliver up to him his mother and wife and daughter. But Darius ought to have sent this message before the battle. I know this, if he had been victor in this struggle, he would not only have asked for his mother and wife and daughter, but would have taken away our land from us. And know, O king, that Darius offended us first and took our land from us; and now it is right and just and lawful if we avenge ourselves on Darius, who seized a land which did not belong to him, and has held it until now. We know also, O king, that thou camest forth from thy country to seek thine own dominions. Had he restored to us our land, thou, O king, would'st never have come hither." Then Alexander said, "The matter is exactly as thou hast said," and he straightway gave orders to attend to those who had been smitten and wounded in the battle, and to bury the dead. He bade them also to offer sacrifices to the gods of the land, and to burn the palace of Xerxes, the like of which for beauty and magnificence existed not in the whole country; but after a short time Alexander repented and gave orders to extinguish the fire in the palace of Xerxes.

X. And he saw there many graves of the Persians with vessels of gold and cups of silver in which wine was mingled. He saw also the grave of king Pâkôr, which was built with stones and lime in the form of a tower and had no roof, and there was a large chamber made in it, and over the chamber was an upper room; and in that upper room was a golden coffin, in which was laid the body of king Cyrus (Kôresh), and a slab of crystal was cast so as to fit it exactly, and the hair and the body of Cyrus were seen through the crystal. Now in this tower certain Greek artisans[1] were imprisoned, some with their hands or ears cut off, and some with their noses slit, and their feet were bound with fetters. When the Macedonians had gone to that building, those who were imprisoned therein cried out in the Greek tongue to Alexander, "Have mercy upon us, and take pity on thy servants and thy countrymen." And when Alexander saw that their limbs were mutilated and their appearance was horrible, he let the tears fall from his eyes and was very grieved for them, and bade them to be loosed from their fetters. He gave orders too that a thousand zûzê[2] should be given to each one of them with meat and food, and that they should return to their own country. But after they had received the zûzê from the king, they begged as a favour that land and water might be given them, and that they might not return to their own country, lest, by reason of the defects of their bodies, they should become a reproach and a disgrace to their brethren. Then Alexander ordered that the best and most excellent of land and water should be given to them, and that to each man should be given six working oxen together with other property.

XI. After these things Darius made ready for war, and he wrote a letter to Porus, the king of the Indians. "From Darius the king of kings to Porus the king of the Indians, greeting. I have written letters to thee before, asking for assistance in the ruin of my house, because the savageness and fury of this evil beast, which is come against me, do not, as it seems to me, resemble man's; it casts itself into the sea, and loves battle by water, and does not wish to give back to me my mother and my wife and my daughter, neither does he desire to make peace

[1] The Greek text has "certain Greeks, Athenians" (Müller, p. 75, col. 1).

[2] *Zûzâ* is the equivalent of the Arabic *dirham*, δραχμή.

with me in any way whatsoever. Therefore I have no resource but of necessity am bound to fight with him. Now thus will I do; either I will take his country from him, or I myself will no longer go about among the living in this world. Have pity then upon me at this time, and avenge me that am despised. Remember too the mutual love and friendship, and confidence which existed between our fathers, and give orders to gather together troops from every place and bring them with thee to the Caspian gates, which are called Vîrôphhâgâr; and I will give to every single man of those who come to my assistance every month three horses and six darics and corn and straw and hay and whatever food he requires; and to thee will I give the half of whatever spoil and booty they make. I will give to thee too the horse called Bucephalus upon which Alexander rides; and I will give thee the royal lands together with his royal palace and one hundred and seventy concubines with their ornaments and trinkets and clothing." Then the report (of this) reached Alexander, and he straightway armed his troops and set out from thence, and went forth to the country of the Parthians. And when Darius heard that Alexander was come from the place which was called Bețmĕthâ[1], he arose and wished to flee before Alexander; and when Alexander heard this, he pursued after him quickly.

XII. And when he was come nigh, the nobles of Darius acted treacherously, and Bâgîz and Ânâbdêh[2], Darius's generals wished to slay him that they might receive gifts from Alexander, as from a man whose enemy they had slain. Then with drawn swords they rushed upon Darius, and Darius knew their treachery and answered and said to them: "My lords, who aforetime were my servants, in what have I offended you that ye wish to slay me? Do not do to me anything worse than what the Macedonians have done to me, and let not your hands be against me like those of Alexander. See too that I am perpetually in tears and in great trouble; my fortune is evil and treacherous. Peradventure, if ye slay me, and Alexander comes

[1] The Greek text has Ἠκουσε δὲ Δαρεῖον εἶναι ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις, with the var. ἐν Βαράνοις, Lat., *in Bathanis*.

[2] The Greek equivalents are ὁ Βῆσσος καὶ ὁ Ἀριοβαρζάνης (Müller, p. 76, col. 2).

and finds a king slain by the treachery of his troops, he will take fierce vengeance upon you; for it is not right that a king should see a fellow king treacherously slain by his troops and should overlook it and not avenge his cause. When Darius had spoken these words, Bâgîz and Ânâbdêh stabbed him with their swords, driving them right through his back, and Darius fell to the ground. When the army of the Macedonians came up, Alexander commanded them to halt, and he went up to Darius alone. And when Bâgîz and Ânâbdêh saw Alexander at a distance, they left Darius their lord half dead, and fled, that they might see how pleased Alexander would be by reason of the death of Darius. But when Alexander came up to Darius, and saw that he had been mercilessly stabbed and was lying on the ground, he let fall tears from his eyes upon Darius, and spread over Darius the purple garment with which he was clothed, and sat down by him, and laid his hand upon the breast of Darius, and said to Darius sorrowfully: "Rise up, Darius: be lord again over thy land, and take the royal crown of the Persians, and be again renowned for greatness. I swear an oath by all the gods that I say this in sincerity and do not speak falsely; I will restore and give to thee alone the crown and kingship, because I ate salt at thy table when I came to thee as a spy. And now stand up and play the man; for it does not become a king to be in trouble because his luck turns away from him for a little while. We are all men, and are yoked to fate, and as fate wills so it exalts us. Arise now, and play the man, and take thy country, and henceforth thou shalt have no trouble or sorrow through me. Say then now, who these are that stabbed thee, and I will take vengeance for thee upon them."

When Alexander had spoken all these words, Darius heaved sighs and let fall tears from his eyes, and took Alexander's hand from his breast and brought it to his mouth and kissed it, and said to him: "My son Alexander, never let thy mind be lifted up by vainglorious arrogance; for thou doest and performest and orderest all deeds and works and orderings like the gods, and thou mayest imagine in thy mind that thy hands have reached heaven. Then it will be necessary for thee to fear what may happen in the hereafter. Because of this it is certain to me

that fate is known neither to the king nor to the meanest among men, and that the final destiny of men is hidden and concealed from all. Look now what I was, and what I am: I who proudly subdued and captured countries and lords and many kings of the earth trembled at me; and now I am cast away like the lowest of all men. And of all the host of my generals and officers and ambassadors, not one is near me now to close my eyes, except these hands of thine, O king, doer of good things. Let the Macedonians and Persians sit in mourning for me, and let the two armies become one, and let the seed of Philip and Darius be one. And as for Ariôdocht [Îrândokht][1] my mother, regard her now as if thou thyself wert born of her, and consider my wife as thy sister, and take my daughter Rôshnâk [Roxane] for thy wife, that the seed of Darius and of Philip may be mingled in her." Then Alexander brought his hand to the face of Darius, who said, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit[2];" and straightway his soul departed.

XIII. Then Alexander gave orders to wash the body of Darius, and to array him in royal apparel, and that all the officers of the Macedonian and Persian armies should march in full armour before Darius; and he together with the Persian nobles bore the bier of Darius, and he went on foot to the grave, and the bier of Darius was carried to the grave upon their shoulders.

When the Persians saw these things, they applauded Alexander's care for Darius; and their minds were led away by love for him. And when Alexander had buried Darius with honour and had returned from the grave, the whole army of the Persians submitted to him. Then Alexander ordered a proclamation to be written to the rest of the people in the land of Persia as follows: "From Alexander the king, whose father is the god Ammon and whose mother is the queen Olympias, to all the Persians that dwell in the cities and towns of the land of Persia, greeting. I desire that all men should live and not die an evil death; and now God has made me master of the country

[1] See Chap. XIV. near the beginning.

[2] Literally, "in thy hands I leave my spirit." These words seem to contain a reminiscence of S. Luke's Gospel, ch. xxiii. 46, and so betray the Christian translator. The Greek text (Müller, p. 78, col. 1) is ἐξέπνευσε τὸ πνεῦμα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν Ἀλεξάνδρου.

of Persia, and has exalted me over you. Let the lords, the nobles of your country, who served of old in the army of Darius, come now and march with me in my army, even as they formerly marched with Darius. Let them not accept any other master in their thoughts save me, Alexander. And I will give orders that every single man of you shall retain his own religion and gods and laws, and shall keep his festivals and his sacrifices, and no one shall be allowed to do anything to you by violence. Every one shall rejoice in his own possessions, save the gold and silver which we command to be gathered together and to be conveyed to our city to be coined into money and into dinârs bearing my image; and we order that, if zûzê or darics be found with you, even though our own money be struck, they shall be left there with you. Let all the lords [satraps] and generals, together with the rest of the people who are fit for war, come to help my army. Nation shall not be mingled with nation, neither shall one man go from his own land to another, except those who travel for the sake of merchandise, and even of these not more than ten or twenty shall be allowed to go. Till the land and dwell in it in prosperity as in the days of Darius the king; for we desire that prosperity and abundance should be in your land. Whosoever of you desires to go to Hellas to trade and to come back from Hellas to the land of Persia, shall be allowed to go and to come. And I command the lords [satraps] and all the inhabitants that are on this road from the bank of the Euphrates to Hellas to divide and measure the road in equal portions, to pave it with stones and lime, to set up mile stones, and to write directions at the turnings of the roads, that every man may know by the writings whither the road goes, and may not have trouble and be compelled to ask questions on the road. And we command that what Darius gave every year, year by year, to the temple of the ministers of the gods for the salvation of his soul, shall now be given each year where it is due, from the crops and taxes of the land, for the salvation of his soul. And let them make a feast and offerings every year on his birthday as they do upon the birthday of king Cyrus. And we command that damsels, the daughters of free men, virgins whom men have not known, shall enter into the temple of the god whom my mother Olympias worships, for

the space of one year for the service of the gods; and when they have arrived at the age for marriage, they shall go forth from the ministry, and shall receive a dowry of five thousand dinârs from the treasury of the god, and shall marry. And we command that all youths and men who are in the country of the Persians shall train themselves continually in warlike exercises and arms until we come to them and select from them those that please us. And if there be any one now who is well trained in horsemanship and arms, weapons shall be given him out of the armoury of the king, and a war horse, and a beaker of gold worth twelve dinârs, each weighing eight *mithkâls*, and five cups of silver, each of them holding what a man can take at a draught, and one suit of Persian raiment, and a belt of gold; and he shall be sent to the army. And if there be any one of them who is trained in war and who has made himself a famous name, there shall be given to him a Persian crown of gold, and a suit of white raiment, and two cups of gold, and one hundred darics, and seventy staters; and his likeness shall be painted and shall be sent to the temple of the god of Alexander. We command too that the priests of the gods shall be held in honour by all men, and they shall set a crown of gold upon their heads, and shall wear purple clothing, especially on festival days. We desire also that ye shall bring before the priests any dispute which ye may have one with another, and they shall decide it, and terminate the matter for them with moderation."

After Alexander had composed this writing, he turned and looked upon the hosts of the Macedonians and Persians with a sad face, and he made known to them and said, "He whom I have removed from his kingdom was a great and mighty king, but he was not my lord, neither did I slay him. Now the men who slew him are those whom I know not, and it befits me to give them great gifts, and high posts, and honours, and lands, and many men, because they have slain mine enemy." When Alexander had made this speech, every Persian regarded his fellow, and the colour in their faces was changed by reason of fear, and one said to another, "Alexander is trying to search out our minds, wishing to know who it is that slew Darius." And again he said to them: "I am Alexander.

Him that slew mine enemy I seek to honour, whether he be Macedonian or Persian; let him come and fear not; for I swear by the gods, and by the life of my mother Olympias, that I will make renowned and great him that slew Darius, and I will exalt him over my troops." When Alexander had sworn this oath, the Persian host began to weep. Then the evildoers Bâgiz and Ânâbdêh came near to Alexander of their own free will and answered and said to him, "O king, doer of good things, it is we who slew Darius." When Alexander heard this, he commanded that they should be bound, and should be carried to the grave of Darius, and impaled upon a lofty stake. Then these evildoers said to him with a loud voice, "Our lord, the oath which thou hast sworn by all the gods and by the life of Olympias thy mother is false." Then Alexander said: "I spoke not this word of persuasion for your sakes, but for the sake of the armies who stand listening, because I was unable to bring you into the way of justice in any other manner than this. Had I not done so, I should have appeared to be rejoicing in the death of Darius, the more so as I accounted him an enemy. But my supplication and entreaty to the gods was this, that I might be enabled to destroy him that slew Darius; for how can a man who was not true to his lord, but who slew his lord audaciously and unmercifully, be true to us? See then, we do not lie with respect to the oath which we have sworn; for now, just as I sware to you, I will make you a spectacle and a marvel to the whole camp, and I will lift you up on stakes." So he straightway commanded them to be led away and impaled upon high stakes. Then all the hosts of the Persians applauded Alexander.

XIV. After a few days Alexander wrote a letter to the mother and wife of Darius as follows. "From king Alexander to Îrândokht and Estĕhar[1] [Statira] greeting. At the time when king Darius opposed us with hostility, we sought to avenge ourselves according to the will of God. Although we

[1] So the name is pointed in Syriac, but the letter ܛ should rather be taken as the equivalent of a Greek vowel. If we write ܣܛܪܐ, we have an adequate representation of the form Στάρεια, more commonly Στάτειρα (or Στατείρα, MSS. Στατῆρα), for ܛ is constantly = ε.

sought the victory over Darius, we did not desire his death. On the contrary, our desire was that he might live and be under our dominion. We found him however stabbed by the hand of his troops and lying upon the ground, with very little life left in him. I was very grieved for him, and because of my sorrow I threw over him the purple robe with which I was clothed, and covered him. And I asked him, 'Who is he that slew thee?' But when he had begun to give me instructions concerning his mother and his wife and Rôshnâk [Roxane] his daughter, his life departed from him, and he was unable to speak to me concerning other matters. We therefore sought out the evildoers by stratagem, and found them, and slew them as they deserved. We ordered the body of Darius to be buried and to be guarded honourably and fittingly. And we commanded a new grave to be made beside the grave of his father, and his body to be embalmed with spices, and to be laid in the grave. And now we bid you keep yourselves from sorrow and grief, for we will re-establish you in your royalty; therefore remain where ye are, until we have arranged the matters which require arrangement. We command also that Rôshnâk the daughter of Darius be our consort; therefore do reverence to Rôshnâk as to the wife of Alexander." Then they made answer to him and wrote to him as follows: "From Îrândokht and Estĕhar to king Alexander greeting. We make supplication to the heavenly gods, the gods whom Olympias your mother worships, the gods who have bowed down the crown of Darius and brought it to the ground, and have taken the supremacy and dominion from the Persians, that they may make you lord of the world for ever and aye, and that they may exalt you and magnify you in words and in knowledge and in power above all nations. We know that we shall live happily under your wings; and we wish that we may find your luck to be good, and the days of your life without number, because you have not treated us as enemies are wont to treat their captive enemies when they fall into their hands. We have therefore no anxiety in our minds, for in seeing you we see Darius; and from henceforth we will write that all the people that are in the land shall make supplication and prayer to

the gods that you may rule the land and the world for ever and aye, and may your dominion be like that of Hormizd [Ahuramazda]. Rôshnâḳ [Roxane] greets you with reverence because it has pleased you that she should be your consort; and we shall be very joyful on the day that we see your marriage feast, and Zeus gives you Rôshnâḳ to wife." And they wrote another proclamation to all the hosts of the Persians, as follows: "Do not suppose that Darius is dead, for Darius is alive, because the kingdom belongs to Alexander, and Rôshnâḳ, the daughter of Darius, is the wife of Alexander. Therefore take ye all the gods that are in Persia, and go to meet Alexander, and honour him as a god, and pray to the gods on his behalf that his dominion may be for ever and aye; for the kingdom of the Persians belongs to Alexander, and he has exalted it greatly." When Alexander had read this writing, he said: "These words are strange and useless; I do not seek that men should honour me as they do the gods, for I am a mortal man, and I am afraid of anything like this, for there is a heavy penalty for a man when he goes beyond his proper limit. I applaud you and praise your knowledge, for when I made trial of your wisdom it pleased me; and I wrote a letter to Olympias my mother and begged of her the favour that she would come to my marriage feast, if it so pleased her."

On this account.....[1] Alexander wrote a letter to Rôshnâḳ as follows: "From Alexander to Rôshnâḳ my sister greeting. I send thee clothes and other ornaments for thine own self, and to Îrândokht the mother of Darius, and Estĕhar [Statira] his wife, for themselves. Accept then and keep for thyself these clothes and ornaments. First of all be pleasing to the gods; then pay due reverence to Irândokht and Estĕhar, and hold them in honour; and fear thou the command of Olympias my mother, and do not exalt thyself beyond measure. If thou doest these things, both I and thou shall be praised exceedingly and all the gods be well pleased with us." Then Alexander took Rôshnâḳ to wife[2].

[1] The meaning of the words ... (if correctly written) is not known to me. We should expect some epithet applicable to Alexander, as φρενώρης and the like.

[2] The remainder of Book II. (see Müller, p. 82) is wanting in the Syriac translation as well as in the Latin.

BOOK III.

I. AND Alexander heard that Porus the king of the Indians had prepared troops and was wishing to come to the assistance of Darius, but when he heard that Darius was dead, he returned to his own land. And Alexander with all his hosts offered up sacrifices; then taking his army and troops, he went against Porus the king of the Indians. Now when he had gone round about and had marched for many days through a desert and torrents and terrible places and many rivers, all the chiefs of the army were worn out and said among themselves, "We have fought a great deal, we have had enough of war, and there is no need for us to fight any longer. We rightfully fought with Darius, for he imposed tribute upon us, and used to required impost and poll-tax from us every year, and we therefore destroyed Darius as was meet. But now this war is unnecessary, because we are marching against the Indians, who never at any time made war with the Greeks, through this fearfully desert country, being weary and fatigued and worn out with toil. Alexander is brave and a lover of wars, and he wishes to seize all foreign countries; but why should we, who have toiled all this time and are worn out with many battles, go about with him?" And when Alexander heard these things, he commanded that all his forces should be assembled, and he gave orders for the Persian army to stand by itself, and for the Greek and Macedonian armies to stand by themselves. And Alexander said to them with a loud voice: "To you I speak, ye Macedonians and Greeks, my fellow soldiers and auxiliaries. Ye know that the Persian troops are now in my hands, and are neither enemies of mine nor yours. If ye give me orders and it pleases you that I should go by myself, I will go by myself; but I will speak now to you and call to your mind that I by myself was victor in the

previous wars; and henceforth, with whomsoever I choose to fight, I by myself will be victor. In the war with Darius ye were encouraged by my knowledge and my thoughts, because ye did not understand the customs of the Persians neither did ye know their skill. I stood at your head, and it was I who first went to Darius, and I escaped from the hands of Darius, from the river Gûsh[1] and from my other straits. Turn now and go to Macedonia, and guide yourselves wisely if ye are able, for there is no enemy in your way. If I hear that ye have been able to guide yourselves and to arrive safely in Macedonia, I shall know and believe and be convinced that bravery is yours." And when he had spoken these words, all the hosts of the Greeks and Macedonians fell upon their faces and entreated Alexander, saying, "Be reconciled to us, and put away anger from thy heart, and forgive us this folly, and we will be with thee unto the end."

II. Now after a few days Alexander arrived with his troops at a flourishing district in the territory of the Indians. And at that time the letter carriers of Porus the king of the Indians came to him, and brought a letter from Porus to Alexander, in which was written as follows: "From Porus the great king of the Indians to Alexander. I have heard of thee, that thou doest damage in countries and cities, but what art thou able to do to the gods and how canst thou fight against them? Fate came to Darius king of the Persians; thou didst hurl thyself against him, and so thou thinkest that just as thou didst become strong and didst lift thyself up against Darius, so thou art able to exalt thyself against others. But I am he that has never been conquered; I am not only king of men but of the gods also; and the proof (I give) to thee is this, that the god Dionysus returned defeated by the hands of the Indians. I do not now advise thee, but I command thee to go quickly to Hellas thy country, for thou art not able to intimidate me by the war which thou didst carry on with Darius and with the other nations through whose feebleness thou hast become exalted; and so thou thinkest that thou art a mighty man and more exalted than king Porus, the lord of gods and men. Turn now, go back, and depart to thy country Hellas. If we had wanted Hellas, we would have taken it before king Xerxes. But because it is a wretched place and has nothing worthy of a king, we have scorned and despised it and have not subdued it. Therefore I say to thee, every man desires to acquire whatever is good and excellent, and never desires what is hateful. So now for the third time I say to thee, turn and go back, for thou art not able to do anything, therefore do not covet."

[1] See Book II., chap. 7.

Then Alexander commanded that this letter should be read before his troops, and he said to them: "My fellow soldiers, let not your minds be afraid because of these words of king Porus which he has written to me in his letter. Be mindful too of those words which Darius used to write to me. Verily I say unto you that the barbarians and dwellers in all these regions are all as stupid and as ignorant as the wild beasts that live in their country. Leopards and lions and elephants and panthers are over confident by reason of the strength of their bodies, and it is well known that they can be easily captured by the knowledge of man with stratagems and artifices. In the same way the kings who dwell in these regions, and all the barbarians, are proud by reason of the number of their troops, but they will be easily defeated by the knowledge of the Greeks."

When Alexander had spoken to the troops in this manner, he encouraged them mightily and he made answer to Porus by letter as follows: "From Alexander to Porus, the king of the Indians, greeting. The minds of all the troops that are with me have been made proud by these words which thou hast written to me, and their desire has been made the more ready for war by what thou hast said, that there is nothing beautiful and noble to be found in Hellas. By thy saying too that the desire and longing of each man goes after what is beautiful, by reason of this saying I and my forces now long to do battle and to make war with thee. Thou hast by thy words greatly encouraged us against thee, for we Greeks are poor, and there is nothing costly in our land, while ye Indians are rich and what is costly abounds in your land. And now our mind and longing and desire are set upon the fair things

which are to be found in your land, and we will fight with all our heart until we take that which belongs to you. Thou didst also write that thou art king of gods and men, and thou hast exalted thyself above the gods; but I am going to contend in war with thee as with a warrior, and I am not going to do battle with thee as with the gods; for all the weapons in the world are unable to contend against the gods, and how can mortal man contend with Him, before the cold of whose winters and the crashes of whose lightnings and thunders the world is unable to stand? And just as thou art not afraid (of me) by reason of the war which I carried on with Darius and with other nations, even so I am not afraid of these perverse words which thou hast written to me."

III. After Porus had seen this letter, he commanded the whole army to be assembled, and a number of elephants to be brought to the conflict, and mighty wild beasts with them. And when the Macedonians and Persians drew near and came to the ranks of Porus, they saw and trembled, for they observed that the ranks were formed of wild beasts and not of men; and even Alexander himself was afraid, because he was accustomed to fight with men and not with wild beasts. Then he sat down and reflected in his mind, and gave orders to bring such brazen images as could be found among his troops. And when the images were collected, which were in the form of men and quadrupeds,—now they were about twenty-four thousand in number—he ordered a smith's furnace to be set up; and they brought much wood and set fire to it, and heated those images in the fire, and the images became glowing coals of fire. Then they took hold of them with iron tongs, and placed them upon iron chariots, and led the chariots before the ranks of the warriors; and Alexander commanded horns and trumpets to be sounded. When the wild beasts that were in the ranks of the king of the Indians heard the sound of the trumpets, they rushed upon the ranks of Alexander's army; and since the brazen images which were full of fire were in the van, they laid hold of them with their mouths and lips, and burnt their mouths and their lips. Some of them died (on the spot), and some of them retired beaten and fled away to the camp of the king of the Indians. The wise Alexander, having

turned back the wild beasts by this artifice, began to fight with the Indians themselves. Now the battle by day time was very fierce, and the Persian troops prevailed over the Indians in fighting on horseback and with bows and arrows, and many men died on both sides. The horse which was called Bucephalus, upon which Alexander rode, by the sorcery of Porus threw Alexander off his back. Then by reason of this Alexander was in great tribulation, and he went on foot, holding and leading with his hand the horse which was called Bull-head, for he thought, "Peradventure he may fall into the hand of the enemies." And the troops of Alexander did battle with the Indians continually for twenty days, and they were weary and sore enfeebled, and because of their fatigue they wished to surrender to the Indians.

IV. When Alexander perceived that his forces were desirous of doing this, he commanded them to cease [fighting]. He then drew near to the van, and cried with a loud voice to Porus and said to him: "O Porus, king of the Indians, there is neither renown nor glory when a king destroys his troops; but if thou art now willing, let the troops rest, and I and thou alone will fight together." When Porus heard this speech, he rejoiced and agreed with him to do so, saying, "I will fight with thee alone;" for he saw that Alexander was very small in stature, while he himself was very tall. Now Porus was five cubits high, and Alexander three cubits. Then Alexander commanded his troops to stand in order, and Porus also commanded his troops to do likewise. The two came to the contest on foot; and when they had approached one another, there was suddenly a confusion and a great noise in the ranks of the Indians; and Porus was alarmed and turned round and looked upon his forces. When Alexander saw that Porus had turned round and was looking behind him, he ran at him and stabbed him under the shoulders and drove the weapon out beneath his navel and slew him. When the Indians saw that Porus was slain, they came to fight. Then Alexander said to the troops of the Indians, "Ye wretched Indians, your king is dead, and will ye fight?" The troops of the Indians answered and said to him, "We are fighting that we may not become captives." Then Alexander said to them: "Return to your city and do

not fight, because I will leave you free and will impose no tax upon you; for I know that the offence was not of you, but of Porus." Now Alexander said this because he saw that his own troops were few and he was not able to meet in battle the legions of the Indians. Then Alexander commanded the body of Porus to be buried honourably, and he made ready to go to another place, which was called Raṭnirôn, that he might fight with them, for he heard that they were sages and naked and that they dwelt in huts and holes of the earth.

V. When these people heard that Alexander was come, they sent certain sages that were among them to Alexander with their letter. And when he saw their letter, he found written therein as follows. "From the Brahmans, the naked sages [gymnosophists], to the man Alexander greeting. We write to thee thus: if thou desirest to come in order to make war with us, thou wilt gain nothing at all from us, for we have no property at all that can be taken away from us by war; and if thou desirest to take away that which we have, thou canst [only] take it away by entreaty, for our property is knowledge, and knowledge cannot be taken away by war; but even this thou art not capable of learning, for the heavenly will distributed and gave to thee war, and to us knowledge."

When Alexander had read this letter, he went to them peaceably, and he saw that they were all naked, and that they dwelt under booths and in caves, and that their wives and children went about the plain like sheep.

VI. Then Alexander asked one of them, "Have ye no graves here?" The Brahman said, "The place where we live is our house, and it is also our grave; here then we lie down, and bury our bodies continually in it, that our training and our teaching may be in this world and that the term of our life in yonder world may be for ever and aye." And he asked another Brahman, "Which men are the more numerous, those that are dead or those that are alive?" The Brahman said, "Those that are dead are the more numerous, for those who will hereafter come are not to be counted among those who are now alive; and you must know of yourself what innumerable myriads have died through thee and these few legions that are with thee." 3) He asked another Brahman, "Which is the

mightier, death or life?" The Brahman said, "Life; for when the sun rises and becomes warm like life, he covers over the feebleness of night by the beams of his radiance, and becomes strong. So also they who are dead are fallen beneath the darkness of death; but when life rises upon them like the sun, they will again come to life." 4) He asked another Brahman, "Which is the older, the earth or the sea?" The Brahman said, "The earth, for the sea too is placed upon the earth." 5) He asked another Brahman, "Which is the most wicked of all living things?" The Brahman said, "Man." ‖ Alexander said, "Tell me how so." The Brahman said, "Ask thyself how many beings go about with thee, that thou mayest wrest the lands and countries of other living beings, thy fellow creatures, from their owners, and hold them thyself alone." Alexander was not enraged at this speech, for he wished to hear. 6) He asked another Brahman, "What is kingdom?" The Brahman said, "Greed and brief power, and arrogance, and the insolence of wicked doings." 7) He asked another Brahman, "Which existed first, night or day?" The Brahman said, "Night; for a child is first of all created in darkness in the womb of his mother, and then when he is brought forth, he sees the light." ‖ He asked another Brahman, "Who is he whom we cannot deceive by lying?" The Brahman said, "He to whom all secrets are revealed." ‖ He asked another Brahman, "Which limbs are the better, those on the left side or those on the right." The Brahman said, "Those on the left; for the sun shines on the left side; and a woman suckles her child first from the left breast; and when we sacrifice to God, we make our offering to him with the left hand; and kings hold the sceptre of their kingdom in their left hand." ‖ And when Alexander had asked this question, he said to them, "Whatsoever ye desire ask of me all of you at once, and I will give it you." The Brahmans said, "We ask of thee immortality." Alexander said, "I am not master over immortality, because I am mortal." The Brahmans said, "Since thou art mortal, why dost thou make all these wars and battles? When thou hast seized the whole world, whither wouldst thou carry it? for since thou art mortal, it will remain with others." Alexander said, "All these things happen by the providence and the will of heaven, and we wait on the heavenly

command; for just as the waves of the sea are not lifted up unless the wind blows upon them, nor do the trees shake when there is no wind, so neither are men able to do anything without a command from above. I very much desire to rest from wars, but.....[1]. If all men were of one mind and one will, the whole world would be a wilderness and without cultivation; no man would sail on the sea in ships, neither would any cultivate the earth, and there would be no generation of children. How many unlucky men are there, who have got mixed up with these wars which I have carried on, and whose possessions have perished from them! And on the other hand, how many lucky men have there chanced to be, who have become enriched by the possessions of others! Every one of us then who plunders something from another leaves it again to some one else, and we depart naked and empty." When Alexander had spoken these words, he turned away from the Brahmans, and he was much fatigued and worn out by the journey, for the country through which he was marching was pathless, and no one had ever marched through it before.

VII.[2] Then Alexander composed a letter to Aristotle his master concerning everything that had happened to him, and he wrote to him thus: "From Alexander to our master Aristotle greeting. I desire, O my teacher, to write and inform thee of what has happened to me in this land of the Indians. When then we had drawn near to the place (called) Prasiakê, which, as they say, is the great city of the Indians and at a distance from the shores of the Great Sea[3], we saw figures of men; and when we came close up to the spot, we saw men feeding upon the shores of the sea, and their faces were like those of horses, and they lived upon fish. And when we had called aloud to some of them, for we wished to enquire of them concerning that

[1] Some words have been accidentally omitted, corresponding to the Greek ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐᾷ με ὁ τῆς γνώμης μου δεσπότης (Müller, p. 101, col. 2).

[2] This is chapter xvii. cf the Greek text (Müller, p. 120, col. 2). Parts of it have been edited in Syriac by the late Professor Roediger of Halle in his *Chrestomathia Syriaca*, 2nd ed., pp. 112—120; and considerable portions have been translated by the late Dr J. Perkins in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. IV., p. 394 sqq.

[3] Just the reverse of the Latin translation, which has *mari imminet subjacenti* (Müller, p. 120, col. 2).

place, we perceived that their speech was barbarian. And we saw in the midst of the sea something of which they said that it was the grave of the ancients and very old, and that there was much gold in it[1]. And I desired much to go in a boat to the island, but those barbarians suddenly hid their boats, and did not leave more than twelve. Then I gave orders to seize those twelve boats, and I was going to embark in them and go to the island, but my dear friend Philôn, and Hephaestiôn, and Kartîl [Craterus], and other friends, would not allow me to embark in a boat and go to the island. Philôn said to me, 'Bid me go in a boat first and cross over to the island; and if (which God forbid) there be anything evil, I shall die before thee; and if it be otherwise, I will come back and do thou also pass over; for if Philôn perishes, Alexander can find many friends like Philôn, but if (which God forbid) Alexander were to perish, his like could not be found in the whole world.' Then I gave way and bade them embark in the boats and go over to the island; and when they had embarked in the boats and had drawn near the island, the thing turned out to be an animal and not an island at all; and it sank and vanished suddenly in the sea, and my friend Philôn disappeared in the vortex of the waters and perished; and I was in great trouble and deep affliction. Then I ordered those barbarians to be seized, but they fled away and hid themselves. And we remained where we were for eight days. And we saw a wild beast like an elephant, but its body was much larger than an elephant's; and when we saw it, we ran at it with our weapons, but it suddenly fled away from our sight. And when we saw this, we came from thence to Prasiakê disheartened and in sorrow. And since we have traversed a number of the countries of the world, and have seen many wonderful sights, I thought that I would write and inform thee, O my teacher; for I have seen beasts of all kinds and shapes, and wonderful sights, and marvels, and various and divers species of reptiles; but the most wonderful thing of all was this, that I saw the failing of the sun and of the moon, which takes place in its appearance, which is in winter and

[1] See Book II. ch. xxxv. in Müller's ed., p. 87, col. 2.

from time to time[1]; and so I thought it necessary for me to write to thee about each one of these things.

Now when I had slain Darius and had taken his country and had traversed it, I found therein a number of treasuries, and there was much gold therein, ingots and cups of gold for mixed wine, which were set with gems of various sorts; some of them held ninety measures of wine, and some fifty measures; and there were goods of various kinds.

And we began our march from the Caspian gates unto the border of the Indians; and we heard that that country was a desert and a wilderness, and that wild beasts and snakes and other kinds of evil reptiles were abundant therein. And I commanded the trumpeters to sound at the tenth hour of the day, and to beat the drums; and from the tenth hour [of the day] to the third hour of the night the phalanx was marching, and so we went on the whole night. When it was day and the sun had spread abroad his rays, I commanded the trumpeters to sound, and the whole phalanx to encamp until the third hour of the day; and I commanded the horsemen and foot-soldiers to wear shoes and greaves and breastplates and armpieces of raw hide on account of the evil reptiles of that country, for no man was able to walk about without such clothing, lest perchance he himself should become the cause of his own death. Having marched along so strange a road as this for twelve days, we drew near to a city which was situated between rivers; and we commanded a ditch to be made along the banks of that river. We saw in that river a reed the height of which was thirty[2] cubits, and its thickness as that of a garland which a man puts on his head. The whole city was overshadowed by these reeds; and when we observed the city, it was not built upon the ground, but upon the reeds. We found in that river a boat, and when we had embarked therein, we went and observed, and it was exactly as we had seen at a distance. When we tasted the water of the river, it was more bitter than bitter herbs; and I was very much annoyed when I observed its

[1] The meaning of this sentence is not clear. See Müller, p. 121, col. 1, at the foot.

[2] The Greek text (Müller, p. 121, col. 2) has "four cubits," Δ being an error for Λ. Ἐκαὶ IV τετράπηχυς

bitterness, for I did not find sweet water in that place. My ditch was dug along the bank of the river for two miles; and some of my fellow soldiers, thirty and six in number, scornfully cast off the skin garments from their backs, and wished to bathe in the river. When they had gone down to the water, a number of reptiles rose up against them, and seized those men, and dragged them into the river, and killed them in the water. When I saw these things, I crossed over again to the other side of the river. And when I saw the innumerable reptiles, I was in every way afflicted and distressed, and I departed from that place. And I commanded the horns to sound [a halt] from the sixth hour of the day until the eleventh. I saw too that the foot-soldiers and horsemen were drinking their own urine because of thirst.

Now when we had departed thence, another obstacle fell in our way, for we drew near to a lake, and we found therein every species of animal and reptile. When we tasted those waters, we perceived that they were sweeter than honey, and we were very glad. And when the phalanx halted and went on foot towards the lake, they saw upon its shore a pillar with an inscription which ran thus: 'I Sîsuinkôs [Sesonchosis], the ruler of the world, have caused this lake to be made for the watering of those who live on and travel by sea.' When the night drew nigh, I ordered a couch to be prepared and a fire to be lighted around it, and I commanded that each horseman and foot-soldier should likewise light a fire by the side of his head. When I lay down upon my couch, the moon rose soon after,—it was about the third hour of the night,—and wild beasts of various kinds came forth from the jungle and came to the lake. Out of the earth too and from the sand white and red scorpions issued, each of which was a cubit long. And in the midst of the phalanx there sprang up snakes with horns on their heads, some red and some white, and they bit and killed a number of the men, and there was a great outcry and weeping heard from within the camp. We saw a lion that came to drink water, and he was larger than the oxen that are in our country; and we saw beasts with horns on their noses, and they were larger than elephants. We saw also wild boars that were larger than the lion, and the tusks of each of which

were a cubit long; we saw too wolves and leopards and panthers and beasts with scorpions' tails, and elephants, and wild bulls, and ox-elephants, and men with six hands apiece; and we saw men with twisted legs and teeth like dogs and faces like women. And we were afflicted in our soul and were in grief. Then I commanded my troops to put on every man his skin clothing, to take his weapons in his hand together with wood and fire, and all to go in a body to the jungle and set it on fire. When we had done this, a great number of reptiles hastened of their own free will to the fire, some of which were burnt therein, and some were slain by the hands of my troops and perished. Of the wild beasts we slew some and others fled away. After the moon had set and it was dark, an animal which was bigger in its body than an elephant and which they call *Mashkĕlath*[1] in the language of the country, came into the ditch and wished to spring upon us, but I straightway called out to my troops to take courage and stand ready. Now the longing and desire of the animal was to enter the ditch and to kill men, and suddenly it rushed into the ditch and killed twenty-six men, and amid loud noises and struggles it too perished by the hands of my troops; and after it was dead, we with three hundred men dragged it with great toil from the ditch and lifted it out. And we looked amid the darkness and saw reptiles which they call night-foxes, the length of which was from six to eight cubits. We saw also water crocodiles, the length of each of which was twelve cubits; and we saw bats which were as big as eagles, and their teeth were like those of men. We saw likewise night-ravens, the beaks and claws and talons of which were like those of eagles, and they sat around the lake, and did not harm human beings, neither did they come near the fire. My troops killed a great number of them, and when it was day they all hid themselves.

And we departed from thence and came to a wood[2], and

[1] The *mashkĕlath* is the *odontotyrannus* of the Latin translation (Müller, p. 123, col. 1). The same creature is mentioned in the Greek text of Book III. ch. x. (Müller, p. 105) as a huge amphibious animal, big enough to swallow an elephant whole, which renders the crossing of the river Ganges very unsafe. This description seems to point to the *alligator*, and it is just possible that ܡܟܪ may be a corruption of *makara*, in Hindustání *magar*.

[2] See Book II. ch. xxxii., about the middle (Müller, p. 86, col. 1).

in that wood there were trees bearing fruit, and their fruit was very luscious; and within the wood there were wild men, whose faces resembled ravens, and they held missiles in their hands, and their clothing was of skins. When they saw us, they cast missiles at my troops and slew some of them; and I commanded my troops to shout and to charge them at full speed; and when we had done this, we slew six hundred and thirty-three of them, and they slew of my horsemen one hundred and sixty-seven. And I ordered the bodies of those that were dead to be taken up and to be carried to their own country. We remained in that place three days and fed upon the fruit of the trees, because we had no other food.

And we departed thence and came to a river in which there was a copious spring of water; and I gave orders to encamp there that my troops might have a little rest. At the ninth hour of the day, behold a creature half beast half man[1], which in its body was (like) a wild boar reared upright; and it was not at all afraid of us. I commanded my troops to catch it, and when they drew near to it, it was not at all afraid and did not run away from them. Then I ordered a naked woman to go towards it, that we might easily seize it; but when the woman went up to it, the beast took hold of the woman and rent her, and began to devour her. When we saw this, we went against it at full speed, and smote it and killed it. Then we departed from the country of the beast-men, for there was a countless number of men like this in it, and we slew myriads of them, because we all stood ready with arms. And I gave orders to cut down all their wood and to set it on fire, and we burnt them together with their wood.

And we departed thence and arrived at the country of the people whose feet are twisted; and when they saw us, they began to throw stones, and they threw accurately and aimed at us. When I saw that they slew some of my troops, I ran at them alone with my sword drawn, and by great good luck I stabbed the chief of those people with twisted feet. The rest were afraid, and ran away, and hid themselves under the rocks in various places; and there were some among them with asses' legs.

[1] Compare Book II. ch. xxxiii. (Müller, p. 86, col. 2).

We set out again from thence and came to another place where there were men with lion's heads and scaly tails[1].

From thence we set out again and came to a river[2]. And upon the bank of the river there was a tree, which grew and increased from dawn until the sixth hour, and from the sixth hour until evening it diminished in height until there was nothing to be seen of it. Its smell was very pleasant, and I gave orders to gather some of its leaves and fruit, when suddenly an evil wind burst forth upon my troops and distressed them pitilessly; and we heard the sound of violent blows, and swellings and weals appeared upon the back of my troops; and after this we heard a voice from heaven like the sound of thunder which spake thus: 'Let no man cut ought from this tree, neither let him approach it, for if ye approach it, all your troops will die.' And there were birds too which were like partridges. And I commanded that they should not cut ought from that tree, nor kill any of the birds. There were also stones in that river, the colour of which when in the water was deep black, but when we brought them out, they were quite white, and when we threw them in again, their colour (again) became deep black.

And from thence we set out and halted by a spring. And when we had marched through a desolate wilderness[3], we arrived at the ocean which goes round the whole world. And while we were going along the shores of the sea, I commanded the phalanx to encamp; and I heard the voice of men [speaking] in the Greek tongue, but I did not see them, nor did we see anything else in the sea except something like an island, which was not very far from us. Then a certain number of my troops desired to go to that island by swimming; and when they had stripped off their clothing and plunged into the sea, beasts in the form of men, but whose bodies were very large, came up from the deep and seized twenty of my soldiers, and plunged down into the depths.

Then we departed thence through fear, and came to a

[1] The word here rendered "scaly" literally means "an oyster" or "oyster shell."

[2] Compare Book II. ch. xxxvi. (Müller, p. 88, col. 2).

[3] See Book II. ch. xxxviii. (Müller, p. 89, col. 1).

certain place. And the people who were in that place had no head at all, but they had eyes and a mouth in their breasts, and they spoke like men, and used to gather mushrooms from the ground and eat them. Now each mushroom weighed twenty pounds. And those men were like children in their minds, and in their way of life they were very simple.

And from thence we set out and came to a certain place which was waste; and in the midst of that place there was a bird sitting upon a tree without leaves and without fruit, and it had upon its head something like the rays of the sun, and they called the bird the 'palm bird' (phoenix).

Then we set out from thence and came to a place amid groves of trees which were large, and in these woods there were wild beasts like the wild asses of our own country. Each of them was fifteen cubits in length, and as they were not dangerous, my troops killed a number of them and ate them.

Then we marched on our road sixty-five days, and arrived at a place which they call Obarkia (?). And on the seventh day we saw two birds[1], the bodies of which were very large, and their faces were like the face of a man; and suddenly one of them said in the Greek language, 'O Alexander, thou art treading the land of the gods;' and again it said to me in the same language, 'Alexander, the victory over Darius and the subjection of king Porus are enough for thee.' And when we had heard such words as these, we turned and came back from the country of the Obarkênâyê (?).

Then I gave orders to set out from this place, and we came thence to the foot of a certain mountain. This mountain was very high, and a temple had been built on the top of it, the height of which was a hundred cubits. When I saw this, I marvelled greatly. It was girt round with a chain of gold, and the weight of the chain was three hundred pounds. I gave orders to open the door of the temple that I might go in with my troops[2]. When we went in, we found in it two thousand five hundred steps of sapphire, and we saw inside a very large chamber the windows around which were of gold, and in them

[1] See Book II. ch. xl. (Müller, p. 90, col. 2).

[2] Compare the description in Meusel's text, p. 785, at the foot of the page (Book III. ch. xxviii.).

there were thirty figures of gems and of ..... of gold. And when we drew near to the chamber, we saw that the whole temple was of gold, and over its windows there were golden images, figures of Pan and the Satyrs, who were musicians, and in the windows there stood dancers. In the temple a golden altar was placed, and by it stood two candlesticks of sapphire, the height of each of which was forty cubits. Lamps of gold were set upon them, which shone like the light of a lamp. And upon the altar instead of fire was placed a lamp made of stone, which shone like a star. In the temple a couch of gold was placed, which was set with gems; its length was forty cubits, and cushions of great value were laid upon it; the form of a huge man reclined thereon, and an effulgence shot forth from him like the lightning flash. Over him was spread a garment worked with gold and emeralds and other precious stones in the form of a vine, the fruit of which was of gold set with gems, and before the couch an ivory table was placed. When I saw this, I was unwilling to draw near hastily and uncover his face and see who it was. Then I sacrificed in the temple to the god and did reverence, and I turned away and came out. And when I had come out and was in the doorway of the temple, there was suddenly a terrible sound like the noise of thunder, and like the noise of the uproar and billows of the sea. And when that roaring noise ceased, I heard a voice from within the temple which said to me thus: 'King Alexander, rest and cease from thy toils; enter not the temple of the gods, neither reveal their mysteries; for he whom thou hast seen upon this couch is I Dionysus, and I tell thee that it is given to thee to conquer in this war for which thou art prepared, and to come to our country to rest, and they shall reckon thee among our number.' When I heard a voice like this, my mind was in fear and joy, and I again sacrificed and did reverence to him; and I went out to go about that place and to record this sight in it.

Then I gave orders to kill those fifty Indians our guides, who had led us astray in such roads and places, and to throw them into the sea; and we turned to the road towards Prasiakê[1], and arrived at a region abounding in trees, where I

[1] See Book III. ch. xvii. (Müller, p. 122, col. 2, ll. 16, 17).

commanded my troops to rest a little. And when I desired to set out from thence, at the sixth hour of the day, a wonderful sign happened to us; now this sign took place on the third day of the month of Âb. First there came suddenly a mighty wind, which tore up all the tents in our camp from their places, and we all fell upon the ground. Then I commanded my troops to pitch their tents again, and to make firm their tent pegs and to keep carefully on the watch. But before their tents were pitched, a dense and black cloud appeared, and its mist was so dark that no one could see his fellow. And we saw in the midst of that dense cloud in the air a fire burning in the darkness; and we also saw in front of that fire about the distance of two miles a black cloud; and when the fire drew nigh, the fire blazed forth from within that black cloud until the whole was fire. This sign appeared continually in this manner for three days; and for five days we did not see the light, but snow fell upon us; and out of the mass of my troops some were caught in the snow outside of the tents and died, and when the sun rose, many of our men perished. We desired to set out from thence but were unable, because the country was a plain, and the snow stood three cubits high from the ground; so because of the difficulty and hardness of the journey we remained where we were thirty days. And after staying thirty days where we were, we set out from thence, and on the fifth day we came to the city of the Prasiakâyê, and took the treasury and the goods which were in it.

Then all the Indians who lived in that city came to me of their own free will and spake to me thus: 'O great king, no living man has ever walked in the cities of the kings, and the mountains of the nations, and the temples of the gods, which thou hast seen and in which thou hast walked; and henceforth there is no king in the world who may be compared with thee. Command us now to do whatever seems right to thee, for we too will be obedient to thee, and will lay all the gold and silver that is in our country before thee.' Then said I to them, 'If there be anything renowned, or any marvel in your country, which a king ought to see, shew it to me, and I will not ask any other thing of you.' Then a certain Indian said to me, 'King Alexander, we have something famous, which it is right

that thou shouldst see. We will shew thee therefore two talking trees[1], which talk like human beings.' And as soon as he had said this speech, I commanded them to beat him, as one who had said something which he was not able to shew. Then he said to me, 'O king, doer of good things, I have not lied in what I have said to thee.' Then I rose up from there and went a journey of fifteen days with the Indian, and we arrived at a certain place, and thus he spake: 'This is the end of the south quarter of the world, and from here onwards there is nothing at all except a wilderness, and ravening beasts and evil reptiles, and none of us is able to advance beyond this place.' When he had said this to me, he brought me into a beautiful garden, the wall of which was not of stones nor of clay, but trees were planted round it and were so dense that not even the light of the sun or the moon was seen through them; and in the midst of the garden there was another enclosure which was hedged round, and they called it the temple of the sun and of the moon. And two trees were there, the like of which for length and breadth I had never seen. Their length was immeasurable, and so I thought that their tops were near unto heaven. Their appearance was like unto the cypresses which are in our country, and they grew up within the enclosure; and they said that one of them is male and the other female. They said of the male that he is the sun, and that the female is the moon, and in their language they call the one *Mîṭôrâ*, and the other *Mâyôsâ*[2]. Skins of all kinds of animals were lying there, before the male skins of males, and before the female skins of females; but no vessels of iron or brass or tin or clay were found there at all. And when I asked them, 'Of what are these the skins?' they said to me, 'Of lions and leopards, because those who worship the sun and moon are not allowed to wear any other clothing but skins.' Then I asked them about these trees, 'When

[1] Colonel Yule in his *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. I. p. 121, has a long discussion about these talking trees of the sun and moon, and about the "dry tree," and has translated the passage from Müller's *Pseudo-Callisthenes* relating to them. He has also reproduced a curious old drawing of the two trees.

[2] In the Greek (Müller, p. 123, col. 2, l. 2) *μουθοῦ ἐμαούσαι* (var. *μουθὰ μαθοίς*).

do they speak?' And they said to me, 'That of the sun in the morning and at midday and towards evening, at these three times it speaks; and that of the moon in the evening and at midnight and towards the dawn.' Then the priests that were in the garden came to me and said to me, 'Enter, O king, purely, and do reverence.' Then I called my friends Phormiôn [Parmeniôn], Artarôn [Craterus], Gôrôn (?), Philip, Miktôn [Machetes], Ṭarnsargôthâ [Thrasyleôn], Thirtakîth [Theodektês], Phîlêa [Düphilus], and Khadḳliôn [Neoklês]; twelve[1] men I took, and we began to enter the temple. The chief priest said unto me, 'O king, it is not meet to bring into the temple tools of iron.' Then I bade my friends take their swords and put them outside the enclosure, and I ordered these twelve alone of all my troops to go in with me without their swords, but I gave orders that they should first go round about the trees because I thought that they might have brought me there treacherously; but after they had come in and had gone round about, they said to me, 'There is nothing at all here.' Then I took hold of the hand of one of the Indians and went in there, that when the tree spoke, the Indian might interpret for me; and I swore to him by Olympias my mother, and by Ammon, and by the victory of all the gods of the Macedonians, 'If I do not hear a voice from this tree as soon as the sun sets, I will slay you all with the sword.' As soon as the sun had set, a voice came from that tree in a barbarous tongue; and when I asked the Indian 'What is this voice from this tree?' he was afraid to explain it to me and wished to hide it. Then I straightway understood, and I took hold of the Indian and led him aside and said to him, 'If thou dost not explain this voice to me, I will kill thee with a hard and bitter death.' And the Indian whispered in my ears, 'The explanation of the voice is this: thou wilt shortly perish by thy troops.' Then I and my friends went again into the temple by night, and when I had drawn near to the tree of the moon, and had done reverence to it, and placed my hand upon it, again at that moment from the tree a voice came in the Greek tongue, 'Thou shalt die at Babylon.' And when I together with my friends were marvelling at this wonder, my

[1] Only nine names are given in the text.

mind was troubled and sorrowful, and I desired to put the glorious and beautiful crown which was upon my head in that place; but the priest said to me, 'Thou canst not do this, unless thou choosest to do it by violence, for laws are not laid down for kings.' Then, as I was in trouble and sorrow because of these things, my friends Parmâôn [Parmeniôn] and Philip tried to persuade me to sleep and to rest myself a little. I did not consent however, but remained awake the whole night. When the dawn was near, I and my friends together with the priest and the Indians again entered the temple; and I and the priest went to the tree, and I laid my hands upon it and questioned it, saying, 'Tell me if the days of my life are come to an end; this too I desire to know, if it will be granted me to go to Macedonia, and to see Olympias my mother, and to ask after her welfare, and to return again.' And as soon as the sun had risen and his rays had fallen upon the top of the tree, a loud and harsh voice came from it, which spake thus, 'The years of thy life are come to an end, and thou wilt not be able to go to Macedonia, but thou wilt perish in Babylon after a short time by the hands of thy kinsfolk, and thy mother too will die a hideous death by the hands of thy kinsfolk, and in the same way thy sister also; but do not ask further concerning this matter, for thou wilt hear nothing more from us.' Then I took counsel with my troops, and we set out again from thence and marched along the road a journey of fifteen days. And when we had gone straight forward on our march, we arrived at the country of Prasiakê[1]. I, Alexander with these Indians and with my troops. The Indians who dwelt in that land brought offerings to us, and they brought offerings to us also from far countries. They brought to us skins of fishes which were like leopard's skins, only they were larger, and there were in them teeth, some of which were one cubit long and some three cubits; the ears (gills) of these fishes were each six cubits long, and the weight of each of them was a hundred pounds; and the teeth of these fishes were some of them two cubits long and others

[1] Here ends the epistle of Alexander to Aristotle in Müller's ed., p. 125, col. 2. What follows appears to be no longer extant in the Greek MSS. The narrative continues in the first person, as if this were still part of the epistle.

three. [They also brought things] like oyster shells, each of which held fifty cups of water, and which were very beautiful in appearance; and thirty purple sponges, and fifty white ones, and various other things.

Then we set out from the country of Prasiakê, and set our faces straight for the east. And when we had gone a journey of ten days along the road, we came to a high mountain; and some of the people that lived on the mountain said to us, 'King Alexander, thou art not able to cross over this mountain, for a great god in the form of a dragon lives in it, who protects this country from enemies.' And I said to them, 'In what place is the god?' They said to me, 'He is a journey of three days from here by yon river.' And I said to them, 'Does this god change himself into another form?' And they said to me, 'Enemies never dare to come to this country through fear of him.' And I said to them, 'Is he able to keep off enemies from all your coasts?' And they said, 'No, only on that side where his dwelling is.' And I said to them, 'Has this god a temple? and do ye go to his presence and know him?' And they said, 'Who can go near unto him that can swallow an elephant by drawing in his breath?' And I said, 'Whence know ye this, since ye go not near him?' And they said, 'We know that a number of people are swallowed up by him every year, besides two oxen which they give to him regularly every day for food from our land, and he also kills men.' And I said, 'How do ye give him these two oxen to eat?' They said, 'He that is set apart for the service of the god selects oxen from the land, and takes two of them each day in the morning, when as yet he has not come forth from his temple, and goes down to the bank of the river; and he ties the legs of the oxen, and throws them upon the bank of the river, and he goes up to the top of the mountain; and when the god comes forth from his temple, he crosses over that horrible river, and swallows up those oxen.' And I said to them, 'Has this god one place for crossing, or does he cross wherever he pleases?' And they said, 'He has but one place for crossing.' Then I bethought me that it was not a god but a phantasy of wicked demons. I took some of the people of the land (with me), and set out from thence, and came to the bank

of that river. And I commanded them to place the oxen as they were accustomed to do, and I and my troops stood upon the top of the mountain. And we saw when the beast came forth from his den and came to the bank of the river. When I saw the beast, I thought that it was a black cloud which was standing upon the bank of the river, and the smoke which went forth from its mouth was like unto the thick darkness which comes in a fog. And we saw it crossing the river, and when as yet it had not reached the oxen, it sucked them into its mouth by the drawing in of its breath, as (if cast) by a sling, and swallowed them. When I had seen this, I gave orders next day that they should put two very small calves instead of the two big oxen, that the beast might be the more hungry on the following day. After it had found the two calves, it was obliged to cross over again on that day; and when it had crossed over for the second time, by reason of its hunger, it went wandering from this side to that but found nothing. And when the beast desired to come on towards the mountain, all my troops with one voice raised a shout against it; and when it heard the shout, it turned and crossed the river. Then I straightway gave orders to bring two oxen of huge bulk, and to kill them, and to strip off their hides, and to take away their flesh, and to fill their skins with gypsum and pitch and lead and sulphur, and to place them on that spot. When they had done this, the beast according to its wont crossed the river again, and when it came to them, it suddenly drew both of the skins into its mouth by its breath and swallowed them. As soon as the gypsum entered its belly, we saw that its head fell upon the ground, and it opened wide its mouth, and uprooted a number of trees with its tail. And when I saw that it had fallen down, I ordered a smith's bellows to be brought and balls of brass to be heated in the fire and to be thrown into the beast's mouth; and when they had thrown five balls into its mouth, the beast shut its mouth, and died. And we set out from thence and came to a region in which was a high mountain, and a river which they call Barsâṭis (?) went forth from it; and they told us that there was a god in this mountain, and that the whole mountain was of sapphire. Then I and my troops ascended the mountain, and it was full of fountains and

springs of water; and the people of that country said to me, 'Do not march confidently in this mountain, for its gods are mighty.' Then I ordered sacrifices to be offered to that place, and suddenly from the mountain there came a multitude of kinds and sounds of singing. When I heard this, I again did reverence; and I heard a voice from the mountain which spake to me thus in the Greek tongue, 'King Alexander, go back, and advance no farther; for from here onwards the country belongs to men who by their knowledge and power have conquered and subdued a number of armies.' And I answered and said, 'Since it has pleased you thus [to speak], inform me whether, if I go by myself, I shall return alive from thence.' And the gods answered and said to me, 'Go thyself, for it is given to thee to see something beautiful.' I answered again and said, 'What is the beautiful thing which I shall see?' And the gods said to me, 'Thou shalt see a king, a son of the gods, from whose country an honoured priest goes to a number of countries, and thou shalt learn how from something small something so noble may arise.' When I had heard this, I commanded a city to be built by that mountain, and a brazen statue to be erected upon it, and [I ordered] it to be named 'Alexandria, the queen of the mountains.'

And I commanded my troops to remain in that place, and I with twenty of my friends arose and arrived at a place which they call Ḳâtôn[1]; and we stayed where we were three days, and we set out from thence and marched a journey of ten days through mountainous roads and watery lands. And again we marched a journey of fifteen days through a desert and arrived at the confines of Ṣîn (China). When we arrived in China, I gave myself the name of Pithâôs[2] the ambassador of king Alexander. When we approached the gate of the king of China[3], they went in and informed him of my arrival, and he gave orders to question me outside. Then Gundâphâr[4], the chief of his army, questioned me concerning my coming to China, and I

[1] Perhaps *Cathay*, in Arabic الختا.

[2] Πυθέας or Πίθιος?

[3] That is, the royal palace.

[4] On the name of Gundaphar, or Gundaphor, i.e. Gondophares, see in particular the article by Professor A. von Gutschmid in the *Museum für Philologie*, n. F. XIX., pp. 161—170.

said to him, 'I am an ambassador of king Alexander.' And Gundâphâr said to me, 'Why hast thou come hither?' And I said, 'I have been sent to the king of China; my message is to him; and it is not right for me to utter the message which I bring from my master before thee.' Then Gundâphâr went in to the king of China and informed him, and the king ordered the palace to be decorated, and silk curtains to be hung up, and a golden couch to be prepared; and he bade them call me. When I entered his presence, I did not make obeisance to him, and he questioned me, and said to me, 'Whence comest thou?' I answered and said, 'I am the ambassador of king Alexander.' And he said to me, 'Who is Alexander?' I said, 'He is a Macedonian, the lord of the world, and the bearer [of the sovereignty] of the Persians and Indians.' And he said to me, 'Where is the land of Macedonia?' I said, 'In the western quarter of the world, at the place where the sun sets.' And he said to me, 'Where didst thou leave this [Alexander]?' And I said, 'He is near, and not far off; lo, he is by the river Bîrsâ-ṭôs (?).' And he said to me, 'Why has he sent thee?' And I said, 'My lord Alexander has been set by the gods as lord over the kings of the world, and I am come to bring thee to him, and my message is this: Thus saith Alexander, I have been established over all the kings of the world by the will and decree of the heavenly gods, and over all rulers will I be chief and commander; whosoever accepts willingly this my sovereignty, his whole territory shall remain his and he shall continue in his dominion; but whosoever receives me not, his country and his dominion are no longer his. And if thou dost not believe me that it is so, ask and learn what greatness and renown Darius the king of Asia had in the world, for he was a warrior and a conqueror, and yet afterwards, because of his obstinacy, to what a place was he abased and degraded! Porus too, the king of the Indians, who was so great and mighty, and fertile in artifices and stratagems, and versatile and rich in every craft, and so thought that he was not only lord of men but also chief and lord of the gods, learn what an end befell him through his obstinacy. Now I have heard concerning thee that thou hast good and great knowledge and understanding, and I thought that I would not come against thee with camps and troops as

against an enemy, but I have sent an ambassador to thee as to a friend, that thou mayest come to me of thine own free will, and that I may see and taste of the treasure of thy knowledge by the fruit of thy words from the gates of thy mouth; and if there is anything worthy of being seen in thy land, bring it with thee that I may see it.' Then he questioned me and said to me, 'Is King Alexander mighty in body?' And I said to him, 'No; on the contrary, he is very small.' And he said to me, 'To-day thou must make merry with me after the manner of ambassadors, and to-morrow thou shalt receive the answer to thy message.' When the hour of the banquet was come, the king of China commanded, and they made me sit in the banquetting hall among the lower seats. When the banquet was finished, he ordered them to prepare a sleeping apartment in the royal palace, and bade me sleep there; and in the morning, while it was yet dark, he ordered me to be brought in before him. When I entered, I did reverence to him. When he saw that I made obeisance to him, he was perplexed concerning me, and ordered me to be questioned again. When I had repeated my message afresh before him, he said to me, 'Thy message is that of yesterday, but thy deeds are not those of yesterday; yesterday thou wast one thing, and to-day thou art another.' I said to him, 'Thou hast spoken rightly, O king, for yesterday I myself by the words of my message was clothed in the person of Alexander; in me, O king, thou didst see Alexander, and in the speech of my lips thou didst hear that of Alexander; but to-day [I am] Pîthâôs the ambassador.' Then he commanded and they brought a cloak, and he said to me, 'Shew me how Alexander is formed in stature.' And I said, 'In stature Alexander resembles me.' And he said to me, 'Is not the king taller than thou?' And I said, 'No.' Then he gave orders to measure my height and breadth and to cut the cloak according to my measure. And when they had cut it, he ordered it to be rolled up and sealed, and he said to me, 'Pîthâôs, go and carry this answer from me to king Alexander, and say to him: I have heard thy message which thou hast sent to me, and of thy fortune, thy bravery, and thy exaltation. Thy victory then over Darius, and thy might, and thy victory over Porus, and thy subjection too of a number of nations—I do not think

that such exaltation as this is caused by thy good fortune alone, but I imagine that it arises from their bad luck, and particularly because everything that comes to pass is given by fortune. Now to thee fortune and luck have been given by fate, and such elevation as this, which was not granted to Darius and Porus who were before thee. Therefore it is meet for thee to know that thou shouldst have no confidence in fortune, and that thou shouldst not weary thyself more, and that thy hands should not become the executioners of those who have drawn nigh to and reached the end of the days of their life, for the name of executioner is a disgraceful one. And as regards thy message to me concerning my coming to thee, behold, by the words of my mouth I stand before thee, and I speak with thee by the tongue of Pithâôs. Be not angry then because my body comes not to thee, and do not come to our country with warfare, for we have never at any time surrendered. I do not speak these things for thy sake, as if we were stronger than thou art, but I say this on my own account; for shouldst thou come against us, and our luck let go its hold of us, as it did of Darius and of king Porus, thou wilt slay us all, and thy hands will be our executioners, for none of us will accept bondage in his lifetime. And let this also be in thy mind, that, if thy luck turn somehow against thee, this great name of thine and might of thine will perish by fate, for this lying fortune does not remain constantly in one place. We men then who thus work and plan, and by a great deal of expense and toil and executioner's work slay a number of men of our kind and race, and seize a number of countries, afterwards, whether we will or no, everything leaves us and departs, and of the number of countries which we seize, and the numerous regions which we subdue, a piece of land the size of this cloak comes to us.' Then he straightway gave the cloak into my hands, and a crown of gold studded with pearls and jacinths, and .....[1] a thousand talents; ten thousand pieces of undyed silks, and five thousand brocaded silks; two hundred figures of cane, and one hundred painted (?) skins, and one thousand Indian swords; five wild horses, and one thousand skins of musk, and ten snakes' horns (?), each of which was a

[1] I do not know the meaning of the words قَنْب حقا.

cubit long: and he said to me, 'Carry this offering from me to Alexander.' Now I was minded not to accept them, but I thought afterwards, 'If I do not take them, peradventure he may have doubts of me and may find out that I am Alexander.'

So I and my friends returned from thence and came to the body of my troops; and I commanded them to set out from thence, and we came through mountains and a difficult country to a plain and a desert region. And from thence we marched a journey of twelve days through the desert. And in that desert we saw numbers of wild animals which were like our gazelles, but their heads and their teeth were different, and they were like foxes. And [we saw] the animals from whose navels they take the musk. On the thirteenth day we arrived at a camping place of savage barbarians, who were very well furnished with horses and arms. When those savages saw us, they came against our encampment with arms and war; and when we saw that they had come for war, I commanded my troops to make ready, and when they had come near, my troops shouted and we joined in battle together. Now when we had closed with one another in fight, by good luck it so happened that I slew the chief of those thieves with the sword; and when they saw that their chief was slain, and that many were killed on both sides, they turned their backs and fled from us. And I commanded my troops that the wives and children of these savages should be slain and their possessions pillaged.

And we set out from thence and came to a country which they call Ṣĕbâẓâz (?). All the people of that land, together with the priests of their gods, came to us with offerings and spices, and we remained in that country ten days, and I commanded all the priests of that land to offer sacrifices.

And we set out from thence, and came to a country which they call Sôd [Sogd][1], and the country was very populous. I saw there a large river going forth on the south-west quarter, and that river was difficult to cross; indeed there was no means of crossing it whatever. I was greatly troubled and supplicated all the gods that are in Macedonia and Ammon the

[1] That is, the Sughd of Samarkand, السغد or الصغد.

god of Lybia, and I vowed that if they would aid me to cross this river with my troops, I would build a city on the other side and set up a temple of the gods in it. When the people that were in that country heard [of our coming], they sent to me saying, 'Do not pass over into our territory, for we will not allow thee to come into our territory.' And when I heard this message, I ordered those ambassadors to be bound and guarded; and I asked them, 'Where is he that is ruler and chief in this land? and in what town does he dwell? and how many of the nobles of the land has he with him?' The ambassadors said, 'Swear to us by the gods that thou wilt do us no harm, and we will carry thee and shew thee the spot, for all the nobles of this country are in that place.' Then I sware to them by all the gods, saying, 'If ye shew me rightly, I will not kill you; but if ye say ought otherwise, I will kill you together with the others that are in the towns.' And as the gods willed, I gave orders to take each of those eight ambassadors by himself and to question him, and when we got the statements of all of them, [we found that] they agreed. I ordered my troops to get ready and Ḳôḳaros (?), the chief of the host, to question one of the ambassadors who was bound; and with fifty horsemen I set out early in the night to go and spy out the road and to observe the town, because it was night and we did not know the custom of the country, and owing to this I was afraid. Then a ḳundâḳôr[1] went and explored the way; he returned and came to me and said to me, 'The road is easy and the town is not large.' Then I and my troops went to the town, and I commanded the horns to be sounded and the troops to encircle the town; and I ordered much wood to be brought and fire to be kindled around the whole of the town, and the troops to stand outside the fire; and I commanded them also to kill every one who should flee from the town. When the people that were in the town heard the sound of the horns, they came forth from the houses and saw the fire round about the town, and some of them wished to flee; and as they fled from the town, they died by the hands of my troops. Then their chief and the nobles that were in the town came forth from the town and

[1] This word is glossed in one of the MSS. (B) by the Persian word *sardâr* "chief, commander."

said with a loud voice, 'King Alexander, let thy wrath turn to favour, and do not order thy servants to be slain.' Then I commanded them to come to me; and when they came, I gave orders to guard them vigilantly.

And we came to the country of the Sundiḳâyê[1]; and when I saw that the whole country yielded to me, I commanded a city to be built there and to be called Samarḳand. I ordered a temple to be built therein to the goddess Rhea, whom they call Nânî[2], and when they had built it, I ordered it to be painted with gold and with the choicest paints, and a Greek inscription to be written thereon; and I commanded that all the Sundiḳâyê should come to that place and should make a feast to Rhea and offer sacrifices to her. When the Sundiḳâyê had done this in their country, they were firmly reconciled to Alexander in friendship and love.

And again we set out from thence and went to the river Barṭêsîṭôs (?), the interpretation of which is 'crystal.' When the king[3] saw that the river was large and difficult to cross, he ordered all the carpenters and artificers that were in Sôd to be brought, and bade much wood to be given to them; and he commanded Espisṭâhândos (?) to build a thousand Alexandrian boats. And he ordered the bows of the boats to be very sharp (?), and he bade two cables to be made of the bark of trees, each of them fifty cubits in thickness, and ordered men to cross over to the other side of the river in boats and to construct a kind of tower there. When they had made it, I gave orders to measure the breadth of the river, and to bring all those boats to the bank thereof, and to fasten them all to the one rope, and to one another with planks of wood; and to the other rope they fastened thousands of bags of ox-hide filled with air; and [I commanded] them to take the rope across and to fasten the end of it to the tower. When they had fastened

[1] That is, the inhabitants of the *Sughd*.

[2] See Hoffmann's *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, p. 130 sqq. and p. 295; Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 16, 143; *Armenische Studien*, p. 110. In Cureton's *Spicil. Syr.*, p. ٥٦٥, l. 8, read كنبث for كنبث, and also in ZDMG. xxix., p. 111, l. 7, for كنبث.

[3] The translator departs from the direct narrative more than once in the course of this description.

the rope, he ordered a strong rope to be tied to the boats from the one side to the other, and a number of men to pull with ropes from that side. And when the head of the boats reached the middle of the river, the boats went on and were stretched out by the force of the current (?), and the bridge became straight. And he commanded a number of men to pull on this side and on that, and in the middle, with the rope which was fastened on the bank of the river, lest the boats, with the rope by which they were tied, should knock upon the stones and be broken. And when the bridge reached the rope, the ships at first struck the skins with violence, but the shock was broken and lightened by the skins. Thus he constructed the bridge by his skill and craft, and he ordered the troops to pass over.

When we had crossed the river and had gone a journey of two days, I saw a river that was copious and abundant in its flow, and towns with numerous hamlets and country houses were round about it, and the people of that country were simple in mind, and the country was rich in crops, and there was plenty of corn and fruit therein. I commanded the phalanx to halt in that place, and we remained where we were for five months. I ordered a large city to be built there; and on account of the beauty and desirability of the country, I commanded that it should be named afresh, and to the city I gave the name 'a part of Cûsh,' which is called in Persian *Behli*[1]. And I ordered two temples to be built in the city, the one to Zeus, and the other to Rhea; and I commanded them to be constructed with lime and stone and at much outlay; and I commanded a statue to be made in brass of myself and another of my friend Îdmâlos (?), and to be set up in those temples. And by reason of the fairness and beauty of the country, some of the Greek troops that were with me desired to stay there; and I gave orders that five hundred men should remain and dwell there, more particularly for the honour of those temples; and I commanded sacrifices (to be offered) and a great feast to be made.

And from thence we set out and came to a river, on the bank of which I commanded the phalanx to encamp, and we rested

[1] There seems to be something radically wrong in this sentence, but the MSS. agree.

where we were for five days. And when I gave orders to set out from thence by night, Paryôg the.....and his band came against us. My soldiers had let loose their horses and cattle to graze quietly along the bank of the river, and Paryôg and his band seized all the horses and cattle, and went into a wood, and led them away from the bank of the river. When I heard these things, I took a band of foot-soldiers and some Macedonian troops, and we pursued after Paryôg that day along the river by means of the prints of the horses' hoofs which had been imprinted on the bank; and we went after him a journey of one day, but we did not overtake him. Then I made a vow to the god Ammon and made supplication to him, saying, 'If we overtake Paryôg and his band, in the place where I overtake him I will build a city to thy name, O Ammon, and will set up in it a temple to thee.' When I had gone five miles along the road, the earth was covered with water, and the hoof marks of the horses were no longer seen. I ordered the foot-prints of the horses to be sought for around the water and the wood; and when they had looked for the foot-prints but did not find them, I knew that the god Ammon would come to our assistance. And I ordered them to set fire to the skirts of the wood all round, so that Paryôg and his troop were not able to bear the flame of the fire. Then they all came out from the wood, and my conquering troops fought with Paryôg and slew him, and he died. And of Paryôg's band some died by the fire, two hundred and seventy men, and a thousand and three hundred others perished by the hands of my troops; and we got our horses and our cattle. We made the whole camp rest there, and I commanded earth to be brought for all the waters which were detained there, and the place where all the waters were to be filled up, and a city to be built upon it, and a temple to be made therein to the god Ammon. And we were in that spot four months, and when the city and the temple were finished, I commanded men to be brought from various places to dwell therein, and I called its name Margiôs (*Μαργιανή*), that is Mârô (Merv), and I offered sacrifices to the god Ammon there.

VIII. When then we were ready to go from the country of Margiana to the land of the Persians, I desired also to go quickly[1]

[1] Here begins ch. xviii. of the Greek text (Müller, p. 125, col. 2).

and without delay to the country of the Samrâyê[1] and to see their kingdom, for the kingdom of the Samrâyê was renowned among the Athenians and in the land of Hellas, and they were wont to say of it that all the walls of the city were of whole stones, the length of each being three stadia, which make a mile. It has one hundred and twenty gates, and the gates are all bound with iron and brass outside, for iron is abundant in their country; and all the houses that are built in that city are of hewn stone from their foundations to their roofs. Over their country a woman reigned, who in her appearance was very beautiful; she was of middle age, and was a widow; and she had three sons, and her name was Kundâkâ [Candace], the lady of the Samrâyê. To this lady Alexander composed a letter and wrote to her thus: "From king Alexander to queen Candace greeting; and to the generals of the country of the Samrâyê greeting. When I went to Egypt, I saw there your graves and dwelling-places; and when I asked the priests of that country, they told me that ye dwelt in Egypt a long time, and that the god Ammon was with you as a helper. And after some time, by the oracle of Ammon, the god of his own accord sent to our border, [saying,] that I should go to your border and should sacrifice to him. If it pleases you, do ye also come to the border with the images, that we may hold a festival together."

Then Candace, when she had read this letter, made answer to him thus: "From Candace, the queen of the Samrâyê, and from all the generals of the Samrâyê, to king Alexander greeting. When of old we went to the land of Egypt, we went by the command of the oracle of Ammon, and he himself was with our army. Now too he has commanded us, saying, 'Beware lest ye move me from my place; neither shall ye go to another spot; but if any man shall come to your country, fight with him as with an enemy.' Thou wilt not catch us with this impudent speech of thine, for we are inspirited with the same spirit as thyself, even more than the illustrious and renowned who are in thy army[2]. I have troops to the number of eight

[1] In the Greek (Müller, *loc. cit.*) ἐνῆγε τὰ στρατεύματα ἐπὶ τῆς Σεμιράμεως βασίλεια, Lat. *ad Samiramidos regiam.*

[2] The Greek text is very different (Müller, p. 126, col. 1): Μὴ καταγνῷς δὲ

hundred thousand, who are ready and prepared to fight with the evil one. Thou therefore hast done well, since thou hast proposed this in honour of the god Ammon; but if thou desirest to offer sacrifices to the god Ammon, do thou come by thyself, and let not an army come with thee. Farewell." And my ambassadors brought from her one hundred solid missiles[1] of gold; five hundred ass-goats[2], which they call in Persian *khar-bôz*; of different kinds of the bird which is called *pâipâ* (parrot) two hundred; two hundred apes; a crown of gold set with emeralds and pearls for the god Ammon who is within the border of Egypt; twenty unpierced pearls; thirty unpierced emeralds; and eighty small boxes of ivory. And she sent to us of different kinds of beasts three hundred and fifty elephants; three hundred leopards; eighty animals which are called rhinoceros, and in Persian *markêdad* or *bargêdad*; four thousand hunting bears and leopards; three thousand dogs that eat men; three thousand buffaloes for killing; three hundred leopard-skins and one thousand three hundred teak rods: and she said thus, "Do thou take these things, and inform me in writing if thou art lord over the whole world."

IX. Then Alexander accepted these things and sent to her Ḳdimiôn [Kleomenês] the Egyptian as an ambassador with a letter to the queen. And when Candace heard from Alexander how he had taken different countries and captured cities and overcome and subdued mighty kings, she bade a certain painter of hers, a Greek, arise and go to the place where Alexander was, and paint for her his face and figure accurately, without the king's being aware of it, and bring it to her. And when the painter had gone and painted the portrait of Alexander and brought it to her, Candace took the likeness and hid it in a certain place. Then it fell out that a son of Candace, whose name was Ḳandâros [Candaules], with his wife and a few horsemen, came to the country of the Amazons to perform the mysteries of the gods; and it came to pass that the chief of the Marnikâyê[3] slew his horsemen and took his wife, and Candaules

τοῦ χρώματος ἡμῶν· ἐσμὲν γὰρ λευκότεροι καὶ λαμπρότεροι ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν παρ' ὑμῶν λευκοτάτων.

[1] The Greek has πλίνθους, Lat. *laterculos.*

[2] The Greek says Αἰθίοπας ἀνήβους φ', Lat. *Æthiopas impubes quingentos.*

[3] In the Greek ὁ τύραννος τῶν Βεβρύκων (Müller, p. 127, col. 1). Of the

escaped with a few horsemen, and came to the camp of Alexander. Then the guards of Alexander's camp took him and brought him before Ptolemy, the second in the kingdom, Alexander being asleep. Then Ptolemy questioned him, "Who art thou?" Candaules said, "I am the son of queen Candace." He said to him, "What art thou doing here?" Candaules said, "I and my wife, with a few horsemen, came to the country of the Amazons, as is our wont every year, to perform the mysteries of the gods; this time, however, the chief of the Marnîḳâyê saw my wife, and came against me with a large troop, and wrested my wife from me, and slew a number of the horsemen that were with me; and now I am come back that I might fetch a number of troops and do battle with him." And when Ptolemy heard this, he arose and went in to the king and awoke him, and related these things which he had heard before him. When Alexander heard this, he rose up early in the morning, and gave his crown to Ptolemy, and arrayed him in his purple robe, and said to him, "Go before me, as if thou wert king, and call me Antôgnâyâ [Antigonus], the chief of the host." And when they had gone out, Alexander spake before Ptolemy these words which he had heard. So Ptolemy went forth and looked upon the troops; and the troops thought that it was Alexander, and grief and trouble fell upon their hearts, and they said one to another, "What else pray is this Alexander who is rich in plans meditating?" When Candaules saw this, fear took hold of him, for he thought, "Peradventure they will slay me." And Ptolemy gave orders and questioned Alexander after the manner of kings, saying, "Antigonus, who is this man?" Antigonus said, This is Candaules, the son of queen Candace, from whom, while he was journeying along the way, the chief of the Marnîḳâyê carried off his wife by force; what, O king, dost thou counsel and command me to do?" The king said, "I counsel and command thee that thou shouldst take my troops, and go and fight with the Mârônîḳâyê, and deliver his wife from thence. On account of the dignity and wisdom of Candace his mother, thou shalt rescue his wife, and give her back to him."

different readings ܒܪ̈ܙ̈ܝ, ܒܪ̈ܙ̈ܝ̈, ܒܪ̈ܙ̈ܝ̈, ܒܪ̈ܙ̈ܝ̈, the second is perhaps the best, and may mean the people of Mârô or Merv.

When Candaules heard this, he was glad. Antigonus said, "Since it is pleasing to thee, O king, I will go and carry out this matter; only do thou give orders that they supply me with troops."

X. Then Ptolemy in the guise of Alexander commanded troops to go with Antigonus. Antigonus came to that place while it was yet day, and said to Candaules: "Come, let us hide ourselves on one side until it is the night, for if the Mûrîḳâyê see us, they will speedily tell their chief, and he in his anger will slay the woman before the fight, and what joy will there be in our victory when thy wife is dead? Let us tarry now, and enter the city at night; and we will set fire to it, and in the midst of the crush in the city, they shall bring thy wife to thee, for our fight is not with the country, neither is it for the government of the city, but for the sake of bringing back one woman." When Antigonus had spoken these words, Candaules fell upon his face and made obeisance to him, saying, "How admirable is this wisdom and knowledge of thine, Antigonus! It were right that thou thyself shouldst be Alexander, and not merely the chief of the host." When it was night, they went to the city; and when the people of the city were awakened out of their sleep and asked concerning the cause of the conflagration, Alexander commanded his troops to shout with a loud voice, "It is Candaules the king with his vast army, and he commands you, saying, 'Either restore my wife to me, or I will burn your whole city with fire.'" Then the people by reason of their fear went in a great crowd to the palace of their chief, and carried off the woman from his bed, and brought her and gave her to Candaules. Then he made obeisance to Antigonus, and praised his counsel, and thanked him, and they returned together to the camp of Alexander. And Candaules embraced Antigonus, and said to him, "O my lord, trust thyself to me and come with me to my mother that I may give thee gifts." Then Antigonus rejoicing at this speech said to him, "Ask permission for me from the king, for I myself am desirous to come and see the city." Then he sent to the king saying, "Send Antigonus as an ambassador to my mother." Ptolemy called Candaules and said to him, "Do thou, O Candaules, salute thy mother in writing, and receive Antigonus my general

as ambassador, and send him back to me too in health, for he restored thee along with thy wife, and will carry thee to thy mother." And Candaules said, "O king, I accept this man from thee on these conditions, as if he were Alexander, and I will send him back to thy kingdom to thee in health with gifts."

XI. Then Alexander took with him one division of the army, with cattle and chariots, and went. And as they were marching along the road, they saw a mountain of beryls, which in its height reached the clouds, and it was thickly crowded with lofty trees and fruits, but its trees were not like the trees which are in the country of the Greeks. The apples for example which we saw were as large as the citrons which are in the country of the Greeks; the clusters of grapes were like the clusters of dates in our country; and the nuts were as big as melons. Snakes were coiled round the greater number of the trees, and each of them was as big as a ferret with us; the apes upon the trees were larger than bears with us; and there were a number of animals of different kinds; and the mountains were the caves and paths of ibexes. Then Candaules said to me, "Antigonus, this place is the temple and dwellingplace of the gods, and many times they appear in these spots. Now then, if thou pleasest, when thou art on the way back, offer up a sacrifice to them that they may reveal themselves to thee." When Candaules had said this, we journeyed on and arrived at the royal palace. And when we drew near, his mother and brethren came to meet us; and when they wished to embrace Candaules, he said to them, "First of all salute the saviour and deliverer of myself and wife, Antigonus, the ambassador of Alexander king of peace." And when he went on to tell them severally of the carrying away of his wife and of the assistance which came from Alexander's army and of the knowledge and wisdom of Antigonus, his mother and brethren embraced and kissed Antigonus, and prepared a great and splendid feast for him, and they ate.

XII. On the following day Candace put on the royal apparel, and set the crown upon her head, and was so ornamented that, when Alexander saw her, he thought that he was looking upon Olympias his mother. The whole roof of the house in which she sat was painted with gold, and its walls

were all set with precious stones and gems, and the cushions which were in the house were all woven with silk and fine gold; the legs of the couches were of magnificent beryls, and the tables in the house were of ivory, and the pillars of the house, their bases and their capitals, were made of precious beryl stones; statues of Corinthian brass stood upon the tops of the pillars, and the pillars were of purple stone, and representations of chariots and of men were engraved upon them; and these carvings were so marvellous that every one who saw them thought that the horses were going to run. Some of the stones were wrought in the form of elephants, which were standing in battle and holding enemies in their trunks. Statues of all the gods of the nations stood round the whole house, and others were standing on pillars; and the roof of their house appeared from the inside as if all the plane-trees and cedars of the earth were growing there; and there was the representation of a lake round about it, so that the whole house was reflected by the waters that were painted in it. When Antigonus (that is to say Alexander) saw this, he marvelled and wonder laid hold on him. And Candaules entreated his mother that gifts and offerings should be given to this ambassador as befitted the greatness of his knowledge. Then on the following day Candace took Alexander by the hand, and led him into a chamber. The whole chamber was inlaid with white marble like the heavens, and by reason of the splendour of the marble every one who saw it thought that the sun was shining in it; and the beams of the roof were of a wood which they call ôbmiôn[1], which wood no woodworm attacks, neither does it burn in fire. The foundations of the house were not laid upon the ground, but upon square beams which were very thick; and beneath it, at its four corners, were chariot wheels, and elephants were drawing them; and whithersoever the queen went to war, she dwelt in it and lived in it. Then Alexander said to Candace, "O queen, all these things would be worthy of admiration, if they were in the country of the Greeks, but here they are not very marvellous, for there are many mountains like these here, in which are to be found beryl stones

[1] Perhaps a corruption of the Greek word ἀμίαντος, as the text (Müller, p. 132, col. 1) has the words ἐξ ἀμιάντων ξύλων.

of divers colours and variegated in many ways." Candace answered with indignation and said to him, "Thou hast spoken rightly, Alexander." When Alexander heard that Candace called him by his own name, he was troubled and he turned his face backward. Candace said to him, "Wherefore dost thou turn thy face backwards because I called thee by thy name Alexander?" Alexander said, "My lady, Antigonus is my name, and Alexander is the king who sent me hither." Candace said, "I know that Alexander is the king, and thou thyself art Alexander, and now I recognise thee from the look of thy picture;" and straightway she took him by the hand and led him into another chamber, and shewed him the likeness, and said to him, "See if thou canst recognise the face in this painting." When Alexander saw the painting of himself, his mind was perturbed, and he began to gnash his teeth. Candace said to him, "Why art thou troubled, and why dost thou gnash thy teeth at me, O bearer (of the sovereignty) of the Persians and Indians, who hast gained the victory over the Persians, and triumphed over the Parthians? Without war and without an army hast thou now fallen into the hands of queen Candace. Know then, Alexander, that it is not right for a man to glorify himself in his mind as though all wisdom and knowledge belonged to him alone, for though his wisdom be very great, one may be found who is wiser than he." When Alexander heard this, he stood up in a rage and gnashed his teeth, and Candace spake thus to him: "Why art thou angry? and for what reason dost thou gnash thy teeth, O thou who art so great a king?" Alexander replied: "I am a wretched man, inasmuch as I have no sword." Candace said to him: "Suppose thou hadst a sword, what wouldst thou be able to do?" Alexander said: "If I had a sword, I would either slay thee, that thou mightest no longer be in the world, or I would stab myself, because I of my own freewill have exposed myself to ridicule." Candace said to him: "Thou hast spoken these words also valiantly and royally; but now weary not thyself, neither let thy mind nor thy will be perturbed, for as thou hast rescued my son and my daughter-in-law, and hast brought them in safety to me, so also will I protect thee from the barbarians, and will send thee away from here under the name of Antigonus. For if the barbarians

should hear that thou art Alexander, they will slay thee, because thou didst slay Porus the king of the Indians, for my daughter-in-law is a daughter of Porus. Henceforward let thy name be called Antigonus, and I will keep this secret."

XIII. And when she had spoken these words to him, they both went out; and she called her son and daughter-in-law and said to them, "Son Candaules, and thou too, my daughter Mâlâpsâ[1] had ye not obtained the help of Alexander's troops, we should never have seen one another, neither you me, nor I you. Now therefore it is right that thou shouldst send this ambassador of Alexander's away from here with honour and glory." Then her other son Ḳĕrâtôr[2] said: "My mother, Alexander has delivered my brother and his wife; but *my* wife is angry and says, 'Alexander slew my father Porus, and I now desire that thou wilt slay this ambassador of Alexander to avenge my father'." Candace said: "My son, what profit wilt thou gain by this, that this ambassador be slain here? for though thou shouldst slay this ambassador here, Alexander will not be grieved." Candaules said: "I will not allow him to die, because he delivered myself and my wife, and it is right that I should send him away (safe) from hence to Alexander." Then Ḳĕrâtôr said, "If thou send this man away from here, there will be war between thee and me." Candaules said, "I do not desire this; but if thou seekest war, I too am ready." Now Candace was in great trouble and affliction because of this matter, for she thought that peradventure her sons would fight with one another on this account, so she called Alexander privily and said to him: "O Alexander, thou hast been on every occasion astute and abundant in knowledge and fertile in expedients and skilled in contrivances; and now art thou able to do nothing to prevent these my sons fighting with one another for thy sake?" Then Alexander answered and said: "Hear ye, Ḳĕrâtôr and Candaules; if ye slay me here, do not imagine that Alexander will be distressed on my account, or that he will sorrow for me, (though it is not right to

[1] The Gr. Codex A has *ματέρσα*, the others *ἄρτυσσα*, *ἄρτουσα*, or *ἄρτισα*, the Latin translation *Margie* (see Müller, p. 133, col. 2).

[2] Called in the Latin translation *Charogos* (Müller, *loc. cit.*). In the Greek MSS. no name is given.

kill an ambassador even in war,) because, if ye slay me here, Alexander has many ambassadors like me. But if ye desire that I should deliver Alexander into your hands without trouble, I am able to do it; but do you now promise me what ye will give me, and how many towns and cities ye will give, that henceforward I may live with you in this country, and I will go and persuade Alexander to come hither, as if ye had asked him that ye might honour him with great and excellent offerings; and I know that I am able to bring him hither without any body of troops, and when he comes here, ye can easily take him and revenge yourselves on him." When Kĕrâtôr heard these words of his, he was persuaded and promised Alexander a number of his own towns. Then Candace, marvelling at the knowledge and understanding of Alexander, called him secretly and said to him, "O Alexander, would that thou also wert my son, for by the knowledge and wisdom which thou hast thou art able to subdue all nations." And next day Candace dismissed Alexander and gave him gifts, a royal crown of gold set with ……[1] and a breastplate of gold set with beryls and chalcedonies and other precious stones, and a purple cloak like stars woven with gold; and she sent some of her own horsemen with him.

XIV. Then he went forth from thence and arrived at the hill of which Candaules had told him that it belonged to the gods. He offered sacrifices in that place, and he went into a cave, and saw in that cave a blackness out of the midst of which stars were shining, and suddenly he heard behind him a noise of dead bodies[2] and the sound of an uproar. Then Alexander trembled and stood up silently to see what it was; and suddenly the darkness disappeared, and he saw the form of a man reclining upon a couch, and his eyes were like sparkling stars. And he said to Alexander, "Peace be with thee, Alexander; dost thou know who I am?" Alexander said, "Nay, my lord, nay." Then he said to him, "I am Sêsânḳôs (Sesonchosis), the ruler of the world, and from the time that I

[1] I do not know what ⟨ܣܘܣ⟩ means. The Greek text is *στέφανον ἀδαμάντινον πολύτιμον* (Müller, p. 134, col. 2).

[2] So in the Syriac.

died I am with the gods; I, who am immortal, am not so renowned as thou art." Alexander said to him, "How so, my lord?" He said to him: "I took the whole world and subdued a number of nations, yet now there is no remembrance of me on earth; but thou art renowned on account of the city of Alexandria the Great which thou hast built; thy name will be famed for ever. But now come within and see the Maker of all natures." And when Alexander had gone within, he saw a fiery cloud and the great god Serapis seated upon a throne. And Alexander said, "My lord, I saw thee in the vision at Thebes as thou didst sit, and behold I see thee here too." Then Sesonchosis said, "My lord Serapis dwells in one place, but reveals himself everywhere." Then Alexander said, "My lord, how many years longer shall I live?" Sesonchosis said: "It is well for mortal man when the day of his death is hidden from him; for when he learns when his death shall take place, from the day that he knows concerning his death he considers himself as already dead. But as for thee, when thou establishest and completest a great and famous city, thou shalt enter it, whether with death or without death, and the people of the city will receive thee, and will do reverence to thee as to a god, and thy grave shall be in that spot."

XV. When Alexander had heard these words from the messenger (*or* angel), he set out on his road, and the generals of his forces came to him on the way, and straightway put his crown upon him, and arrayed him in royal apparel. Now Alexander had made ready to go to the country of the Amziôs (Amazons), which was the land of women. These Amazons are women, who have one breast like a man's and one like a woman's. When Alexander drew near and had arrived in the country of the Amazons, he composed a letter and wrote to them as follows: "From Alexander to the Amazons greeting. Ye have heard concerning the war which we had with Darius, and of that with Porus the king of the Indians, and how I slew them. And after I had slain them, I went to the country of the Indians, and saw there the Brahmans and their sages, and received tribute from them, and allowed them to remain in their own land, and they sacrificed to the gods on my behalf. And I turned away from them, and now I have made ready to

come to you. Come ye then to meet me and receive me, for I am not coming to make war nor to do anything evil; but I come to see your country, and I will benefit you."

When they had read the letter, they wrote him an answer as follows: "From the Amazons and the chiefs of the hosts of our camp to Alexander greeting. We write to thee that thou mayest know, before thou comest hither and before thou enterest our country, that perhaps when thou comest hither, thou wilt be obliged against thy will to retreat and turn back. In this letter too we will inform thee of all our affairs, and what is the condition of our country, and in what state it is. By our nature we are women, but owing to our bravery we are superior to men. We live upon an island in the sea Mezinkos[1], and there is a sea round about it, the beginning and end of which are unknown, and there is only one place of crossing over to us. We who dwell in the island are in name virgins, and are in number two hundred and eighty thousand. We have no man with us, and no male is found among us; for our husbands live on the other side of the sea. At the time of the year when we slay horses and offer sacrifices to Zeus and to Hephaestos, during that festival we cross over to the other side of the sea, and we make a feast together with the men for thirty days, and those who wish to stay with their husbands stay. She that conceives remains where she is until she gives birth to a child; and if she bears a female, she leaves it with fosterers on the other side of the sea for seven years, and then they bring her over to this side to us. Should any unfriendly people come against us in battle, and it be necessary for us to make war with them, we go forth to battle one hundred and thirty thousand strong upon equipped horses, and the remainder keep watch in the camps and on the islands. Our husbands come after us; and if it happen that some women of us die while we are doing battle with the enemy, our husbands take their bodies and carry them to the islands. If the troops of the enemy be mighty and powerful and numerous, and do battle with us for many days, should any of our women

[1] No doubt corrupted from Ἀμαζονικός. In the Arabic version بحر (*sea*) might stand for *river*, as in بحر النيل.

slay any of the enemies' host, we give them a crown from the altar of Zeus. If it fall out that we rout an enemy who is stronger than we, and that they are conquered by us, it is a great disgrace to those mighty and powerful enemies that they are conquered by the hands of women and turn their backs in flight; but on the other hand, should it happen that the enemy has the advantage over us in war, and we turn and come to our islands in discomfiture, it is not accounted a brave deed to those men, neither is their victory deemed creditable to them, because it is merely women whom they have conquered. Do thou therefore consider this, for peradventure it may happen thus even to thee. My lord the king, if it please thee, retire, and we will each year give thee as a gift what is right. Do thou then make a reply to our letter on this subject as thou art bound to do, and we are in our camp on this summit[1] prepared and ready."

XVI. When Alexander had read this letter, he smiled, and ordered an answer to be made to this letter of theirs as follows: "King Alexander to the Amazons greeting. We have taken and subdued three ends of the world, and have been victorious over them; and now it would be a great disgrace to us if we did not come to your country. Now, if ye desire your own destruction and that of the rest of the people in your land, remain where ye are upon the top of the mountain[2]: but if ye desire to live and to dwell in your country, and are not desirous to experience a trial of our strength, cross over to this side, and [come to] see us with your husbands in the plain, and receive us, and I swear by the soul of my mother and by the fortune of Hêra the mother of the gods, and by Athênê the lady of battles, and by Artemis the great goddess, that I will do no evil unto you. But whatever tribute ye are willing to give for the benefit of my troops, I will accept it from you. Let as many horsewomen as ye please come to my army, and I will give each of you five dinârs as the pay of each month, besides the food of the horsewomen and of the horses; and I will keep them in my army one

[1] Müller's text has καὶ εὑρήσεις ἡμῶν τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρίων (p. 137, col. 1) but the translator evidently read ὀρέων for ὁρίων.

[2] Reading again ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων for ὁρίων.

year, and then I will send them away to their own places, and do ye send others in their stead."

When this letter had been read and they had taken counsel among themselves, they made answer to him as follows: "From the chiefs of the Amazons and all the generals to Alexander greeting. We grant thee power to come and see our country. And afterwards we will give to thee each year a thousand pounds of gold for a crown; and those who bring them to thee shall remain in thy camp a year. If it should happen that any of them fall in love with men, let them marry them and dwell in the land. Do thou send to us the number of the women who die and of those who remain, that we may send to thee other women in their stead. And henceforward we will obey thee far or near, for we have heard of thy excellence and thy goodness and thy might and thy power. And what are we more than the rest of the world that we should not receive thee as lord? Farewell."

XVII. Then Alexander made ready, and when he drew near to the country of the Amazons, Zeus rained so great a rain upon them that the hoofs of all the cattle and horses rotted away by reason of the quantity of rain, and the saddles of the horses and the packsaddles of the cattle were destroyed. After the rain had ceased, a fierce and powerful heat came upon us, which no one of us was able to endure; and then came lightnings and thunderings and mighty sounds from heaven to such a degree that many of the horsemen fell upon their faces through fear. When we had crossed over the river[1] Zûtâ (?) and saw the country, the whole country was decorated with temples and altars, like the land of the Indians. When we saw the abundant rain, we remembered the snow which fell upon us in the country of Prasiakê; and when the people that were dwelling in that land saw all the rain and the ill, they said that it happened because of Alexander. They came to Alexander and said to him, "O good king, depart from our land, and we will give thee sixty mighty elephants trained to war and one hundred thousand chariots." Then Alexander gave orders to accept them from them, and he departed thence. Then

[1] In the Syriac ܝܡܐ, *sea* = ܢܗܪܐ.

those five hundred horsewomen came to meet him, bringing the gold, and they stood in Alexander's presence and laid the gold before him. When Alexander had seen the country of the Amazons, he ordered sacrifices to be offered to all the gods that were in the land.

And he set out from thence, and on the way a letter met him. "From Aristotle to Alexander greeting. I have heard that thou hast laboured in many battles and wars, and that thou hast also taken and subdued a number of countries and many cities. Thou hast been able to do all these things by the aid of the gods, for at present thou art but thirty years of age, and by the assistance of the gods thou hast performed such deeds as no other lord has been able to do in a number of years. Therefore thou art under many obligations to the gods, and now the time has come for thee to pay them back with sacrifice and incense, for great is thy debt to the gods who have honoured thee, and thou wilt not be able to pay it in a short time."

When Alexander had read this letter, he and his host returned to Babylon. And when he had drawn near to Babylon, he wrote a letter to his mother Olympias in which he wrote as follows. "From Alexander to Olympias my mother, greeting. In a former letter I informed thee accurately concerning the things which I did previously, from the beginning as far as the country of Asia; and now it appears to me that I ought to inform thee by writing of all that took place afterwards, after I arrived at Babylon. I Alexander took my forces [consisting of] brave and mighty warriors one hundred thousand, and I made ready to depart from Babylon. In ninety-five days I arrived at the cave of Hêraklês, and I saw two statues, one of gold and the other of silver; the length of each was twelve cubits and the breadth two cubits; and I did not believe them to be solid but [thought that they were] cast. Then I commanded the troops of my army to halt, and I sacrificed to Hêraklês, and I ordered the golden statue to be bored with a borer; and when I perceived that it was all of gold and that it was solid, I commanded that the shavings from the boring should be weighed, and they weighed one thousand three hundred mithkâls of gold. And we set out from thence and marched to a mountainous place, and came to a broken country, and in that place

the darkness was so dense that the troops were unable to see one another. We remained in that place seven days, and from thence we came to a warm region. In that place there was a great river in a level plain, and on the banks of that river women dwelt in the guise of Amazons, but they surpassed the Amazons in their bodies and their beauty; they were clothed in black garments, and they all went armed on horseback; and all their arms were of silver, for in the place where they dwelt there was neither iron nor brass. They dwelt on the bank of the river on the other side, and when we came to the bank of the river, we found no crossing whereby we might pass over to the other side, for the river was very deep and very wide, and upon its bank on this side there were a number of savage animals. These women crossed over to this side of the river by night and carried off some men of my troops, and we were unable to cross over [after them] to the other side.

XVIII. And from thence we departed and began to come to the shore of a great sea; and we arrived at a place on the right of which was a high mountain, and on the left the sea; and in that place we sacrificed a number of white horses to Poseidon, the divinity[1] of the sea, and we made a hunt there. And from thence we departed to a place, the ground of which was not visible to us by reason of the darkness and blackness; and thenceforward there was no land. We found five ships, and having embarked in them we put to sea. On the third day we arrived at a city, of which they say that it is the city of the sun, and the circumference of that city is twenty miles. In the middle of it was an altar, and upon it there was a chariot, which was made of fine gold and emeralds, and a priest of the sun stood upon it; and in that place we sacrificed to the sun. From thence we came a journey of one day, and found a great darkness, and there was no road, so I gave orders to light branching[2] lamps of silver, and to carry them before my troops. And we retired from thence and arrived at the river Sakhan[3], which divides Asia and Europe; and thence we made ready and came to the palace of Khusrau and king Pâḳôr[4]; and in that

[1] Literally, *the luck* or *good fortune*.

[2] Literally, *outspread*.

[3] In Cod. A and the Latin version, *Tanais* (Müller, p. 141, note 13).

[4] In Cod. A and the Latin version, *Xerxes and Cyrus* (Müller, *loc. cit.*).

palace we saw a number of ingenious things which are needed for great purposes. And there was a room made within it, and a statue of one of the gods of the Greeks stood there, and they say that at the time that king Xerxes was alive, when any of his enemies were preparing to come to his land with war and battle, a voice issued from this statue. And a cage of gold was suspended from the ceiling of the room, within which cage a golden dove was confined; and they say that when the voice came from the statue in the speech of men, this dove interpreted it. When I desired to take this dove from thence and to send it to the country of the Greeks, they said to me, 'Do not take it, because this dove counsels this god.' And I also saw something worthy of admiration in the palace of Shôshan the fortress; for I saw there large globes of silver, each of which, they say, would hold three hundred and sixty measures of wine, and on the outside round about there were carved horses and their riders fighting, and in the middle the gods sitting in assembly; and they say that they brought these globes from Egypt, the country of Zeus, at the time when the Persians were masters over Egypt. When I desired to know how great were these globes, I offered sacrifices to the gods, and commanded one of the globes to be filled with wine, and I gave orders to my troops to sit down, and at that meal there was not used more than one globe full of wine. Now when they had consumed the wine, it happened according to what I had heard. And I entered a large house, and I found there a very large cup, and upon it was carved [a representation of] the battle which king Xerxes fought in ships with the Greeks. And in the house a seat of gold was placed, which was set with gems, and there was a sort of canopy over it, and a golden harp with strings was placed upon it; and they said that this harp used to play of itself, without anyone striking it. Around [the throne] were thirty cups of gold, and it had eight steps, and over it there stood a golden eagle whose wings spread over the whole of it. A root was there like a vine, out of which sprouted seven shoots, and the bunches of grapes were wholly of fine gold set with gems. But why need I write to thee of the abundance of the gold and silver? Gold and silver

are so abundant that I am unable to describe the quantity thereof."

XIX.[1] When he had sent this letter to Olympias his mother from Babylon, the day of his death was come, and a sign to this effect happened as follows. A certain woman, one of the inhabitants of that country, gave birth to a child, who from his buttocks upwards had the form of a man, and from his buttocks downwards a number of forms of animals, all of them separate, that is to say, a lion, a leopard, a wolf, and a wild dog, all the heads apart and separate; they were so well defined that every one who saw them knew at once to what beast each head belonged; and the human body died as soon as it was born. Then the woman, as soon as she had given birth to it, covered it over and carried it to the palace of Alexander; and she said to one of Alexander's servants, "Speak to him about bringing me into his presence, that I may shew the king a wonderful sign, the like of which he has never seen." Now Alexander was asleep within, and it was noon; and when he had been roused up from his sleep, and had heard concerning the woman, he commanded that she should be brought in before him. (Then the woman said, "Give orders, O king, that every one go forth from before thee.") And when every one had gone forth from the king's presence, she uncovered it and exhibited it before the king, saying to him, "Look upon this prodigy, O king, to which I have given birth." When Alexander had seen it, wonder and amazement laid hold on him, and he straightway commanded the Chaldeans who were skilled in portents to be called. When they came, he said to them, "Tell me exactly what this sign indicates, for if ye do not speak the truth, your heads shall be taken off." Then one of those skilled in portents sighed, and having waited a little said to the king, "O king, thou wilt not live any longer, and they do not allow thee to remain among the number of the living, as this sign portends." When Alexander heard this, he praised him and said, "Explain how thou understandest this sign." He

[1] Corresponding to ch. xxx. of the Greek text (ch. xxix. is wanting in the Syriac). See Müller, p. 143, col. 2.

said to him, "O ruler of all men, the sign is thus: this human body and this child are thyself, and these bodies of beasts are all the nations. As soon as it was born, this human body died, while those of all the beasts are alive. Now thou, O king, who art lord of all nations, art about to die, whilst they all, being alive, will escape from under thy hands. Therefore, O king, when I saw that this sign referred to thee, I was deeply grieved." When he had spoken these words, he went forth from Alexander's presence; and the woman took the child, and carried it out, and burned it with fire. When Alexander had heard all these things, he was in grief and trouble, and sighing, he said, "O Zeus, it would have been right that I should have finished all my plans and then died; but since it has appeared good to thee thus, command that they receive me as the third dead." This speech he said for this reason: Dionysus was a man, and because of the name and fame and power that he made for himself, he was reckoned when dead among the number of the gods; and in like manner Hêraklês; therefore Alexander spake of himself as 'the third dead,' because these had not gained such name and fame and might as Alexander.

XX. At this time Olympias the mother of Alexander sent him a letter containing an accusation against Antipater, and Alexander was very grieved because of his mother's anger against Antipater. When Antipater knew that Alexander was angry with him, and became aware that he wished to slay him, he sent Alexander a quantity of gold. Alexander commanded that it should be accepted; but although he took the gold, he did not set right his mind with Antipater. When Antipater knew the secret plans that Alexander had formed against him, he dissolved a deadly drug in a vessel, and gave some of it to his son Keshandrôs (Cassander), and furnished him with many offerings and sent him to Alexander, bidding him to seek some means and in one way or other to give the poison to Alexander. When Cassander arrived at Babylon, he found Alexander offering sacrifices, and a feast was prepared for the generals of the provinces. Then Cassander drew near to Ôliyâs (Iollas), the chief of the king's cup-bearers, and entered into a secret plot with him. Now

this Iollas had been scourged a few days before for some cause by Alexander, so that his mind was excited against him, and therefore Cassander found an opportunity against Alexander. They took Mîtrôn (Mêdius) with them into the secret—now this Mîtrôn was Alexander's chief friend—, and he took upon himself to administer the poison to him. When Alexander and his friends were sitting at table and were drinking and talking cheerfully — now on that day Alexander was very merry, for many of his friends had come to him from various countries, and had brought him crowns of victory—after they had finished the meal, Mîtrôn drew near to Alexander and said to him, "O king, since to-day thou hast had great joy with the rest (?) of thy friends, bid thy dearest friends, who love thee most, to drink wine with thee in a chamber." When Alexander heard the speech of Mîtrôn, he ordered Prisḳôs, Marḳânos, Lôsios (Lysias), Prîṭôn, Rĕḳîthâros, Ksîdâros (Cassiodôrus), Nicolaus, Ḳrîmîos, Harḳliṭandîs, Tarḳânâ, Philip, and Mĕnîdâros (Menander) to be invited[1]. Now of all these persons only Prisḳôs, Ḳrîmîos, Harḳliṭandîs, Cassiodôrus, and Lysias, were unacquainted with the secret, but all (the rest) were eager participators in it, and were with Iollas the chief of the cup-bearers and Cassander in the matter, and had sworn oaths among themselves. When Alexander had sat down, and they had all taken their seats in his presence, Iollas the chief of the cup-bearers mixed the poison and gave the cup to Alexander. When Alexander had drunk, he straightway felt great pain; he immediately commanded some of that wine to be brought and to be poured out to all his friends. Although he was grievously tortured by the intensity of the pain, he bore up and was neither excited nor alarmed; and his friends also continued drinking. After his friends had gone out from his presence, he thought that perchance he was seized with pain by reason of the quantity that he had drunk, and he took birds' feathers and put them into his throat, for so he was accustomed to do from time to time. After he perceived that nothing did him good, for the poison had flown through all

[1] Most of these names are horribly corrupt. See the Greek text, Müller, p. 145.

his body, he was unable to restrain his groans, for the pain was too strong for his body. On the following day at dawn he desired to take counsel with his friends, but he was unable to make a testament, because his tongue was paralysed. Then Cassander wrote to Macedonia to his father Antipater, "the deed for which I came hither has taken place, and has received a glorious consummation."

When Alexander had been seized at Babylon with a grievous sickness, he commanded at night every one to go forth from the chamber in which he was lying, and he also commanded Rôshnâḳ (Roxana) his wife to go to another chamber[1]. Now one of the doors of the house opened on to the river Euphrates, and he ordered that door to be opened, and said, "There is no need for the guards to keep their watch." When every one had gone forth and it was midnight, he rose up from his bed, and extinguished the lamp which was burning before him and went forth by that door, and crawled on his hands and feet to the bank of the river, and was going to cast himself in. Then his wife Rôshnâḳ hastened at once and took hold of him, and with weeping and loud and mournful sighs said to him, "Hast thou left me, Alexander, and art thou become thine own executioner? Bitter is the lot which has fallen to my share, and evil and cruel is that which has happened to me by fate. I was left an orphan by my father Darius in my childhood, and now in my youth I shall be left by thee a widow." Then Alexander said, "Be not distressed, O Rôshnâḳ, for everything happens in its season; but be silent, and tell this secret to no one." Then Rôshnâḳ took Alexander by the hand and led him back to his bed. And when it was day, Alexander commanded Ḳrisḳôs[2], and Lysias, and Ptolemy to come into his presence alone, and every one else to be put out[3]. And they came into his presence. Then he ordered a testament to be written. And Ḳrisḳôs was doubtful in his mind, for he thought, "Peradventure he will give all his possessions to Ptolemy alone, for he loved him very much during his life, and Olympias

[1] For what follows see Müller, p. 146, note 1 on ch. xxxii.
[2] A little above the name was written Prisḳôs.
[3] See Meusel, p. 789, at the foot.

his mother loved him." Then Ḳrîsḳôs swore an oath with Ptolemy, "If Alexander gives all his property to me, thou shalt have one half of it; and if he gives it to thee, do thou give me a half." And having written the document, they were commanded to write the testament.

XXI. Then a report of an uproar and tumult among the Macedonian soldiers was heard; and they all came clothed in armour to the gate of Alexander, for they thought that Alexander had not been seized with sickness, but that the generals of the army had slain him by treachery; and they were going to fall upon them and kill them. When Alexander heard the outcry and uproar, he asked, "What is this disturbance?" Then Ḳrîsḳôs informed him concerning the uproar and tumult. When Alexander heard of the real love and affection of the Macedonian soldiers towards himself, he ordered them to carry him and to convey him to the hippodrome. And he commanded that the troops of the Macedonian camps should be armed, and that they should pass before him in their suits of armour. Then Ḳrîsḳôs went out from before the king, and told the Macedonians, and convinced them that Alexander was not dead, but had been seized by sickness. "But (said he) put ye on your armour, and go to the royal hippodrome, for there ye are to pass before him in review." When the Macedonians heard this, they girded on their armour and went to the hippodrome. And they carried Alexander thither on his bed. So the Macedonians passed in their armour before Alexander; and when they lifted up their eyes and saw Alexander, suddenly the colour of their faces was changed, and their hearts were so oppressed by weeping and mourning that, in the face of that sadness and suffering and grief mingled with sighs, even the light of the sun became obscure and dark. Then Pînâḳlêôs (Phainoclês?), an old Macedonian warrior and hero, wept aloud when he saw Alexander, and said to Alexander in the Greek tongue, "O king, doer of good things, Philip thy father ruled over us kindly and firmly, and thou too, O king, hast been likewise good and merciful and kind to us. But since we love thee, and thy rule is pleasing to us, and we desire and enjoy it, why dost thou wish to forsake us, and to part from us and

to leave us? for through thy departure from us all Macedonia will be destroyed, and by thy death we ourselves will all perish. It is better that we should die with thee, for thou hast made us renowned and famous; through thee we have subdued countries and kingdoms, and through thee we have brought enemies into subjection. Henceforth what is the good to us of weapons of iron and brass, when we have lost thee, O most skilled in weapons? With thee we have marched through deserts and dark mountains, through rough and difficult and hard and impassable places; and now we will go to the next world with thee." When he had spoken these words, tears streamed down from Alexander's eyes, and each one of the Macedonians drew his sword and was going to slay himself. Then Alexander sprang up from the couch on which he lay, and sat upon the cushions, and said to the Macedonians, "O my servants and friends and fellow-soldiers, why do ye add pain to pain so that I should taste death by dying before my own death?" Then he commanded the troops of the Macedonians to go to their camps, and he bade them bear him upon his bed and carry him to his palace.

XXII. Then they bore him and carried him to his palace, and he commanded Prîsḳôs to bring the testament and to read it before him. Then Archelaus the scribe brought the testament, and in it there was written as follows: From Alexander to Ammon and to my mother Olympias, greeting. Inasmuch as the gods have willed that I should be taken from the assembly and dwelling of men to the assemblies and dwellings of the gods, I too have thought that it would be expedient and helpful for me, and I have thought that it would be right for me to inform you thereof. Do thou then, my mother, not be grieved nor distressed at my departure, for such is the will of God, but console thyself in thy wisdom and be glad. I have appointed and sent all my generals for thy honour that they may make thee exceedingly glad. I Alexander in this testament command: the Macedonians and the Greeks shall keep themselves in training and guard the country from enemies and be always vigilant; they shall keep the temples of the gods and the royal palace, and preserve them in prosperity and in joy. Let there be given every year

to the princes that are in Egypt darics [to the amount of] one hundred pounds from the crops and taxes of the country, for I have commanded my body to be carried thither; and let the expenses which are requisite and necessary for the grave in which my body is laid be given to the priests according to their desire from the revenues of the kingdom. I also command that the offence wherewith the Thebans offended me be forgiven them, and that three hundred talents of gold be given them for the restoration of their city. I also command that there be given from Egypt every year twenty thousand bushels of wheat, and from Asia twenty thousand bushels. I also command that Ḳrêtênôr (Craterus) shall be ruler and governor of the Macedonians; and over Egypt shall be Ptolemy; and over Asia Ḳrîsḳôs (Perdiccas). I also command that seventy talents of gold be given to the army of the Macedonians. I also command that Archelaus take this testament and carry it to the temple of the god Ammon. And let there be in the land of Alexandria food and abundance of corn, and let skilful workmen of all kinds be ready, and when Ptolemy comes thither bringing my body, let them prepare quickly a grave for the burial of my body, and let there be no hindrance nor delay to him. I also command that if Rôshnâḳ (Roxana) my wife give birth to a son, he shall be king, and they shall call his name after one of the kings of the Macedonians, according as they please; but if she give birth to a girl, let the Macedonians choose and set up as king whomsoever they please; and if they find (?) Bêlîrôs the son of Mîlêḳôs (?), he shall be lord over them. Olympias my mother shall dwell in Rhodes, and Lysimachus shall rule over the country of Thrace; and his wife shall rule over the Thessalonians, because she is my sister, the daughter of Philip the king of the Macedonians. Over Hellas Pîṭasdrôn (?)[1] shall rule; and over Pamphylia and Lycia Antigonus shall rule; and over Great Phrygia Andreas shall rule; and over Cilicia Pîôr (?); and over Syria and as far as the Rivers Pythôn shall rule; and Seleucus clothed in armour shall rule over

[1] Most of these names are horribly corrupt. See the Greek text, Müller, p. 145.

this Babylon, and his wife over Nicaea; and Âdîmîs (Eumenês) shall rule over Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; and Mempath (Meleager) shall rule over Phoenicia and Coelesyria; and over Egypt Ptolemy, and Cleopatra the sister of Alexander's wife shall be given to him; and my wife Rôshnâḳ shall rule from this Babylon of mine to the country of Adôrbaijân and Persia and Media, and I command that she shall be given to Prîsḳôs (Perdiccas) to wife. And I command that they shall make for the interment of my body a coffin of fine gold, two hundred and fifty talents [in weight], and let them lay the body of me Alexander the king of the Macedonians in it; and let them fill it with white honey which has not been melted, and let them deliver it to the Macedonians. Let them send one suit of my royal apparel and my golden throne to the city of Athens, to the temple of the virgins; and let them send all my arms to Persia, with one hundred and fifty talents of gold; and let them send to the temple of the gods which is in Macedonia the dragons' heads of gold [weighing] one hundred talents, and one hundred signet rings of gold, and a thousand ivory cups. [Let them send] one hundred and fifty talents [of gold] to the Philippians (Milesians) for the restoration of their city; and the remainder of the gold and silver, and the whole of the possessions which I have brought from the country of the Indians, let them be given to my mother Olympias. Let them deliver over Sôd—that is to say Samarḳand—to Philip; and let them give Abarashahr and Gurgân to Pîṭâpôlîs (?), and Garmânîâ (Kermân) to Thlipaiṭmôs (Tlepolemus); and as for Persia let the lords of the various provinces hold them, and let Pisôn (?) be ruler over them. I also command that they shall bring some of the Dôsîn, who dwell in tents, and call them "sojourners in Alexandria." Now as I have said above, they shall lay my body in a golden coffin, and they shall lift it on to a chariot, and sixteen docile mules shall draw it, and the army of the Macedonians, with Ptolemy and the other generals, shall guard it, and carry it [to Egypt]; and they shall give for the expenses of the journey one thousand talents of gold from the revenue of the kingdom, and for the mules which shall draw the chariot one thousand six hundred talents.

XXIII. When Alexander had given these commands, he

straightway died; and they did even as Alexander had commanded. And when they had taken the body of Alexander and placed it upon a chariot, all the Macedonians in Babylon began to make a mourning and outcry with bitter weeping and sore lamentation. And when he had arrived at Mephyâ [Memphis], when the people of the land heard it, they came to meet him with all kinds of music, and they praised the body of Alexander with doleful voices, saying, "Thou art welcome, O god Sîsnâḳîs (Sesonchosis), ruler of the world." They kept the body of Alexander in that place twelve days, and each day they made elegies and lamentations and weeping over him afresh; and they wished to retain his body there. Then the priests of Serapis said to them, "This body of Alexander must not be laid here, but they must carry it to the city which he built; for in the place where the body of Alexander is laid, there will be wars and contests continually, for in his lifetime he had continually the desire for war and battle." So Ptolemy made a grave for the body of Alexander in Alexandria, as he had been ordered, and there did he lay the body of Alexander; and they call that place "The tomb of Alexander" unto this day.

XXIV. Alexander waged numerous battles and great wars, and he defeated and routed and put to flight mighty and powerful kings. He lived in this world thirty-two years and seven months, and of these he had rest for only eight years in this world. He subdued of the barbarians twenty-two kings, and of the Greeks thirteen. He built thirteen cities, some of which are flourishing to this day, but some are laid waste. The first is Alexandria which was built after the name of the horse called Bucephalus, the interpretation of which is Bull-head; the second is Alexandria the fortified Rôphôs (?); the third is Alexandria the Great; the fourth is Alexandria in the dominion of king Porus; the fifth is Alexandria in the land of Gĕlênîḳôs[1]; the sixth is Alexandria in the country of the Scythians; the seventh is Alexandria on the shore of the sea (*or* river); the eighth is Alexandria which is near Babylon; the ninth is Alexandria which is in the country of Sôd, that is to say, Samarḳand; the tenth is Alexandria which is (called) Kûsh,

[1] Apparently "apud Granicum" (Müller, p. 151, col. 2).

that is Balkh; the eleventh is Alexandria which is called Margeniḳôs, that is to say Môrô (Merv); the twelfth is Alexandria which is upon the farther bank of the rivers in the country of the Indians; and the thirteenth is Alexandria which is in Egypt[1]. And after Alexander died in Babylon by poison, the name of the day [upon which he died] was called "The slayer of young men," for Alexander was a young man[2]. Alexander reigned as king twelve years and seven months, and there was none among all the kings on earth that fought and made war and conquered like Alexander until the day he died[3].

[1] The Greek codices give the names in different order. See Müller, p. 151, col. 1. See also Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellen.* Vol. 2 pp. 591—651 Die Gründungen Alexanders; Pauly *Real Encyclopaedie* Vol. 1, *Art.* Alexandria (twenty-two Alexandrias are here enumerated); Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, Vol. 1, pp. 415, 576, 621, 623, and the map in Vol. 1, facing p. 464. See also the Arabic list in Yâḳût's معجم البلدان, ed. Wüstenfeld, 1. p. 100, or in the *Mushtarik*, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. ٢٢, and the list in the "Life of Alexander" published by Prof. Paul de Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca*, pp. 205—208.

[2] See Müller, p. 152, col. 2, ll. 5, 6.

[3] The scribe adds: "May the Lord God make his soul to rest with the believing kings [BC add "who have trodden in his steps"] the lovers of Christ, and may the hearers and listeners and readers and writers obtain mercy and remission of transgressions and sins. Yea and Amen."

A CHRISTIAN LEGEND CONCERNING ALEXANDER[1].

An exploit of Alexander the son of Philip the Macedonian, [shewing] how he went forth to the ends of the world, and made a gate of iron[2], and shut it in the face of the north wind, that the Hûnâyê [Huns][3] might not come forth to spoil the countries: from the manuscripts in the house of the archives of the kings of Alexandria.

In the second year, or the seventh, of the reign of Alexander, he set his crown upon his head and arranged himself in his royal apparel, and sent and called those who wore his royal

[1] A metrical version of this legend by Jacob of Sĕrûgh has been printed by Knös in his *Chrestomathia Syriaca*, pp. 66—107.

[2] This gate was probably made at the Pass of Derbend. See Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Vol. I. p. 51 sqq., and also his notes on Alexander's wall near the Caspian.

[3] ܗܘܢܝ, ܚܘܢܝ, Οὖννοι, Χοῦνοι. The name Huns is a collective one applied to several nomad Scythian tribes who appear to have belonged to the Mongolian family. The original seat of the Hiong-nu, or Huns, appears to have been in the provinces of Shensi and Shansi in the north-west of China and their power remained unbroken until the year 93 B.C. It was to protect China from the inroads of this barbaric race that the famous wall of China was built about two centuries and a half before our era. See D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, t. 1, p. 2. Their early history has been written by de Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, ii. pp. 1—124. For native Syriac explanations of the name Huns see Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.* col. 994. See also Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. xxvi; Wright, *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, p. 9 (Syr. text); Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, p. 72; Karl F. Neumann, *Die Völker des Südischen Russlands*, pp. 23—30.

crowns[1], the generals, and Prisḳos and.....[2], and all his forces; and he questioned them and said, "Hear, all ye officers of my palace." They said to him, "Speak, O wise king, king of the Greeks, and whatsoever thou commandest us shall come to pass." He said to them: "This thought has arisen in my mind, and I am wondering what is the extent of the earth, and how high the heavens are, and how many are the countries of my fellow kings, and upon what the heavens are fixed; whether perchance thick clouds and winds support them, or whether pillars of fire rise up from the interior of the earth and bear the heavens so that they move not for anything, or whether they depend on the beck of God and fall not. Now this I desire to go and see, upon what the heavens rest, and what surrounds all creation." The nobles answered and said to the king, "Bid us speak;" and he commanded them, and they spake and said to him; "As to the thing, my lord, which thy majesty (*or* thy greatness) desires to go and see, namely, upon what the heavens rest, and what surrounds the earth, the terrible seas which surround the world will not give thee a passage[3]; because there are eleven bright seas, on which the ships of men sail, and beyond these there is about ten miles of dry land, and beyond these ten miles there is the fœtid sea, Ôkĕyânôs (the Ocean), which surrounds all creation. Men are not able to come near to this fœtid sea, neither can ships sail thereon, and no bird is able to fly over it, for if a bird should attempt to fly over it, it is caught and falls and is suffocated therein[4]. Its waters are like pus; and if men swim therein, they die at once; and the leaves of the trees which are by its side are shrivelled up by the smell of these waters as though fire licked them." So the nobles spake to king Alexander; but he said to them, "Have ye

[1] Literally *knotted, tied, bound.*

[2] These words seem to be corrupt. ܗܒܨܒܦܩ looks like ܗܒܨܩܦܩ, an alteration of *Perdiccas* (which we met with above), but we should hardly expect a single proper name in this place. As for ܣܛܠ, the word means nothing in Syriac but *whips.*

[3] See Knös, *Chrestomathia Syr.*, p. 69.

[4] Compare the description of the Asphaltites Lacus by Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 6) Lacus immenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruptior, gravitate odoris accolis pestifer, neque vento impellitur neque pisces aut suetas aquis volucres patitur.

gone on your own feet and seen that the sea is thus?" They made answer to him: "Yea, O wise king. This very thing of which thy majesty has thought occurred to us also, and we went to see upon what the heavens rest, but the fœtid sea would not give us a passage." Alexander said to them: "I do not account you as liars; but although ye went and the sea did not give you a passage to cross, yet I too will go and see all the ends of the heavens. If there be a king whose lands are more than mine I will take his lands and slay him, even if it be one of the quarters from whence the spoilers come forth." Then all the officers of his palace accepted what Alexander said to them, and straightway the trumpets sounded in Alexandria, and the troops were numbered that went forth with him, three hundred and twenty thousand men. And king Alexander bowed himself and did reverence, saying, "O God, Lord of kings and judges, thou who settest up kings and destroyest their power, I know in my mind that thou hast exalted me above all kings, and thou hast made me horns upon my head[1], wherewith I might thrust down the kingdoms of the world; give me power from thy holy heavens that I may receive strength greater than [that of] the kingdoms of the world and that I may humble them, and I will magnify thy name, O Lord, for ever, and thy memorial shall be from everlasting to everlasting, and I will write the name of God in the charter of my kingdom, that there may be for Thee a memorial always. And if the Messiah, who is the Son of God, comes in my days, I and my troops will worship Him. And if He does not come in my days, when I have gone and conquered kings and seized their lands, I will carry this throne, which is a seat of silver upon which I sit, and will place it in Jerusalem, that, when the Messiah comes from heaven, He may sit upon my kingly throne, for His kingdom lasts for ever. And seven hundred pounds of gold shall be before the Messiah as a

[1] "Possessor of two horns" is a well-known name of Alexander. In the Ethiopic version Alexander is always referred to as ዘክልኡ: ኦቅርኒቲሁ: "the two horned." See Spiegel, *Die Alexander Sage*, p. 57; Ḳor'ān, Surah 18. Some say that the "two horned" mentioned in the Koran is Alexander, while others say that a contemporary of Abraham is meant, who was king of Persia, and others that he was a king of Yemen. For a discussion on this point see *Z.D.M.G.*, VI. s. 506; VIII. ss. 442—450; IX. ss. 214—223.

present when He comes; and whether I die in one of the [other] regions of the world, or here in Alexandria, my royal crown shall be taken and hung upon that seat which I have given to the Messiah; and the crown of every king who dies in Alexandria shall be taken and hung upon that silver seat which I give to the Messiah."

And they went forth and came to mount Sinai[1], and encamped there and rested. And they put ships to sea[2] and crossed over to Mesrên, that is to say, Egypt. And scouts went up and looked [to see] if the seas and their waves were visible or not. And the chiefs of the hosts answered and said, "King Alexander, the host is unable to march without smiths. Give orders that they may go with us from Egypt, for there are no smiths upon all the face of the earth like unto those of Egypt." So Alexander called Sarnâḳôs[3] (?) the king of Egypt and said to him, "Give me seven thousand[4] smiths, workers in brass and iron, to go with me; and when I come from the countries whither I am going, if they wish [to return] hither, I will send them, and if they wish [to stay in] one of the countries under my sovereign rule, I will grant it them, and they shall not give tribute to the king, but they shall give.....to us." And Sarnâḳôs the king of Egypt chose seven thousand men, workers in brass and iron, and gave them to Alexander, and they ate bread with one another.

And they put ships to sea and sailed on the sea four months[5] and twelve days, and they arrived at the dry land beyond the eleven bright seas. And Alexander and his troops encamped, and he sent and called to him the governor who was in the camp, and said to him, "Are there any men here guilty of death?" They said to him, "We have thirty and seven men in bonds who are guilty of death." And the king said to the governor, "Bring hither those evil doers." And they brought

[1] Knös, p. 104, l. 1.

[2] Knös, *Chrestomathia Syr.*, p. 70.

[3] This name is spelt ܣܪܢܐܩܘܣ in Knös, *Chrestomathia*, p. 71.

[4] Twelve thousand, *ibid.* p. 71, l. 5.

[5] According to Jacob of Sĕrûgh Alexander made his way towards India where he landed after four months. See Knös, p. 71, ll. 16, 17.

them, and the king commanded them and said, "Go ye to the shore of the fœtid sea, and hammer in stakes that ships may be tied thereto, and prepare everything needful for a force about to cross the sea." And the men went, and came to the shore of the sea. Now Alexander thought within himself, "If it be true as they say, that everyone who comes near the fœtid sea dies, it is better that these who are guilty of death should die," and when they had gone, and had arrived at the shore of the sea, they died instantly. And Alexander and his troops were looking at them when they died, for he and his nobles had ridden to see what would happen to them, and they saw that they died the moment that they reached the sea. And king Alexander was afraid and retired, and he knew that it was impossible for them to cross over to the place where were the ends of the heavens. So the whole camp mounted, and Alexander and his troops went up between the fœtid sea and the bright sea to the place where the sun enters the window of heaven; for the sun is the servant of the Lord, and neither by night nor by day does he cease from his travelling. The place of his rising is over the sea, and the people who dwell there, when he is about to rise, flee away and hide themselves in the sea, that they be not burnt by his rays; and he passes through the midst of the heavens to the place where he enters the window of heaven; and wherever he passes there are terrible mountains, and those who dwell there have caves hollowed out in the rocks, and as soon as they see the sun passing [over them], men and birds flee away from before him and hide in the caves, for rocks are rent by his blazing heat and fall down, and whether they be men or beasts, as soon as the stones touch them they are consumed. And when the sun enters the window of heaven, he straightway bows down and makes obeisance before God his Creator; and he travels and descends the whole night through the heavens, until at length he finds himself where he rises.

And Alexander looked towards the west, and he found a mountain that descends, and its name was "the great Mûsâs[1]"; and [the troops] descended it and came out upon Mount Ḳlaudiâ,

[1] ܛܘܪܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܡܘܣܐ (Knös, p. 72) "Mâsîs, a high mountain."

and ate bread there. Then they went down to the source of the Euphrates, and they found that it came forth from a cave; and they came to Halûrâs[1], where the Tigris goes forth like the stream which turns a mill, and they ate bread in Halûrâs. And they departed from thence and went to the river Kallath[2]; and they ascended the mountain which is called Râmath, where there is a watch-tower. And Alexander and his troops stood upon the top of the mountain and saw the four quarters of the heavens. And Alexander said, "Let us go forth by the way to the north"; and they came to the confines of the north, and entered Armenia and Âdarbaijân and Inner Armenia. And they crossed over the country of Ṭûrnâgiôs, and Bêth-Pardiâ, and Bêth-Teḳil, and Bêth-Drûbîl, and Bêth-Ḳâṭarmên, and Bêth-Gebûl, and Bêth-Zamraṭ. Alexander passed through all these places; and he went and passed mount Mûsâs and entered a plain which is Bâhî-Lebtâ, and he went and encamped by the gate of the great mountain. Now there was a road across it by which great merchants entered the inner countries, and by it did Alexander encamp. And he sent heralds of peace on horseback, and they rode about and proclaimed through the whole country: "The king of the Greeks is come to this country, neither slaying, nor burning, nor destroying; let every man dwell in peace. Let three hundred men advanced in years be chosen, and let them enter my presence, says king Alexander, that I may learn what I require, and let every man dwell in peace." When the people of the country heard what the heralds of peace were proclaiming, they were not afraid, and they chose three hundred aged[3] men, who went into Alexander's presence as soon as he had encamped in the country; and he himself commanded the people not to flee before him. And when the aged men, natives of that land, had come into his presence, he asked them, "Who are ye? and to whom do ye give tribute? and what king rules in this land?" The old men answered and said to the king, "This land belongs to Tûbârlâḳ the king of the Persians[4], who is of the race of the

[1] ܗܠܘܪܐ Knös, p. 79, l. 6.

[2] See Wright, *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, p. 57.

[3] Knös, *Chrestomathia*, p. 73.

[4] Tûbarlîḳâ is called by Jacob of Sĕrûgh "Great King of the territory of the Persians and of the Âmôrâyê" (ܠܒܝܬ ܐܡܘܪܝܐ), Knös, p. 79, l.

house of Aḥshôraḥ[1], and to him do we give tribute." Alexander said to them, "How far does this mountain descend in this direction?" They answered him, "This mountain extends without a break, passing by the sea of Bêth-Ḳaṭrâyê, and goes on and comes to an end in outer Persia near India; and from this road and upwards the mountain goes to a great river on this side of the sea. And there are narrow paths there which a man is unable to pass through unless he be on horseback. And people who pass through the mountain are unable to do so without bells that ring, for animals come up from the sea and from the rivers and descend from the mountains and crouch in the path, and if men go to pass through it without bells that ring, they perish immediately." Alexander said, "This mountain is higher and more terrible than all the mountains which I have seen." The old men, the natives of the country, said to the king: "Yea, by your majesty, my lord the king, neither we nor our fathers have been able to march one step in it, and men do not ascend it either on that side or on this, for it is the boundary which God has set between us and the nations within it." Alexander said, "Who are the nations within this mountain upon which we are looking?....." The natives of the land said, "They are the Huns." He said to them, "Who are their kings?" The old men said: "Gôg[2] and Mâgôg and Nâwâl the kings of the sons of Japhet; and Gig and Têâmrôn, and Tiyâmrôn, and Bêth-Gamlî and Yâphô'bar, and Shûmârdâḳ, and Glûsîḳâ, and 'Ekshâphâr, and Salgaddô, and Nîslîḳ, and Âmarphîl, and Ḳâ'ôzâ, these are the kings of the Huns[3]." Alexander said, "What is their appearance, and their clothing, and their languages?" The old men answered and said to the king: "Some of them have blue eyes, and their

[1] ܐܚܫܘܪܘܫ probably means Xerxes, like Ahasuerus (for אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ is a corruption of אחשירש, *i.e.* חשירש, as the name is written in the stele of Saḳḳûrâh, *Khshiyarsh*).

[2] In Knôs (p. 80) this word is spelt ܓܘܓ.

[3] The names of the twenty-two kingdoms which were imprisoned within the northern gate by Alexander are, according to the *Book of the Bee* (ed. Budge, p. 128), as follows:—Gôg, Mâgôg, Nâwâl, Eshkênâz, Dênâphâr, Paḳṭâyê, Wêlôṭâyê, Humnâyê, Parzâyê, Daḳlâyê, Thaubêlâyê, Darmêṭâyê, Kawkêbâyê, Dog-men (Cynocephali), Emdêrâthâ, Garmilô', Cannibals, Therḳâyê, Âlânâyê, Pîslîôn, Denḳâyê, and Salṭrâyê.

women have but one breast apiece; and the women fight more than the men, for they wound a man with knives. They hang knives upon their thighs and arms and necks, so that, if one of them should get into a fight, wherever she stretches out her hand she can lay hold of a knife. They wear dressed skins; and they eat the raw flesh of everything which dies of theirs; and they drink the blood of men and of animals[1]. They do not besiege or fight against cities and fortresses, but they run to the paths and gates of fortresses and cities, and they surround the men who come out to meet them outside. They are swifter than the wind that blows, and ere the rumour of their going forth to battle is heard, they outstrip the whole world; for they are sorcerers, and they run between heaven and earth, and their chariots and swords and spears flash like fearful lightnings. They carry maces in their hands, and each has two or three horses;.....between fifty and sixty men, and they go before and after him, and the noise of each one's outcry is more terrible than the voice of a lion; for it is the will of God that delivers the nations into each other's hands, and the terror of the Huns is fearful upon all creatures that see them, for they are no lovers of mankind. When they go forth to war, they fetch a pregnant woman, and pile up a fire, and bind her in front of the fire, and cook her child within her, and her belly bursts open and the child comes forth roasted. Then they lay it in a trough and throw water upon its body, and its body melts away in this water; and they take their swords and bows and arrows and spears, and dip them in this water. And to every one whom this water touches, it appears as if there were a hundred thousand horsemen with him; and by the side of every hundred men there seem to stand one hundred thousand bands of demons, for their sorceries are greater than those of all kingdoms. And of this too, my lord, we inform thy majesty," said the old men to Alexander, "The Huns go not forth to spoil except where the anger of God goes up that He may slay the fathers and the children and that the Lord may smite the earth in His anger, for they are fiercer than all the

[1] Comedent carnes hominum et bibent sanguinem bestiarum sicut aquam. See Methodius (ed. *Brant*). Adventus Gog et Magog.

kings in their wars[1]." Alexander said to the natives of that country, "Have they come forth to spoil in your days?" The old men answered and said to the king: "May God establish thy kingdom and thy crown, my lord the king! These fortresses which have been overturned in our lands and in the lands of the Romans, have been overthrown by them; by them have these towers been uprooted; when they go forth to spoil, they ravage the land of the Romans and of the Persians, and then they enter their own territory." Alexander said to them, "Who are the nations that live beyond these?" The old men replied, "Those of Bêth-Âmardâth and the Dog-men; and beyond the Dog-men is the nation of the Mĕnînê; and beyond the nation of the Mĕnînê there are no human beings but only terrible mountains and hills and valleys and plains and horrible caves, in which are serpents and adders and vipers, so that men cannot go thither without being immediately devoured by the serpents, for the lands are waste, and there is nothing there save desolation. Within all these mountains the Paradise of God appears afar off. Now Paradise is neither near heaven nor earth; like a fair and strong city, so it appears between heaven and earth; and the clouds and darkness which surround it are visible afar off, and the horn[2] of the north wind rests upon it." And Alexander said to them: "How do the four rivers go forth?" The old men replied: "My lord, we will inform thy majesty. God made four rivers to go forth from the Paradise of Eden. Because God knew that men would dare to seize the rivers, and would go by means of them to enter Paradise, He drew the rivers within the earth, and brought them through valleys and mountains and plains, and brought them through a number of mountains, and made them issue forth from the mountains, and there is one which He made to flow from a cave. And He surrounded Paradise with seas and rivers and the Ocean, the fœtid sea; and men are unable to draw near to Paradise, neither can they see where the rivers go forth, but they see that they go forth either from the mountains or from the valleys."

[1] ܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܬ ܐܘ ܫܒܥ ܐܡܝܢ ܕܝܠܗ "Each one of them stands six or seven cubits high." Knös, p. 80, l. 15.

[2] It is the point or quarter from which the north wind blows.

When Alexander had heard what the old men said, he marvelled greatly at the great sea which surrounded all creation; and Alexander said to his troops, "Do ye desire that we should do something wonderful in this land?" They said to him, "As thy majesty commands we will do." The king said, "Let us make a gate of brass and close up this breach." His troops said, "As thy majesty commands we will do." And Alexander commanded and fetched three thousand smiths, workers in iron, and three thousand men, workers in brass. And they put down brass and iron, and kneaded it as a man kneads when he works clay. Then they brought it and made a gate, the length of which was twelve cubits and its breadth eight cubits[1]. And he made a lower threshold from mountain to mountain, the length of which was twelve cubits; and he hammered it into the rocks of the mountains, and it was fixed in with brass and iron. The height of the lower threshold was three cubits. And he made an upper threshold from mountain to mountain, twelve cubits in length; and he hammered it into the rocks of the mountain, and fixed in it two bolts of iron, each bolt being twelve cubits [long]; and the bolts went into the rock two cubits; and he made two bolts of iron from rock to rock behind the gate, and fixed the heads of the bolts into the rocks. He fixed the gate and the bolts, and he placed nails of iron and beat them down one by the other, so that if the Huns came and dug out the rock which was under the threshold of iron, even if footmen were able to pass through, a horse with its rider would be unable to pass, so long as the gate that was hammered down with bolts stood. And he brought and hammered down a lower threshold and hinge for the gate, and he cast therein bolts of iron, and made it swing round on one side like the gates of Shûshan the fortress. And the men brought and kneaded iron and brass and covered therewith the gate and its posts one by one, like a man when he moulds clay. And he made a bolt of iron in the rocks, and hammered out an iron key twelve cubits long, and made locks of brass turn therewith. And behold the gate was hung and stood[2].

[1] See Müller, p. 143, col. 1, l. 20; *Bar-Hebraei Chron. Syr.* ed. Bruns, t. p. 39; and Knös, *Chrestomathia Syriaca*, p. 87.

[2] According to Marco Polo the defile in the mountains where Alexander

And king Alexander fetched [an engraver] and inscribed upon the gate: "The Huns shall go forth and conquer the countries of the Romans and of the Persians, and shall cast arrows with....., and shall return and enter their own land. Also I have written that, at the conclusion of eight hundred and twenty-six years, the Huns shall go forth by the narrow way which goes forth opposite Halôrâs, whence the Tigris goes forth like the stream which turns a mill, and they shall take captive the nations, and shall cut off the roads, and shall make the earth tremble by their going forth. And again I have written and made known and prophesied that it shall come to pass, at the conclusion of nine hundred and forty years,..... another king, when the world shall come to an end by the command of God the ruler of creation. Created things shall anger God, and sin shall increase, and wrath shall reign[1], and the sins of mankind shall mount up and shall cover the heavens, and the Lord will stir up in His anger the kingdoms that lie within this gate; for when the Lord seeks to slay men, he sends men against men, and they destroy one another. And the Lord will gather together the kings and their hosts which are within this mountain, and they shall all be assembled at His beck, and shall come with their spears and swords, and shall stand behind the gate, and shall look up to the heavens, and shall call upon the name of the Lord, saying, 'O Lord, open to us this gate.' And the Lord shall send His sign from heaven and a voice shall call on this gate, and it shall be destroyed and fall at the beck of the Lord, and it shall not be opened by the key which I have made for it. And a troop shall go through this gate which I have made, and a full span shall be worn away from the lower threshold[2] by the hoofs of the horses which with

built the Iron Gate extended four leagues. The pass referred to is probably the Pass of Derbend, "apparently the Sarmatic Gates of Ptolemy, and *Claustra Caspiorum* of Tacitus, known to the Arab geographers as the Gate of Gates (باب الابواب), but which is still called in Turkish Demîr-Kâpi or the Iron Gate, and to the ancient Wall that runs from the castle of Derbend along the ridges of Caucasus, called in the East *Sadd-i-Iskandar*, the Rampart of Alexander." Col. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, I. p. 55, note 3.

[1] Knös, p. 92.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 95.

their riders shall go forth to destroy the land by the command of the Lord; and a span shall be worn away from the upper threshold by the points of the spears of those that shall run over it and go forth. And when the Huns have gone forth, as God has commanded, the kingdoms of the Huns and the Persians and the Arabs, the twenty-four kingdoms that are written in this book, shall come from the ends of the heavens and shall fall upon one another, and the earth shall melt through the blood and dung of men. Then the kingdom of the Greeks shall move itself, and shall come and take a hammer of iron in its right hand, and a hammer of brass in its left, and the kingdom of Greece shall smite the hammers one upon the other, and as iron which is melted by fire, and as brass which boils in the flame, so shall the power of the kingdoms melt away before the might of the kingdom of the Greeks which is that of the Romans. And the kingdoms of the Huns and of the Persians shall be desolated the one by the other; only a few of them shall escape who shall flee to their country; and what remains of them the kingdom of the Romans shall destroy. And my kingdom, which is called that of the house of Alexander the son of Philip the Macedonian, shall go forth and destroy the earth and the ends of the heavens; and there shall not be found any among the nations and tongues who dwell in the world that shall stand before the kingdom of the Romans. Lo, I Alexander have written and made known [these things] in my own handwriting, and verily I have not lied in what I have written; but perhaps the nations and the world will not believe that what I have written will come to pass; but if ye will not receive my word, receive [that of] Jeremiah the prophet who long ago pointed out that kingdom in his prophecy, and spake thus in his book[1], 'Evil shall be opened from the north upon all the inhabitants of the land.' And behold I have a sign, which is wrought by God: on the rock which is within the gate on the one side,.....[2] and as it rises from the rock it is narrow; and on the other side there hangs a sponge full of blood, and the blood descends upon the

[1] Jerem. i. 14. The land of the north shall be opened on the day of the end of the world. Knös, p. 92, l. 2.

[2] Some words seem to have been omitted here.

rock, and the Huns come and smear their heads with it, and return. And this testimony is set there by God that men may see and fear; for as that blood descends from that sponge, so shall the blood of man be shed upon the mountains and the hills." So Alexander and his troops marvelled at the gate which they had made. Then the people of that country went down and said to Tûbârlâḳ[1] the king of the Persians, "Alexander the son of Philip the Macedonian, the king of the Greeks, is come hither and has made a gate of iron in the face of the Huns; but arise, take thy army, and come and slay him, and take whatever he has." And Tûbârlâḳ arose and sent to Mĕshazbĕrî, the king of Inner India, and to Bar-Sîdaḳ, the king of Ḳâdêsh, and to Hûrazdân, the king of Javan; and he sent to Armenia, and to all the countries that were obedient to him, and hired and brought eighty-two[2] kings and their armies, one million one hundred and thirty thousand men. And they took counsel together before Tûbârlâḳ and before all the kings and their hosts, and decided to come. Now it was the time of summer, and Alexander's whole camp was lying down and at rest. And the king himself had scarcely lain down, when lo, the Lord came to Alexander and found him asleep, and He called him and said to him, "Rise up from there." And the king arose and knelt down and did reverence to the Lord; and the Lord said to him, "Behold, I have magnified thee above all kingdoms, and I have made horns of iron to grow on thy head that thou mayest thrust down the kingdoms of the earth with them; and upon me thou didst rely when thou wentest forth to war and to see the countries. But lo, a multitude of kings and their armies are coming against thee to slay thee; call upon me that I may come to aid thee, for I am the Lord, and I help all those that call upon me." And the Lord departed from Alexander.

And the king aroused his troops and said to them, "Behold, the spoilers are coming against us. Let now the watchmen go up to the top of the mountain, and spy and see, for the Lord has appeared to me in this hour." And the watchmen went up and saw the troops and their kings, a host without end. And

[1] ܛܘܒܪܠܛ Knös, p. 82, l. 9.

[2] Sixty-two, Knös, p. 83, l. 3.

they ran and said to the king, "O king, we perish; but God, who knows their number, will slay them." And king Alexander straightway commanded the army to be numbered, [to see] how many were dead and how many were alive. And the camp was numbered, and there were found therein three hundred and sixteen thousand, and four thousand had died; for when they went forth from Alexandria, there were three hundred and twenty thousand men. And Alexander commanded every man of his troops over whom he had power, saying, "Let every man who is here offer an incense offering upon sherds or upon stones to the Lord, for the Lord will surely come to our assistance, and He will come and find the odour of the camp pleasant with the incense of spices." Then Alexander took his crown and his purple robes and laid them before the Lord, and said, "Thou, O Lord, hast power over my life and my kingdom, and to thee belongs dominion. Do thou deliver thy servant and his camp from his enemies." And while Alexander was praying, the kings and their armies surrounded them. And Alexander answered and said, "Victory is the Lord's"; and the camp cried out and said, "O God, come to our aid." And Alexander said, "O Lord, who didst appear to me in this land, help us." Then the Lord appeared, coming upon the chariot of the Seraphim, and the watchers and the angels came before Him with praises. And He led His host upon the camp of Alexander, and the Lord appeared standing on the west. And the whole of Alexander's camp looked towards the Lord, and the Lord became a helper to the camp, and the people were strengthened, for the Lord had come for their deliverance. Then a terrible fight arose, the people crying out, "This battle is the Lord's, who has come down and stood in it." And the Lord again appeared to Alexander and said to him, "Fear neither the kings nor their troops, for behold I am with thee." And the voice of the Lord went along thundering among them, until the kings and their armies trembled before the camp of God. And Alexander and his troops slew sixty kings and their hosts, and those that fled, fled, and those that were scattered, were scattered; and he took Tûbârlâḳ the king of Persia, but slew him not.

Then Alexander and his troops stood up, and Tûbârlâḳ the king of Persia, being bound[1], and the nobles of all Persia; and

[1] Knös, p. 86, l. 4.

Tûbârlâḳ brought forth gold and silver and beryls and pearls and precious stones of sapphire, and gave them to king Alexander. And Alexander subdued all Persia upon the sea of Darkness. And he was going to slay Tûbârlâḳ; and Tûbârlâḳ said to him, "What wilt thou gain, if thou slayest me? Take the gold that I have, and I will pledge Persia to thee that she shall give thee tribute fifteen years; and then, after the fifteen years, Babylon and Assyria shall be....." And Tûbârlâḳ and Alexander sat down, and took counsel together and said that six thousand men of the Romans, and six thousand men of the Persians, should go and guard that gate of iron and brass which is in the north, and that every man should eat and drink at the expense of the king who sent him. And Tûbârlâḳ the king of Persia brought sorcerers and enchanters, and the signs of the zodiac, and fire and water, and all his gods, and made divination by them; and they told him that at the final consummation of the world the kingdom of the Romans would go forth and subdue all the kings of the earth; and that whatever king was found in Persia would be slain, and that Babylon and Assyria would be laid waste by the command of God. Thus did king Tûbârlâḳ make divination, and he gave [it] in his own handwriting to king Alexander. And he put down in writing with Alexander what should befall Persia, that the king and his nobles prophesied that Persia should be laid waste by the hand of the Romans, and all the kingdoms be laid waste, but that that power should stand and rule to the end of time, and should deliver the kingdom of the earth to the Messiah who is to come.

And Alexander and his troops arose and went forth from Persia, and they went up by the wilderness, and he came and encamped in the mount of the Romans. And Alexander brought the smiths whom he had fetched from Egypt, and gave them Bêth Dĕma and Bêth-Dôshar to cultivate and live in, and they were not to give tribute to the king. And Alexander went up and worshipped in Jerusalem, and put ships to sea and went to Alexandria, and when he died, he gave his royal throne of silver to be in Jerusalem.

Here ends the history of the Achievements and Wars of Alexander the son of Philip, the king of the Greeks.

A BRIEF LIFE OF ALEXANDER.

The Life, or history, in brief terms, of Alexander, king of the Macedonians[1]. King Alexander was the son by adultery of Nectanebus, the last king of Egypt, and of Olympias, the wife of Philip, king of the Macedonians. According to the deception by which his father deceived his mother when he committed adultery with her, the son was attributed to Ammon, the god of Thebes, who was the forefather of all the Egyptian kings. This [youth] was victorious in many contests before he became king, and also in divers wars against hostile nations, who were constantly rebelling against Philip and against the Macedonians. He became king over the Macedonians after Philip, when he was twenty years old. First of all he persuaded all the nations of the Greeks and their kings and chiefs to receive him as king, and that he should reign over them. As he subdued many of them merely by words, he was only compelled to reduce some few by arms and war. Afterwards, however, when he went to Italy and entered Rome, being received with great honours and with crowns by the inhabitants of Rome, he subdued for them the Africans, who were in rebellion against them. When he had come from thence to Egypt, and had recognised the statue and image of his father, and learned the augury about Nectanebus, and made known to the Egyptians concerning himself and concerning his descent from their king, he persuaded them to be subject to him. And when he had come from thence to the regions of Palestine and Judaea and Phoenicia and Syria and Arabia, and had subdued and conquered them, he made war with Darius, the king of the Persians, in Cilicia, who at that time was master of these countries. And when he had overcome him, he subdued

[1] Translated from the Syriac text in Prof. P. de Lagarde's *Analecta Syriaca*, pp. 205–208.

the countries which were under him, I mean Cilicia and Cappadocia and Galatia and Asia and all the earth as far as Pontus. And he immediately spread with a sudden onslaught over all the territory of the Persians, and fought a second battle with King Darius and overcame him. And when Darius had been slain by treachery by enemies who were under his rule, he punished those who had slain him; and either by kindness or by force he brought all the nations that were subject to the kingdom of the Persians to be subject to him. And he took Roxana, the daughter of King Darius, to wife. When he had set out from thence to the northern regions, and had gone to Media, and from thence to the gates of Kaspia, and had passed through all the countries of the Scythian nations that were in the north, he made a sudden onslaught with the Macedonians and Persians upon Porus the king of the Indians. When Porus had gathered together a large army against him, in the first battle he was overcome and subdued by him. In the second battle however, after Porus had rebelled against him, when he fought in single combat with Alexander, he was conquered by him and slain. Afterwards, when Alexander had set out from thence he went to the country of the Brahmans, the naked sages. And when he had discussed many things with them, he departed from thence, going round about all the territories of the Indians. And he saw divers places, and terrible and destructive beasts and deadly reptiles; and he passed through numerous and divers nations of barbarians, and underwent many toils. After these things he went also to the king of the Sînâyê (Chinese); and from thence he went against all the northern nations. He also passed by the Serici who [live] in.....[1] And when they had received him and become subject to him, he built a city there and named it Samîrḳîr (Samarḳand). From thence he came to the country of the Soghdians, and there too he built a city and named it Kûsh. From thence likewise he came to Merg (Merv), and there too he built a city and called its name Margiânôs. After all these things, when he had returned to the land of the Persians, he went from thence to see the kingdom of the country of Shebâ, over which a woman reigned whose name was Candace. And when he had gone and had been received nobly, he

[1] ...

approached also from thence to the realm of the Amazon women. And when he had accepted many gifts from them, he returned to the city of Babylon in the land of the Chaldeans. While he was there, Cassander, the son of Antipater, one of his generals, arrived from Macedonia, and administered a deadly poison to him while drinking, and killed him. All the days of his life were thirty-two years and seven months, and of these he reigned twelve years and seven months.

He built thirteen cities and named them after his own name. The first, Alexandria Bucephalus; the second Alexandria the fortified; the third Alexandria which is in the land of the Persians; the fourth that which is in the country of king Porus; the fifth that which is in the land of Gâlikôs; the sixth, that which is in the land of the Scythians; the seventh, that which is upon the shore of the great sea; the eighth, that which is near Babylon; the ninth, Alexandria which is in the land of Serici, which is called Samîrḳîr (Samarḳand); the tenth, Alexandria which is in the land of the Soghdians, which is called Kûsh and Babel; the eleventh, Alexandria which is called Margiânôs (Merv); the twelfth, that which is upon the bank of the rivers on the road to the Indians; the thirteenth, the great Alexandria which is in Egypt.

Now when he was about to die in Babylon, he made a testament and commanded and distributed his dominions among twelve of his servants. He gave to Kartados (Craterus) Macedonia; to Ptolemy all Egypt; and to Priscus (Perdiccas) Asia. He appointed Lysimachus over Thrace; Dôrân over the Hellespont; Antigonus over Pamphylia and Lycia; Andreas over Great Phrygia; Pîrôs over Cilicia; Python and his wife over Syria and as far as Mesopotamia; Adomnos (Eumenês) over Paphlagonia and Cappadocia; and Seleucus over Babylon. He commanded that Manpath (Meleager) should rule over Phœnicia and Coelesyria; and he made his wife Roxane mistress over all the country of the Assyrians and Media and Parthia, and he commanded that she should be given in marriage to Priscus (Perdiccas). And after he was dead, his captains brought his body to the great Alexandria which is in Egypt, as they had been commanded by him, and they buried him there.

p. 66 # A DISCOURSE COMPOSED BY MÂR JACOB[1] UPON ALEXANDER, THE BELIEVING KING, AND UPON THE GATE WHICH HE MADE AGAINST ÂGÔG AND MÂGÔG[2].

Through Thee, O splendour of the Father, I begin to speak,
By Whose victory the righteous have been victorious in their wars[3].
In love, O Lord, give me speech from Thy doctrine[4],
That the speech of wonder may run among the listeners[5].

[1] *I.e.*, Jacob of Sĕrûgh. He was born at Kurtam, a village on the river Euphrates, in the year 451, and he died at Batnân, the chief town of Sĕrûgh, on the 29th of November 521, aged seventy years. For a summary of his life and writings see the Article *Syriac Literature* by Prof. Wright in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed. vol. xxii. pp. 824—856.

[2] Translated from the Syriac text of this discourse published by Knös, *Chrest. Syr.* 1807, pp. 66—107. There is a German translation of it by A. Weber entitled *Des Mor Yaqûb Gedicht über den gläubigen König Alexandrûs*, Berlin, 1852. The edition of the text by Knös contains numerous misprints and the manuscript from which it was edited seems to be very faulty. Dr. Zotenberg of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, has most kindly collated a large number of the faulty passages in the printed text with the original manuscript, and I have given the results of this collation, together with the corrections of some misprints, at the foot of the pages of the English translation which follows. The Syriac extracts which occur in the footnotes are taken from Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 14624, ff. 205—34*a*, col. 1, (see Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum*, vol. ii. p. 782); a number of variant readings which will help to make clearer the text published by Knös have also been added.

[3] These two first lines are wanting in Add. 14624. [4] Read ܡܠܦܢܐ

[5] Add. 14624 has ܡܫܘܚ ܒܢܡܐ ܕܢܟܬܒ ܠܚܙܐ ܕܐ ܡܠܦܢܐ.

Through the knowledge which is sanctified[1] from corporeal thoughts
Will I sing[2] to Thee [with] sounds of glory in the congregations.
From Thee shall my pain-bearing tongue put on armour[3],
With understanding and the word full of life and of all good things[4].
Overshadow[5] my feebleness with the compassion of Thy sweetness,
And we shall possess[6] riches from Thy gift full of beauties.
And Thee, O Lord, shall my feeble mouth preach with a loud voice[7].
O Jesus, the Light, Who redeemed creation by His crucifixion,
Thee are the fiery hosts eager[8] to praise,
With glory and power will I sing unto Thee bowing low in adoration.
The fiery Cherubim bear Thee, O Lord, upon their wings[9],
And the fiery ranks ascribe to Thy name all adoration.
The watchers of the height bow down[10] in trembling to praise [Thee],
But how can I, the feeble one, speak of Thee?
The fiery hosts bless Thee, O Lord, with holiness,
And with them the assemblies of the house of Gabriel ascribe honour [to Thee].
The terrible Seraphim adore Thee, O Lord, with their hymns[11],
But I, the wretched one, how can I bring forth glory to Thy name?

[1] Add. 14624 حصلحا وحضم [2] Add. 14624 أمم [3] Add. 14624 بكصف نحسب سدلا
[4] Add. 14624 حصمحسدلا مكسبي [5] Add. 14624 سنا وحا وحقا [6] Add. 14624 أحصا سدسا بلزا
[7] After this line Add. 14624 has هزصر هزصا وحكلاب كمكلاب مزمصة
حصا معقصا ✧ كر مكاصحص حا هيلا حصصا نحا
[8] Reading with Add. 14624 هيلاحصم [9] Add. 14624 حصنوى
[10] Add. 14624 هزوب [11] Add. 14624 أهكحصا وحسلا وحزصا هزم

The captains of the hosts and the hosts of heavenly beings,
p. 68 Glorify [Thee] with trembling, though their songs are beautiful.
O Good One, Who bindest on the crowns of kings and governors,
Grant that I may speak about the kingdom of the son of Philip[1]!

This king, full of wisdom, gathered together to his dominion[s][2]
The captains of the hosts[3] and the hosts with their ranks.
And when the captains of thousands and all the wise men were gathered together[4],
Lords and governors and warriors,
Then began Alexander, the son of Philip,
To speak with them, while they marvelled at his discourse[5].
The king, the son of Philip the Macedonian, said,
"I desire[6] greatly to go forth and see countries,
And also what is the condition of lands far away,
I will also go forth and see seas and boundaries and all the quarters of the world[7];
And more than all [I desire] to go in and see the Land of Darkness,
If[8] it is in truth as I have heard it is[9]."
All these things were spoken by the king[10]
To the captains of the hosts[11] and to the captains of thousands and to the lords[12].

[1] After this line Add. 14624 has وأنا قحا حاصرتصم حص كب مذا قحكحا
وأنا حا مكحصلا حر هكصهص. [2] Add. 14624 حاصرتصم
[3] Read كزحب سنلا [4] Add. 14624 أحجب
[5] Read حاهصلا [6] Add. 14624 فيلاب [7] Reading with Add. 14624 هكاصح هسهقا معقا هسهقا وحا هنتلا [8] Add. 14624 أب
[9] Read حصلا [10] Add. 14624 adds كحصرزصه مكصرسا
[11] Add. 14624 كحكتب سنلا [12] Add. 14624 adds حاصرتصم مكحصلا حصا قحقا مكحصلا

And after he had subdued Macedonia which had rebelled[1] against him,
He went down and dwelt[2] in the chief town of all[3] Egypt,
And he bound on the crown, and he became greater and stronger[4] than all kings.
When the question went forth from him to the chiefs[5],
They said to him, "Master, the terrible seas which surround[6] the world
Will not allow[7] thee to go over and see the land."
The king marvelled at what he had heard from his subjects (lit. dominion),
And he began to speak to his hosts like[8] a wise man.
The king said, "Have ye been and seen the seas[9]
Which, according to what ye say, surround the whole earth?"
They say to him, "Master, within these terrible seas
Is the fœtid sea, which, of a truth, is full of quaking.
And unless men decree death to their lives with great wrath
They never come to the fœtid sea."
The king said, "Let us go and see if, of a truth[10],
The terrible seas and the fœtid sea [are] as we have heard."
They say to him, "Master, thy wisdom hath well commanded;
Let us gather together[11] the hosts and go and see the countries."
The command went forth[12] from the king speedily,
And he assembled[13] straightway the hosts in great multitude.
He gathered together[14] riders, and captains of thousands, and lofty seats,
And ready soldiers, and mighty men[15] dressed in armour,

[1] Read ܡܟܪܙ̈ [2] Add. 14624 ܘܐܬܐ ܠܡܨܪ [3] Read ܟܠ̈ܚܕ
[4] Add. 14624 ܘܐܬܐ ܠܡܨܪ [5] Add. 14624 adds ܘܐܬܐ ܠܡܨܪ
ܘܐܬܐ ܠܡܨܪ [6] Add. 14624 ܕܡܚܝܛ ܒܗ and omits ܕܡܚܝܛ
[7] Add. 14624 ܠܐ ܢܫܒܩ [8] Read ܐܝܟ here and in lines 53 and 56.
[9] Reading with Add. 14624 ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܚܙܝܬ ܠܝܡܐ ܕܡܚܝܛ
ܕܡܚܝܛ [10] Add. 14624 ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ [11] Add. 14624 ܢܬܟܢܫ
[12] Read ܢܦܩ [13] Add. 14624 ܘܟܢܫ [14] Add. 14624 ܢܬܟܢܫ
ܘܟܢܫ ܟܠ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܩܪܒ [15] Add. 14624 ܘܟܠ ܓܒܪ̈ܐ

And horses and men; and the king marvelled at his forces.
Then the wise king in his wisdom commanded,
"Let ships be prepared for the host[1].
Let also men be taken who have gone and seen the land
And the countries and the terrible seas and the fœtid sea."
He made ready a great multitude of ships for his hosts[2],
And he filled them with all kinds of food[3] for horse and man.
The believing[4] king Alexander, the son of Philip,
In his wisdom did[5] this, and his heart rejoiced
Because the people were gathered together to him quickly[6].
He took the number of his troops of the Âmôrâyê[7],
p. 71 One thousand three hundred and many more with polished armour[8].
And he sent and told Sôrîḳ[9] the king of all Egypt
To send to him from his dominions all the artificers,
Workers in brass and iron, men full of skill,
For the Lord had beckoned to him to make a gate against Mâgôg.
Twelve[10] thousand cunning workmen
Did Sôrîḳ[11] the king of Egypt send to the son of Philip.
King Alexander made ready iron and brass a great quantity,
And, in his wisdom[12], he filled[13] the ships therewith.
He[14] alone knew this mystery,
Which[15] Jeremiah, in his prophecy, had prophesied concerning him.

[1] Add. 14624 has ܒܐܪ̈ܚܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܥܡܐ ܕܐܬܘ ܠܡܨܪ
[2] Reading with Add. 14624 ܘܥܒܕ ܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܨܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ [3] Add. 14624 ܡܙܘܢ
[4] Add. 14624 ܕܡܗܝܡܢ [5] Reading with Add. 14624 ܥܒܕ
[6] Add. 14624 omits this line. [7] Add. 14624 ܕܐܡܘܪ̈ܝܐ
[8] Add. 14624 ܘܐܠܦ ܐܚܪ̈ܢ ܕܐܠ ܠܐ ܡܬܡܢܝܢ [9] Add. 14624 ܕܡܨܪ
[10] Add. 14624 ܥܣܪ̈ܝܢ ܐܠܦ [11] Add. 14624 ܕܡܨܪ
[12] Read ܕܡܬܟܡܬܐ [13] Reading with Add. 14624 ܡܠܐ
[14] Add. 14624 ܗܘ [15] Reading with Add. 14624 ܕܐܡܪ

The great king went forth[1] with his subjects[2],
The horns sounded[3] and the thousands and the ranks were gathered together and went forth.
The camp rose up and went forth, and the king marvelled[4],
And his hosts began to go down into the great sea.
The earth[5] was astonished at the rumour of king Alexander.
The king[6] set his course on the sea towards India[7];

p. 72 After four months the king and his host went up from the sea,
And spread[8] abroad in the land, and creation was filled with their hosts.
Quaking fell upon the lands and their inhabitants
By reason of the multitude[9] of the hosts which terrified them.
And they went and came and drew near to the border of the fœtid sea,
And they departed[10] by reason of its stench, they fled away from its noise, and the king's soul was astonished[11].
And he made straight his way towards the lofty mountain Mâsîs[12],

[1] Read ...

[2] Add. 14624: ...

[3] Add. 14624 ... [4] Add. 14624 ...

[5] Add. 14624 ...

[6] Add. 14624 adds ... [7] Add. 14624 adds ...

[8] Add. 14624 ... [9] Read ...

[10] Read either ... or ...

[11] Add. 14624 ...

[12] Add. 14624 ...

He ascended the mountain and stood upon its summit and looked at the lands,
And with him were all the thousands and ranks and hosts.
The king, the son of Philip the Macedonian, said
To the hosts, "Let us straightway go forth by the way of the north."
The king went in and took possession of (lit. stood upon) the lands, and [the people] feared him,
And fled[1] away from him, for his great fame made them flee away[2].
When the king saw that the inhabitants of the land trembled at him,
He sent before him some of his ambassadors to proclaim[3] peace, [saying]
"Let the people remain[4], and let no man flee before them (*i. e.*, the hosts)."
He gave the word and swore by his life through the heralds,
p. 73 "I will not slay, nor carry away captive, nor destroy."
The heralds cried, "Alexander the great king
Has come to this land in peace, neither slaying,
Nor leading away into captivity, nor carrying away spoil[5],
Let every man dwell in his habitation in peace and without fear!
Let the nobles and the aged men of the country go[6] to him,
For he has given the word of his mouth which never lies."
He in his wisdom gathered together and brought the nobles and the aged,
That he might learn from them of the matter of the secrets of the land[7].
Three hundred old, greyheaded men were gathered together to him,

[1] Read ... [2] Add. 14624 ... [3] Read ...

[4] Read ... [5] Add. 14624 ...

[6] Add. 14624 ... [7] Add. 14624 ...

Intelligent men who knew the secrets of the land[1].
They went in and stood before the glorious king, and did reverence unto him[2],
And they saw his glory and his speech and his strength, and they feared him,
And they entreated him and besought him to have mercy upon them[3].
They say to him, "Master, may thy crown be magnified over all the world,
May thy fame and name overthrow kings and their dominions[4]!"
The king[5] rejoiced to be blessed by the old men[6],
p. 74 And he commanded them to sit on his right hand and on his left[7].
When they had sat down according to the command of the great king,
He began to question [them] wisely, saying,
"One thing my soul asketh you to show[8] me,
Where is the Land of Darkness[9]? I wish to see it."
They say to him, "Master, why seekest[10] thou the Land of Darkness?
Every one who hears the mention[11] of it flees that he may not enter therein.

[1] Add. 14624 adds : أحسم حصلاه حصلاه حصلاه حصلاه

[2] After this line Add. 14624 adds حم بكه؛ حسحه حصه حم حسحه حصه حصلاه حصلاه حصلاه حصلاه. أبع حصلاه حصلاه حصلاه حصلاه حصلاه حصلاه حصلاه حصلاه.

[3] Add. 14624 أحا أحصا حصه حسحه

[4] Add. 14624 بحكمه؛ حصه أحكا حصحه

[5] Read حم أحكا [6] Add. 14624 adds حصحه حصلاه حصلاه حصلاه حصلاه حم حصحصه

[7] Add. 14624 أحصه أحصه حصلاه؛

[8] Add. 14624 حصلاه؛ [9] Add. 14624 أحصه؛ حصلاه

[10] Add. 14624 أحصه؛ حصلاه حم لا أحا حصلاه [11] Add. 14624 حصحه

Some men, in their audacity, dared to enter therein,
And they went and perished and unto this day have not returned and come forth."
The king said, "Our coming to this land was on account of this,
And there is no other way[1] for me but to see it."
The old men say, "There is a great mountain
The length of the road to which from here is twelve days[2]."
The king said, "Give me men who know the country,
And as for the way, however far it may be, it will not be tedious to me."
There was one old, greyheaded man there
Who knew the way and was experienced[3] in the mysteries of the country.
p. 75 This old man answered and said to Alexander,
"I will go with thy majesty and show[4] thee."
Then the heart of the king rejoiced and his face became glad;
And he took the old men and the nobles and they went[5] with him.

And when he had come to the country in which was the Land of Darkness[6]
While as yet they were ten parasangs distant from the place,
One wise old man who knew mysteries[7] answered and
Said to the king, "Reveal to me the mystery and hide not it from me,
What is thy quest in the Land of Darkness? what [will it] profit [thee]?
And why hast thou come to the land in which there is no light[8]?"

[1] Add. 14624 أحا لا أحصا حصحصلاه

[2] Add. 14624 حصحه حصحه حصحه؛ حصحه [3] Read with Add. 14624 حصحصه [4] Read with Add. 14624 أحا أحصحه

[5] Add. 14624 حصحا؛ [6] Add. 14624 أحصه؛ حصلاه

[7] Reading with Add. 14624 أحا حم؛

[8] Add. 14624 حصحصه حم حصحصه؛ حصحصه حم أحصحصه؛ حم أحصحصه؛ حصحصه حم أحصحصه؛ حصحصه حم أحصحصه؛ حصحصه

The king said, "I have heard that therein is the fountain of life,
And I desire greatly to go forth and see if, of a truth, it is [there]."
The old man said, "There are many fountains in the country,
And no man knoweth which is the fountain of the water of life."
The king said, "Do not dispute with me[1] concerning this matter,
For there is no other way for me but to go in and see the country."
Then the old man answered and said to him in his wisdom,
p. 76 "Since the matter is thus, seek out beasts from among the she-asses,
All of whom have[2] young and give suck.
According to the number of the men whom thou wishest to go into [the land] with thee
Let them bring beasts, and let them also bring their young with them."
The command went forth from the king full of wisdom,
And the people of the country went forth from him and gathered[3] together and brought five hundred beasts from among the she-asses.
After these things the old man said to the son of Philip,
"Command thy cook[4] to take with him a salt fish, and wherever he sees a fountain of water let him wash the fish[5];

[1] Add. 14624 لا ٢٢٧٢ [2] Read حمك هلأ
[3] Reading with Add. 14624 مصلاه مجمعه هزلا مننا مجمعه
[4] Reading with Add. 14624 حمكمه [5] Reading with Add. 14624 .حمدك حصدحمه لمقه لحدا منا لحاه

And if it be that it comes to life in his hands when he washes it,
That is the fountain of the water of life which thou askest for, O king."
And when he arrived at the door which goeth into the Land of Darkness[1],
The king said to his cook[2], "Take thou a dry[3] fish,
And where thou seest a fountain of water, wash it.
And if it be that the fish comes to life in thy hand when thou washest it,
Reveal it to me and show me which is the fountain when thou hast found it."
The old man said, "Let the foals remain outside the door,
p. 77 For if they come in with us we shall perish[4]."
The king mounted and the chosen people that were with him,
And they began to go in, and they left the young asses outside the door;
And they then began to go down into the darkness,
Without knowing whither they were travelling in the land[5].
And when the cook[6] came to water he alighted and began to wash
The salt fish; and it did not come to life in his hand as had been said[7].

[1] Add. 14624 adds حمدا لاصم أحمد حكمه ممم حكمه لحاه
[2] Reading with Add. 14624 حمكمه
[3] Add. 14624 .حكمه مهه مقمه مه حمه مكسه لحاه
[4] "The Tartars however sometimes visit the country, (*i.e.*, the land of Darkness) and they do it in this way. They enter the region riding mares that have foals, and these foals they leave behind. After taking all the plunder that they can get they find their way back by help of the mares, which are all eager to get back to their foals, and find the way much better than their riders could do." *Marco Polo*, ed. Yule, ii. p. 485.
[5] Add. 14624 حمكمه مه لا حمدا مصلا حمه مصلا مه
[6] Reading with Add. 14624 لحاه [7] Add. 14624 adds
لحاه منا منا لا .لحاه حمكمه هلأ منا لحاه لحاه مصلا مه
.لحاه حمكمه لا منا لحاه

Finally he came to a fountain in which was the water of life,
And he drew near to wash the fish in the water, and it came to life and escaped.
The faulty one feared lest the king would require at his hand
That he should return to him the fish which came to life without impediment[1],
And he leaped down into the water to catch[2] it, but he was not able.
And he went up from the fountain to tell[3] the king that he had found the [fountain of life].
He cried out[4] and they heard him not, he went to the mountain and then they heard him[5].
Then the king rejoiced that he had heard of the fountain,
And he went back to bathe in it as he had asked.
He went to the mountain in the darkness but he did not stand upon it,
p. 78 And it was not granted to him by the Lord that he should live [for ever],
And he was grieved about this even unto death[6].

[1] Add. 14624 ...

[2] Add. 14624 ...

[3] Reading with Add. 14624 ... [4] Read ...

[5] Add. 14624 reads ...

[6] Add. 14624 ...

And when the old man saw that he was afflicted with grief, [he said],
"The Lord hath not turned His face away from thee, O king."
The old man said, "Let us turn our beasts and let us go forth from here;
For the Lord does not wish thee to bathe in the fountain[1] and live for ever."
They turned[2] the beasts and they whipped them and they went out to their young ones.
The king turned being grieved that he had not accomplished the matter.
And the nobles came and comforted him by reason of [his] grief [saying][3],
"Master, be not afflicted on account of this, and let it not be grievous unto thee.
Look, master, and observe the early and middle generations,
That to each one of them has come its end and it has passed away and gone."

And Alexander in his wisdom began to ask questions, [saying,]
"What are these nations who are beyond you?
Has any king obtained[4] sovereignty in this land[5]?"

[1] Read ...

[2] Add. 14624 ... [3] Add. 14624 ...

[4] Add. 14624 ...

[5] Add. 14624 adds ...

The wise men[1] looked upon this king full of wisdom [and saw]
How joyful he was at the advice of the old men and nobles of the country.
p. 79 The old men say, "This is the dominion of Tûbarlîḳâ[2]
The great king of the house of the Persians and of the Âmôrâyê[3].
215 Within it are the peoples of the house of Japhet and of the house of Mâgôg,
A cunning nation, a flayed nation, an uprooted nation[4]."
The king said, "Have we a mountain from here onwards[5]?"
The old men say, "As far as the river Kallath[6] and [as far as] Halôrîs[7] [are]
Fearful, savage and lofty mountains with great terror,
220 And beyond them terrible mountains, a great boundary[8]
Which God hath set between us and them from all eternity."
The old men say, "It is altogether a difficult land
In which there are dragons and wild beasts and serpents[9],
And unless men pass the sentence of death upon their lives
225 They are not able to dwell with dragons and snakes[10]."

[1] Reading with Add. 14624 ...

[2] Add. 14624 ...

[3] Add. 14264 ... [4] Reading with Add. 14624 ...

[5] Add. 14624 ... [6] See Wright, *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, p. 56.

[7] Add. 14624 ... Halôrôs or Halôrîs is a place near the source of the Tigris, a journey of two days and a half from Âmid (Diarbekir) هلورس موضع عند مخرج دجلة على يومين ونصف من آمد See مراصد الاطلاع ed. Juynboll, t. iii. p. ٣٢٢

[8] Add. 14624 reads ...

[9] Reading with Add. 14624 ...

[10] Reading with Add. 14624 ...

Then the great king Alexander answered
In his wisdom, "How can we pass through[1] the mountains?"
He commanded and they brought armour[2], and he made every beast to carry [some of it].
The horses rattled the bells and the armour, and they passed
p. 80 through the land[3].
230 The old men say, "Look[4], my lord the king, and see a wonder,
This mountain which God has set as a great boundary."
King Alexander the son of Philip said,
"How far is the extent of this mountain[5]?"
The old men say, "Beyond India it extends in its appearance."
235 The king said, "How far does this side come?"
The old men say, "Unto all the ends of the earth."
And wonder seized the great king at the counsel[6] of the old men,
And he began to ask questions to learn more about everything.
The king said, "Who are these kings
240 And the terrible peoples which are beyond this mountain?"
The old men say, "Listen[7], O Master, and king; and we will tell thee.
Behold, the family of Âgôg and the family of Mâgôg are beyond us,
Terrible of aspect, hateful of form, of all heights,
The stature of each one of them is from six to seven cubits;
245 Their noses are flat[8] and their foreheads hateful.

[1] Add. 14624 ... [2] Read ...

[3] Add. 14624 reads ... [4] Add. 14624 ... [5] Add. 14624 ...

[6] Add. 14624 ... [7] Read ... [8] Add. 14624 ...

They bathe in blood, and in blood wash they also their heads;
p. 81 They drink blood and eat the flesh of men;
They wear skins, sharpen weapons and forge wrath,
And are more ferocious and have more wars than all other nations[1].
Where[2] the wrath of the Lord rises he sends them;
And they overturn the land, and uproot mountains, and devour men."
Then the son of Philip was grieved because he heard these things,
And he marvelled at this greatly within himself a long time.
Little by little he learned and understood everything which he asked[3],
And he had it in his mind to make there a great gate.
His mind was full[4] of spiritual thoughts,
While taking advice from the old men, the dwellers[5] in the land.

He looked at the mountain which encircled the whole world,
The great boundary which God had established from everlasting.
The king said, "Where have the hosts come forth
To plunder the land and all the world[6] from of old?"
They show him a place in the middle of the mountains,
A narrow pass which had been constructed by God.
p. 82 The king looked upon the narrow pass with wonderment,
And [saw] that the mountain extended[7] and was terrible in its strength on all sides.
Above it he saw a river of blood flowing down[8],

[1] Add. 14624 صحصحص حصحصص حصحصص حصحصص

[2] Read صحاص [3] Add. 14625 حصحصص حصحصص حصحصص

"Behold Tûbarlîḳî the king of Persia has gathered together a host,
And has also hired him sixty-two other kings:
Arise, prevail over their hosts, and destroy them[1],
For, behold, God has come and stood within thy camp,
He will make thee victorious, and will help thee, and will make thee to triumph.
p. 84 Thou shalt conquer them all through the right hand of the Lord that is with thee[2]."

Then Alexander awoke and rose up from his sleep,
And he called to the nobles and the captains of hundreds and the captains of thousands,
And he began to speak[3] and command his troops, [saying,]
"Behold, the Lord hath come to our aid and to our help,
Come, let us stand praying to the Lord with strength[4]."
And the king commanded all the people to take incense,
And they burned there a sweet odour to the Lord among their ranks.
The king and the nobles and the hosts that were with him
Carried[5] upon stones and sherds fire and sweet incense.
And after they had burned incense[6] in the camp,
The king began to speak and to exhort his troops, [saying,]
"Behold the time of great strife and battle [has come],
Put on your breastplates and gird upon you all your armour,
Put your helmets upon your heads and stand up for war[7] like men.

[1] Reading with Add. 14624 صنعت أنم

[2] Reading with Add. 14624 بحضر [3] Add. 14624 بلأمر

[4] Add. 14624 لح نحصمد حكى حر مؤكسنى كمكنا حسعا In Knös the order of this and the following line is inverted. [5] Read كسنه

[6] Add. 14624 حصلا خلجا: إحقصا: إذكهه

[7] Add. 14624 reads كحصه .حزحه:ه: أحا خبا: إحسها: أحا خبا: إحسها: أحا خبا: إحسها

Then the hosts which remained fled away from him,
And forsook their king and escaped to another land.

And when Alexander had thus gained the victory[1],
He buried the slain and took their arms.
Then he courageously took pains and made a door
Against Âgôg and the family of Mâgôg, and bound them [inside].
He took iron and brass, a great quantity, and made it ready
For the making of the door that he might shut [it] in the face of the people.
He gave [his] commands to twelve thousand skilled, ready workmen
Whom Sôrîḳ[2] the king of Egypt had given to him from his dominion[3],
He, the wise man, called the workmen and taught them
p. 87 How they should make[4] the length and breadth [of it], with great strength.
He measured the ground of the narrow pass between the mountains,
That he might shut[5] in the peoples of the house of Mâgôg until the end.
The king in his wisdom measured from mountain to mountain,
Twelve[6] cubits in the strength of his power.
The king said, "Make ye a threshold for the whole pass,
And let it be sunk in the mountain on this side and on that."

[1] After this line Add. 14624 reads ...

[2] Add. 14624 ...

[3] Add. 14624 ...

[4] Add. 14624 ...

[5] Read ...

[6] Add. 14624 ...

They made it of great height (*i. e.* thickness) and breadth, four cubits[1],
Its length and extent [was] twelve cubits of a strong man.
On each side of the mountain he sunk the head of the threshold,
On both sides two cubits of a strong man[2].
He made a lintel (lit. threshold) over the door over all the pass,
And sunk it in the mountains on both sides for the whole [width of the] door[3].
He made [it] six cubits wide and six cubits high with skill,
Of iron and brass, a marvellous work, the like of which there is not.
The hosts erected and fixed the door there
In all the threshold, above and below[4], as in clay (*sic*).
p. 88 He put bolts into[5] the threshold and into[6] the door,
And sunk them in so that no man knew where they fitted together.
For all the lintel[7] over the door against the wind
The king made strong posts[8] of brass and iron.
On this side of these he made bolts of great strength,
Twelve cubits was its length and two cubits its breadth,

[1] Reading with Add. 14624 ...

[2] Add. 14624 adds ...

[3] Add. 14624 omits this line.

[4] Add. 14624 ... [5] Add. 24624 ... [6] Add. 14624 ...

[7] Add. 14624 ... *sic.* ...

[8] Reading with Add. 14624 ...

A cubit and a half was the thickness[1] of the bolt with cunning work,
And it held fast the wood (posts)[2] and the bolts and the door and the two sides of the mountain that they might not be unloosed[3].
The king fixed (lit. threw) doors and beams and bolts in the two sides of the mountain,
And another bolt of brass and iron, in his wisdom.
He fixed (lit. threw) the door, and wonder and quietness and rest and silence
[Came] over the peoples of the house of Mâgôg who had not perceived the building.
King Alexander made haste and made the door
Against the north, and against the spoilers and the children of Mâgôg.
In the sixth month he finished the building of the whole door.
And the king and all his army marvelled and their hearts rejoiced,
That the whole work of the royal building had been built,
A work of which wisdom and intelligence had laid [the foundations].
Ambassadors went forth into the countries and lands and proclaimed
The great work of the terrible door which the king had made[4].

After these things the king, the son of Philip said,
"It is meet that we make a great feast to the Lord[5] in this land,
For He came to help us and destroyed our enemies,
And He has helped[6] us and straightway completed this building.

[1] Read ܥܒܝ ܘܦܠܓ

[2] Add. 14624 ܘܣܩܦ

[3] Add. 14624 reads ܡܚܫܝ ܣܬܡ ܘܡܥܩܒ ܡܠܩ ܘܠܐ ܡܟܐܙ ܡܠܩ ܘܡܥܩܒ ܡܠܩ ܘܠܐ ܡܟܐܙ ∴ ܒܣܬܠ ܒܚܨ ܡܟܚ ܙܐ and omits the two lines which come after ܠܐ ܡܟܐܙ in Knös which I have translated here, but which seem to be corrupt.

[4] Lines 373—382 are omitted by Add. 14624.

[5] Reading with Add. 14624 ܠܡܪܝ

[6] Read ܙܟܝ

It is He that hath restrained and silenced the children of Mâgôg
That they shall not go forth through this pass during the whole length of the time."
The king said, "Let us take incense, and let all the people
Burn it here for a sweet smell to the Lord among their assemblies."
The king and the nobles and the hosts that were with him
Carried fire and sweet incense upon stones and sherds,
They burnt pure incense among the ranks and the thousands and the assemblies,
On the new festival upon which was built the great work.
The king said, "If the Lord come into our camp,
And find it of sweet odour, peradventure He will dwell therein."
p. 90 And after [they had burnt] incense king Alexander commanded
That all the people of the palace should rejoice and be glad.
The king set in order rich foods for all his hosts
And gave .....[1] to the captains of thousands that they might .....[1]
The king commanded that there should be set forth meat for the assembly of his hosts,
And that they should make glad at the table according to their ranks.
He made a feast for the old men and the nobles and the captains of thousands,
And they made glad at the table in a loving manner.
The king rejoiced in that building full of cunning works,
Because he had become triumphant through the victory which God had given him.

And having thus rejoiced at the table,
At midday, at the time of noon, the king rested,
On a couch (?) of gold, in perfect love and belief.
Then the Lord answered him in a vision, with great wonder,
And He sent a watcher of fire to him[2] beyond all expectation.
The king saw that fiery being in a dream, and feared,

[1] The words ܘܠܐ and ܒܦܠܓܟ do not make good sense here.

[2] Read ܠܝ ܒܚܙܘܬܐ

p. 91 And he spake with him all hidden and terrible things.
The watcher said, "The Lord sent me that I might come to thee,
And inform thee what it is meet for thee to do with Tûbarlîḳî.
Rise up and make peace with Tûbarlîḳî, the king of Persia,
And take away from him the land of Egypt[1] and the land of Jâbûs.
Take from him the land of Palestine[2] and the Hebrews' country
And the whole land of Syria and Mesopotamia.
Take from him Phoenicia and Cilicia,
Cappadocia, Galatia and Phrygia,
Also Asia and the territory of the Greeks and Seleucia,
Take his dominion until thou comest to Ḳalḳîdîâ,
Take his dominion and set the river Kallath as a boundary for yourselves[3].
And let not one of you pass over the boundary which ye set for him."
The Lord spake by the hand of the angel, [saying] "I will magnify thee
More than all the kings and governors in all the world.
p. 92 This great gate which thou hast made[4] in this land
Shall be closed until the end of times cometh.
Jeremiah[5] also prophesied concerning it and the earth hath heard,
'The gate of the north shall be opened on the day of the end of the world,
And on that day shall evil go forth on the wicked.

[1] Read ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ [2] Read ܐܬܪ̈ܥܐ

[3] Add. 14624 has as the equivalent of lines 388—424 ܘܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܫܕܪ ܠܝ ܠܡܐܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܛܘܒܪܠܝܩܝ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܛܘܒܪܠܝܩܝ ܡܠܟ ܦܪܣ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܡܨܪ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܝܗܘܕ̈ܝ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܟܠ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܣܘܪܝܐ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܟܠ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܡܣܘܦܘܛܡܝܐ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܦܝܢܝܩ̈ܝ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܩܠܝܩ̈ܝ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܘܓ̈ܝ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܐܣܝܐ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܝܘܢ̈ܝ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܣܠܘܩ̈ܝ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܟܠ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܩܠܩܝܕ̈ܝܐ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܟܠ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܥܪ̈ܒ̈ܝ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܟܠ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܐܬܘܪ̈ܝ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܟܠ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܒܐܒܠ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܟܠ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܐܫܘܪ̈ܝ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܟܠ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܡܕ̈ܝ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܟܠ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܣ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܟܠ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܐܪ̈ܡܢ̈ܝ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܟܠ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܐܬ̈ܘܪ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܟܠ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܐܫܘܪ̈ܝ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܟܠ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܡܕ̈ܝ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܟܠ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܦܪ̈ܣ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܟܠ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܐܪ̈ܡܢ̈ܝ ܘܐܬܪ ܠܘܬ ܟܠ ܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܕܐܬ̈ܘܪ

[4] Add. 14624 ܥܒܕ̈ܬ

[5] Add. 14624 ܐܡܪ

There shall be woe to those who are with child and to those who give suck[1].'
The Lord says, "In that the seven thousandth year
Shall there be rumours and dire quakings in all countries.
Sin and wickedness and all evil things shall increase in the world,
Envy, craftiness, adultery, murder and all hateful things,
Lying and slander of the children of wickedness.
Fraud and pride[2] shall increase in the earth,
And haughtiness and lasciviousness and infidelity[3],
And schisms and contentions shall fall among the children of men.
The heavens shall be like darkness and the earth shall quake,
And the love of many shall wax cold in these days[4].
And wars and captivities and death shall increase among the children of men.
And there shall be famines and cruel wars in various countries,
p. 93 And there shall be also tumults in the islands that are in the sea.
And the sun and the moon and the stars shall be dark in their risings,
And the earth shall be devoured by fire[5] and locusts and mighty hail,
The ends of the earth shall tremble with the noise of the thundering in all lands,
And winter and winds and storms and lightnings and mighty earthquakes.
The heavens shall become like smoke through darkness,
The sea shall be troubled[6], and wickedness shall increase in all the world.
Towns and cities and villages shall dwell in mourning,
Through the terrible quakings of all the horrible signs[7].

[1] Jeremiah i. 14; S. Matt. xxiv. 19. [2] Read ܣܡ̈ܪ [3] Add. 14624 ܥܒ̈ܕ [4] S. Matt. xxiv. 12. [5] Reading ܒܢܘܪ with Add. 14624. [6] Reading with Add. 14624 ܢܬܒܟܫ

[7] Add. 14624 ܗܠ̈ܝܢ ܕܐܬ̈ܘܬ ܕܫܡ̈ܝܐ ܘܐܪ̈ܥܐ

And when these things have come to an end and passed away[1]
before the end
The earth shall quake and this door which thou hast made
be opened[2].
At the end of times creatures and men shall make evil to
increase,
And wickedness shall wax strong in all quarters of the earth,
and the Lord shall be grieved[3],
And anger with fierce wrath shall rise up on mankind.
And the earth and vineyards and oliveyards and all plants shall
be laid waste,
And woods and gardens; and the earth and mankind shall
dwell in mourning[4],
And destructive winds shall go forth against creation;
p. 94 And the Lord shall visit evil upon the world, upon the fertile
lands[5].
And the nation that is within this gate[6] shall be roused up,
And also the hosts of Âgôg and of the peoples of Mâgôg shall
be gathered together.
These peoples, the fiercest of all creatures,
Of the mighty house of Japhet [are they] of whom the Lord
spake, [saying], 'They shall go forth on the earth
And cover all creation like[7] a locust.'"

The king marvelled at these things which he had heard from
the angel
Whom the Lord had sent to him in a vision to teach him these
things.
The watcher said, "When all the things that are written have
been completed,

[1] Read ܒܛܠ ܘܥܒܪ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܐ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܒܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ [2] After this line Add. 14624 adds ܘܐܦܬܚ ܗܢܐ ܬܪܥܐ ܕܥܒܕܬ ܠܟ ܗܢܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܒܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ [3] Read ܬܬܟܠܝ Add. 14624 has ܢܬܟܠܝ [4] Add. 14624 ܘܬܬܒܠ ܟܠ ܙܪܥܐ ܘܟܠ ܐܝܠܢ ܕܒܪ [5] Read ܐܪܥܐ [6] Read ܕܢܦܩ [7] Read ܟܐܪܥܒܐ Add. 14624 ܕܝܬ ܒܗ ܥܡܐ

The Lord will command, and by His beck will be opened[1] this
door.
When the anger of the Lord waxes hot to slay men,
In His ill will He will rouse up the people of the house of
Mâgôg against the lands.
In the seven thousandth year, in which the heavens and the
earth shall be dissolved,
The hosts and troops shall go forth from their lands.
The thousands and the ranks and the assemblies without
number shall come
And shall stand behind this door, and shall give voice with
An exceeding great cry stronger than the wind and the loud
thunder [saying],
p. 95 'O Lord, our Lord, open to us the gate that we may go forth
on the earth.'
The mountains and the earth and mankind shall tremble at
that time
By reason of that wrathful and angry and terrifying voice.
At that time the cry shall go forth among their ranks,
And the voice of the Lord shall overthrow the height of this
door.
Over the threshold which carries this strong door,
The hosts of horses and men shall tread and go forth.
Another host which shall go forth after the hosts
.....[2]

The door and the bolts shall the Lord destroy and carry away.
The hosts which shall go forth from thence shall cover the earth.
In anger shall the hosts and the assemblies and the thousands
go forth,
With drawn swords and bent bows and sharp arrows,
With wrath and murder and eager horses and pointed spears.

[1] Add. 14624 ܘܒܪܥܘܬܗ ܢܬܦܬܚ ܕܢܦܩ [2] A line appears to have fallen out here, for Add. 14624 reads ܘܟܠ ܐܝܠܢ ܕܒܪ ܢܦܩ ܒܬܪ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܢܬܟܢܫܘܢ ܟܠ ܓܢܒܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܘܢܬܟܢܫ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܓܢܒܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܘܢܬܟܢܫ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܓܢܒܐ ܕܥܡܐ ∴

With great wrath shall each one of them pursue a thousand,
And through fear ten thousand shall flee away before two.
They will fly and settle down upon the quarters of the whole world,
And kings and hosts shall flee away before them.
The tips of the spears shall rub away the strength of that lintel (lit. threshold),
And the beam which thou hast made with great strength above the door.
This door which thou hast made shall not be opened by a key.
At the end of times shortly [before the end] shall they go forth [over] the earth[1],
They shall not desire gold or silver or cattle,
Neither possessions, nor the riches of this world.
These people shall go forth for slaughter and blood and strife,
And shall fly and fill the face of the world with wars and slaughters.
The assemblies of warriors shall not be delivered from them,
The whole creation shall totter[2] and fall under the ruin[3].

[1] Add. 14624 reads ...

[2] Add. 14624 ...

[3] After this line Add. 14624 (fol. 30 *a*. 2) adds ...

Concerning that day Isaiah[1] cried and the earth heard,
'They shall not be eager for[2] gold and silver and pearls,
Nor riches[3] nor fine raiment nor possessions.
They shall dash weaned children on the stones without sparing,
And they shall rip up women with child and cast them down with their offspring.'
The rivers of the whole world shall be accounted nothing by them,
And rough mountains and valleys and gorges shall not restrain them.
They shall rise up and go forth and fill the earth with their assemblies, and with
War and captivity and strife and blood and great slaughter.
When the anger of the Lord waxes hot against the wicked,
He will send over the earth the people of Âgôg and the people of Mâgôg.
Before the end of the world shall they go forth to destroy,
The earth will be drunk with the tumult of men and the mountains shall tremble.
He[4] will come to Persia and will strip it and destroy it,

[1] Isaiah xiii. 17, 18.

[2] Add. 14624 ...

[3] Read ...

[4] *I. e.* the nation of Âgôg and Mâgôg.

He will come to India and will cut it in pieces and destroy it,
He will overthrow Syria and pass over and terrify it,
He will destroy and lay waste and overthrow Cilicia,
He will make an end of Cappadocia and will slay [the people thereof] with terror.
And tremblings shall fall upon countries and upon their inhabitants,
And the earth shall be a desolation and a captivity and a whistling.
They shall cover[1] the earth with arms and spears and polished swords[2],
And kings and governors shall not be able to stand before
Those who from God have received power over creation.
The voice of each one of them is stronger than that of a lion,
And one shall pursue a thousand, and two of them ten thousand.
Hateful and terrible, cruel and bitter and warlike [are]
The hosts of the children of Âgôg and of the people of Mâgôg[3],
Tumultuous, evil, sinful, excitable, proud, unclean,
Filthy, haughty and full of woe and great judgment.
They rend and devour the flesh of men and of beasts,
They all wash in blood which has flowed from mankind[4]."

And when all these things had been spoken by the angel
To the wise king Alexander, the son of Philip,
The angel[5], in the spirit of the revelation of prophecy, told him
To write down these things and teach the world that these things would happen.
And when all these things had been said by the angel,
The Spirit of the Lord rested upon[6] the king as upon Jeremiah,

[1] Read ܢܬܟܣܘ [2] Add. 14624 adds ܘܥܡ ܟܠ ܫܘܒܚ ܕܚܪܒܐ ܘܪܡܚܐ ܕܦܠܕܐ [3] Add. 14624 omits this line.
[4] After this line Add. 14624 reads ܘܟܠ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܠܡܘܬ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܥܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܫܬܥܐ ܠܡܢ ܕܢܫܬܥܐ ܠܗ. ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܒܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬ ܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬ ܥܒܕ ܒܗ ∴ [5] Read ܐܡܪ [6] Read ܐܬ

And he wrote down hidden things like Daniel[1] and like Isaiah.
He wrought mighty deeds and destroyed kings in their wars,
He destroyed idols like Hezekiah[2] and like Josiah[3],
The just king who served truth and righteousness.
The earth shone through his wisdom full of beauties,
And he wrote[4] and showed everything that was to come like Daniel.
Alexander the king, the son of Philip, said,
"Let the kings and their ranks and their dominions tremble,
On the day on which these people go forth over the earth at the end of times.
And men and all the quarters of the earth will anger the Lord of Hosts,
And His anger will rise and blot out the earth with an evil desolation.
Mighty Rûm from her greatness He shall throw down to the depth[5].
The seas shall roar, the earth shall cry out, and the mountains shall shriek,
The valleys shall fear, and towns and villages shall be desolated.
The vineyards shall be destroyed and stupor shall fall upon the planters thereof,
Joy shall come to an end, and the power of all mighty men shall fall.
Beautiful things[6] shall perish, riches shall fail and power shall vanish,
Fountains shall fail, streets shall be destroyed, and the valleys shall be useless.
The hosts and filthy[7] assemblies of the children of Mâgôg shall stand up,
And all creation shall become and remain a ruin.

[1] Daniel, chap. vii—xii. [2] 2 Kings xviii. 4.
[3] 2 Kings xxiii. 4—14. [4] Read with Add. 14624 ܟܬܒ
[5] Add. 14624 reads ܘܫܒܚ ܠܡܪܝܡ ܕܟܠ ܡܢ ܒܗ ܢܬܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܟܠ ܕܢܬܬ ܠܗ [6] Reading with Add. 14624 ܫܦܝܪ
[7] Reading with Add. 14624 ܣܢ

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And from the signs and bitter rumours
He that is wise will understand concerning the end.
Lebanon and Sânîr and their fellows shall be accounted nothing to him, [*i.e.*, to the nation of Gog and Magog]
The mountains of Carmel shall not restrain the host that is with him.
His voice thunders, the rumour of him is terrible, and his strength is fearful,
His appearance is evil, his form huge and altogether harsh.
Deformed is his visage, violent is his strength, and dark is his colour,
His form is long, his weapon is sharp, and the whole of him is death[1].
Evil sounds and tremblings and rumours shall run before him,
And horrible things and captivities and famines and deaths and all evil things.
He shall quench the beauty of the sun and of the moon and of all luminaries,
The hills and the valleys shall put on darkness[2] and sadness.
Laws shall come to an end and the whole earth shall dwell in mourning,
And the world shall become like a desolate and a sterile thing.
Depict in me, O our Lord, the beauty of Thy word in a loving way,
That I may preach the sign of the day of Thy coming as far as I am able.
That great nation[3] which is perverse in its works,
And bears woe and is full of wrath and slaughter and death,
p. 101 For evil captivity and destruction do they prepare with great wrath,
For spoil and slaughter are they all [*i.e.* the nation] ready without ceasing.
They all threaten with power and there is wrath in their cursings,
Mountains and valleys and plains tremble at them.

[1] Add. 14624 omits this and the preceding line.

[2] Reading with Add. 14624 ܫܥܐ [3] Read with Add. 14624 ܚܡܐ

And great woe [shall be] upon those who are with child and those who give suck,
And mourning and pain upon young men and maidens,
Weeping for the children being slain through the cutting off of hope,
And for the youths also being cut off by the baleful ones.
The heavens and the earth will put on pain[1] and sadness,
And the assemblies of celestial beings will be astonished in those days[2].
Quaking will fall upon the living and the dead at that time,
Through the slaughter and blood of the children of Mâgôg before the end.
A renowned people will stir up strife in the lands,
And cast tumult among cities and towns,
An ugly people, a people flayed and uprooted[3] and full of blemishes,
Of the children of Âgôg and of the house of Mâgôg with their fellows.
In abundance will they come to Palestine madly,
They will uproot and destroy its cities and slay [its] people.
The race of men, nation after nation, will roar and cry out[4],
p. 102 Joy and gladness shall cease and woe will reign,
Weeping and spoiling and wickedness and all sadness shall increase.
They will uproot walls and towers and streets and towns,
And they shall become mounds, and stupor shall fall upon all creation.
Come, O Jeremiah, the prophet of the Spirit and of revelation,
And take up bitter cries of lamentation concerning that day.
The prophet says, 'Woe to thee, O land, for a mighty nation
Is sent against thee; with arms and captivity shall he destroy thy children[5].'

[1] Add. 14624 ܫܥܐ [2] Read ܒܝܘܡܬܐ ܗܢܘܢ

[3] Read ܡܟܝܫ ܡܬܒܙ [4] Add. 14624 adds ܘܡܬܐܘܝܠ ܒܟ

ܠܡܐ ܕ ܡܫܬܝܫ ܥܡ ܙܝܙܐ

[5] Jeremiah v. 15—17. Add. 14624 reads ܐܡܪ ܢܒܝܐ ܡ ܟܬ ܐܪ

The prophet says, 'Thus shall all creation be
For a great astonishment and for a treading down, for slaughter and disgrace.
All creation shall kneel and fall down before that nation
And the earth shall be destroyed of its inhabitants with great slaughter.
The priests and their flocks shall seize a place of respite
And take up tears and lamentation bitterly[1].
Flocks and herds and cows and oxen shall dwell in mourning.'
p. 103 The prophet says 'Woe to thee, O earth, what is this nation
Harsh of speech which slays and destroys without sparing?
The keepers of vineyards shall weep over the vineyards[2] through sorrow,
And all the dwellings of the shepherds shall dwell in mourning.'
The earth shall say, 'Woe is me, for I have seen all revolutions
With evil quakings and disturbed horrible things full of misery.'
For to them will the Lord cry in anger at the end of times[3],
And as with a broom will the Lord sweep and purge it,
And He will overturn it and rend it and destroy it.
Gloomy and sorry and full of darkness shall be the days and months,
Before the coming of the sinful people of the children of Mâgôg.
In these days the living will ascribe happiness to the dead,
By reason of the disturbance and quaking and slaughter and blood.
They shall not, however, enter into Jerusalem, the city of the Lord.

[1] Add. 14624 reads ... [2] Reading with Add. 14624 ... [3] Add. 14624 ...

For the sign (*i. e.*, the Cross) of the Lord shall drive them away from it, and they shall not enter it.
All the saints shall fly away from them to mount Sânîr[1],
All faithful true ones and the good and all the wise.
p. 104 They shall not be able to approach mount Sinai, for it is the dwelling place of the Lord,
Nor to the high mountains of Sinai[2] with their shame[3].
By Jerusalem shall fall by the sword the hosts
Of the children of Âgôg and of the house of Mâgôg with great slaughter.
After these things shall the days full of trouble decrease[4],
And evil shall come and stand in the world with great trembling.
And the earth shall be drunk with the blood and slaughter of their ranks,
For the sword of a man shall fall upon his fellow with great amazement.
And if it were possible for the mountains and the earth and the stones
And the sea and the dry land to weep, they would weep for the whole world.
O how much more bitter than the slaughter of the sword and the blood of the spear,
Is the affliction of the cursed children of the great family of Japhet!
For[5] they shall lead away captive and subdue the earth and all people.

[1] Add. 14624 ... [2] Reading with Add. 14624 ... [3] Compare ... "The Lord shall uncover their shame," Isaiah iii. 17.
[4] Reading with Add. 14624 ... [5] Add. 14624 reads ...

Then the hosts of Âgôg and of the house of Mâgôg shall go forth,
And man shall fall upon his fellow, and nation upon nation,
And the quaking of the earth and the sword of anger shall be there.
On the skirts of Zion shall the bodies of the dead[1] [lie] in heaps.
p. 105 And after these things the earth shall be desolated of mankind,
Villages shall be destroyed and all towns and cities;
The scattered ones only remain in the earth as a remnant.
Then shall Antichrist rise upon the whole earth,
Through that gate shall go forth and come that rebel;
That lying one shall Christ overthrow as is promised[2].
There shall stand up before him demons and spirits and wicked devils,
And they shall gather together all creation to their cursed master.
The earth shall cry out, 'I entreat Thee, O Lord, in Thy mercy to spare me,
For, behold, I am sick and persecuted with all wounds.'
These things which I have spoken shall come to pass before the end of the world,
And let him that hath an ear of love listen to them."

These beautiful things did king Alexander interpret,
That they should all take place before that day at the end.
"And after these things the heavens and the earth will put on pain[3],
And times and days and months in their courses will cease,
p. 106 And will not again return to the earth from whence they came.
When the assemblies of the thousands of the children of Âgôg and of the house of Mâgôg,

[1] Read ...

[2] Add. 14624 ...

[3] Add. 14624 ...

Have destroyed all constituted things with a great slaughter,
Creation, weeping and lamenting, will cry out [saying], 'What wilt thou do [more]?'
The earth will say, 'Let the assemblies of the height entreat for me
Thy great name[1], the power which bears the height and the depth.'"
O Jesus, look upon me in mercy and love, I entreat Thee,
May I see Thee in peace when Thou risest with Thy angels!
"The whole creation shall totter and fall with great quaking,
By reason of the signs; the end cometh, it is not far off.
By Jerusalem shall perish and come to an end the hosts
Of the children of Âgôg and of the house of Mâgôg together with their fellows,
And there shall that lying one be put to shame in his infidelity[2],
And the whole baneful company of idolatry shall be overcome.
Little by little shall be filled the web of all this world,
That it may incline and come speedily to[3] the end.
The Lord will look upon the earth with wrath and great anger,
And it shall pass away and become nothing; but He shall not
p. 107 pass away.
Out of the north then shall come evil to all the earth,
And Isaiah cried to creation on account of this[4]."

O Jesus, O King in Whose hands are the height and the depth,
In Thee shall the Church and her children take refuge from trouble[5].
Blessed be the Good One Who stretched out the height and Who laid out[6] the earth.

[1] Add. 14624 ...

[2] Add. 14624 ...

[3] Read ...

[4] Reading with Add. 14624 ... Isaiah xiii. 4—19.

[5] Add. 14624 reads ...

[6] Read ...

690 They shall pass away but Thou shalt stand, O Lord, our Lord.

.....

And power to all His servants and the victory (?) of might[2].
From the celestial and from the terrestrial beings to Thee be praise,
For [Thy] grace and compassion and mercy upon sinners.
Blessed be the Lord who gave victory to Alexander,
695 And he conquered and destroyed the inhabitants of the lands.
Grant unto me, O Lord, a mouth that I may preach Thy great glory,
That it may cry out before Thee on the day of Thy revelation, "Glory to Thee,"
And to the readers and the writer [of this book] may there be remission of sins,
And to the hearer and the doer may there be propitiation.

700 Here endeth the discourse upon Alexander
And upon the gate which he made towards the north.
Yea and Amen[3].

[1] The discourse in Add. 14624 comes to an end with the words مَنْ كُبِ لِعصدلا

[2] This appears to be the meaning of the line, but I suspect that either one or more lines before it have been omitted.

[3] Dr. C. Bezold has kindly called my attention to a German translation of this discourse by P. Pius Zingerle. It was made in 1871 and was privately printed by the care of J. Zingerle in 1882 under the title of *Ein altes Syrisches Alexanderlied*. Druck von Rudolf M. Rohrer in Brünn. Pius Zingerle was unable to find a publisher for his translation and, when an editor of a scientific journal wished to publish it with an introduction and description of the manuscripts, he wrote, "Von der Bekanntmachung meiner Uebersetzung der Alexandersage stehe ich gerne ab. Da werden allerlei gelehrte Forderungen gestellt, zu denen ich nicht aufgelegt bin. Ich bin leider nicht gewöhnt, bei meinen Arbeiten so gründlich zu Werke zu gehen." I have not been able to find any Syriac equivalent for the passage entitled *Fortsetzung über Alexander's Geschick*, printed on pp. 15—17 of Zingerle's pamphlet.

GLOSSARY.

УНИВЕРЗИТЕТСКА БИБЛИОТЕКА * БЕОГРАД *

GLOSSARY.

ܐܘܒܐ. Ar. أُنبُوب, *reed pipe, flute*, p. 103. 7.

ܐܒܐ. Ar. آبَار, *lead*, p. 193. 3.

ܓܒܐ *paw, claw*, plur. ܓܒܐ p. 15. 7, where ܣܛܘܓܒܐ is explained by ܣܛܘܒܐ

ܓܠܟܐ *pipe, watercourse*, plur. ܓܠܟܐ p. 106. 11.

ܟܦܪܐ *hamlet*, plur. ܟܦܪܐ p. 206. 5.

ܐܕܡܐ *ἀδάμας, adamant*, p. 9. 2.

ܨܠܡܐ, ܨܠܡܢܐ *image, statue*, p. 60. 9, 10, 19; 67. 6; 68. 8, 10; 70. 12, 17; 76. 8; 77. 1; 126. 10; 194. 14; 206. 15; 233. 9; 236. 3; plur. ܨܠܡܢܐ p. 136. 14; 161. 5, 6; 181. 12; 218. 16; 233. 5.

ܐܡܝܢܘܣ A kind of wood which "no woodworm attacks," p. 219. 17. The word is perhaps a corruption of the Greek word *ἀμίαντος*.

ܫܘܠܛܢܐ *power, rule*, p. 103. 20. The text actually has ܫܘܠܛܢܝܐ

ܬܗܡܐ see ܬܗܡܐ

ܐܘܩܝܢܘܣ *ὠκεανός, sea, ocean*, p. 20. 5; 256. 12; 266. 17.

ܐܚܪ. ܐܚܪܬ for ܐܚܕ *another*, p. 10, note 4.

ܐܝܬ *thongs*, p. 48. 8; 135. 4. In B this word is glossed by ܕܫܡܬ, Pers. تسمهٔ

ܐܬܪܓ Chald. ܐܛܪܘܢܐ, Arab. اترج, *citron*, plur. ܐܬܪܓܐ p. 217. 5.

ܐܬܝܬ *being, existence*, p. 104. 6.

ܐܓܪ *viper*, plur. ܐܓܪܐ p. 266. 2.

ܒܗܬ ܒܗܬܐ, ܒܗܬ ܒܗܬܐ *calumny*, p. 55. 5.

ܐܟܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ *cannibals*, p. 97. 18.

ܒܟܐ. ܒܟܐ Ar. اكاف, *packsaddle*, plur. ܒܟܐ p. 231. 6. The form ܒܟܟܐ is given by Duval, *Lexicon Syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule*, col. 61.

ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ, ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܬ plur. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܬ *Alexandrian* ships, p. 205. 1.

ܒܥܐ. ܒܥܬ ܒܠܒܐ *words learnt by heart*, p. 107. 11.

ܓܠܐ ܓܠܐ *triremes*, p. 63. 8.

ܐܡܘܢ *Egypt.* *Amen*, Ἀμμών, Heb. אָמוֹן, *Ammon*, p. 22. 4. For pictures of the various forms of this god as found on Egyptian monuments see Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, plates XVII—XXI.

ܡܥܪ *spade*, plur. ܡܥܪܐ p. 101. 4. D and E have ܡܥܪܐ

ܡܕ. ܒܐܝܢܝܐ *continually, perpetually*, p. 12. 9.

ܐܢܓܣ *ἀνάγκη, necessity*, p. 140. 7; plur. ܐܢܓܣ p. 61. 19; 62. 12; ܐܢܓܣܐ p. 156. 20.

ܐܣܛ. ܐܣܛ, ܐܣܛ, plur. ܐܣܛ *effeminate men*, p. 100. 18.

ܐܣ *wall*, plur. ܐܣ p. 218. 11.

ܐܣܛܒܪܩ Arab. استبرق, Pers. استبرگ, *brocaded silks*, p. 200. 9. The word is glossed in B by ܕܫܬ ܓܠܝܠ (Ar. دست, Pers. دشت).

ܐܣܛܘܢ, ܐܣܛܘܢܐ Ar. اسطوانة, Pers. استون, *pillar, pedestal*, p. 60. 8; 173. 15; plur. ܐܣܛܘܢ, ܐܣܛܘܢܬ, p. 219. 5; 256. 1.

ܐܣܛܪ, ܐܣܛܪ, *στατήρ, stater*, plur. ܐܣܛܪܐ, p. 147. 17. The Egyptian form of the word is *setetert*, Coptic ϲⲁⲧⲉⲉⲣⲉ and ϲⲁⲑⲛⲣⲓ. See Brugsch, *Zeit. Aeg. Sprache*, 1889, p. 9.

ܐܣܛܪܛܝܓܝ *officers*, p. 144. 2.

ܐܣܟܝܡ *σχῆμα, apparel, dress*, p. 4. 17; ܐܣܟܝܡ *caste*, p. 31. 2.

ܐܣܟܘܦܐ *threshold*, p. 267. 10, 12, 13; 268. 4, 6; 269. 16.

ܐܨܢ *barn, storehouse*, p. 75. 6.

ܐܣܦܓ f. *σπόγγος, sponge*, plur. ܐܣܦܓ, p. 190. 8.

ܐܣܦܝܪ *ball*, p. 80. 17; 81. 11; 87. 10; 237. 8, 9, 10; plur. ܐܣܦܝܪ p. 193. 11; ܐܣܦܝܪ p. 193. 9; 237. 1, 5, 7.

ܐܣܩܐ *beaker*, p. 147. 11.

ܐܦܕܢ Ar. قَدَن, Heb. אַפַּדָּן *palace*, p. 11. 12; 13. 8; 17. 1; 29. 14; 58. 12, 14; 59. 2; 197. 12. We have ܐܦܕܢ given once for the sing. (p. 2. 8). The Babylonian form of the word is *Ap-pa-da-an* and occurs in the inscription of Artaxerxes Mnemon, line 8. See Bezold, *Die Achämenideninschriften*, p. 44.

ܐܨܛܒܐ, ܐܨܛܒܐ *ἀκόνβιτον, couch*, 51. 6, 12.

ܐܩܐ *ἀκμή, age*, p. 10. 16; 14. 14. D has ܐܩܐ p. 14, note 7.

ܐܬܬܚܠ p. 181. 10. I do not know the meaning of this word in this passage; it is probably corrupt. ܐܬܚܟ usually means "architect," and has been thought by some to be derived from the two Assyrian words *arad ĕgal* "man, or servant, of the palace."

ܐܬܚܝܟܗ *architects*, p. 74. 4. This word is explained in this passage by ܕܟ ܢܓܪܐ "chiefs of carpenters."

ܐܬܕܡܝܗ p. 268. 14. I do not know the meaning of this word in this passage.

ܐܬܐܡܠ. Ethpa"al part. ܡܐܬܐܡܠ *to be made, or become a widow*, p. 244. 9.

ܐܬܗܝܟܠ for ܐܬܗܬܠ (?) p. 42. 15.

ܐܓܓܪܐ Chald. ܐܫܓܪܐ *acacia wood*, p. 8. 4.

ܐܦܐ. ܐܦܐ *adder* (?) p. 266. 2; plur. ܐܦܐ p. 275. 2.

ܐܦܐ *would that!* p. 26. 10; 96. 14; 224. 9.

ܒܐ Pĕ"il part. pass. plur. ܒܝܢ p. 46. 4.

ܒܗܝܠܐ f. ἄθλησις, *athletic exercise*, p. 110. 10; 111. 5.

ܒܟ. Pa"ĕl ܒܟܟ *to complain*, p. 36. 20; 37. 13, 14. Part. plur. masc. ܡܒܟܟܝܢ p. 38. 3; ܡܒܟܟܝܢ ܡܒܟܟܝܢ *to complain bitterly*, p. 37. 13.

ܒܟܐ *blame*, p. 36. 4.

ܒܨ. Pa"ĕl ܒܨܨ *to spy out, to search out*, p. 3. 16. Part. masc. ܡܒܨܨ p. 10. 10.

ܡܒܨܨܐ *scout*, p. 3. 14.

ܒܬܟ. Eshtafal ܐܬܒܬܟ *to boast*, p. 40. 7; 62. 13.

ܓܕܫܒܬܐ *boasting*, p. 83. 6.

ܓܐ Pers. بز, *goat*, p. 211. 8.

ܓܐܒܐ, ܓܐܒܐ Arab. باز *hawk*, p. 14. 11; 15. 7.

ܓܐܓܐ *castanets*, p. 89. 21.

ܓܐܩܒܐ *trumpet*, plur. ܓܐܩܒܐ p. 134. 21; 161. 20; ܓܐܩܒܐ p. 134. 16; 261. 14.

ܓܐ. ܓܐ *watchtower*, p. 261. 3.

ܓܐ ܓܐܠܟܐ *place for walking*, p. 39. 15.

ܓܐ ܓܢܐ *armoury*, p. 147. 10.

ܓܐ ܓܟܐ *treasure house*, p. 77. 8.

ܓܐ ܓܠܦܢ *school*, p. 38. 5.

ܓܐ ܓܠܕܐ *birthday*, p. 146. 19; *horoscope*, p. 9. 9, 10; 10. 10; 27. 2. ܡܟ ܓܐ ܓܠܕܐ *casters of nativities*, p. 7. 6.

ܓܐ ܓܩܨ ܫܡܝܐ *place of the ends of heaven*, p. 260. 1.

ܓܐ ܓܪܟܐ *hippodrome*, p. 42. 9; 43. 5; 46. 14; 49. 12; 245. 12, 17; 246. 1.

ܓܐ ܓܪܐ *stable*, 38. 16.

ܓܒܠ. ܓܒܠ *decrepit*, p. 30. 4.

ܓܢ. ܓܢܐ *consolation*, p. 30. 15.

ܒܠ Assyrian Bêl, Heb. בֵּל, Βήλ, *the god Bel*, p. 20. 6; 22. 6; 27. 14. The native lexicons say that Bel is ܒܗ but B glosses this name twice (p. 22. 2; 27. 22) by ܙܐܦܛܪ *Jupiter*.

ܒܠܕܐ Pers. برید, *letter carrier*, plur. ܒܠܕܐ p. 157. 10.

ܒܪܬܐ *palace*, p. 236. 12; 268. 8. The Assyrian form of the word is *birtu*. See Strassmaier, *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss*, p. 192 ff.

ܟܠܒܬܐ *wood worm*, p. 219. 18.

ܟܘܟܒ *Venus*, p. 27. 13; ܟܘܟܒ p. 21. 1, 3; 26. 7.

ܒܢ. Pa"êl part. pass. ܡܒܘܢܝ ܒܬܪ *built with oxen* (?) p. 105. 1.

ܒܙܥ. Part. pass. ܒܙܝܥ *despised*, p. 21. 8.

Af'êl ܐܒܙܝܥ *to neglect*, p. 95. 6; part. ܡܒܙܝܥ p. 61. 19.

ܒܙܥܝܬ *scornfully*, p. 173. 2.

ܒܣܝܣ, ܒܣܝܣ *bases*, p. 67. 8; 218. 15.

ܒܩܩܐ see ܦܩܩܐ

ܒܪܚ. Af'êl ܐܒܪܝܚ *to go away, flee away, depart*, p. 5. 7; 170. 15.

ܒܪܒܪ. ܒܪܒܪ, ܒܪܒܪܐ *savage, wild*, plur. ܒܪܒܪܐ p. 176. 10; 180. 10; 201. 6; plur. fem. ܒܪܒܪܬܐ p. 159. 5.

ܒܫ. ܒܫܘܬ ܝܪܚܐ ܘܫܡܫܐ *failing of the sun and moon*, i.e. "eclipse"? p. 171. 2.

ܒܬܟܠܬ see ܬܟܠܬ p. 89. 10.

ܒܬ, ܒܪ, ܒܪ. ܒܬܟ. ܐܢܐ *I who am your son*, p. 54. 18.

ܒܪ ܐܘܡܐ *partners in a secret*, p. 57. 12.

ܒܪ ܒܙܐ p. 153. 9. I do not know the meaning of this word. Here the text is probably corrupt.

ܒܪ ܙܪܥܐ *armpieces*, p. 172. 5.

ܒܪ ܣܩܐ *a greave, legging*, plur. ܒܢܝ ܣܩܐ p. 129. 1; 172. 4.

ܒܪ ܒܪܬܐ *kinsman*, p. 81. 4.

ܒܪ ܓܠܝܐ *fellow learners*, p. 117. 9.

ܒܪ ܟܢܫܐ *companions, fellow travellers*, p. 82. 10.

ܒܪ ܡܗܝܪ *consort, companion*, p. 34. 16; 81. 5; 86. 1;

ܒܪ ܡܗܝܪ p. 151. 12; ܒܪ ܡܗܝܪ ܕܝ p. 152. 11.

ܒܪ ܡܠܟ *partizans*, p. 57. 16.

ܒܪ ܡܢܝܢ ܢܗܝܪܐ *son of light*, p. 86. 2.

ܒܪ ܡܥܡܪ *children of the same age*, p. 81. 11; 93. 6.

ܒܪ ܢܝܪܐ *son of the luminaries*, p. 81. 5.

ܒܪ ܨܝܡܪ *counterpart*, p. 86. 4.

ܒܪ ܩܪܒܐ *fellow soldiers*, p. 83. 4; 103. 12; 156. 9; 158. 17; 173. 2.

ܒܪ ܩܪܝܐ *officers of the palace*, p. 255. 9.

ܒܪ ܫܡܫ *daughter of the Sun*, p. 21. 6.

ܒܪܒܪܘ = Pers. كركدن *rhinoceros*? p. 211. 15.

ܓܐܘܡܛܪܝܐ γεωμετρία, *geometry*, p. 23. 15.

ܓܒ. ܓܓܘܬܐ *throat*, p. 243. 7.

ܓܕ. ܓܕܐ, Ar. جاد *luck, fortune*. ܒܥܝܐ ܓܕܐ *ill-luck*, p. 81. 7; ܓܒܪ ܓܕܐ *unlucky men*, p. 168. 5; ܓܕܐ ܓܕܐ *lucky men*, 168. 6; ܓܕ ܕܝܘܣ *the luck of Zeus*, p. 100. 11; ܓܕܐ ܕܝܡܐ *the luck or divinity of the sea*, p. 234. 13. Part. ܓܕܐ *to cut off*, p. 114. 10.

ܓܕܘܬܐ *boyhood*, p. 24. 2.

ܓܕ. ܓܕܐ *luck, chance*. ܓܕ ܕܡܝ ܓܕ ܐܠܗܐ *the luck of the gods*, p. 178. 4; 201. 11.

ܓܗ. Ethpê'êl ܐܬܓܗ *to bow oneself*, p. 257. 11; part. ܡܬܓܗ p. 260. 13.

ܓܘ *commonwealth*, p. 120. 2, 6.

ܓܘ. ܓܘܒܐ *scarcity*, p. 121. 14.

ܒܣ. ܡܒܣܚܢܐ *jester*, p. 51. 5.

ܒܐܘܬܩܐ γλωσσόκομον, *coffin*, p. 250. 8.

ܒܕܩ. Af'él ܐܒܕܩ *to dare*, p. 91. 16.

ܒܕܝܩ, ܒܘܕܝܩܐ *audacious one*, p. 116. 2.

ܒܘܕܝܩܘܬܐ *insolence, impudence*, p. 117. 18.

ܒܘܥ. ܒܘܥܐ *pit*, p. 27. 16; 28. 2; 29. 12; 30. 11; plur. ܒܘܥܬܐ p. 132. 4.

ܓܡܘܣܐ, Pers. گاومیش, گامیش, *buffalo*, plur. ܓܡܘܣܐ (ܓܡܘܕܐ) p. 212. 2.

ܓܙ. Pĕ'al part. pass. ܓܙ p. 50. 14; plur. ܓܙܝܢ p. 50. 12.

ܓܚ. ܓܚܬܐ ܓܚ *disgrace*, p. 229. 17.

ܓܘܦܣ, ܓܘܦܣܐ γύψος, *gypsum*, p. 193. 3, 7.

ܓܝܨ Ar. جَصّ *lime*, p. 138. 14; 146. 12; 206. 14.

ܓܝܪ. ܓܝܪܐ *actually, really, of a certainty*, p. 10. 6; 16. 7; ܓܝܪܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܓܝܪܐ ܒܗ p. 11. 17.

ܓܒ ܦܝܠ *elephant's tusk, ivory*, p. 8. 3; 182. 8; 211. 13; 218. 14; ܟܣ ܓܒ ܦܝܠ *ivory cups*, p. 250. 16.

ܓܕ. ܓܕܐ *spy*, (= ܓܕܐ) p. 3. 3, 13; 4. 3.

ܓܕܫ. ܓܕܫ ܓܫܪ *to construct a bridge*, p. 206. 2.

ܓܕܐ *desert*, p. 21. 11.

ܓܠ, ܓܠ *to rise up*, p. 269. 4. ܓܠ ܒܗ ܕܚܠܬܐ *thoughts were stirring in her*, p. 25. 13. Cf. also ܓܠ ܕܚܠܬܐ ܕܐܙܠ ܠܐܬܪܐ *the thought that he would go to*

Bagdad arose in Mâr Yabalâhâ. See Bedyan, *Histoire de Mar Jab-Alaha*, Paris, 1888, p. 29, l. 7.

ܓܐ, ܓܐ. ܓܐ *watcher, spy*, plur. ܓܐ p. 258. 11; 272. 22; ܓܐ p. 272. 18, 19. ܓܐ ܕܫܥܬܐ *watcher of the hours*, (= τὸν ὡροσκόπον, Meusel, p. 708, l. 35) p. 8. 12; 9. 6.

ܓܐ *spear*. ܟܠܗ ܕܐ ܕܚܕ ܒܐ ܕܐ (p. 42. 6) = δόρατί σε λήψομαι (Müller, p. 18, col. 2, l. 18; Meusel, p. 718, l. 31) and we have ܟܠܗ ܕܐ p. 100. 14. ܟܠܗ ܕܐ is glossed in B by ܫܘܚ ܕܐ "*tip of my spear*."

ܓܠ. ܓܠ *timid*, p. 119. 15; plur. fem. ܓܠ p. 117. 12.

ܓܠ *fear, timidity*, p. 4. 13; 117. 14.

ܓܠ *timidly, fearfully*, p. 3. 16.

ܓܕ. ܓܕ *razor*, p. 23. 10.

ܓܠ. ܓܠ plur. ܓܠ, ܓܕ ܓܠ *few earthquakes*, p. 72. 20.

ܓܐ. ܓܐ *Aquarius*, p. 22. 4.

ܓܠܒ. ܓܠܒ, Pers. and Ar. دلب *plane tree*, plur. p. 219. 7.

ܓܡ. Ethpa"al ܐܬܓܡ *to become like*, p. 17. 5.

ܓܡ ܩܪܢ *horned*, p. 20. 8.

ܓܡ. ܓܡ *sleeping*, p. 12. 8; ܓܡ p. 11. 18.

ܓܡ. Pa"él part. ܓܡ *weeping*, p. 54. 2.

ܓܐ = ܓܐ *brook, stream*, p. 261. 1; 268. 17.

ܓ. ܓ *little, small*, plur. ܓ p. 2. 11; plur. fem. ܓ p. 2. 11.

ܕܲܝܩܢܵܝܶܐ *decani (the thirty-six)*, p. 8. 17.

ܕܒܒ. ܡܕܲܒܒܵܢ *crafty, cunning*, plur. fem. ܡܕܲܒܒܵܢܬ p. 236. 1.

ܕܒܪ. Pa"ēl part. pass. ܡܕܲܒܲܪ *trained, skilled*, p. 25. 10; plur. ܡܕܲܒܲܪܶ p. 39. 6; ܕܲܒܲܪ *they talked*, p. 11. 11; 27. 8.

ܕܶܒܽܘܪ *training, practice*, p. 25. 6; 35. 18; 36. 7.

ܡܕܲܒܪܽܘܬܵܐ *skill*, p. 3. 1; 25. 8.

ܒܘܟܪ *bloom, flower*, p. 93. 11.

ܒܝܬܢ *half-bred*, p. 18. 7.

ܓܕܫ. ܓܕܽܘܫ *guide*, plur. ܓܕܽܘܫܶ p. 183. 5; ܓܕܽܘܫܵܐ p. 183. 20.

ܓܘܫ. ܓܘܫ ܠܗ ܓܒ *to come to one's senses, regain self-possession*, p. 16. 17.

ܗܝܟܠ, ܗܝܟܠ, Accadian E-GAL, Heb. הֵיכָל *palace, hall*, p. 2. 9; 4. 9; 17. 6, 13; 58. 13; 70. 8; 71. 2; 98. 14; 99. 5; 105. 2; 126. 12; 202. 11; 216. 3; 247. 15. Plur. ܗܝܟܠܶ p. 108. 1; 113. 3; 147. 2; 206. 13; 231. 11. ܗܝܟܠ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ "*royal palace*," p. 6. 6.

ܙܓܣ. Af'ēl ܐܙܓܶܣ *to overlook*, p. 142. 3.

ܙܓܪܢ *ἡνίοχος charioteer*, plur. ܙܓܪܢܶ p. 46. 7. This word is glossed in B by ܡܕܲܒܪܟܠ ܪܟܒ̈ܐ *drivers of chariots*.

ܚܦܣ. Part. pē'il pass. ܚܦܝܣ *perverse*; plur. ܚܦܝܣܶ p. 126. 17; ܓܲܪܡܹ̈ܐ ܚܦܝܣ ܥܒܕ *whose bones ought to be dug up*, p. 115. 16.

ܛܘܒ *coffin*, p. 138. 16.

ܛܒܥ. ܛܒܽܥ *what is right, fitting*, p. 36. 11, 18; 37. 18; 93. 4; 240. 4.

ܛܒܥܝܬ *rightly, fittingly*, p. 53. 6; 103. 17; 138. 1; 155. 10.

ܛܘܓ. *limit*, p. 165. 12; *confines*, p. 195. 1; ܠܛܒܪ ܕܡܪܟܒܬܗ "*close to his chariot*," p. 48. 5.

ܝܬ. ܝܬܢ plur. ܝܬ̈ܢ *articles of sale*, p. 75. 14.

ܝܠ. ܝܠ *bell*, plur. ܝ̈ܠ p. 262. 14, 16.

ܝܠܝܛܐ *glass*, p. 138. 17, 19.

ܝܬܒ. Adv. ܝܬܒܬ *rightly*, p. 137. 15; 151. 5.

ܟܓܝ. Ethpa"al ܐܬܟܓܝ ܠ *to guard, care for*, p. 32. 9.

ܡܬܟܓܝܬܐ *care*, p. 183. 14.

ܟܓܝܬ *carefully*, p. 131. 10.

ܟܓܐ *light*, p. 132. 1.

ܟܢܬ *corner*, plur. ܟ̈ܢܬ p. 219. 20.

ܠܘ *ζυγόν, a suit*, ܣܟ ܠܘ ܟܣܝ ܟܕܝܬ *one suit of Persian clothes*, p. 147. 13; ܠܘ ܚܘܪ ܟܕܝܬ *a suit of white clothes*, p. 147. 16.

ܠܘ *to grasp, to hold tightly*, p. 101. 12.

ܚܦܢ *fist*. ܚܦܢ ܡܠܐ *handful*, p. 88. 15; 94. 14, 16.

ܡܣ. ܡܣܛܝ *scarlet*, plur. ܡܣܛ̈ܐ p. 43. 13.

ܢܐܣ p. 101. 5. The meaning of this word is unknown to me.

ܢܨ. ܢܨ, *conqueror*, plur. ܢ̈ܨܐ p. 229. 16.

ܡܢܨܚܢܘܬܐ *defeat*, p. 135. 19; 136. 15; 158. 2; 161. 18; 170. 15; 229. 5.

ܠ ܡܢܨܚܘܬܐ *invincibility*, p. 1. 14.

ܥܠ. ܥܠܛܢܝܬ *lustfully*, p. 7. 12.

ܟܟܝܐ *oyster shell.* ܦܬܟ ܟܟܝ *tails of oyster shells*, p. 178. 8; ܟܝܢ ܕܟܟܝ *oystershell vessels*, p. 190. 6.

ܟܘܡܐ p. 207. 6. This word is glossed in B by ܟܘܡܐ, Ar. جَمَاعَة *troop, band.*

ܟܕܟܕ *emerald*, plur. ܟܕܟܕ p. 9. 4.

ܟܨ Ar. زِفْت, Heb. זֶפֶת *pitch*, p. 193. 3.

ܟܪ. ܟܪ, Ar. زَقّ *bag*, plur. ܟܪ p. 205. 8; 206. 1.

ܟܪ. Infin. ܟܘܪ *to weave*, p. 114. 8; part. fem. ܟܪ p. 113. 5; 114. 7; part. pass. ܟܪ *woven*, p. 129. 1; fem. ܟܪ p. 224. 15; plur. ܟܪ p. 218. 12.

ܟܝ. ܟܝ *crowd, swarm*, p. 81. 16; 216. 2; plur. ܟܝ p. 92. 3.

ܟܟ, Ar. خَجَل, Heb. חֲגָלָה, *partridge*, plur. ܟܟ p. 179. 1.

ܟܟ. ܟܟ *gladly, joyfully*, p. 63. 1.

ܟܟ. ܟܟ *mendicity, begging*, p. 20. 7.

ܟܟ *circles*, p. 8. 5.

ܟ, ܟ *to be ashamed*, p. 94. 7.

ܟ. ܟ *demonstration*, p. 30. 11.

ܟ ܟ *those who show the Signs of the Zodiac*, p. 5. 4.

ܟ. ܟ *mercy*, p. 105. 14.

ܟ. ܟ *quickly*, p. 90. 4; 158. 3.

ܟ. ܟ, ܟ *spectator*, plur. ܟ p. 46. 1.

ܟ *the bow of a boat* (?), p. 205. 1.

ܟ *apple*, plur. ܟ p. 217. 5.

ܟ *wild pig, boar*, p. 177. 5; plur. ܟ p. 174. 11.

ܟ. ܟ *rod, stick*, p. 4. 12. In D the word is masculine.

ܟ. ܟ *a creature half beast half man*, p. 177. 5.

ܟ. ܟ *the Sciences.* ܟ ܟ ܟ p. 95. 11.

ܟ p. 9. 6. The meaning of this word is unknown to me.

ܟ. ܟ *union, mixing, mixture*, p. 66. 14; 72. 15.

ܟ. ܟ, plur. ܟ *gems*, p. 8. 13, 15; 26. 1.

ܟ *wheel*, p. 101. 11.

ܟ. ܟ *angrily, wrathfully*, p. 21. 4; 221. 7.

ܟ. ܟ *bosom*, p. 130. 9, 14.

ܟ. Infin. ܟ *to embalm*, p. 151. 7.

ܟ. Pa"êl part. ܟ *innocent*, p. 6. 8.

ܟ. ܟ *parsimony*, p. 38. 1.

ܟ. Ethpĕ"êl ܟ *to be weaned*, p. 23. 4.

ܟ. ܟ *heavily, mightily, violently*, p. 51. 17; 94. 9; 159. 11. Pam"êl ܟ *to be strong, bear bravely*, p. 20. 2; 21. 9.

ܟ *bravely*, p. 22. 1.

ܟ. ܟ, ܟ *needy, poor*, p. 12. 9; 136. 13.

ܟ *need, lack*, p. 12. 10; 28. 12.

ܟ. ܟ *diligently, earnestly*, p. 11. 13; 78. 4.

ܟ *one who incites or urges on to anything*, p. 61. 4.

ܟ. ܟ, Ar. حَفْنَة, Heb. חֹפֶן, *fist.* ܟ ܟ *handful*, p. 88. 12.

ܟܨ. Af'êl part. ܡܟܨܝܢ *to act audaciously or daringly*, p. 191. 1.

ܨܒܝܐ, ܨܒܝ *impudent*, p. 89. 2; 116. 1; 119. 11; plur. fem. ܨܒܝܬܐ *impudent things*, p. 211. 1.

ܨܒܝܐܝܬ *audaciously*, p. 150. 1.

ܣܕܪܐ Ar. حِرْذُون, *crocodile*, plur. ܣܕܪܐ p. 176. 1.

ܣܕܐ *to wag the tail*, p. 33. 7.

ܣܕܝ. ܣܕܝܬ *cruelly*, p. 30. 4.

ܣܕܪ. ܣܕܝܪ *astute*, p. 76. 11.

ܣܕܩ. ܣܕܝܩ, ܣܕܝܩܐ *pungent, sharp*, p. 93. 15; 95. 2; plur. ܣܕܝܩܝ p. 88. 16; 94. 18.

ܣܕܝܩܘܬܐ *sagacity*, p. 79. 17.

ܣܕܝܩܘܬ ܡܠܬܐ *sharpness of speech*, p. 57. 2; *intentness*, p. 7. 10.

ܣܕܝܩܝܬ *sharply.* ܐܬܦܨܐ ܣܕܝܩܝܬ *he was furiously angry*, p. 59. 1.

ܣܕ̈. ܣܕ̈ܐ *sorcerers*, p. 7. 6. A name given by the Greeks to the Signs of the Zodiac.

ܣܥܠ. ܨܥܠܐ, plur. ܨܥܠܬܐ *trinkets*, p. 141. 2.

ܣܥܝܟ *polished*, p. 2. 7.

ܣܦ. ܣܦܝ ܪܘܚܐ *purse-proud*, p. 57. 8.

ܣܩ. ܣܩܝܒܐ *exactly*, p. 27. 1; *accurately*, p. 56. 19; 212, 12; 232. 20; 238. 13; *intently*, p. 131. 8; *in good order*, p. 93. 10; *promptly*, p. 5. 11.

ܣܩܝܕܘܬܐ *earnestness*, p. 7. 9.

ܥܕ. Ethpe'êl ܐܬܥܕܝ *to be reported*, p. 29. 1. Glossed in B by ܡܬܡܠܠ ܒܦܘܡ *always to be spoken of.*

ܥܒܝܬܐ for ܥܒܝܕܐ (?) *dish*, p. 51. 13.

ܥܒܝܕܐ *table*, p. 25. 16. Glossed in B by ܕܝܢ ܕܥܒܝܕ ܒܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܐ ܕܦܘܩ ܥܠ ܐܦ ܕܡܐ *a drum, or a board like the surface of a wide drum.*

ܥܕ̈. ܥܕ̈ܐ *race, kin*, p. 18. 2; 13. 9; 42. 2; 66. 8; 81. 4; 105. 4; 107. 6; plur. ܥܕ̈ܐ p. 1. 5; 66. 12; ܟܠ ܥܕ̈ܐ *every species*, p. 173. 12; ܥܕ̈ܐ ܕ *kinsman*, p. 81. 4; ܒܪ ܥܕ̈ܐ ܕ ܐܠܗܐ *son of the divine race*, p. 104. 5; ܥܕ̈ܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ p. 13. 9; 66. 12; ܥܕ̈ܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܕܡ p. 83. 8.

ܥܕ̈ܐ *enclosure*, p. 185. 19; 186. 4.

ܥܒܕ̈ܐ p. 259. 1. The meaning of this word is unknown to me.

ܥܠ. Af'êl part. ܡܥܠ *overshadowing*, p. 15. 8; ܡܥܠ p. 172. 12; ܡܥܠܠ p. 172. 23.

ܡܥܠܠܬܐ *huts*, p. 164. 10.

ܥܥܠܐ *roof*, p. 138. 15; 218. 10; 219. 6; plur. ܡܥܠܐ p. 209. 11.

ܥܟܒܐ *talent*, p. 74. 10; plur. ܥܟܒ̈ܐ p. 63. 23; 74. 10; 115. 20; 116. 16; 200. 19; ܥܟܒ̈ܐ 74. 18; ܥܟܒ̈ܐ 200. 8; ܡܥܟܒ̈ܐ 63. 13; ܥܟܒ̈ܐ 115. 10; 116. 2.

ܥܡ. Ethpa"al ܐܬܥܟܡ *to be obstructed, choked, filled up*, p. 69. 16; Pa"êl Infin. ܠܡܥܟܡܡ p. 208. 14.

ܥܡܝܩ *solid*, p. 233. 10; plur. masc. ܥܡܝܩ 233. 7; fem. ܥܡܝܩܬ 211. 8.

ܒܥܝ. Pĕ'al part. pass. ܒܥܝ *excited*, p. 241. 12.

ܒܥܝܠܐ τραγῳδός, *singer*, plur. ܒܥܝܠܐ p. 78. 11.

ܒܪܐ Ar. ظِرّ *rock*, plur. ܒܪܐ p. 178. 5.

ܒܪܒܝܣܝܐ τρισκελής, *tripod*, p. 8. 9; ܒܪܒܝܣܟܠܝ p. 98. 23; 106. 8; ܒܪܒܝܣܟܠܝ p. 98. 19; 99. 3.

ܒܪ, ܒܪܐ. ܒܪ ܠܒܪ ܒܪ *to yield to anyone*, p. 204. 5; ܒܪ ܒܪ ܐܝܕܐ ܠܗ ܙܒܢܐ *time has given him the hand, i.e., fortune is his slave*, p. 124. 18; ܒܪ ܒܪ ܘܒܪ ܠܡܚܕ ܠܡܚܕ ܒܪ ܐܙܠ *he went on to tell severally*, p. 218. 3.

ܒܪܐ. ܒܪ ܕܪܙܐ *knowers of signs*, p. 7. 5.

ܒܪ ܚܠܡܐ *knowers of dreams*, p. 16. 6.

ܒܪ ܩܠܐ *portent*, p. 87. 17.

ܒܪ. ܒܪ ܕܡ ܒܪ *birthmark*, p. 33. 9.

ܒܟ. ܒܪ ܠܒܐ *words learned by heart*, p. 107. 11.

ܒܪ *sea*. ܒܪ ܡܪܝܪ *fœtid sea*, p. 256. 12; 257. 2; 259. 11; 260. 2.

ܒܪ ܢܝܗܪ *bright sea*, p. 260. 2; plur. ܒܪ 256. 9; 259. 5.

ܒܪ. ܒܪ ܗܕܐ *this oath*, p. 42. 2.

ܒܪ. Af'êl ܐܒܪ *to make to spring up*, p. 4. 12.

ܒܪ. ܒܪ *care*, p. 23. 1.

ܒܪ *care*, p. 26. 6.

ܒܪ. ܒܪ *honourably*, p. 60. 5.

ܒܪ. Eshtaf'al ܐܬܒܪ *to increase*, p. 23. 4.

ܒܪ. ܒܪ *seat used by women in childbirth*, p. 19. 13.

ܒܪ. Ethpa'al ܐܬܒܪ *to become an orphan*, p. 244. 8.

ܒܪ. ܒܪ *superiority*, p. 20. 5.

ܒܪ. *useful*, p. 3. 13.

ܒܪ, Assyrian *ka-ai-ma-nu*, Ar. كَيْوَان, Heb. כִּיּוּן *Saturn*, p. 19. 15; 20. 4; 27. 12; ܒܪ ܒܪ *fate of Saturn, i.e., ill luck*, p. 40. 11.

ܒܪ. *to disgrace*, p. 91. 10.

ܒܪ *disgrace, reproach, shame*, p. 93. 5; 105. 7; 139. 13; 229. 3.

ܒܪ *sulphur*, p. 193. 3.

ܒܪ. ܒܪ *lying, falsehood*, p. 6. 16.

ܒ. *to yoke*, p. 46. 14; Pĕ'îl part. pass. plur. ܒܪ p. 49. 16; 143. 4.

ܒܪ *eagle*, plur. ܒܪ p. 176. 3.

ܒ, Ar. كُوّ *window*, p. 260. 3; ܒ p. 260. 7.

ܒ *ingots*, p. 171. 7.

ܒ *furnace*. ܒ ܒ *smith's furnace*, p. 161. 8.

ܒ. ܒ *shame*, p. 89. 2.

ܒ. ܒ ܒ *handwriting*, p. 270. 15; 275. 7. خط يد Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 61 *b*, col. 1.

ܒ *tooth*, ܒ *teeth*, p. 190. 3, 5.

ܒ Chald. ܒܪܒܘܫܬܐ *ferret*, p. 217. 9. M. Duval (*Journal Asiatique*, 8ième Série, t. XIII, p. 351, note 1) translates this

word by *ichneumon*. These animals were eaten by the ancients in times of famine. Compare لسعدة معكنة مكمعتكة مع حده كبدده Bedjan, *Histoire de Mar-Alaha*, p. 177. 7.

حكنة, plur. جكنة Ar. كلّاب *tongs*, p. 161. 11.

جلذة *augur, soothsayer*, p. 78. 2; plur. جلذة p. 75. 9, 11, 18; أفله جلذة *Apollo the augur*, p. 78. 2; حلذة مع *Egyptian soothsayers*, p. 75. 9.

جلذمة *augury, divination*, p. 19. 8; 76. 17; 98. 19; 99. 3; 110. 3; 114. 1; 210. 7, 14.

ڪ عمبه لجلذمة *a woman unworthy of the office of divination*, p. 113. 13.

Af'êl infin. لجحلذه *to divine*, p. 109. 7.

جلمه *chlamys, cloak*, p. 224. 14.

حمد. Ethpĕ'êl ءحمد *to be sad*, p. 94. 6.

حمدمة *gloominess*, p. 246. 6; ڤ حمدمة *gloomy face*, p. 61. 13.

حمدة *priest*, plur. حمدة p. 147. 18.

حمدة *priestess*, p. 113. 5, 10, 12; 114. 2, 12, 13; 122. 10.

حمدمة *office of priestess*, p. 114. 1, 12.

حمد intrans. *to be assembled*, p. 43. 5; 60. 10; 62. 19.

حقة, حقة *small boxes*, p. 211. 12. Glossed in B by تحبقة

حوذة *asphalt, bitumen*, p. 2. 10; 4. 11.

جذ. Pers. خر *ass*, p. 211. 8.

حذ. part. pass. *mean, little*, حذ حمعة *in stature small*, p. 163. 6.

Af'êl ءحذ *to be grieved*, p. 94. 7.

حذة *ploughed lands*, p. 68. 1.

حذ Pĕ'il part. plur. حذحي *surrounding, encircling*, p. 69. 6; 70. 5.

Ethpĕ'êl ءحذء *to roll* of an egg, *to go round, to encircle*, p. 18. 11, 12; 66. 18; 171. 5; 187. 10; part. محذء 19. 1, 7; 76. 13; 179. 7; محذحذ p. 101. 11; infin. لمحذحذه 183. 4.

Af'êl *to surround with, to bind*, p. 268. 8, 11.

حذمة *a bend or turning*, p. 146. 13; جسمة حذمة *the farthest point* of a chariot course, p. 46. 16, 17.

حذ. حذمحذمة *impatience*, p. 117. 18.

جذة *legs of a couch or table*, p. 218. 13.

جذ *green*, plur. جذة p. 43. 14.

حذ *to pile up*, p. 264. 15.

حذ. جحبذبة *excellently, properly*, p. 3. 15.

جذ *linen*, p. 5. 3; plur. جذة p. 15. 4, 17; 56. 20.

حذ. Ethpa'al part. محذحذ *striving, contending*, p. 13. 2. حقة محذحذ *importunate with voice*, = συρισμὸν πέμπων.

حبعمة *worry, strife*, p. 81. 16.

لحذ. لحبذبه *courageously*, p. 3. 16.

لحذ. Part. pĕ'il لحبذ *frozen*, p. 134. 8.

لحذ. Part. pĕ'il لحبع (transitive), *to hold*, (like نسبع p. 21. 10); 19. 14; 33. 6.

ܡܫܠ. Pa"êl part. ܡܫܠܒ *fitting, fitted*, p. 101. 11; 138. 18.

ܫܠ *to mutter charms*, p. 14. 12.

ܫܠ. ܫܠ *sharp, pointed*, p. 205. 2.

ܫܠ *tip, point (of a spear)*, p. 42. 5; 100. 14.

ܫܠ p. 224. 13. The meaning of this word is unknown to me.

ܠܡܝܢ λιμήν, *harbour*, p. 39. 9.

ܫܠ λεκάνη, *bowl, basin*, p. 2. 9, 11, 14, 15; 4. 10; 29. 1; plur. ܫܠ p. 190. 6.

ܡܚܠ *pus*, p. 256. 16.

ܡܓܓ μάγειρος *cook*, p. 51. 15.

ܡܕܕ Ar. مَدَر, Ethiopic ምድር: *earth*, p. 208. 13.

ܡܡܫܠ (ܡܫܠ p. 59. 20) *whip*, p. 15. 7; 16. 2, 3; 59. 3. The Egyptian 𓎛 *χu* is here referred to.

ܡܢܝ monêta, *money*, p. 145. 17; 146. 1.

ܡܡ Ar. مسك, ܡܡ *musk skins*, p. 200. 11.

ܡܠ. Ethpa'al part. ܡܡ *to be mixed*, p. 138. 13.

ܡܫ. Ethpë'êl ܐܬܝܫ *to be weary*, p. 162. 13.

ܡܫ *reluctant?* p. 129. 10. This word is probably corrupt.

ܡܡ *the name of a tree*, p. 186. 7.

ܡܡ *the name of a tree*, p. 186. 6.

ܡܡ μέταξα, *silk*, p. 218. 12.

ܡ ܫ p. 200. 8. The meaning of this word is unknown to me.

ܡܫ. ܡܫ *exactly, fully*, p. 90. 1.

ܡܫ. ܡܫ *royally*, p. 221. 16.

ܡܫ. ܡܫ, plur. ܡܫ *signs of the Zodiac*, p. 5. 4; 8. 8; 20. 2; 26. 7; 27. 15; 29. 4; 30. 11; 275. 3.

ܡ. ܡ *counter of stars, astrologer*, p. 7. 8; plur. ܡ p. 7. 6. A name given to the Signs of the Zodiac by the Greeks.

ܡ, *string of a harp*, plur. ܡ p. 237. 16.

ܡ p. 101. 5. The meaning of this word is unknown to me.

ܡ = ܡ = μηλοπέπονες (?), *melons*, p. 217. 7.

ܡ. Pa'êl ܡ *to put in the middle*, p. 48. 3.

ܡ *mediator*, p. 58. 4. ܐ ܡ *I am in the midst, i. e., I am mediator*, p. 54. 6.

ܡ. ܡ *gall*, p. 48. 11. ܡ ܗ ܡ *his gall was stirred up in him*, p. 41. 11.

ܡ, ܡ, plur. ܡ *satraps, lords*, p. 55. 16; 56. 3. This word is glossed in B by نَجيبان *nobility*, p. 55. 21.

ܡ = ܡ *to glance off, turn aside*, p. 68. 8.

ܡ, ܡ *jar*, p. 130. 8.

ܡ *to knead*, p. 268. 10.

ܡ *rhinoceros*, p. 211. 15.

ܡ. ܡ *age, class (of men)*, p. 103. 5.

ܡ *name of some large amphibious animal*, p. 175. 9.

ܡ. Ethpë'êl ܐܬܡ *to straighten oneself out*, p. 17. 10.

ܢ *Nebo*, p. 21. 9; 27. 14. Glossed in B by ܡ *Mercury*, p. 21. 20; 27. 21.

ܐܙܠ. *to start forth*, p. 43. 18. **ܐܙܙ** may be a corruption of **ܐܙܐ** or **ܐܣܐ**

ܐܙܙ. Ethpalp. **ܐܬܐܙܙ** *to be on fire, to burn*, p. 6. 10; part. **ܡܐܬܐܙܙ** *blazing*, p. 131. 19.

ܐܛܠ. **ܐܛܠ**, *scythe*, plur. **ܐܛܠܐ** p. 134. 11; 135. 6.

ܐܬܪ. **ܟܘܟܒܐ** *star, luminary*, p. 182. 1; plur. 81. 5.

ܟܘܟܒܝܬܐ *brightness*, p. 119. 4.

ܒܣܝܡ. **ܒܣܝܡܘܬܐ** *gentleness, quiet*, p. 22. 3.

ܒܣܝܡܐ *quietly*, p. 32. 15.

ܒܪܬ Pisces, p. 22. 4.

ܓܒܐ. Afʿêl **ܐܓܒܐ** *to wave, brandish*, p. 58. 7.

ܓܒܒܘܬܐ Pers. تخجير *a hunt*, p. 107. 4.

ܓܒܒܐ, plur. **ܓܒܒܐ** *hunters*, p. 212. 1.

ܓܘܓܐ *cage*, p. 100. 16, 18.

ܓܙ. Paʿêl part. **ܡܓܙܙ** *men tried or expert in war*, p. 92. 2; **ܡܓܙܙ** for **ܡܓܙܐ** p. 100. 12.

ܓܘܓܠ Libra, *balance, scales*, p. 19. 15; 20. 8.

ܓܕܫ. **ܓܕܫ ܐܢܬܬܐ** *to take a wife*, p. 58. 17; 106. 2; 154. 4; **ܒܥܝ ܠܗ ܓܕܫ ܐܢܬܬܐ** *he wished to take to wife*, p. 50. 11; **ܐܬܠ ܠܓܒܪ ܐܚܪ ܓܕܫ ܐܢܬܬܐ** *I will give her to another king to wife*, p. 50. 17; **ܓܕܫ ܐܢܬܬܐ** *divorced*, p. 50. 9; **ܐܓܕܫ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܐܚܪܬܐ ܠܓܒܪ** *to take another woman to wife*, p. 53. 9.

ܡܫܬܕܐ *taking and giving*, p. 36. 10. Talm. and

Rabb. מְסַב וּמְיַתֵּן; Ar. اخذ وعطا Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 81 *a*, col. 1.

ܡܨܥ. Pʿîl part. **ܡܨܥ** *cast (of images)*, p. 138. 18.

ܥܘܒܐ *raven*, plur. **ܥܘܒܐ** p. 176. 10.

ܦܩܕ. Paʿêl part. **ܡܦܩܕ** *exercised, trained*, p. 25. 8.

ܣܘܣܐ ܡܦܩܕܐ *trained horses*, p. 39. 6; **ܦܝܠ ܡܦܩܕ** *elephants trained in war*, p. 231. 17.

ܡܦܩܢܘܬܐ *exercise, training*, p. 39. 3.

ܩܒܪ. **ܩܒܪܐ** *tomb, sepulchral monument*, p. 68. 14, 15. **ܩܒܪ ܬܐܘܕܝ** = Ταπόσειρις of Strabo.

ܩܝܣ. Afʿêl part. plur. **ܡܩܝܣܝܢ** *clear*, p. 26. 17, 18.

ܩܝܣܝܬ *gloriously*, p. 49. 11.

ܩܝܣܛܐ *victory*, p. 25. 10.

ܩܛܝ. **ܩܛܝ ܓܝܣ** *bodyguard*, p. 129. 4.

ܩܛ. **ܩܛܘܬܐ** *cup, vessel*, plur. **ܩܛܝܩܝ** p. 190. 7.

ܩܛܩ. **ܩܛܩ** *the den of an animal*, p. 192. 4; plur. **ܩܛܩܐ** *holes*, p. 132. 4.

ܩܛܠ. Afʿêl **ܐܩܛܠ.** **ܐܩܛܠ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܪܫ ܠܡܐܡܪ** *he went on to tell from the beginning*, p. 28. 18; **ܐܩܛܠ ܒܚܕ ܒܚܕ ܠܡܐܡܪ** *he went on to tell severally*, p. 218. 3.

ܩܕܠ *axe, pick*, plur. **ܩܕܠܐ** p. 101. 4.

ܪܪ. **ܪܟܝܟܝܬ** *feebly*, p. 83. 14.

ܪܬܬ *to hiss*, p. 17. 6.

ܫܒܐ *to attract, draw*, p. 192. 9.

ܫܒܝܐ *attraction*, p. 192. 9.

ܚܕܐ. ܚܕܐ *shaving*, p. 233. 11.

ܣܦܬܐ. Ar. سَفَط *a small basket, casket or chest*, p. 8. 9.

ܐܫܕ. Afʿêl part. pass. ܡܐܫܕ *to be like unto, resemble*, p. 23. 8; 25. 11; 128. 13; ܡܐܫܕܘܬܐ p. 87. 16.

ܚܫܒ. Pĕʿil part. ܚܫܒ ܗܘܐ *he thought*, p. 58. 15.

ܡܚܫܒܬܐ *expectation*, p. 14. 10; 26. 5; 127. 1; ܗܘܐ ܡܚܫܒܬܐ *he gave the expectation*, p. 58. 6.

ܒܟ. ܒܟܝܢ *abundantly*, p. 111. 5.

ܒܝܬ ܒܟܝܢ *abundant of crops*, p. 124. 12.

ܒܝܬ ܦܠܚܐ *abundant of tillage*, p. 124. 12.

ܣܕܪ. ܣܕܪܬܐ *ordering, arranging*, p. 1. 7; 29. 4; ܣܕܪ ܡܠܬܐ *arrangement of speech*, p. 23. 14.

ܫܐܦ. ܫܐܦ *a breathing*, p. 191. 6; ܫܐܦ ܒܗ *it drew in with its breath*, p. 193. 6.

ܩܨܪ, plur. ܩܨܪܐ *palace, country house, summerhouse*, p. 18. 3; 206. 5.

ܩܛܪ. ܩܛܝܪܐ, plur. ܩܛܝܪܐ *fetters*, p. 139. 2.

ܩܛܘܪܘܣ *σάτυρος, Satyr*, p. 181. 13.

ܩܪ. ܩܪܒܐ *a bolt*, p. 268. 10.

ܪܫܥ. ܪܫܝܥܐ *offender, evildoer*, p. 82. 11; plur. ܪܫܝܥܐ p. 25. 1.

ܫܠܝܐ *σελήνη the Moon*, p. 20. 20.

ܫܪ, ܫܪ, plur. ܫܪܪܐ *paints*, p. 204. 9.

ܬܒ. Part. pĕʿil plur. ܬܒܝܢ *those that sit at meat*, p. 50. 13; 51. 15; 52. 4.

Ethpĕʿêl ܐܬܬܒ *to sit at meat*, p. 129. 19.

Afʿêl infin. ܠܡܒܬܒ *to make to sit down to meat*, p. 85. 2.

ܬܒ *table.* ܕܟܪ ܬܒ *at the head of the board*, p. 50. 14; ܬܚܬ ܐܣܛܘܣ *the lower seats*, p. 197. 11.

ܬܒܪ. Pĕʿil part. pass. ܒܝܪ p. 15. 14; ܒܝܪܬ p. 45. 4; plur. ܒܝܪܝܢ *empty*, p. 168. 9.

Paʿʿêl ܦܝܩ *to empty*, p. 8. 11.

Ethpaʿal ܐܬܦܝܩ *to be emptied, deprived of*, p. 20. 5; 21. 11; 135. 16.

ܣܒܪ. Pĕʿil part. pass. ܣܒܝܪ *decorated, splendid*, p. 13. 4; 104, 6.

ܣܦܪܐ *σάκρα letter*, p. 83. 6; 90. 10; 91. 13; 93. 1, 7; 94. 11; 115. 8; 116. 5; 145. 3; 150. 9; 152. 13; 210. 1; 226. 17; 227. 9; كتاب. رسالة Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 123 *a*, col. 2.

ܥܙ. Pĕʿil part. ܥܙ *foul*, p. 32. 6; ܥܙܐ p. 32. 7; 256. 12; 257. 2; 259. 11; 260. 2.

ܥܪܟ. ܥܪܟ, سَرْج. ܣܪܟܐ *saddles*, p. 231. 6.

ܦܚ. ܡܬܦܚܬ, plur. ܡܦܚܦܚܢܐ *alarming (of words)*, p. 117. 13.

ܦܪܟܢܘܣ *Cancer*, p. 20. 4.

ܦܪܢܐ. Ar. سرن *axle*, p. 49. 8.

ܨܐ. Paʿʿêl part. ܡܨܝܢ *founded*, p. 106. 4.

Ethpaʿal ܐܬܨܝܢ *to become firm*, p. 93. 12.

ܦܪܬ, ܦܪܬ *vine*, p. 182. 7, 19.

ܫܚܝ. ܫܚܝܬܐ *swellings*, p. 178. 15.

ܫܚܝܬܐ *thickness*, p. 205. 20.

ܟܒܫ. Shaf'êl ܐܟܒܶܫ *to subdue*, p. 60. 18; part. ܡܟܒܶܫ p. 5. 15; 64. 7.

Eshtaf'al part. ܡܶܬܟܒ̰ܫ *to be subdued*, p. 13. 18; infin. ܠܡܶܬܟܒ̰ܫܘܼ p. 52. 1.

ܟܒ̰ܫܘܼ *submission*, 124. 7.

ܟܒܶܫ. ܟܰܒ̰ܺܝܫ *dense, thick*, p. 217. 3; ܒܝܬ̰ ܟܒ̰ܺܝܫ ܕܣܟ̰ܳܐ ܕܣܟ̰ܳܐ *a place dense with foliage*, 106. 12.

ܟܕܕ. ܟܕܕ ܠܡܶܥܒܪ *to pass over to the front*, p. 44. 2; 45. 6; ܟܕܕ ܠܡܥܒܪ p. 44. 1, 8.

Af'êl ܐܰܟ̰ܕ̰ *to make to pass over*, p. 21. 3; 58. 8; 118. 8; 127. 11; 157. 7; infin. ܠܡܶܟ̰ܕ̰ܘܼ p. 72. 8; part. ܡܟ̰ܕ̰ p. 33. 13; part. plur. ܡܟ̰ܕ̰ܝܢ p. 228. 9.

Ethpĕ'êl ܐܬܬܟ̰ܕ̰ ܠܐ *impassable*; plur. ܠܐ ܡܬܬܟ̰ܕ̰ܝܢ p. 247. 5.

ܡܟ̰ܕ̰ܐ *passage*, p. 47. 8; 191. 19; 227. 18.

ܟܕ̰ܐ *corn*, p. 124. 10; 135. 6; 140. 14; 206. 7; 249. 6.

ܟܠܝ. Pe'il part. pass. plur. ܟܠܝܢ *fallen*, p. 166. 4.

ܟܢ. Af'êl part. ܡܟ̰ܢ *removing, taking away*, p. 137. 14.

ܟܣܠ. Ethpa'al ܐܬܟ̰ܙܠ *to blame*, p. 37. 13.

ܟܣܐ. Pa"êl part. ܡܟ̰ܣ̰ܐ *recovering*, p. 97. 3.

ܟܣܐ. ܟܣܺܝܐ *furious*, p. 32. 5.

ܟܦ̰ܐ. ܟ̰ܦ̰ܳܐ *hindrance*, p. 249. 8. تاخر Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 126 *b*, col. 1.

ܟܠܐ. ܟܶܠ̰ܐ *foal, colt*, p. 24. 9; ܟܶܠ̰ܐ ܕܓܕ̰ܐ p. 38. 16.

ܟܶܠ̰ܐ ܡܕܓܕ̰ܐ *trained colts*, p. 39. 6.

ܟܡܟ. Ethpĕ'êl part. pass. ܡܬܬܟ̰ܝܟ̰ *afflicted*, p. 223. 13.

ܟ̰ܝܺܟ̰ܐ *sad, sorrowful*, p. 25. 11.

ܟܙ̰ܐ. ܟ̰ܙ̰ܘܼܬ̰ *watchfulness*, p. 105. 6.

ܟܙ̰ܐ. ܓ̰ܕ̰ܝ *a goat*, ܓ̰ܕ̰ܝ ܥܩܪ̈ *ass-goats*, p. 211. 8.

ܓ̰ܕ̰ܝܬ̰ *ring*, p. 15. 5, 19.

ܟܚܡܬ̰ *thigh*, plur. ܟ̰ܚ̰ܡ̰ܬ̰ܐ p. 263. 14.

ܟܚܟ. Ethpa'al *to be arranged or wrapped in*, p. 255. 7.

Af'êl ܐܰܟ̰ܝܟ̰ *to make to return, to come back*, p. 216, 14.

ܟܡ. ܟ̰ܡ̰ܳ *mist*, p. 183. 16; 184. 1; 225. 18.

ܟܢ. ܟ̰ܢ̰ܬ̰ *vengeance*, p. 10. 11; 12. 2; 15. 1; 52. 6, 10; 60. 2; 80. 11; 138. 1; 142. 1; 224. 5.

ܟܠ. Ethpa'al ܐܬܟ̰ܠ *to enter*, p. 29. 13.

Af'êl ܐܶܟ̰ܝܠ *to bring in*, p. 32. 15.

ܟܟ. Pa"êl part. pass. ܡܟ̰ܟ̰ *exalted*, p. 136. 10; plur. ܡܟ̰ܟ̰ܝܢ p. 99. 14.

Ethpa'al ܐܬܟ̰ܟ̰ *to go up from a ship*, p. 39. 13.

ܟ̰ܟ̰ܡ̰ܬ̰ *greatness, excellence*, p. 86. 3; 142. 17.

ܟ̰ܟ̰ܐ *elevation*, p. 83. 6.

ܟܠܡ. ܟ̰ܠ̰ܡ̰ ܠ̰ܡ̰ܕ̰ *inexperienced*, p. 120. 14.

ܟܠܩ. ܟ̰ܠ̰ܩ̰ܬ̰ *locks*, p. 268. 12.

ܟܡܕ. *to set (of the sun)*, p. 187. 16; 195. 19.

ܟܡܟ. *to shroud*, p. 94. 6; 246. 6.

Af'êl ܐܶܟ̰ܡ̰ܟ̰ *to make dark*, p. 119. 4.

ܟ̰ܡ̰ܟ̰ *dense, dark*, p. 183. 15; plur. ܟ̰ܡ̰ܟ̰ܝܢ p. 185. 17.

ܥܡܝܪܐ *fog, blackness*, p. 183. 17; 192. 7; 225. 4; 233. 14; 234. 15; 235. 7.

ܥܡܝ. Pa"êl ܥܡܝ *to close* the eyes, p. 144. 2.

ܥܡܪ. Pa"êl part. ܡܥܡܪ *making to dwell*, p. 22. 2; ܡܥܡܪܢ p. 191. 3.

ܥܡܪܐ *hay*, p. 140. 15.

ܥܡܩ. ܥܡܩ p. 66. 15; ܥܡܝܩ *difficult*, p. 200. 17; plur. ܥܡܝܩܐ p. 247. 4.

ܥܡܝܩܘܬܐ *difficulty*, p. 184. 8.

ܥܦܪ. Pa"êl infin. ܡܥܦܪ *to bury*, p. 138. 7.

Ethpa'al ܐܬܥܦܪ *to be buried*, p. 164. 8.

ܥܨܩ. Pa"êl part. ܡܥܨܩ *embracing*, p. 11. 18; ܡܥܨܩܢ p. 17. 11.

ܥܩ *to restrain*, p. 20. 3.

ܥܩܕ *to press, bruise*, p. 11. 14.

ܥܪܓ. Ethpa'al ܐܬܥܪܓ *to be insolent* (?) p. 40. 8.

ܥܪܡ. Pa"êl part. plur. ܡܥܪܡܝ *crafty*, p. 126. 17.

ܡܥܪܡܡܢ, plur. ܡܥܪܡܡܬ *perverse, crafty*, p. 160. 14.

ܥܩܪܒܐ, Ar. عَقْرَب, Heb. עַקְרָב *scorpion*, plur. ܥܩܒܬܐ p. 174. 4, 14.

ܩܪ. ܩܪܐ *cold*, p. 160. 11. البرد الشديد Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 132 *b*, col. 2.

ܩܪܕ. ܩܪܕܐ *trough*, 265. 1.

ܩܪܒܬܐ. Ar. غُرَاب, Heb. עֹרֵב *raven*, ܠܠܝ ܩܪܒܬܐ *night ravens*, p. 176. 19.

ܩܪܕ. ܩܪܕܐ *mushroom*, plur. ܩܪܕܐ p. 180. 1. كماة Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, p. 132 *b*, col. 2.

ܩܪܕܐ *ass*, plur. ܩܪܕܐ p. 180. 10.

ܩܪܛܠ. adv. ܩܪܛܝܠܝܬ *naked*, p. 21. 6; 39. 5.

ܩܪܨ. ܩܪܨܐ, *a rough place*, plur. ܩܪܨܐ p. 247. 4.

ܩܪܫ *bed*, ܩܪܫܐ ܕܝܠܕܬܐ *childbed*, p. 19. 11; 21. 12. D has ܩܪܫ ܕܝܠܕܬܐ

ܩܬܡܐ Heb. עֲרָפֶל *darkness, blackness*, p. 192. 7; plur. 256. 1.

ܩܬܝ. Ethpa'al ܐܬܩܬܝ *to be afflicted*, p. 173. 7.

ܪܕܐ. Af'êl ܐܪܕܐ *to make to flee away*, p. 118. 3.

ܪܓܠ ܥܩܠ men with *twisted legs* = ἰμαντόποδες, p. 174. 22; 177. 16.

ܪܓ *to be strong*, p. 93. 6.

Pa"êl ܪܓܓ, part. plur. fem. ܡܪܓܓܬ p. 23. 11.

ܪܓܝܓ *strong, mighty*, p. 84. 9; ܓܒܪ p. 59. 19; 231. 7; ܓܒܪܐ p. 90. 5; plur. ܓܒܪܝ p. 176. 3; plur. ܓܒܪܐ p. 252. 17.

ܓܒܪܘܬܐ *strength*, p. 32. 12; 159. 6.

ܚܝܠܐ *power, strength*, p. 76. 14.

ܪܕܐ. Pa"êl ܪܕܐ *to make ready, to prepare*, p. 83. 12; infin. ܟܡܥܕܐ p. 201. 9; part. pass. ܡܥܕܐ p. 3. 18; plur. ܡܥܕܝܢ 90. 2; 201. 7; fem. ܡܥܕܬ 211. 3.

Ethpa'al ܐܬܪܕܐ *to be ready*, 81. 6; 95. 7; 164. 8; 209. 1; 226. 14; 233. 4; ܐܬܪܕܐ ܢܨܚܐ *he obtained the victory*, p. 50. 1; part. plur. ܡܬܪܕܝܢ p. 2. 4; 3. 5.

ܒܗܝܕܘܬܐ *readily*, p. 42. 9; 175. 11; 177. 14; 182. 18.

ܒܕ *to be rich*, Pe'al infin. ܠܡܒܕ *to be rich*, p. 34. 9.

Af'êl *to make rich*, part. ܡܒܕ p. 34. 11.

ܒܒܝܕ *rich*, p. 40. 1; 84. 10; 196. 16; ܒܒܝܕܐ 67. 3; plur. ܒܒܝܕܝܢ 160. 2; ܒܒܝܕܐ ܡܝ *well watered*, 177. 3.

ܒܗܘܕܐ *riches*, p. 10. 14; 34. 10; 67. 4.

ܒܝ. ܒܝܛ *beautiful*, p. 6. 7.

ܒܝܛܘ *beauty*, p. 24. 11; 138. 9; 206. 10.

ܒܟܝ. ܒܟܝܐ *bridle*, p. 32. 15; 33. 5, 8; 48. 13; plur. ܒܟܝܐ p. 38. 17; 43. 17; 48. 8.

ܒܠܦܢܐ p. 36. 13; ܒܠܦܢܝܐ παιδαγωγός *teacher, tutor, guardian*, p. 23, 13; 35. 9; plur. ܒܠܦܢܐ p. 89. 7.

ܒܠܦܢܐ المؤدب ه. ܒܠܟܬ ܗܘ ܕܡܕܒܪܢ ܠܒܠܟܬ ܕܒܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܡܢܝ ܕ ܗܕܐ ܡܕܒܪ ܠܗ ܗܘ ܕܐ مدبّر الصبيان

Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2441, fol. 282 *b*, col. 2. ܒܠܦܢܐ = معلّمون, مؤدّبون, ومدبّرون Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 134 *b*, col. 2.

ܒܠܦܢܘܬܐ *education*, p. 35. 23.

ܕܡ *to be like unto*, p. 121. 3; 184. 17.

ܕܡܘ *like*, p. 86. 9; 103. 18; 138. 9; ܠܟܕܡ *in comparison with*, p. 88. 5; ܒܕ ܕܡܘܬܐ *counterpart*, p. 170. 4.

ܕܚ *to finish a meal*, p. 242. 1.

Af'êl *to separate*, ܐܦܚ ܦܘܡܗ *he parted his lips* in scorn, p. 41. 18; part. ܡܦܝܚ p. 80. 6.

ܒܗܝܛܐ *untanned*, p. 172. 5.

ܓܢܒܐ *footsoldiers*, p. 63. 1; 95. 3; 98. 1; 101. 4; 108. 3; 135. 5; 172. 4; 173. 9; 207. 10.

ܓܒܐ Assyrian pi-ru. See Strassmaier, *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss*, p. 517, l. 6. Ar. فيل (plur. أفيال, فيول) *elephant*, 170. 13; 175. 9; 191. 6; plur. ܓܒܐ 159. 5; 160. 17; 174. 11; 211. 13; 219. 3; 220. 1; ܒܩܪ ܓܒܐ *ox-elephants*, p. 174. 14.

ܓܠܦܬܐ *cloak*, p. 198. 3, 7; 200. 5, 6.

ܓܡ the Greek infin. πεῖσαι, *persuade*, Syriacised ܦܣܘܢ *persuasion*.

Hence Af'êl ܐܦܡ *he persuaded*, p. 5. 9; 54. 16; 55. 11; 188. 17; part. act. ܡܦܡ 66. 11; part. pass. plur. ܡܦܡܝ 242. 10.

Ettaf'al ܐܬܦܡ *be persuaded*, p. 6. 11; 58. 2; 224. 6; ܡܬܦܡ 116. 10; part. ܡܬܦܡ 123. 1.

ܦܣܘܢ *permission*, p. 91. 18.

ܥܩܡܘܬܐ ܕ ܡܬܦܡܘܬܐ *obstinacy, disobedience*, 82. 13; 196. 13.

ܦܠܣܦܐ, φιλόσοφος *philosopher*, plur. ܦܠܣܦܐ p. 18. 6.

ܦܠܣܦܘܬܐ φιλοσοφία *philosophy*, p. 23. 17.

ܦܡܐ p. 159. 5; 174. 13. See ܦܐܡ

ܦܬ *tusks*, p. 174. 12.

ܦܠܓ *to divide*, p. 235. 10; 244. 1.

Pa"êl part. act. ܡܦܠܓ *dividing, distributing*, p. 35. 9, 14; 37. 3.

Ethpa'al *to be divided in mind, perplexed, in doubt*, p. 197, 15; 200. 14; 244. 16.

ܦܠܓ ܛܗܪܐ *midday*, p. 186. 15.

ܦܠܓ ܠܠܝܐ *midnight*, p. 186. 16.

ܦܠܓ ܓܝܪ = μεσῆλιξ *middle age*, p. 10. 17; 14. 15; 16. 5;

ܦܠܓܬ ܓܝܪܬܐ *a woman of middle age*, p. 209. 13.

ܦܠܓ *doubt*, p. 126. 4.

ܦܠܓܐ *half*, p. 52. 4; 142. 8; ܕܢ ܦܠܓܐ *a half partner*, p. 245. 1.

ܦܠܓܐ *doubt*, p. 26. 6.

ܦܠܓܐ *doubt*, p. 67. 4.

ܦܠܓ *phalanx* (= ܦܓܕܐ Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 108 *b*, col. 2) p. 134. 10; 172. 1, 3; 173. 14; 174. 7; 179, 8; 206. 8; 207. 4.

ܦܠܓ *drums*, p. 171. 14. ܦܠܓ ܡܕܒܚ طبول ودفوف Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 138 *b*, col. 2.

ܦܠܓ. ܡܦܠܓ *to be dispersed*, p. 134. 1.

ܦܠܚ. Pĕ'il part. plur. ܦܠܝܚ *tanned, dressed*, p. 263. 16.

Afĕl ܐܦܠܚ *to serve*, p. 63. 1.

ܦܠܚܐ *army*, p. 156. 9; 158. 17; 173. 2.

ܦܠܛܝܢ παλάτιον, palatium, *palace*, p. 255. 9.

ܦܠܛ. Ethpa'al ܐܬܦܠܛ *to be delivered, to escape*, p. 212. 18; infin. ܠܡܬܦܠܛ p. 52. 2; 119. 16; part. plur. ܡܬܦܠܛܝܢ p. 239. 19.

Pa"ĕl infin. ܠܦܠܛ *to escape*, p. 157. 2.

ܦܘܠܛܐ *escape*, p. 132. 14.

ܦܛܝܫܬܐ p. 69. 14; ܦܛܝܫܬܐ *squares*, p. 74. 8. شوارع ,دروب Brit. Mus. Rich 7203, fol. 139 *a*, col. 1.

ܦܝܠܟܐ = πλάκας *tablets*, p. 70. 11.

ܦܨ. ܡܦܨܝܢܘܬܐ *restoration, giving back*, p. 215. 10.

ܦܘܨ *answer*. ܦܘܨ ܟܬܒܬܐ *written answer*, p. 56. 15.

ܦܬܐ *boundary, quarter of the world*, p. 90. 3; plur. ܦܬܘܬ p. 3. 10; 90. 12; 115. 2; 159. 4.

ܦܕܐ πάνθηρ, *panther*, p. 159. 20; 174. 18.

ܦܨ *lot*, p. 43. 8. القرعة Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 139 *b*, col. 1.

ܦܨ. Pĕ'al infin. ܠܡܦܩ *to march*, p. 100. 1.

ܦܣܩܐ *step*, p. 52. 1; 262. 20.

ܦܣܩ *dice*, p. 89. 21. نرد اللعب Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 139 *b*, col. 2. ܦܣܩ ܣܛܪܢܓ ܕܝ. النرد منه ܡܬܟܠ ܦܣܩ ܣܛܪܢܓ ܡܡܦܣܩ ܒܠܟܣܕ ܗܕܐ ܠܟܣ ܕܡܡܕ ܕܡ ܡܟ ܒܬܟܠ ܡܕܟܡܬ ܕܙܟܒܕ ܡܟ ܕܡ ܒܬܟܠ ܡܕܟܡܬ للعب بالنرد و السطرنج * ܦܣܩ ܕܕ ܗܕܐ نرد ܕܡܡ. ܡܡܣܩ نرد ܦܣܩ ܢܡ ܕܕ ܗܕܐ الفسيفساء Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2441, fol. 302 *b*, col. 2.

ܦܨ. Pa"ĕl *to cut*, p. 116. 7; *to decide a dispute*, p. 148. 4.

Ethpa'al ܐܬܦܨ *to be cut*, p. 205. 22.

ܦܨܐ *fate*, p. 28. 11.

ܦܨܝܬܐ *brevity*, ܒܦܨܝܬܐ *briefly, shortly*, p. 23. 16; 115. 9; 136. 1.

ܦܨܝ piscina, *reservoir*, p. 18. 4. القناة Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 140 *a*, col. 1, and Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2441, fol. 303 *a*, col. 1.

ܒܒܓܐ Ar. بَبَّغَا *parrots*, p. 211. 9.

ܦܪܩ. Pa"ël ܦܲܪܶܩ *to deliver*, p. 62. 10; 221. 18; 222. 13.

Ethpa'al ܐܶܬܦܲܪܲܩ *to be delivered, to escape*, p. 59. 6.

ܡܦܲܪܩܳܢܳܐ *deliverer*, p. 218. 1.

ܦܪܚܐ *blossom*, p. 93. 11.

ܦܫܩ *to split, to burst*, p. 18. 11.

ܦܫܩܐ *crash*, plur. ܦܲܫܩܶܐ p. 160. 11.

ܦܬܝܚܐ *field, plain*, p. 11. 13; 78. 3; 200. 17; plur. ܦܬܝܲܚܶܐ 100. 17.

ܦܬܲܚ. Pë'il part. ܦܲܬܺܝܚ *excited*, p. 32. 5.

ܦܲܪܓܠܐ *φραγέλλιον, whip*, p. 48. 10; 80. 16; 81. 10; 87. 10; 89, 7; plur. 43. 17; 255. 8. مِقْرَعَة ,درة ܦܲܪܓܶܠܐ Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 141 *a*, col. 1.

ܦܬܬ *grains*, p. 82. 6.

ܦܲܬܺܝܬܳܐ *clubs*, p. 264. 8.

ܦܬܝܫ. ܦܲܬܺܝܫ ܕܡܲܕܲܪ = *φοῖνιξ the bird of palm trees*, p. 180. 8.

ܦܲܬܲܪܘܲܒܬܐ *bats*, p. 176. 3. خشافه ,فار الليل Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2441, fol. 308 *b*, col. 1; خشاف يعني الاصنام التي كانت تعبد ليلاً سراً Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 141 *b*, col. 2.

ܦܲܪܙܠ. Pers. بِرِنج *copper, brass*, p. 9. 7.

ܦܪܢܟ *φερνή, dowry*, p. 147. 4. ܡܕܝܢ ܕܒܬ ܫܡܗ ܠܚܠܟ ܠ ܫܟܠܟ ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢ Rich 7203, fol. 310 *a*, col. 2.

ܦܫܡ. ܦܘܕܡܐ *food*, p. 56. 6.

ܦܫܟ *to spread out*, p. 142. 14; Pë'il part. ܦܲܫܺܝܟ p. 182. 6; plur. ܦܲܫܺܝܟܶܐ p. 238. 1.

ܦܬܓܡ, ܦܬܲܓܡܳܐ, plur. ܦܬܲܓܡܶܐ, ܦܬܲܓܡܳܬܳܐ from the Greek πόρος, *way, means, device, scheme, stratagem*, p. 2. 7, 14; 14. 7; 36. 6; 48. 2; 57. 13; 65. 8; 140. 6; 159. 7; 173. 7; 192. 13; 202. 7; 223. 9; 241. 5; ܓܒܪ ܦܬܓܡ *fertile in expedients*, p. 223. 8. Hence the verb in Ethpa'al part. ܡܬܦܲܬܓܡ *contriver* of inventions, p. 223. 9.

ܦܲܬܺܝܗ Ethpa'al part. ܡܬܦܲܬܺܝܗ *famed*, p. 2. 1.

ܦܲܬܲܚ *hoof*, plur. ܦܲܬܲܚܶܐ p. 48. 12.

ܦܲܬܲܟܲܪ p. 35. 18; see ܦܲܪܲܟ

ܦܲܬܺܝܳܐ *πρόσωπον, face*, p. 175. 1; ܦܲܬܺܝܳܐ p. 51. 10; 83. 2; 212. 11; 220. 18; plur. ܦܲܬܲܝܳܐ p. 169. 5; 176. 10; ܦܲܬܺܝܳܐ = وجه شخص Rich 7203, fol. 142 *b*, col. 2.

ܦܪܫ. ܦܲܪܫܳܐ, Heb. פָּרָשׁ, Ar. فارس *horseman*, plur. ܦܲܪܫܶܐ p. 64. 2; ܦܲܪܫܺܝܢ 25. 7; 33. 13; 62. 19; 95. 3; 98. 1; 102. 8; 108. 3; 119. 3; 129. 4; 173. 10; 176. 15; 203. 7; 224. 15; 230. 9; 232. 1.

ܦܲܪܫܽܘܬܳܐ *horsemanship*, p. 25. 7.

ܦܪܫܢܐ *separation*, p. 246. 14.

ܦܲܫܺܝ *dung*, p. 270. 3.

ܦܬܬ. ܦܲܬܺܝܬ *easy*, p. 203. 11.

ܦܫܩܢܐ *explanation*, p. 253. 3.

Pa"ël infin. ܠܡܦܫܩܢ *to describe, explain*, p. 8. 4.

Ethpa'al part. pass. ܡܬܦܫܩ *interpreted*, p. 31. 12.

ܦܬܪ *to explain* dreams, p. 7. 4; 15. 10; *to macerate*, 265. 1.

Pa"ël part. pass. ܡܦܲܬܲܪ *melted*, p. 250. 11.

Ethpa'al part. plur. ܡܬܥܒܕܢ *cracked, split,* (of houses on fire) p. 102. 11; 105. 7.

ܦܫܪܢܐ *explanation,* p. 16. 6.

ܦܓܓ Pa"êl part. pass. ܡܦܓܓ *variegated,* p. 220. 7.

ܦܘܪܣܐ *table,* p. 8. 1, 9; 51. 12; 143. 1; 182. 8; plur. ܦܘܪܣܐ 218. 14.

ܨܒܥ. Pa"êl part. pass. ܡܨܒܥ *decorated, ornamented,* p. 13. 4; 231. 11.

ܨܒܝܥܐ *ornament,* plur. ܨܒܝܥܬܐ p. 153. 13.

ܨܝܪ. ܨܪ *to paint,* p. 56. 20; 57. 1; 80. 1.

ܨܝܳܪܳܐ *painter,* p. 56. 18; 212. 9.

ܨܘܪܬܐ *picture,* p. 220. 18.

ܩܠ *to hear, listen to,* p. 41. 6; 99. 11.

ܩܠ. ܬܘܡܝ ܕܝܠ Gemini, p. 20. 4.

ܫܚ. Afêl part. *sparkling, shining,* p. 182. 5; 219. 9; plur. ܡܫܚܝܢ p. 225. 4.

ܫܘܚܪܐ *shining, sparkling,* plur. ܫܘܚܪܐ p. 225. 8.

ܫܚܦ. ܫܘܦܬܐ *vortex,* p. 170. 9. ܫܚܦ ܕܡܝ كان وخه غمر الما دردور الدايرة Rich 7203, fol. 146 *b*, col. 2; ܫܚܦ ..... ܕܡܝ ܕܫܘܦܬܐ ܕܒܚ ܕܫܚܦ ܕܡܝ Brit. Mus. ܫܘܦܬܐ ܕܡܝ ܗܟܠܐ ܕܫܚܦܗ ܕ MS. Or. 2441, fol. 318 *b*, col. 2.

ܥܒܕ. ܥܒܕܐ *craft, device, artifice, stratagem,* p. 45. 3; 72. 16, 17; 162. 2; plur. ܥܒܕܐ p. 2. 7; 8. 14; 58. 1; 93. 3; 159. 7; ܓܒܪ ܥܒܕܐ *fertile in artifices,* p. 196. 15.

ܥܒܕܢܘܬܐ *craft, slyness,* p. 79. 17; 206. 2.

ܒܥܒܝܕܘ *artfully,* p. 85. 5; 110. 13.

ܥܓܓ. Pa"êl *to revile, abuse,* p. 114. 18; 118. 7; 127. 6.

ܒܥܓܓܢܘ *despicably,* p. 21. 7.

ܩܒܘܬܐ κιβωτός, *box,* p. 80. 17; 81. 12; 87. 11.

ܩܒܠ. Afêl ܐܩܒܶܠ *receive, accept,* p. 198. 9.

Estaf'al ܐܬܩܒܠ *to be involved in,* p. 168. 5.

ܩܒܘܠܬܐ *accusation,* p. 240. 13.

ܬܘܕܝܬܐ ܕܩܒܘܠ *gratitude,* p. 122. 8; 125. 3; 154. 3.

ܩܒܪ. ܩܒܪ ܕܐܘܣܝܪܝ *grave of Osiris,* p. 74. 12, = Ταπόσιρις.

ܩܕܚ. ܩܕܘܚܐ *borer,* p. 233. 10, 11.

ܩܕܡ. Pa"êl ܩܕܶܡ. ܩܕܶܡ ܥܒܕ *to rise up betimes,* p. 15. 10; Part. plur. ܡܩܕܡܝܢ ܡܩܕܡܝܢ *to point out beforetime,* p. 114. 5.

ܡܩܕܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܒܝܕܥܐ *fore-knowledge,* p. 29. 2; 66. 13.

ܩܘܪܦܐ *purple, dark blue,* p. 113. 4; ܡܩܘܪܦܐ p. 43. 15. In Rich 7203, fol. 151 *b*, col. 1, ܩܘܪܦܐ is explained by اخضر *green.*

ܡܪܕܘܬܐ p. 203. 10. Glossed in B by Pers. سردار *chief.*

ܩܛܠ *a smith, metalworker,* plur. ܩܛܠܐ p. 161. 8; 258. 13; 267. 7; 275. 14.

ܡܦܘܚܐ ܕܩܛܠ *smith's bellows,* p. 193. 9.

ܩܛܪ *poles, carrying bars, fetters for the legs,* p. 59. 11. ܡܩܛܪ is the word used in the Syriac version of the Old Test. to

translate the Heb. בַּדִּים, the poles by which the ark was carried, in Ex. xxv. 13 (LXX. ἀναφορεῖς, ed. Lagarde, p. 76), Ex. xxvii. 6 (LXX. φορεῖς), Numb. iv. 6; and the Heb. מוֹט in Numb. iv. 10. ܡܰܒܩ is explained by ܕܘܩ (sing. ܕܩ) in Rich 7203, fol. 152 *a*, col. 2. See also Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2441, fol. 330 *b*, col. 1, where ܡܒܩ is explained by ܥܘܕܐ ܕܒܗ̈ ܡܫܬܐ ܘܛܒܠܐ "*the staves by which a box or table is carried.*" The verb ܕܩ is used in speaking of a dead animal as, for example, of a stag or donkey, *qui est porté par deux hommes au moyen d'une perche qu'on a passée entre ses pieds*, après les avoir liés les uns aux autres. Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, t. i, p. 466.

ܩܘܦܐ *apes*, p. 211. 19; 217. 9. ܣ. ܡܩܘ ܣܡܘܟ ܕܦܫܐ ܠܚܕܐ Or. 2441, fol. 330 *b*, col. 1.

ܩܩܝܢܐ *ringlets*, p. 13. 4. ܡܩܝܛ حمم صغاير Rich 7203, fol. 152 *b*, col. 1; Or. 2441, fol. 231 *a*, col. 2.

ܩܒܕ *to bind*, p. 80. 14.

ܩܒܒܘܬܐ *violence*, p. 53. 5.

ܩܒܒܝܬ *violently*, p. 145. 15.

ܩܘܒܐ κοιτών, *bedchamber*, p. 12. 16; 13. 19; 52. 12; 80. 8; 197. 12; 219. 14; 220. 16; plur. ܩܘܒ̈ܐ p. 13. 7; 101. 1.

ܩܝܬܪܐ κιθάρα, cithara, Chald. קִיתָרוֹס, *harp*, p. 237. 16, 17.

ܩ. ܩܠܝܠ *little, few*, p. 47. 8; 57. 7; 65. 17; 93. 14; 97. 3; 133. 19; 138. 10; 143. 3; 165. 17; 189. 9; 212. 18; ܩܠܝܠ 14. 12; plur. ܩܠܝܠ 94. 17.

ܩܠܝܠܝܬ *swiftly, speedily*, p. 11. 12; 20. 2; 113. 11; 132. 3.

ܩܠܘܒܐ *cage*, p. 236. 6, 8. In Rich 7203, fol. 156 *a*, col. 1, this word is explained by قفص ,مشبك

ܩܠ. Pa"êl part. ܡܩܠܠ *praising*, p. 18. 1.

ܩܠܥ. ܩܠܥ *sling*, p. 192. 9; plur. ܩ̈ܠܥ p. 101. 14, 17; 102. 2.

ܩܠܝܥܐ *slingers*, p. 101. 20.

ܩܠܦ. ܩܠܦܐ *bark*, p. 205. 2.

ܩܨܐ. ܩܨܝܢܐ *belt*, p. 8. 6; 129. 2; 147. 13; plur. ܩ̈ܨܝܢ p. 8. 6.

ܡܢܛܩܬܐ ܡܩܨܝܢ Rich, fol. 157 *b*, col. 2.

ܩܪܢܕܝܠ, Chald. קַנְדִּילָא, Ar. قنديل candêla, *lamp, torch*, plur. ܩ̈ܢܕ̈ܝܠ ܩܢܕ̈ܝܠ 101. 6; 235. 8.

ܩܪܒ. ܩܪܒܐ *fear*, p. 127. 17.

ܩܪܒܐ *purple*, p. 114. 10.

ܡܙܢ ܩܫܛ = ܩܘܫܛܐ Libra, *balance*, p. 20. 8.

ܩܫܛ *band, company*, p. 81. 17.

ܩܛܝܠ κάγκελος, cancelli, *fetter*, p. 24. 23; 32. 3, 12, 15; 33. 4.

ܩܣܩܘܦܛܐ quaestionarius, *executioner*, p. 244. 6; plur. ܩ̈ܣܩܘܦ̈ܛ p. 82. 14, 16; 199. 5, 14. This word is explained by حافض ,حارس in Rich 7203, fol. 159 *a*, col. 1.

ܩܣܩܘܦܛܐ *execution*, p. 199. 6; 200. 2.

ܩܨܐ. Ethpe'êl ܐܬܩܨܝ *to be peeled*, p. 132. 18.

ܩ. Ethpa'al part. ܡܬܩܒܠ *creditable*, p. 229. 7.

ܩܨܡ. *to divine*, p. 275. 3, 7; infin. ܠܡܩܨܡ *to consult an oracle*, p. 7. 16.

ܩ̈ܨܡ *diviner*, p. 31. 5, 6; 33. 16; plur. ܩ̈ܨ̈ܡ p. 7. 5.

ܩܣܡܐ *divination*, p. 5. 17, 18; 31. 15; 33. 15; 50. 7; 99. 15; 109. 4; 110. 2; 123. 13; plur. ܩܣܡ̈ܐ p. 5. 11, 15.

ܩܣܡܘܬܐ *augury, divination*, p. 29. 1; 106. 8.

ܓܕܕ. ܓܒܪܐ *warlike, brave*, plur. ܓܒܪ̈ܐ p. 25. 7.

ܓܒܪܘܬܐ *art of war*, p. 24. 1.

ܓܒܪܝܐ *warlike*, p. 21. 5.

ܓܒܫܝܬܐ *nearly, shortly*, p. 10. 6.

ܓܕ̈ܐ *galleys*, p. 119. 3.

ܓܕܪ̈ܐ perhaps for ܓܕ̈ܐ *transport ships*, p. 63. 8; 65. 15. Conf. *κάραβος, καράβιον*, Ar. غراب

ܓܠܘܣܛܠܐ *κρύσταλλος*, crystallum, *crystal*, p. 9. 1.

ܓܢܣܐ *χάρτης*, charta, *charter*, p. 257. 18.

ܓܠܩܕܘܢܝܐ *χαλκηδών, chalcedony*, plur. ܓܠܩܕܘܢ̈ܐ p. 224. 14.

ܓܡܪ. ܓܡ̈ܪ *inlaid*, p. 219. 14.

ܓܪܢ. ܓܪ̈ܢܐ *horned*, fem. ܓܪ̈ܢܬܐ p. 21. 10; ܓܪ̈ܢܫܬܐ p. 21. 20.

ܓܪ̈ܢܐ ܕܣܝܪ̈ܐ *rhinoceroses*, p. 211. 14.

ܓܪ̈ܓܘܠ̈ܬܐ *skulls*, p. 32. 6. Rich 7203, fol. 163 *b*, col. 2, ܓܪ̈ܓܘܠ̈ܬܐ الهاما الجماجم

ܓܪܐ. ܓܪ̈ܝܐ *hardness*, p. 184. 8.

ܓܪ̈ܝܐܝܬ *fiercely*, p. 49. 3; 78. 8; 142. 1.

ܓܕ̈ܪܐ *καθέδρα*, cathedra, *seat*, p. 258, 1, 7, 9.

ܓܕ. ܓܕ ܕܕ ܟܟ *to fall headlong*, p. 44. 7; 49. 10.

ܓ̈ܒ̈ ܓ̈ܒ̈ *rams' heads*, i.e., battering rams, p. 101. 7, 8.

ܓܕ. ܓܕܘܢܐ *fosterer, guardian*, plur. ܓܕ̈ܘܢ̈ܐ p. 228. 8.

ܓܕܕ. ܓܕܕܐ *square*, p. 219. 19.

ܓܕܝ. ܓ̈ܕ̈ *strain, force of a current*, p. 205. 13.

ܓܠ. Infin. Pĕ'al ܓ̈ܠ *to desire*, p. 158. 15.

Ethpalpal ܐܬܓܠܓܠ *to desire*, p. 6. 4; 107. 3; 206. 18.

ܓ̈ܠ̈ܝܘܬܐ *desirability*, p. 206. 10.

ܓܠܠ. ܓܠܠܐ *runner*, plur. ܓ̈ܠ̈ܐ p. 268. 5.

ܓܠܐ *ravine*, plur. ܓ̈ܠ̈ܐ p. 134. 19.

ܓܠܬܐ *river, torrent*, plur. ܓ̈ܠ̈ܬ̈ p. 155. 7.

ܓܠܐ. Af'ĕl *to make perceive*, p. 162. 16; 243. 1; part. act. ܡܓ̈ܠ̈ p. 86. 6.

ܓ̈ܠ̈ܬ *feeling, perception*, p. 68. 11, 13.

ܓ̈ܕ. ܐ̈ܓ̈ܕ̈ܐ, ܓ̈ܕ̈ܬ *learning*, p. 56. 17; ܠ ܓ̈ܕ̈ܬ *ignorance* p. 89. 3.

ܓܗܪ. Saf'ĕl part. plur. ܡ̈ܓ̈ܗ̈ܪ̈ p. 3. 11.

Estafa'al ܐܬܓ̈ܗ̈ܪ *to hasten*, p. 11. 13; 102. 12; 243. 4.

ܡ̈ܓ̈ܗ̈ܪ̈ܝܬ *hastily*, p. 132. 2.

ܓ̈ܗ̈ܪ̈ܝܬ *hastily, quickly*, p. 182. 9; 209. 2.

ܓ̈ܗ̈ܪ̈ *ῥήτωρ orator*, p. 117. 1, 11; plur. ܓ̈ܗ̈ܪ̈ p. 115. 13; 116. 7; 121. 5; 125. 7; 126. 3.

ܓܘܓ. ܓ̈ܘ̈ *tumults*, p. 57. 17.

ܓ̈ܣ. Ethpa'al ܐܬܓ̈ܣ *to be gratified*, p. 33. 4.

ܓ̈ܣ *mill*, p. 261. 1; 268. 18.

ܓ̈ܨ. ܓ̈ܨ *sprinkling, spattering*, p. 41. 14; 51. 2. ܓ̈ܨ تنضيح, رش. نضح Rich 7203, fol. 169 *b*, col. 1.

ܙܕܘܦܬܐ, Chald. ܐܪܙܦܬܐ, Ar. الأرزبّة *hammer*, p. 270. 4, 5; plur. ܙܕܘܦܟܐ p. 270. 6. See Duval, *Lexicon Syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule*, p. 286, col. 2.

ܙܡ. ܙܡܝܘܬܐ ܛܒܬܐ *homeloving*, p. 20. 11.

ܙܡܝܘܬܐ *lovingly*, p. 30. 3.

ܡܙܡܝܢܘܬܐ *kindly*, p. 246. 10.

ܙܡ. *to grumble*, p. 36. 3.

Af'êl part. act. ܡܙܡܝܢ *complaining*, p. 36. 4.

ܙܡܪ. Pa"êl part. act. ܡܙܡܪ *to compose* a song, p. 107. 10; ܡܙܡܪ ܡܙܡܪܬܐ *words strung together*, p. 107. 11.

ܙܡܪܐ *riders*, p. 44. 7.

ܙܡܘܪܐ *composition*, p. 96. 5.

ܙܢ. Af'êl part. act. ܡܙܢܝ *to make to bow*, p. 151. 16.

ܡܙܕܘܓܢܘܬܐ *placable*, p. 103. 13.

ܙܘܓܐ *horses*, p. 24. 9.

ܙܚ. Af'êl *to throw*, p. 52. 4; 118. 1; ܐܙܚܝܗ ܛܒܬ *it laid an egg*, p. 18. 9; Infin. ܠܡܙܚܝܗ p. 111. 2.

ܙܚ. *to make a sign*, p. 48. 1.

ܙܚܐ *hint*, p. 88. 1; 196. 6.

ܙܚܐ *herd of horses*, plur. ܙܘܚܐ p. 24. 8.

ܙܛ. ܡܙܛܬܐ *anxious thought*, p. 118. 4; 162. 9; plur. ܡܙܛܬܐ p. 126. 4.

ܙܝ. ܐܙܝܡܬܐ *reconciliation*, p. 204. 2.

ܙܝܥ. ܙܘܥܐ *anger, indignation*, p. 220. 7; plur. ܙܘܥܐ p. 122. 9.

ܙܠ. Af'êl *to leave, forsake*, p. 4. 16; 90. 16; 101. 12; 108. 17; 168. 8; 169. 12; 195. 19; 202. 12; 207. 8; 244. 5; ܡܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܡܙܠ *to divorce*, p. 10. 4; ܡܙܠ ܐܚܕ *to let go hold*, p. 199. 13.

ܙܠܙܠܝܬ *sluggishly*, p. 83. 13.

ܙܡ. ܙܡܐ *dancers*, p. 181. 14.

ܡܙܡܘܡܝܬ *mourning*, p. 21. 3; 251. 17.

ܙܡܙ. ܙܡܙܡܬܐ *rag*, p. 41. 16; رقعة من ثوب See *Duval, Lexicon Syriacum*, p. 94, col. 2.

ܙܚܚ *to glide, crawl, creep*, p. 13. 1; 17. 7.

ܙܛ. ܡܙܟܢܘܬܐ *admonition*, p. 55. 12.

ܙܟܟ. ܡܙܟܟܬܐ *abounding*, p. 75. 13.

ܙܕܪܐ *silken* curtains, p. 195. 11; 200. 8. ألقز، حرير Rich 7203, fol. 174 *a*, col. 1.

ܙܙ. ܙܙܐ *captors*, p. 164. 1.

ܙܙܒ *to leave*, 194. 16; *to let go* a battering ram, p. 101. 8; *to set fire*, p. 175. 4; *to divorce*, p. 53. 10; ܙܙܒܬܐ *divorced*, p. 50. 9.

Ethpe'êl ܐܙܕܒܙ *to be forgiven*, p. 248. 14.

ܙܒܙܒ *branch*, p. 93. 12; plur. ܙܒܙܒܐ, ܙܒܙܒܐ p. 238. 2.

ܙܒܓܐ *vine branches*, p. 78. 12. In Rich 7203, fol. 175 *b*, col. 1, ܙܒܓܐ is explained by شغشه الدقيقه التي في الكرم

ܙܒ. Ar. ساج *plane, teakwood*, p. 2. 12; 4. 12; 212. 3.

ܙܒ. ܡܙܒܙܒܢ *various*, p. 171. 1. ܡܙܒܙܒ = مختلف in Rich 7203, fol. 88 *a*, col. 2.

ܙܕ. Ethpa'al ܐܙܕܕ *to be sent*, p. 79. 16.

ܐܙܠ. Ethpa'al ܐܬܐܙܠ *to be diminished*, p. 206. 2.

ܡܕܒܪܐ *wilderness*, p. 168. 2.

ܐܛܣ. Pa"êl infin. ܠܡܛܣܐ *to lay, to prepare*, p. 195. 12; part. pass. ܡܛܝܣ *laid*, p. 182. 4.

ܒܛܪ. ܒܛܪ *drought*, p. 72. 18.

ܒܙܐ. ܒܙܐ *despised*, p. 86. 6.

ܒܙܝܘܬܐ *contempt*, p. 149. 9.

ܡܒܙܝܢܘܬܐ *ridicule*, p. 221. 15.

ܒܝܘܬܐ *equality*, p. 146. 12.

ܒܝܬܝܐ *together, equally*, p. 27. 16; 46. 15, 17; 137. 7; 175. 4; 203. 5.

ܒܛܛܐ *blows*, p. 178. 15.

ܒܛܠ. ܒܛܠܝܐ *stupidly*, p. 106. 3.

ܒܝ. Af'êl part. act. ܡܒܝܐ *making warm*, p. 86. 5.

ܒܟܟ. Ethpe'êl *to be vexed*, p. 28. 8.

ܒܟܟܐ *vexation*, plur. ܒܟܝܟܐ p. 146. 15.

ܒܠ. ܒܝܫܐ ܕܒ ܡܕܩܐ *barley meal*, p. 75. 5.

ܒܠܒ. ܒܠܒܠ *level*, p. 100. 17; 233. 17.

ܒܢ. Pa"êl ܒܝܢ *to make peace*, p. 57. 4; part. act. ܡܒܝܢ *pacify*, p. 54. 19; plur. ܡܒܝܢܐ *docile, gentle*, p. 251. 9.

ܡܒܘܢܐ *peace*, p. 140. 6.

ܒܣ. Pa"êl infin. ܠܡܒܣܐ *to rub*, p. 33. 3; part. act. ܡܒܣ p. 33. 6.

ܒܨ. ܒܨܐ, plur. ܒܨܝܢܐ *inventions, discoveries*, p. 2. 1.

ܒܨܝܢܬܐ *invention*, p. 67. 1.

ܒܪ. ܒܝܫ *bad, foul*, p. 199. 6; ܒܝܫܬܐ p. 128. 2.

ܒܝܫܘܬܐ *foulness*, p. 107. 14.

ܒܫ. Pa"êl infin. ܠܡܒܫܐ *to quiet*, p. 46. 1.

ܒܫܝܬܐ *peacefully, silently*, p. 33. 8; 122. 15; 225. 6.

ܒܠܟ *to rule*, p. 65. 3; ܡܒܠܟܘܬܐ *dominion*, p. 151. 17.

ܒܠܝܟܘܬܐ *rule*, p. 113. 11.

ܒܠܡ. ܒܠܡܠܡܬܐ, plur. ܒܠܡܠܡܐ *perfect*, p. 209. 6.

ܡܒܐܠܡܢܘܬܐ *betrayal*, p. 29. 2.

ܒܠܛ. ܒܠܝܛ *roasted*, p. 264. 16. In Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 375 *b*, col. 1,

ܒܠܛ is explained by مطبوخ, مسلوق

ܒܡܪ. Pa"êl ܒܡܝܪ *to call, to name*, p. 16. 13; 109. 1; Part. ܒܝܡܝܪ *name*, p. 53. 2; ܡܒܡܪܢܐ *renowned, famous*, p. 39. 4; 142. 17; 225. 15; plur. ܡܒܡܪܢܐ p. 211. 2; 247. 1; ܡܒܝܡܪܬܐ p. 67. 16; 75. 13; 226. 7.

ܡܒܡܪܢܘܬܐ *fame*, 196. 12.

Ethpa'al ܐܬܒܡܪ *to be famed*, p. 72. 16.

ܒܢܕ. *to be obedient*, p. 2. 3; 230. 19; ܡܒܢܕܢܐ *obedient*, p. 174. 8.

ܒܪ. ܛܘܪ *rock*, p. 271. 6; plur. ܛܘܪܐ *mountains*, p. 260. 8; 267. 11, 14, 15, 16; 268. 2, 10; 269. 17.

ܒܪ. ܛܪܦܬܐ *madness*, p. 89. 3.

ܒܫ. Ethpa'al ܐܬܒܫ *to play*, p. 81. 11; 89. 11; ܐܬܒܫ *to be told, narrated*, p. 18. 17.

ܒܫܬܐ *game, sport*, plur. ܒܫܝܬܐ p. 57. 15, 17; 75. 4; ܛܘܒ ܒܫܬܐ child's *play*, p. 41. 13.

ܐܬܪܙ *yellow*, p. 43. 15.

ܐܬܪܟ *fist, hand*, p. 83. 17.

ܐܬܪ. *to be timid, weak*, p. 129. 9.

Ethpa'al ܐܬܬܪܦܠ *to be abased, brought low*, p. 196. 14.

ܐܬܪ *mean*, p. 144. 1.

ܒܬܟܠܝܬܐ *disgrace*, p. 91. 4, 6.

ܒܬܪ. ܒܬܝ *liberal*, p. 35. 7.

ܒܩܥܐ *overflowings* of the Nile, p. 124. 5.

ܒܬܪ. Af'êl ܐܒܝܬ *to move on, decamp*, p. 97. 1, 4; 113. 2; 192. 1; 193. 12; 194. 18; 201. 16; 202. 3; 207. 3; 232. 5; infin. ܠܡܒܬܠܐ p. 183. 9; part. act. ܡܒܬܐ *marching*, p. 172. 1.

Ethpa'al ܐܬܬܒܦܠ *to prevail*, p. 118. 17.

ܒܬܒܬܠܐ *arrogance, greatness*, p. 86. 3; 143. 12; 151. 17; 198. 14; 199. 1.

ܒܬܒܬܝܢܝܐ *proudly*, p. 143. 19.

ܒܬܐ *tax*, p. 164. 4; ܒܩܐ p. 124. 13; ܒܩܠܐ p. 146. 18.

ܒܚܫܐ ܒܚܫ *carefully*, p. 23. 2; 49. 1.

ܒܐ. ܒܬܒܬܝܢܝܐ *surely*, p. 23. 2.

ܒܬܒܝܢܝܐ *truly, certainly*, p. 6. 15; 11. 17; 15. 14; 53. 16; 61. 11.

ܒܒܐ *navel*, p. 163. 15; plur. ܒܒܐ p. 201. 5.

ܒܙ. Af'êl infin. ܠܡܒܕܒ *to break up a company*, p. 207. 4.

Ethpĕ'êl ܐܬܒܙ *to be dismissed*, p. 114. 15.

Ethpa'al ܐܬܒܙ *to be finished* (of a feast), p. 197. 10.

ܒܙܒܐ *feast*, p. 85. 2; 129. 16; 197. 10.

ܒܙܢܐ *breastplate*, p. 224. 13.

ܒܙܦܐ *cypresses*, p. 186. 3.

ܒܙ. Pa"êl part. act. ܡܒܙܙ *hissing*, p. 17. 7.

ܒܣܣ. ܒܣܦܐ *grains of sesame* (Ar. سمسم) p. 82. 6; 83. 16; 88. 1, 13; 92. 8, 13, 14; 93. 13, 16; 94. 13.

Shaf'êl part. pass. ܡܫܡܟ *joined with*, p. 62. 8.

ܒܣܒܣܐ *ant*, plur. ܒܣܒܣܬܐ p. 92. 3.

ܒܥܐ, ܒܥܐ, ܒܥܐ. ܒܒܢܐ = ܐ *foundation*, + ܒܢܐ *wall*, p. 209. 10; plur. ܒܒܢܩܐ p. 74. 8; 101. 5.

ܒܥ. Eshtaf'al ܡܬܐܚܕ *to be united with*, p. 11. 7; 20. 9.

ܒܚܕܘܬܐ *union*, p. 29. 7.

ܒܚܕܐ *associate*, p. 34. 16.

ܒܝܬܪܘܢ *θέατρον, theatre*, p. 58. 3, 4; 110. 13.

ܒܕܐ *to seek vengeance*, p. 10. 12; 12. 1; 15. 1; 52. 6, 10; 60. 2; 127. 10; 138. 2; 142. 1; 143. 7; 224. 5.

ܒܒܕܐ *vengeance*, p. 64. 4.

ܐܡܐ. ܐܡܗܐ *delay*, p. 117. 2; 249. 9.

ܐܗ. Ethpĕ'êl ܐܬܗܦ *to repent*, p. 82. 11.

ܒܒܗܦܬܐ *repentance*, p. 62. 3.

ܐܫ. *to be humbled*, p. 17. 18.

ܐܫܦܐ *despicable, wretched*, p. 100. 14.

ܐܫ. Ethpa'al ܐܬܐܫܦ *to descend, be brought down*, p. 128. 11; 196. 14.

ܟܚܕ. ܟܚܝܕܐ *sore, grievous*, plur. ܟܚܝܕ̈ܐ p. 251. 17.

ܟܚܕ. ܗܘܟܠܢܐ *confidence, trust*, p. 61. 18; 199. 3.

ܒܛܚܘܬܐ *trust*, p. 21. 7.

ܒܗܘܟܠܢܐ *confidently*, p. 193. 18.

ܟܫܕ. Ethpa'al part. plur. fem. ܡܬܟܫܟ̈ܫ *torn, rent*, p. 260. 11.

ܬܡܗ. *to wonder*, p. 32. 12; ܬܡܗ *wonderful*, p. 2. 3; 66. 15; ܬܬܡܗ p. 172. 8; 183. 10; ܡܬܡܗ̈ p. 130. 6; 131. 4; 219. 1; ܐܬܬܡܗ p. 105. 13; ܐܢܐ ܐܬܡܗ *I wonder*, p. 12. 11.

ܐܬܡܗ *wonder*, p. 12. 3.

ܚܘܪ̈ܝܢ *breastplates*, p. 172. 4.

ܚܛܘܦ̈ = νυκταλώπηκες, *nightfoxes*, p. 175. 17.

ܢܚܠ, *stream*, plur. ܢܚܠ̈ p. 70. 4. See ܢܟܠ p. 261. 1; 268. 7.

ܟܫܠ. Ethpĕ'ĕl ܐܬܟܫܠ *to be upset*, p. 44. 9, 12; 45. 9; 49. 9; 68. 9.

ܡܟܫܠܬܐ *a stumbling*, p. 52. 2.

ܦܫܩ. Af'ĕl ܐܦܫܩ *to set straight, correct*, p. 37. 7; Infin. ܠܡܦܫܩ *to set up*, p. 146. 13; part. act. ܡܦܫܩ p. 226. 7; pass. ܡܦܫܩ p. 224. 14; plur. ܡܦܫܩ̈ p. 171. 8; 182. 7; 200. 1; 238. 3; fem. ܡܦܫܩܬ p. 8. 14.

ܬܪܢܓܘܠܬ. Chald. ܬܪܢܓܘܠܐ, *hen*, p. 18. 7; plur. ܬܪܢܓܘܠ̈ܬ p. 56. 11.

ܙܢܐ. Ethpa'al part. plur. ܡܬܙܢ̈ܐ *to be fed upon*, p. 169. 6.

ܡܙܘܢܐ *food*, p. 75. 7, 15; 98. 7; 121. 17; 122. 2; 140. 15.

ܙܢ ܡܙܘܢܐ *to feed*, p. 39. 14.

ܬܪܥ. ܬܪܥ plur. ܬܪ̈ܥܐ *gates*, p. 43. 7; *curtains*, 195. 11.

ܙܩܦ *to become straight* (of a bridge), p. 205. 14; *to march straight forward*, p. 190. 10; *to make a way straight*, p. 189. 15.

ܙܘܩܦܐ *what is right, straightness*, p. 54. 14; 83. 5; 140. 10; plur. ܙܘܩ̈ܦ̈ܐ *truths*, p. 83. 12.

ܒܙܘܩܦܐ *correctly, exactly, precisely*, p. 7. 2, 17; 9. 11; 50. 14; 95. 1; 121. 7; 122. 7; 178. 1; 197. 19; 203. 1; 220. 8; 239. 8.

Note to page xxxiv.

Through the kindness of the Rev. Canon Maclean, M.A., the head of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Mission to the Nestorians at Urmia, I have obtained another MS. of the Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes, which he caused to have copied for me during the present year. It measures 8¾ in. by 7 in., and consists of 217 leaves. The quires, unsigned, are 22 in number. Each page contains 16 lines. This manuscript is written in a fine, bold, modern Nestorian hand, with numerous vowel points, etc., and is dated A. Gr. 2200 = A.D. 1889. The faulty readings in it agree generally with those in D; occasionally however its readings are peculiar to itself, *e. g.*, ܐܦܣܩܘܢ ܕܦܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܝܬܝ for ܐܦܣܩܘܢ ܕܦܠܝܦܘܣ ܐܝܬܝ p. o, l. 16. The collation of the difficult passages in ABCD and E with this manuscript has neither helped to amend the text nor to clear away any of the difficulties which exist in it. The following is the colophon :—

ܫܦܪ ܒܝ ܡܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܕܐ ܡܢ ܒܪܫ ܗܕܐ
ܕܡܐ ✤ ܒ ✤ ܗܦܟ ܐܠܦܒܝܬ ܫܢܐ ✤ ܫܟ ✤ 2200
ܠܡܬܐ ✤ ܫܢܐ ✤ ܡܕܝܢ ✤ ܗܕܐ ✤ 1889 ✤ ܫܢܬ
ܠܡܒܪܟ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܐ ✤ ܐ ✤ ܠܐ ✤ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ✤ ܒܪ
ܕܒܪܟ ✤ ܐ ✤ ܐ ✤ ✤ ✤

ܒܗ ܫܘܦܪܐ ܕܫܢ ܙܒܝܢܬ ܟܗܢܐ ܙܒܝܢ ܟܕ ܙܒܢ
ܒܕܪ ܠܐ ܐܦ ܕܟܠ ܫܒ ܕܟܘ ܫܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܠܟܢ
ܫܡܠܐ ܠܘܫ ܟܐ ܙܕ ܦܘܩ ܫܒܘܥ ܫܢ ܒܝܫ ܙܒܢ
ܙܒܢ ܐܢ. ܙܫܟ ܟ ܟܬܒ ܒܝ ܫܢ ܟܐ ܙܒܢ.
ܙܒܢ ܐܢ. ܙܫܟ ܟ ܟܬܒ ܒܝ ܫܢ ܟܐ ܙܒܢ.

CORRECTIONS.

Page 1, line 1. Read ܙܟ.

„ 1, „ 5. „ ܒܒ.

„ 2, „ 4. „ ܒ.

„ 5, „ 10. „ ܙܫܟ.

„ 8, „ 3. „ ܟ ܒܙܟ ܒܟ.

„ 13, „ 13. „ ܐܐ.

„ 22, note 8. CE omit ܙܢ.

„ 23, line 16. Read ܒܐܐܒ.

„ 26, „ 6. „ ܟܒ.

„ 32, „ 2. „ ܙܒ.

„ 34, „ 15. „ ܟܐ.

„ 35, „ 15. „ ܫܐܫ.

„ 39, „ 2. „ ܒܙܟ.

„ 40, „ 10; 41, line 12; 43, line 5; 45, lines 5, 7. Read ܒܙ.

„ 47, „ 4. Read ܐܙܫ.

„ 50, „ 1. „ ܐܙܫ.

Page 69, line 9. Read ܚܕܪ.

„ 77, „ 8. „ ܚܕ ܫܛܟ.

„ 79, „ 18. Should we not read ܚܕܝ ܕܡܥܒ ?

„ 87, „ 7. ܗ seems to be superfluous.

„ 105, note 2. Read ܚܕ ܕܚܕ.

„ 130, „ 6. D reads ܚܕ.

„ 130, line 3. Place ❖ after ܕܫܟ.

„ 137, „ 11. Read ܕܚܕ.

„ 158, „ 13. „ ܚ.

„ 162, „ 10. „ ܕܚ.

„ 166, „ 3. „ ܫ.

„ 189, „ 8. „ ܚ.

„ 195, „ 7. „ ܚ.

„ 202, „ 17. „ ܚ.

„ 209, „ 12. „ ܚ.

„ 218, „ 12. „ ܫ.

„ 224, „ 9. „ ܚ.

„ 233, „ 12. „ ܚ.

ọ has been printed for ọ on p. 31. 8, 12; 33. 1; 34. 12; 39. 17; 41. 17; 56. 20 and a few other places.

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ܠܟ ܫܩܐ ܥܡܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܥܢܝ[1] ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ[2]
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ܕܐܝܠ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܒܩ ܠܗ ܒܗ. ܘܐܦ ܟܠ

ܕܐܬܝ ܠܗ ܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܘܒܟܠ ܫܥܬܐ ܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܢܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܐ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܒ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܓ ܡܢ ܕܓ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܓ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܒ ܡܢ ܕܒ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܕ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܗ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܘ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܙ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܚ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܛ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܝ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܝܐ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܝܒ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܝܓ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܝܕ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܝܗ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܝܘ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܙ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܙܐ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܙܒ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܙܓ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܙܕ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܙܗ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܙܘ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܚ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܚܐ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܚܒ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܚܓ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܚܕ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܚܗ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܚܘ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܛ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܛܐ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܛܒ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܛܓ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܛܕ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܛܗ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܛܘ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܝ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܝܐ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܝܒ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܝܓ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܝܕ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܝܗ ܒܪ ܥܡ ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܠܟܣܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܀ ܝ

ܒܫܠܡܐ ܕܐܠܦܢܝ ܫܡܝ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒܗܬܢ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܝܢܬܬܢ ܘܒܝܡܐ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܗ ܐܢܬ ܚܝ ܒܪܝܬ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ

ܕܟܬܒ ܡܢ. ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܟܠܗܘ ܐܦܝܬ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܐ ܐܬܦܠܓ ܐܠܐ ܒܫܠܡ. ܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܠܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܐܟ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܐܙܠ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܟܠ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܬܗܘ ܠܟ ܠܡܠܟ ܥܡ

ܘܫܒ[1] ܠܡܒܠܟ ܗܢ ܐܠ ܐܠ ܐܠ ܐܠ ܐܠ ܐܠ ܐܠ ܐܠ

ܕܐܒܓܪ ܕܐܠܦܝܢ ܒܫܢ ܐܚܕ ܒܝܬ ܡܢ ܐܚܕ ܒܝܬ ܡܢ ܐܚܕ ܒܝܬ ܡ

ܗܘ[1] ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܬܫܬܘܩ ܒܟ ܒܫܘ ܠܐ ܬܫܬܘܩ ܠ
ܒܪ ܚܒܪ ܟܬ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܬ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܬ
ܚܒܪ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܬ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܬ ܐܬ
ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܬ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܢܬ ܐܬ ܐܢ
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ܒܬܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢ ܨܒܝܬ ܐܢܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܢܩܝ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܚܛܗܐ ܕܐܢܫ ܐܚܪܢ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܠܝ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܠܝܢ ܬܠܬ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܢܐ ܕܠܝܬܝ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܕܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܠܟ

ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢ ܨܒܝܬ ܐܢܬ ܬܗܘܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܝ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܘܐܢ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܨܒܝܬ ܐܢܬ ܬܗܘܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܝ ܐܢ ܠܐ

ܒܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܝܠܗ. ܘܐܦ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܗܕܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ. ܘܐܦ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܗܕܐ. ܘܐܦ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ ܗܕܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܟܠ ܐܬܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ ܗܕܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ

ܕܐܘܣܛܝܢܘܣ ܒܝܫܦܐ ܕܐܦܣܘܣ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܘܣܛܝܢܘܣ ܒܝܫܦܐ ܕܐܦܣܘܣ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܘܬ
ܐܦܣܘܣ ܒܝܫܦܐ ܕܐܘܣܛܝܢܘܣ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܘܣܛܝܢܘܣ ܒܝܫܦܐ ܕܐܦܣܘܣ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܘܬ
ܐܦܣܘܣ ܒܝܫܦܐ ܕܐܘܣܛܝܢܘܣ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܘܣܛܝܢܘܣ ܒܝܫܦܐ ܕܐܦܣܘܣ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܘܬ

XX ܒܫܢܬ ܬܠܬ ܥܣܪ ܕܫܠܛܢܘܬܗ ܕܐܘܣܛܝܢܘܣ ܐܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܦܣܘܣ ܒܝܫܦܐ ܕܐܘܣܛܝܢܘܣ
ܘܐܬܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܦܣܘܣ ܒܝܫܦܐ ܕܐܘܣܛܝܢܘܣ ܘ

ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܪܝ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ

ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܚܝܩܪ ܒܣܦܪܐ ܕܝܠܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܚܝܩܪ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܕܥ ܠܟ ܒܢܝ ܠܐ ܛܒ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܡܬܚܟܡ ܘܐܢ ܐܬ ܡܬܚܟܡ ܠܐ ܛܒ

ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܐܦ ܐܢܫ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܐܚܕ ܒܠܚܘܕܗ.[1] ܐܠܗ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܕܐܦ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܐܚܕ ܒܠܚܘܕܗ. ܐܠܗ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܕܐܦ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܐܚܕ ܒܠܚܘܕܗ.[2] ܐܠܗ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܕܐܦ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܐܚܕ ܒܠܚܘܕܗ.

ܡܫܬܐ ܕܡܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܗ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܒܪ ܐܘ ܒܪܬ ܒܪ ܐܘ ܒܪ ܒܪ ܒܪ ܐܘ ܒܪ ܒܪ ܒܪ ܐܘ ܒܪ ܒܪ

ܐܚܝܩܪ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܫܘܪ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܒܪܝ ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܬ ܒܪܝ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܒܪܝ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܒܪܝ ܐܢ

ܕܐܠܗܐ[1]. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܬ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܢܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܟ ܘܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܬ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܝ ܐܢܐ ܐܙܠ ܠܟ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܐܙܠ ܐܢܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܟ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ

ܕܐܬ. ܕܒܝܬ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܘܩ ܡܢ ܡܫܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܫܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܐܢܫ. ܘܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܐܢܫ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܘܩ ܡܢ ܡܫܬܐ

ܕܐܬ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܬ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܐܠܗܟ ܘܐܬ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ[1]
ܕܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܕܐܒܗ ܕܝ. ܐܢ ܐܬ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܐܢ ܐܬ

ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܒܪܝܬ ܥܠܡܐ ܥܕ ܣܘܦܐ. ܘܐܦ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܒܪܝܬ ܥܠܡܐ ܥܕ ܣܘܦܐ. ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܬܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ

ܒܝܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܛܝܬܐ ܐܘ ܥܠ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܛܝܬܐ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ

ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܥܡ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܘܥܡ ܟܠ ܓܢܕܘܗܝ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܥܡ ܟܠ ܓܢܕܘܗܝ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ
ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܚܪܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܚܪܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ
ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܚܪܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܚܪܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ
ܐܚܪܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܚܪܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܚܪܢ

ܠܚܝ̈ ... ܕܝܢ ܙܥܝܪ̈ ܦܘܩ ܠ. ܐ ܠܡܒܪ̈ܟܢ ܚܠܦ ܕܐܡ̈ܪ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡ̈ܪ ܒܥܠ ܒ̈ܝܬ ܡ̈ܫܬܐ[1] ܕܒ ܒܝ̈ܫ
ܒ ܡ ܗܘ ܐܡ̈ܪ ܐܠܐ. ܐܠܐ ܕܐ̈ܡܪ ܐ̈ܢܐ ܕܐ̈ܡܪ ܠܗ̇ ܠܡ̈ܫܬܐ
ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐ̈ܡܪ ܐ̈ܢ

ܒܪܟܬܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܐܦܪܝܡ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܢܣܒ ܠܗ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܘܢܫܬܒܩ ܒܥܠܡ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܐܡܝܢ.

X ܡܢ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܡܪ ܐܦܪܝܡ ܕܣܝܪܝܐ ܒܫܒܚܐ ܘܒܬܘܫܒ̈ܚܬܐ

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[1] Read ܐܬܩܪܝ ܐܚ [2] D omits from ܐܡܪ to ܐܡܝܢ ܕܐܡܪ

[3] CDE omit ܐܦ [4] D ܐܡܪ [5] A ܐܬܩܪܝ; DE ܐܬܩܪܝ [6] D ܟܠ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܚ. [7] D ܕܐ ܕܒܪ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ [8] BCDE ܐܬܩܪܝ [9] BC omit ܟܠ

ܫܠܡ ܐܡܪ ܐܚ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܚ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܚ ܫܠܡ

ܒܝܬ ܐܬܪ ܕܐܬ̈ܘܪ̈ܝ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ

ܕܒܪܬ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪܬ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܘܐܬܐ
ܠܘܬ ܡܠܟܐ ◆ ܒ ܡܠܟܐ[1] ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܡܢܕܪ ܫܡܗ.
ܕܠܐ ܫܟܚ ܕܗܐ ܦܪܫܓܢ ܐܚܪ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܐܬ ܕܡܝܟ ܒܝܕ
ܐܘܟܡ. ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܒܗ ܡܠܟ ܐܚܪ ܒܫܡ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܐܓܪ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܡܠܟ ܐܚܪ ܒܫܡ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܚܪ

ܐܬܒܢܝ ܒܗ ܫܘܪ. ܐܦ ܗܟܝ ܗܘ ܒܢܝ ܒܗ ܫܘܪ ܐܬܪ ܕܐܬ

هَجْلَ هَجْلَ. هَدْهُمْ هِيْلَ لَوْلَ هِيْلَ هَدْهُمْ[1]. هَجْلَ[2] وْلَ

ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܪܝ ܐܦܪܝܡ ܒܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒܗܬܢ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܝܢܬܝܗܘܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܠܡܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܪܝ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܘܠܡܫܬܘܬܦ ܥܡ ܐܚܪܢ ܕܠܐ

ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܒܪܟ ܠܝ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܐܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܐܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܐܬ ܠܟ

ܫܒܚ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܐܬܬ ܠܗ ܫܒܚܬܐ ܘܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܘܬܘܕܝܬܐ ܘܬ

ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܘ ܟܠܗ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܟܠ ܐܬܪ ܘܐܬܪ ܕܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܫܠܛ ܒܗ ܐܠܐ ܒܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܫܘܬܦ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܫܘܬܦ ܒܡܠܟܘܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘ

[1] BCE פֹּה כְּתִיבָה [2] D בתרא without ה [3] D בְּתִיבָה
[4] B וְנֶחְתָּם [5] D places חכמה after בתרא [6] E כְּלֹא?

[1] D בתרא [2] AD בתרא שלה [3] So all the MSS., fem.
[4] D חכמה

ܒܗ ܀ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܀ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܀ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ

ܒܝܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܠܐ ܫܪܝ ܠܡܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܐܒ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܐܒ ܘܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܐܝ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܐܒ ܘܠܐ

ܕܬܬܟܠܝ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܗ ܒܥܘܕ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܢܫܐ ܕܡܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܢܫܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܢܫܐ ܕܢܬܚܝ ܘܢܬܒܥ ܠܗ ܒܬܪ ܟܠ ܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܘܢܥܒܕ ܟܠ ܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܘܢܩܘܡ ܒܬܪ ܬܠܬ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܘܢܣܠܩ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܘܢܫܒ ܠܝܡܝܢܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܢܦܓܥ ܒܗ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ܘܢܫܐܠ ܡܢܗ ܡܐ ܕܒܥܐ ܘܢܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܟܕ ܒܥ

ܒܗ ܕܢ ܕܐ ܐܦ ܫܡܥ ܒܗ. ܐܠܐ ܕܢ ܕܐ ܐܢ ܐܬܝ ܒܗ ܕܢ ܐܢ ܐܬܝ ܒܗ ܕܐ ܐܦ ܫܡܥ ܒܗ. ܐܦ

ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝ ܒܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܐܢܬ ܐܚܬ

ܒܝܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܦܣܘܣ ܘܫܪܝ ܒܗ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܫܒܝܥܝܐ ܘܐܬܝܠܝܦ ܠܗ ܬܠܝܬ ܫܢܝܢ ܒܗ ܘܡܬ ܒܫܠܡ ܒܫܢܬ ܫܒܥ ܕܕܩܠܛܝܢܘܣ ܒܪ ܩܣܛܢܛܝܢ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܥܣܪ ܕܗܘ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܠܬ ܡܐܐ ܕܡܪܩܝܢܘܣ ܒܫܢܬ ܫܒܥ ܕܛܪܐܝܢܘܣ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܡܢܝ ܕܗܕܪܝܢܘܣ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܥܣܪ ܕܐܢܛܘܢܝܢܘܣ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܠܬ ܕܐܠܝܐ ܕܩܣܛܘܣ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܥܣܪ ܕܐܦܣܘܣ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܠܬ ܕܐܠܝܐ ܕܐܦܣܘܣ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܥܣܪ ܕܐܢܛܘܢܝܢܘܣ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܠܬ ܕܐܠܝܐ ܕܩܣܛܘܣ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܥܣܪ ܕܛܪܐܝܢܘܣ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܠܬ ܕܐܠܝܐ ܕܡܪܩܝܢܘܣ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܥܣܪ ܕܗܕܪܝܢܘܣ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܠܬ ܕܐܠܝܐ ܕܩܠܛܝܢܘܣ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܥܣܪ ܕܗܘ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܠܬ ܡܐܐ ܕܫܠܡ ܒܫܢܬ ܫܒܥ ܕܒܗ ܡܬ ܒܫܠܡ ܘܫܪܝ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܫܒܝܥܝܐ ܒܝܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܦܣܘܣ ܘܐܬܝܠܝܦ ܠܗ ܬܠܝܬ ܫܢܝܢ ܒܗ ܘܡܬ ܒܫܠܡ ܒܫܢܬ ܫܒܥ ܕܕܩܠܛܝܢܘܣ ܒܪ ܩܣܛܢܛܝܢ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܥܣܪ ܕܗܘ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܠܬ ܡܐܐ ܕܡܪܩܝܢܘܣ ܒܫܢܬ ܫܒܥ ܕܛܪܐܝܢܘܣ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܡܢܝ ܕܗܕܪܝܢܘܣ ܒܫܢܬ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܥܣܪ ܕܐܢܛܘܢܝܢ

ܕܐܒܝ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܡ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܒ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܒ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܐܘ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܒ ܒܬܚܬ ܐܪܥܐ ܐܘ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܒ ܒܡܝܐ ܐܘ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܒ ܒܫܐܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܐܘ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܒ ܒܡܥܪܐ ܐܘ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܒ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܐܘ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܒ ܒܟܠ ܐܬܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܒ ܒܟܠ ܐܬܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܒ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ

ܐܝܟ ܐܢ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܐܢܫ ܒܬܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܠܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܐܢܫ ܩܕܡ. ܐܢ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܐܢܫ ܩܕܡ ܐܢܫ ܕܠܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܐܢܫ ܒܬܪ. ܐܢ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܐܢܫ ܒܬܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܠܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܐܢܫ ܩܕܡ. ܐܢ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܐܢܫ ܩܕܡ ܐܢܫ ܕܠܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܐܢܫ ܒܬܪ. ✧ ܐܢ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܐܢܫ ܒܬܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܠܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܐܢܫ ܩܕܡ. ✧

ܐܢܝ ܒܪܝ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܒܝܬ ܐܒ ܘܐܡ ܠܐ ◆ ܡܫܟܚ ܐܢܐ

ܕܒܝܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܐܡ ܐܬ ܐܡܪ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܘܐܢ ܐܬ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܡܫܝܚܐ ❖ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܬ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܕܐܬ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ❖ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܬ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܕܐܬ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܡܫܝܚܐ

ܒܥܠ ܕܒܥܠ ܕܒܥܠ ◆ ܕܒܥܠ ܒܥܠ ܕܒܥܠ ◆ ܕܒܥܠ ܒܥܠ ܕܒܥܠ[1] ܒܥܠ.
ܒܥܠ ◆ ܕܒܥܠ ◆ ܒܥܠ ◆ ܒܥܠ ◆

ܒܫܡܗ ܕܝܠܗ ✣ ܡܠܝ ܠܗ ܠܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܡܢ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ
ܕܐܬܐ ܠܟ ܐܘ ܠܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܟ ܐܘ ܠܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢܐ
ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܟ ܐܘ ܠܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܟ ܐܘ ܠܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ
ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܟ ܐܘ ܠܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܟ ܐܘ ܠܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܡܪܝ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܟ ܐܘ ܠܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܟ ܐܘ ܠܐ. ܐܡܪ
ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܟ ܐܘ ܠܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܟ ܐܘ ܠܐ.
ܐܡܪ

ܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܗܟܝ ܫܡܐ ܒܠܫܢ ܝܘܢܝܐ ܐܝ ܕܐܬ ܐܝ ܕܐܬ ܐܝ ܕܐܬ

ܕܐܬܝ ܠܡܥܒܕ. ܠܐ ܟܠ[1] ܚܠܦܝ. ܕܡܫܬ ܐܢܐ ܒܝܬ ܡܢ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܝ ܐܠ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܕܥ ܠܐ ܟܠ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܕܥ ܠܟ

ܕܝܠܚܢܝܐ[1] ܒܥܒܕ ܫܘܒ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ. ܕܐ ܚܕܝܬܐ ܐܡܪ ܫܬ. ܕܐ ܚܕܝܬܐ ܕܐ ܫܬ. ܕܐ ܚܕܝܬܐ ܐܡܪ

ܕܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܒܥ ܡܫܟܢ̈ܐ ܕܫܟܝܢ̈ܐ ܒܗ. ܐܦ ܗܘ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܒܥ ܡܫܟܢ̈ܐ ܕܫܟܝܢ̈ܐ ܒܗ. ܘ

ܒܪ ܒܬܪ ܒܥܝ. ܡܢ ܕܒܥܝ ܒܬܪ ܒܥܝ ܕܒܥܝ ܒܬܪ ܒܥܝ ܕܒܥܝ ܒܬܪ ܒܥܝ

ܟܬܒ ܠܗ[1] ܐܠܗܐ. ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܠܢ ܫܡ ܡܛܠ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܡ. ܘܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܠܗ ܐܒܗܝܟ. ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܠܗ ܐܒܗ ܕܝܘܣܦ. ܘܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܠܗ ܐܒܗ ܕܝܥܩܘܒ. ܘܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܠܗ ܐܒܗ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ. ܘܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܠܗ ܐܒܗ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ. ܘܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܠܗ ܐܒܗ ܕܝܥܩܘܒ. ܘܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܠܗ ܐܒܗ ܕܝܘܣܦ. ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܒܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܒܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܒ

ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܠܐ ܢܣܒ ܐܢܫ ܡܕܡ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܬܐ: ܐܠܐ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܘ ܐܠܝܐ ܐܘ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܡܬܬܟܪ ܒܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ

ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢ ܒܥܐ ܐܢܬ ܕܬܬܟܪܝ ܠܝ ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܐܢܬ ܠܐ ܬܬܟܪܝ ܠܝ ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܬܬܟܪܝ ܠܝ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܕܬܬܟܪܝ ܠܝ ܐܠܐ

ܕܐܝ ܟܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܐܠܗ ܐܚܪ ܐܠܐ ܐܢܐ.
ܐܠܗ ܟܝ ܐܝܬ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ. ܐܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ
ܕܟܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܝ ܐܠܗ. ܐܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܝ.
ܐܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܝ ◇[1]

[1] The remainder of Book II. (see Müller, p. 82) is wanting in the Syriac as well as in the Latin translation.

BOOK III.

I ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗ[1] ܕܐܢܐ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܟܠ ܐܠܗܐ ◇ ܐܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ
ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܝ ◇ ܐܠܗ ܐܚܪ ܐܠܐ ܐܢܐ. ܐܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܬ
ܗܘܝܬ ܠܝ. ܐܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܝ. ܐܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܬ
ܗܘܝܬ ܠܝ ◇ ܐܠܗ ܐܚܪ ܐܠܐ ܐܢܐ. ܐܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ
ܠܝ. ܐܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܝ. ܐܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ
ܠܝ ◇ ܐܠܗ ܐܚܪ ܐܠܐ ܐܢܐ. ܐܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܝ.
ܐܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܝ. ܐܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܝ
◇ ܐܠܗ ܐܚܪ ܐܠܐ ܐܢܐ. ܐܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܝ. ܐܠܗ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܝ. ܐܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܝ ◇

ܘܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܐܢ ܐܬܪ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܘ ܐܬܪ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܘ ܐܬܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܐ ܐܬܪ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ

ܒܬܪ ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܗ ܐܢܬ ܠܡܫܕܐ ܒܗ. ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܠܗ ܒܥܠ ܒܝܬ ܐܝܬ

ܒܪܝܬ ܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܕܒܪܐ ܒܥܠ ܚܝܐ.. ܐܬܐ ܕܒܪ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܕܒܪ ܒܥܠ ܚܝܐ ..
ܕܒܪ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܕܒܪ ܒܥܠ ܚܝܐ.. ܐܬܐ ܕܒܪ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܕܒܪ ܒܥܠ ܚܝܐ..
ܐܬܐ

ܒܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܥܠ ܡܕܝ ܐܢ ܠܐ[4] ܕܒܥܐ ܡܕܝ ◆ ܒܗ ܒܥܐ ܕܢܦܫܗ ܡܫܚܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܥܠ

ܕܐ[1] ܠܡ ܫܟܚܬ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܒܪܝܬ ܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܒܪܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܦ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܪܝ ܐܢܫ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܕܒܪܝ ܐܢܫ ܐܬܐ ܠܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܪܝ ܐܢܫ ܐܠܐ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ

ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܕܐܢܐ ܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܥܠ ܥܡܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܒܚܕ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܫܐܠ ܠܟ ܡܢ

ܕܐܪܡܝܐ ܕܡܥܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܡܝܐ ܘܥܒܪ ܒܗ ܘܐܬܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܡܝܐ ܕܡܥܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܗܘ ܕ

ܕܒܒܝܠ ܥܠ ܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܘܐܫܪܐ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܒܝܪܘܫܠܡ ܘܒܟܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ ܘܠܟܠ ܥܡܡܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܕܐܬܘ ܠܗ ܒܫܒܝ ܡܢ ܒܒܠ ܘܡܢ ܟܘܬܐ ܘܡܢ ܥܘܐ ܘܡܢ ܣܦܪܘܝܡ ܘܐܫܟܢ ܒܗܢ ܒܪ ܢܫ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܡܫܟܢ ܫܡܗ ܬܡܢ ܠܥܠܡ ܘܫܡܗ ܢܗܘܐ ܩܐܡ ܠܥܠܡ ܘܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܐ ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ

ܒܗ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܬܒܪܝ[1] ܐܠܐ ܒܗ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܬܒܪܝ. ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܝܬ ܗܘ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܠܥܠܡ ܚܝ ܗܘ

ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܒܥܝ ܠܡܫܕܪ ܠܗ ܒܫܠܡܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܠܗ ܫܘܡ ܒܝܫ ܡܢ ܡܕܝ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܒܥܠ ܒܝܬܐ[5] ܕܠܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܠܗ ܒܝܫ ܡܢ ܡܕܝ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܒܥܠ ܒܝܬܐ ܘ

ܫܡܥܘܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ

ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܢ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ ✣ ܐ

ܕܡܬܩܛܠ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܗ ܠܡܐܡܪ ܕܐܦ ܗܘ ܒܥܐ ܠܡܩܛܠ ܠܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܘܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܠܡܩܛܠ ܠܝ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܒܥܐ ܐܢܬ ܕܬܫܬܘܐ ܠܝ ܐܢܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܟ ܠܡܩܛܠ ܠܟ.

ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲱⲙⲓ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲣⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲓⲱⲧ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲡⲓⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲕⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁⲛⲓⲁⲕⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲣ

ܘܐܦ ܕܩܕܡܝ. ܘܐܬ ܐܢܐ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܐܬ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܗ
ܕܐܬܝ ܒܫܠܡܐ. ܟܕ ܩܕܡ ܒܪܝܫ ܒܪܘܟܐ ✧ ܐܢܐ ܐܟܬܒ ܠܟ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܕܐܦ ܒܫܡ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܐܬ ܐܬܐ
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܐܬ ܒܫܡ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܐܬ ܐܬܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܐܦ ܒܫܡ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܐܬ ܐܬܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܐܬ ܒܫܡ ܐܒܘܗܝ
ܐܬ ܐܬܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܐܬ ܒܫܡ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܐܬ ܐܬܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܕܐܬ

ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܬܝܢ ܠܗ

ܒܬܪ[1] ܐܚܘ. ܘܐܡ ܕܡܫܟܒ[2] ܒܗ. ܕܒܬܪ ܕܡܫܟܒ[3] ܐܚ
ܡܢܟ ܡܠܟ ܕܠܟܠ ܡܠܟ ◆ ܕܡܫܟܒ ܒܡܢ ܕܡܫܟܒ ܐܚ
ܕܠܡܠܟ ܡܢ. ܡܢܕܥ ܠܝܬܘ ܕܥܡ ܕܒܥܐ : ܘܐܡ ܐܠܐ :
ܒܢܝ ܕܡܢ ◆ ܠܡܠܟ ܫܒ ܐܒܥܐ ܠܐ ܕܥܠ ܒܢ ܠܡܢ.
ܡܠܟ ܕܝܟ ܒܢ ܒܢܬܢ ܒܢ. ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܒܢܡܢ. ܘܒ
ܒܢܝ ◆ ܡܢ ܡܠܟ ܕܡ ܒܢ ܕܡ ◆ ܠܡܠܟ ܡܢ ܕܡ.
ܡܠܟ ܒܢ ܕܡ ܠܐ. ܒܢ ܕܡܫܒܚ ܕܒ ܒܢ ܕܡ ◆ ܕܡ.
ܡܠܟ ◆ ܕܡ ܡܠܟ ܕܡ ܒܢ ܠܐ ◆ ܕܡ ◆ ܕܡ ◆ ܕܡ.
ܕܡ ◆ ܡܢ ◆ ܕܡ ◆ ܕܡ ◆ ◆ ◆

ܒܐ ܒܗ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܐ ܒܗ ܕܒܐ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܕܒܐ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܕܒܐ ܗܘ

ܕܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܘܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܝܬ

ܒܥܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܪܡܝܐ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ

ܟ. ܐܠܦܢ ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܠܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܝܠܕ ܐܢܫ ܐܘ

ܐܦܠܘܢܝܘܣ ܕܒܪ ܐܦܠܘܢܝܘܣ ܕܡܢ ܐܦܣܘܣ ܕܐܦܣܘܣ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܒ

ܒܟܝ ܕܢ[1]. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܢܬܝ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܢ
ܐܡܪ[2]. ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܕܐܬܝ ܥܠ ܐܢܫ ܕܐܬܝ ܠܡܒܪ ܕܐ ܐܡܪ
ܠܝ ✤ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ
ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ. ܐܠܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܢ ܐܢܐ
ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ✤ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ. ܐܠܐ ܕܐܡܪ
ܠܝ ܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ✤ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ.
ܐܠܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ✤ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ
ܐܡܪ ܠܟ. ܐܠܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ✤ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ. ܐܠܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ
✤ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ. ܐܠܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܢ ܐܢܐ
ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ✤ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ. ܐܠܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ
ܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ✤ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ. ܐܠܐ
ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ✤ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ
ܠܟ. ܐܠܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ✤ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܢ
ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ. ܐܠܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ✤ ܐܡܪ
ܠܗ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ. ܐܠܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ
ܠܟ ✤ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ. ܐܠܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܐܢ
ܐܢܐ

هدهدهدهدهد[1]. هدهدهدهدهد[2] هدهدهدهدهد[3]. هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد[4] هدهدهدهدهد[5] هدهدهدهدهد[6]. هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد[7] هدهدهدهدهد. هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد. هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد[8] هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد. هدهدهدهدهد[9] هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد[10]. هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد[11]. هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد[12]. هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد[13]. هدهدهدهدهد[14] هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد

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[1] D هدهدهدهد. Apparently a mistranslation of ὁ λυρφδὸς Ἀμφίων. See Müller, p. 51, col. 2. [2] D هدهدهدهد [3] AE هدهد [4] D هدهدهد [5] Corruptions of هدهدهد and هدهدهد. See Müller, *loc. cit.* [6] D هدهد [7] Corrupted from هدهدهد, Θρήκιος. See Müller, *loc. cit.* [8] Read هدهد [9] Read هدهدهد [10] C هدهدهدهد. Both are corruptions of Τειρεσίας. [11] The corresponding clause in Müller, p. 52, col. 1, gives the names of Ἀθάμας and Λέαρχος. [12] Utterly corrupt. هدهدهد seems to represent Κιθαιρῶνος (Müller, *loc. cit.*); but what is هدهد? [13] BCD هدهدهد (D هدهدهد) هدهدهدهد هدهد هدهدهد هدهدهدهد هدهدهدهد [14] BCD هدهد, without ه

هدهدهدهدهد[1]. هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد. هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد. هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد[2] هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد[3]. هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد. هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد[4] هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد[5] هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد[6] هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد. هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد[7]. هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد[8] هدهدهدهدهد. هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد[9] هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد هدهدهدهدهد.

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[1] A corruption of Ἀκταίων (Müller, p. 52, col. 2). D هدهدهد, on the margin هدهدهد [2] BCD هدهدهد [3] B هدهدهدهدهد [4] D هدهدهد [5] D هدهدهد [6] D هدهدهد [7] A هدهدهد [8] D omits هدهد [9] D omits هدهد

ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܢܫܬܘܕܥ ܠܗ. ܐܦ ܠܐ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܢܫܬܘܕܥ ܠܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ
ܒܫܡܝܐ ܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܥܡܝܩ ܬܚܬ ܠܐܪܥܐ ܘܠܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܠܐ ܬܚܬ
ܐܪܥܐ. ܐܦ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܐܚܪ ܐܠܗ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܚܪ ܒܪ ܡܢ
ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܚܪ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܚܪ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ
ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܚܪ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܚܪ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬ
ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܚܪ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܚܪ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ
ܐܠܗܐ ܐܚܪ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܚܪ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ
ܐܚܪ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܚܪ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܚܪ
ܒܪ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܚܪ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ

ܐܦ ܠܐ ܒܥܝ ܠܡܫܕܐ ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܘܩ ܒܗ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܘܩ ܒܗ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܢܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܕܐ ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܢܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܕܐ ܐܦ

XLVI ܐܚܝܩܪ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟ ܐܪܒܝ ܠܡܢ ܕܐܬ ܠܡܫܕܐ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟ ܘܠܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟ ܘܠܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟ ✧ ܐܚܝܩܪ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟ ܐܪܒܝ ܠܡܢ ܕܐܬ ܠܡܫܕܐ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟ ܘܠܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟ ✧ ܐܚܝܩܪ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܠܟ ܐܪܒܝ ܠܡܢ ܕܐܬ ܠܡܫܕܐ

ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲩⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲓⲟⲛ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙⲡⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ.
ⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲛⲟⲛ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲛⲉⲣⲭⲟⲙⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲓ ⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩⲥⲁⲗⲏⲙ ⲙⲛ ⲧⲉⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲛⲉⲣⲭⲟⲙⲁⲓ ⲉⲡⲓ

ܫܡܥ ¹ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܪ ܫܝܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܢܬܒ ܒܗ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܬܒ ܒܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܦ ² ܗܘ ܠܐ ܢܬܒ ܒܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܢܬܒ ܒܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܢܬܒ ܒܗ ܐܠܗܐ ³ ܡܛܠ ܕܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܢܬܒ ܒܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܢܬܒ ܒܗ ܐܠܗܐ ⁴ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܢܬܒ ܒܗ ܐܠܗܐ ⁵ ܗܘ ܢܬܒ ܒܗ ܐܠܗܐ ⁶ ܐܢܫ ܗܘ ⁷ ܕܐܢ ⁸ ܐܢܫ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܫ ܗܘ ܢܬܒ ܒܗ ܐܠܗܐ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ⁵ ⁶ ⁴ ³ ² ¹

¹ AD ; C ; D . ² D omits ³ Read ⁴ Read ⁵ Either the words are a mere repetition, or they are corrupt. ⁶ ABCE ⁷ C , which seems preferable. ⁸ D ⁹ AE , without ¹⁰ Read ? ¹¹ D

XLIII ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ 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ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܒܪ ܢܫ ܘܠܐ ܒܒܪ ܐܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܢܫܬܘܒ ܠܗ.
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܬ ܠܐ ܬܫܒ ܠܝ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܬ ܠܐ ܬܫܒ ܠܝ

[3]לא. זקנים[2] שהיו סנהדרין אלא [1]ואלו
שבשער העיר לפי שהן יושבין בשער העיר
ומכירין את הנכנסין והיוצאין ויודעין אם
נכנס זה לדבר הגון אם נכנס לדבר שאינו
הגון. ואם יש להם עליו דבר הגון שמא
יאמרו לו שב בביתך ואל תכנס לכאן. ואם
יש להם עליו דבר שאינו הגון שמא יאמרו
לו צא מכאן ואל תשב בביתך. ואם יש להם
עליו דבר שאינו הגון שמא יאמרו לו צא
מכאן ואל תשב בביתך. ואם יש להם עליו
דבר שאינו הגון שמא יאמרו לו צא מכאן
ואל תשב בביתך. ואם יש להם עליו דבר
שאינו הגון שמא יאמרו לו צא מכאן ואל
תשב בביתך. ואם יש להם עליו דבר שאינו
הגון שמא יאמרו לו צא מכאן ואל תשב
בביתך. ואם יש להם עליו דבר שאינו הגון
שמא יאמרו לו צא מכאן ואל תשב בביתך.
ואם יש להם עליו דבר שאינו הגון שמא
יאמרו לו צא מכאן ואל תשב בביתך

ܒܫܠܡ ܗܘ ܀ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܝܫܘܥ ܩܘܡ ܙܠ ܐܙܠ[1] ܠܟ ܕܝܢ.
ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܐܡܘܢܐ ܒܫܡܝ ܐܘ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܐܚ ܐܘ ܐܚܬ
ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܐܡܘܢܐ ܐܘ ܐܚ ܐܘ ܐܚܬ ܐܠܐ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܀ ܘܐܡܪ
ܠܗ ܝܫܘܥ ܩܘܡ ܙܠ ܐܙܠ ܠܟ ܕܝܢ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܒܪ ܝܘܢܐ[2] ܚܒܝܒ
ܐܢܬ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܗܟܢ ܀ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܫܡܥܘܢ ܚܒܝܒ ܐܢܬ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܗܟܢ ..
ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܚܒܝܒ ܐܢܬ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ
ܠܟ ܗܟܢ .. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܚܒܝܒ ܐܢܬ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ
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ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܗܟܢ .. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܚܒܝܒ ܐܢܬ
ܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܗܟܢ .. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ
ܚܒܝܒ ܐܢܬ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܗܟܢ .. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ
ܐܝܬ ܠܟ

ܕܐܡܪ : ܐܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܒܪܟ ܠܒܪܗ ܘܠܟ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ◆

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ܒܗ ܘܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܐܢܫ ܕܢܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܕܐܝܟܐ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

ܒܫܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܝܐ ܘܩܝܡܐ. ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܥܒܕܬ ܗܟܢܐ.
ܘܠܡܐ ܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܗܟܝܠ ܐܢܬ ܥܒܕ ܠܝ.
ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܕܐܢܬ ܥܒܕ ܠܝ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܟ.
ܘܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܬ ܠܝ ܕܐܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܟ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܟ.
ܘܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܕܐܢܬ ܥܒܕ ܠܝ ܐܦ ܐܢܬ ܥܒܕ ܠܝ.
ܘܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܬ ܠܝ ܕܐܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܟ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܟ.
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ܘܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܬ ܠܝ ܕܐܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܟ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܟ.
ܘܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܕܐܢܬ ܥܒܕ ܠܝ ܐܦ ܐܢܬ ܥܒܕ ܠܝ.
ܘܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܬ ܠܝ ܕܐܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܟ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܟ.

XXXVII ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܥܒܕܬ ܗܟܢܐ ܒܫܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ◆ ܡܫܟܚ

[1] D ܠܡܐ and on the margin ܠܟ ܘ [2] Rather ܒܥܝܬ
[3] Read ܟܕܒܫܬ ? [4] D ܐܢ ܐܦ [5] D ܠܡܐ [6] D ܡܫܟ
[7] D ܐܢܐ [8] D ܡܥܒܕ [9] Read ܟܕܒܫܬ

ܒܫܡ ܕܐܠܗܐ ◆ ܡܫܟܚ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܥܒܕ ܗܟܢܐ ܘܠܡܐ ܠܐ
ܥܒܕ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܗܟܝܠ ܐܢܬ ܥܒܕ ܠܝ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢ
ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܕܐܢܬ ܥܒܕ ܠܝ ܐܦ ܐܢܬ ܥܒܕ ܠܝ. ܘܐܢ ܐܡܪ
ܐܢܬ ܠܝ ܕܐܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܟ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܟ. ܘܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ
ܠܟ ܕܐܢܬ ܥܒܕ ܠܝ ܐܦ ܐܢܬ ܥܒܕ ܠܝ. ܘܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܬ ܠܝ
ܕܐܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܟ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܟ. ܘܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܕܐܢܬ
ܥܒܕ ܠܝ ܐܦ ܐܢܬ ܥܒܕ ܠܝ. ܘܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܬ ܠܝ ܕܐܢܐ ܥܒܕ
ܠܟ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܟ.

[1] D ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ [2] AE ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ [3] BE ܗܟܝܠ ܐܢܬ ܥܒܕ ܠܝ
[4] ABCE ܘܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܬ ܠܝ, C ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܕܐܢܬ ܥܒܕ ܠܝ

ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܘܩܩ ܐܦ ܒܚܕ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܘܠܐ ܐܥܒܕ ܠܗ

ܒܝܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܐܬ ܒܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܐ ܘܐܠܗܐ ܒܪ

XXXIV ⲁⲩⲱ ⲡⲉⲓⲣⲁⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲉⲣⲉⲩⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲟⲩⲟⲉⲓⲧ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲁⲅⲁⲑⲟⲥ ⲇⲁⲓⲙⲱⲛ

ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲉ ⲡⲉⲕⲙⲁ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲓⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲕⲣⲁⲛ ⲛⲓⲃⲉⲛ ⲛⲉ

ܠܡܬܒܥ. ܘܐܠ ܬܗܘ ܐܢܫ ܕܐ ܡܬܚ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܒܫܡ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܕܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ

ܕܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܡ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܝ. ܕܗܘ ܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܒܚܐ ◆ ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܒܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܒܐܠܗܐ ◆ ܕܐܦ ܒܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܫܬܟܚ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܒܚܐ ◆ ܕܐܦ ܒܗ

ⲛⲁⲣⲭⲏⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲉⲛⲟⲩⲃ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲱⲙⲁ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲣⲝ ⲙ̀ⲡⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ

ܐܬܝ ܠܗ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܗ ܘܐܦ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܢܫ ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܦܘܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܝ ܘܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܦܘܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ

ܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܟܢܫ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܒܗ ܒܫܒܬܐ.[1] ܘܐܦ ܟܠ ܒܥܝܪ ܕܐܬܐ[2] ܠܘܬ ܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܠܐ ܢܥܒܕ ܡܕܡ ܒܫܒܬܐ. ܘܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ. ܘܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ. ܘܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ. ܘܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ. ܘܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ. ܘܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ. ܘܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ. ܘܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ. ܘܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ. ܘܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ. ܘܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ. ܘܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ. ܘܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ. ܘܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ.

[1] Τὸ Καπιτώλιον. B has the marginal note ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ² D omits ܟܠ ³ Οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, the Carthaginians. The better reading ܡܠܟܝܐ occurs in Chap. XXIX.
⁴ ABC ܟܠ ⁵ E ܐܬܥܒ ⁶ ABCE omit ܐܢ
⁷ Corresponding to Chap. XXX in the Greek (see Müller, p. 31).
⁸ Read ܡܠܟܝܐ, or ܡܠܟܝܐ. D ܡܠܟܝܐ
⁹ Read ܐܬܬܟܢܫ ¹⁰ A omits ܡܢ

ܕܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܠܐ ܢܥܒܕ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܒܗ ܒܫܒܬܐ. ܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ. ܘܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ. ܘܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ. ܘܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ. ܘܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ. ܘܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ. ܘܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ. ܘܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ. ܘܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ. ܘܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ. ܘܒܝܬ ܡܘܥܕܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܘ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܫܬܐ ܡܝ ܕܚܝ.

[1] ABCE ܐܬܟܢܫ ² A omits ܒܗ ³ Read ܡܠܟܝܐ
⁴ Corresponding with the remainder of Chap. XXX in the Greek.
⁵ D ܡܠܟܝܐ ⁶ Read ܐܬܬܟܢܫ? See above, p. 63, note 3.
⁷ Read ܐܢ ⁸ D ܡܠܟܝܐ ⁹ Read ܐܬܬܟܢܫ

ܕܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܐ ܗܘ ܕܢܦܩ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܘܗܝ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܚ ܐܘ ܐܚܬ ܐܘ ܐܡ ܐܘ ܒܪ ܐܘ ܒܪܬ ܐܘ ܒܥܠ ܐܘ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܐܘ ܒܥܠ ܐܘ ܒܥܠ ܐܘ ܒܥܠ

ܒܝܬ. ܘܐܡ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ[1] ܒܪܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܠܗ ܒܪܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܘܐܡ

ܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܕܐܢܬ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ. ܐܦ

ܒܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܪܘܕܘܣ ܒܣܦܪ ܐܘܪܚ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܬܝ ܒܗ

ܒܝܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܝ ܒܝܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܟܠ ܙܗܒܐ ܘܟܠ ܟܣܦܐ ܘܟܠ ܩܢܝܢܐ ܘܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܝܩܪ ܒܥܝܢ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܘܠܐ ܡ

ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[1]. ܐܝܬ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܛܒܚܐ ܐܚܪ ܠܐ ܡܛܒܚܐ ܐܠܐ
ܠܡܝܬܒ. ܘܒܗ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܚܪ. ܘܒܗ ܐܝܬ ܒܝܬ ܕܒܪ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܐ[2].
ܕܒܝܬ ܐܒܐ ܕܒܪ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܛܒܚܐ ܐܚܪ ܠܐ ܡܛܒܚܐ.
ܕܒܝܬ ܐܒܐ. ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ
ܒܝܬ ܐܒܐ ܕ

ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܠܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܐܚܪ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܕܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ✤ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܫܡܥ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܐܚܪ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܗ

ܒܝܬ ܟܢܘܫܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܥܠܡܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܝ ܠܘܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܢܬܝܕܥ ܠܗ ܠܟܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܗܘ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܝ ܠܡܫܪܝ ܒܗ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܘܠܡܕܝܢ ܒܗ ܠܟܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܘܠܡܫܪܝ ܒܗ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ. ܐܡܝܢ.

[1] For uniformity's sake we should read ܡܫܠܡܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ

[2] Read ܡܫܠܡܢܐ [3] ABCE omit ܕܐܬܐ

[4] In B there is the marginal gloss ܫܡܥܐ (Pers. تَسمَه).

[5] BD have ܕܒܚܒܝ, but in B, ב is corrected into ג on the margin. Read ܕܒܚܓܝ [6] C ܡܫܠܡܢܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܡܫܪܝ [7] D ܡܢܝ

ܒܝܬ ܟܢܘܫܬܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܝ ܠܘܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܢܬܝܕܥ ܠܗ ܠܟܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܗܘ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܝ ܠܡܫܪܝ ܒܗ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܘܠܡܕܝܢ ܒܗ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ. ܐܡܝܢ.

[1] D ܐܬܐ [2] Read ܒܚܒܝ [3] D ܐܬܐ [4] AE ܫܡܥ, and so B originally. [5] D ܡܫܠܡܢܐ [6] At least write ܡܫܠܡܢܐ [7] DE ܡܠܝܢ [8] ADE ܩܘܕܫܝܟ [9] D ܒܪܝܟ

ܫܒܥ ܡܐܬ. ܘܐܬܐ[1] ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܠܡܩܒܠ ܘܣܓܕ ܠܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܕܢܝ ܐܢ ܫܟܚܬ ܛܝܒܘܬܟ ܒܥܝܢܝ ܬܥܒܪ ܥܒܕܟ ܘܐܬܐ ܐܦ ܠܥܒܕ ܐܒܝ ܘܐܡ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܛܝܒܘܬܟ ܒܥܝܢܝ ܐܠ ܬܥܒܪ ܥܒܕܟ. ܐܠܐ ܠܟ ܠܚܘ. ܐܠܗܝ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܩܪܐ ܫܡܗ ܒܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܒܥܝܢ ܐܢ ܐܫܬܟܚ

ܐܦ ܠܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ[1]. ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܦ ܗܟܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܠܐ ܥܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܫܠܝܛ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܫܠܝܛ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ. ܐܠܐ ܥܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܫܠܝܛ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܫܠܝܛ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ. ܐܠܐ ܥܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܫܠܝܛ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܦ ܗܟܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ

ܕܐ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܘܐ ܠܐ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܕܢܫܬܘܕܥ ܒܗ

ܒܝܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܠܟܘܬ ܐܢܫ ܘܠ

ܒܫܘܥܒܕ ܕܒܫܘܥ ܐܠ ܢܬ ܠܗ. ܘܐܠ ܢܬ ܠܗ. ܕܒܫ ܢܬ. ܕܒܫܘܥ ܒܕ ܒܫܘܥ
ܐܠ ܗܘ ܕܒܫ ܢܬ ܠܗ ܕܒ ܫܘܥ[1]. ܢܬ ܫܘܥ ܕܒ ܗ. ܗܘ ܐܠ ܗܘ
ܗܘ ܐܠ ܗܘ ܕܒ ܫ ܢܬ. ܗܘ ܐ ܢܬ ܕܒ ܫ. ܗܘ ܐ ܢܬ ܕܒ ܫ ܗ ܐ ܠ
ܗ ܐ ܠ ܗ ܘ ܕ ܒ ܫ ܢ ܬ ܠ ܗ ܐ ܠ ܗ ܘ ܕ ܒ ܫ ܢ ܬ ܠ ܗ ✧

XVIII ܐ ܕ ܒ ܫ ܢ ܬ ܠ ܗ ܐ ܠ ܗ ܘ ܕ ܒ ܫ ܢ ܬ ܠ ܗ ✧ ܐ ܠ ܗ ܘ ܕ ܒ ܫ ܢ ܬ ܠ ܗ
ܐ ܠ ܗ ܘ ܕ ܒ ܫ ܢ ܬ ܠ ܗ ✧ ܐ ܠ ܗ ܘ ܕ ܒ ܫ ܢ ܬ ܠ ܗ ✧ ܐ ܠ ܗ ܘ ܕ ܒ ܫ ܢ ܬ ܠ ܗ
ܐ ܠ ܗ ✧ ܐ ܠ ܗ ✧ ✧ ✧

ויקרא יג

ובשר החי כי יהיה בו נגע צרעת ונתק אל הכהן׃ והראה הכהן את הנגע בעור הבשר ושער בנגע הפך לבן ומראה הנגע עמק מעור בשרו נגע צרעת הוא ראהו הכהן וטמא אתו׃ ואם בהרת לבנה היא בעור בשרו ועמק אינה מראה מן העור ושערה לא הפך לבן והסגיר הכהן את הנגע שבעת ימים׃ וראהו הכהן ביום השביעי והנה הנגע עמד בעיניו לא פשה הנגע בעור והסגירו הכהן שבעת ימים שנית׃ וראהו הכהן ביום השביעי שנית והנה כהה הנגע ולא פשה הנגע בעור וטהרו הכהן מספחת הוא וכבס בגדיו וטהר׃ ואם פשה תפשה המספחת בעור אחרי הראות אתו אל הכהן לטהרתו ונראה אל הכהן׃ וראה הכהן והנה פשתה המספחת בעור וטמאו הכהן צרעת הוא׃ אדם כי יהיה בו נגע צרעת והובא אל הכהן׃ וראה הכהן והנה שאת לבנה בעור והיא הפכה שער לבן ומחיות בשר חי בשאת׃ צרעת נושנת היא בעור בשרו וטמאו הכהן לא יסגירנו כי טמא הוא׃ ואם פרח תפרח הצרעת בעור וכסתה הצרעת את כל עור הנגע מראשו ועד רגליו לכל מראה עיני הכהן׃ וראה הכהן והנה כסתה הצרעת את כל בשרו וטהר את הנגע כלו הפך לבן טהור הוא׃ וביום הראות בו בשר חי יטמא׃ ראה הכהן את הבשר החי וטמא את הבשר החי טמא הוא צרעת הוא׃ או כי ישוב הבשר החי והפך ללבן ובא אל הכהן׃ וראהו הכהן והנה נהפך הנגע ללבן ואמר הכהן את הנגע טהור הוא׃ ואיש או אשה כי יהיה בעור בשרו בהרת בהרת לבנות׃ וראה הכהן והנה בעור בשרם בהרות כהות לבנות בהק הוא פרחת בעור טהור הוא׃ ואיש כי יתמרט ראשו קרח הוא טהור הוא׃ ואם מפאת פניו יתמרט ראשו גבח הוא טהור הוא׃ וכי יהיה בקרחת או בגבחת נגע לבן אדמדם צרעת פרחת בקרחתו או בגבחתו׃ וראהו הכהן והנה שאת הנגע לבנה אדמדמת בקרחתו או בגבחתו כמראה צרעת עור בשר פרחת הוא׃ אדם הוא טמא הוא טמא יטמאנו הכהן בראשו נגעו׃ והצרוע אשר בו הנגע בגדיו יהיו פרמים וראשו יהיה פרוע ועל שפם יעטה וטמא טמא יקרא׃ כל ימי אשר הנגע בו יטמא טמא הוא בדד ישב מחוץ למחנה מושבו׃ ובגד כי יהיה בו נגע צרעת בבגד צמר או בבגד פשתים׃ או בשתי או בערב לפשתים ולצמר או בעור או בכל מלאכת עור׃ והיה הנגע ירקרק או אדם בבגד או בעור או בשתי או בערב או בכל כלי עור נגע צרעת הוא והראה את הכהן׃ וראה הכהן את הנגע והסגיר את הנגע שבעת ימים׃ וראה את הנגע ביום השביעי כי פשה הנגע בבגד או בשתי או בערב או בעור לכל אשר יעשה העור למלאכה נגע צרעת הנגע מצרעת הוא טמא הוא׃ ושרף את הבגד או את השתי או את הערב בצמר או בפשתים או את כל כלי העור אשר יהיה בו הנגע כי צרעת מצרעת הנגע באש תשרף׃ וכי יראה הכהן והנה לא פשה הנגע בבגד או בשתי או בערב או בכל כלי עור׃ וצוה הכהן וכבסו את אשר בו הנגע והסגיר אתו שבעת ימים שנית׃ וראה הכהן אחרי הכבס את הנגע והנה לא הפך הנגע את עינו ולא פשה הנגע טמא הוא באש תשרפנו פחת הוא בקרחתו או בגבחתו׃ ואם ראה הכהן והנה כהה הנגע אחרי הכבס אתו ובקרעו אתו מן הבגד או מן העור או מן השתי או מן הערב׃ ואם תראה עוד בבגד או בשתי או בערב או בכל כלי עור פרחת היא באש תשרף את אשר בו הנגע׃ והבגד או השתי או הערב או כל כלי העור אשר תכבס ויסר מהם הנגע וכבס שנית וטהר׃ זאת תורת נגע צרעת בבגד צמר או פשתים או בשתי או בערב או בכל כלי עור לטהר או לטמא׃

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[1] BC omit ובשר [2] D רואה הכהן [3] ABC בקרחתו
[4] ADE כהות [5] C ומראה

ויקרא יד

זאת תהיה תורת המצרע ביום טהרתו והובא אל הכהן׃ ויצא הכהן אל מחוץ למחנה וראה הכהן והנה נרפא נגע צרעת מן המצרע׃ וצוה הכהן ולקח למטהר שתי צפרים חיות טהרות ועץ ארז ושני תולעת ואזוב׃ וצוה הכהן ושחט את הצפור האחת אל כלי חרש על מים חיים׃ את הצפור החיה יקח אתה ואת עץ הארז ואת שני התולעת ואת האזוב ואת הצפור החיה יטבל אתם ואת הצפור החיה בדם הצפור השחטה על המים החיים׃ והזה על המטהר מן הצרעת שבע פעמים וטהרו ושלח את הצפור החיה על פני השדה׃ וכבס המטהר את בגדיו וגלח את כל שערו ורחץ במים וטהר ואחר יבוא אל המחנה וישב מחוץ לאהלו שבעת ימים׃ והיה ביום השביעי יגלח את כל שערו את ראשו ואת זקנו ואת גבת עיניו ואת כל שערו יגלח וכבס את בגדיו ורחץ את בשרו במים וטהר׃ וביום השמיני יקח שני כבשים תמימים ואחת כבשה בת שנתה תמימה ושלשה עשרנים סלת מנחה בלולה בשמן ולג אחד שמן׃ והעמיד הכהן המטהר את האיש המטהר ואת אלה לפני יהוה פתח אהל מועד׃ ולקח הכהן את הכבש האחד והקריב אתו לאשם ואת לג השמן והניף אתם תנופה לפני יהוה׃ ושחט את הכבש במקום אשר ישחט את החטאת ואת העולה במקום הקדש כי כחטאת האשם הוא לכהן קדש קדשים הוא׃ ולקח הכהן מדם האשם ונתן הכהן על תנוך אזן המטהר הימנית ועל בהן ידו הימנית ועל בהן רגלו הימנית׃ ומן הלג יצק הכהן על כף הכהן השמאלית׃ והזה הכהן באצבעו הימנית מן השמן אשר על כפו השמאלית שבע פעמים לפני יהוה׃ ומיתר השמן אשר על כפו יתן הכהן על תנוך אזן המטהר הימנית ועל בהן ידו הימנית ועל בהן רגלו הימנית על דם האשם׃ והיתרה בשמן אשר על כף הכהן יתן על ראש המטהר וכפר עליו הכהן לפני יהוה׃ ועשה הכהן את החטאת וכפר על המטהר מטמאתו ואחר ישחט את העולה׃ והעלה הכהן את העולה והמנחה על המזבח וכפר עליו הכהן וטהר׃ ואם דל הוא ואין ידו משגת ולקח כבש אחד אשם לתנופה לכפר עליו ועשרון סלת אחד מנחה בלולה בשמן ולג שמן׃ ושתי תרים או שני בני יונה אשר תשיג ידו והיה אחד חטאת והאחד עולה׃ והביא את קרבנו ביום השמיני לטהרתו אל הכהן אל פתח אהל מועד לפני יהוה׃ ולקח הכהן את כבש האשם ואת לג השמן והניף אתם הכהן תנופה לפני יהוה׃ ושחט את כבש האשם ולקח הכהן מדם האשם ונתן על תנוך אזן המטהר הימנית ועל בהן ידו הימנית ועל בהן רגלו הימנית׃ ויצק הכהן מן השמן על כף הכהן השמאלית׃ והזה הכהן בשמן אשר בכפו השמאלית שבע פעמים לפני יהוה׃ ועשה הכהן את האחד מן התרים או מן בני היונה אשר תשיג ידו׃ את אשר תשיג ידו את האחד חטאת ואת האחד עולה על המנחה וכפר הכהן על המטהר לפני יהוה׃ זאת תורת אשר בו נגע צרעת אשר לא תשיג ידו בטהרתו׃ וידבר יהוה אל משה ואל אהרן לאמר׃ כי תבאו אל ארץ כנען אשר אני נתן לכם לאחזה ונתתי נגע צרעת בבית ארץ אחזתכם׃ והבא אשר לו הבית והגיד לכהן לאמר כנגע נראה לי בבית׃ וצוה הכהן ופנו את הבית בטרם יבא הכהן לראות את הנגע ולא יטמא כל אשר בבית ואחר כן יבא הכהן לראות את הבית׃ וראה את הנגע והנה היו הנגע בקירות הבית שקערורת ירקרקת או אדמדמת ומראיהן שפל מן הקיר׃ ויצא הכהן מן הבית אל פתח הבית והסגיר את הבית שבעת ימים׃ ושב הכהן ביום השביעי וראה והנה פשה הנגע בקירות הבית׃ וצוה הכהן וחלצו את האבנים אשר בהן הנגע והשליכו אתהן אל מחוץ לעיר אל מקום טמא׃ ואת הבית יקצעו מבית סביב וישפכו את העפר אשר קצו אל מחוץ לעיר אל מקום טמא׃ ולקחו אבנים אחרות והביאו אל תחת האבנים ועפר אחר יקח ויטח את הבית׃ ואם ישוב הנגע ופרח בבית אחרי חלץ את האבנים ואחרי הקצות את הבית ואחרי הטח׃ ובא הכהן וראה והנה פשה הנגע בבית צרעת מצרעת הוא בבית טמא הוא׃ ונתץ את הבית את אבניו ואת עציו ואת כל עפר הבית והוציא אל מחוץ לעיר אל מקום טמא׃ והבא הבית כל ימי הסגיר אתו יטמא עד הערב׃ והשכב בבית יכבס את בגדיו ואכל בבית יכבס את בגדיו׃ ואם בא יבא הכהן וראה והנה לא פשה הנגע בבית אחרי הטח את הבית וטהר הכהן את הבית כי נרפא הנגע׃ ולקח לחטא את הבית שתי צפרים ועץ ארז ושני תולעת ואזוב׃ ושחט את הצפור האחת אל כלי חרש על מים חיים׃ ולקח את עץ הארז ואת האזוב ואת שני התולעת ואת הצפור החיה ואת הצפור השחטה ואת הלג ואת השמן ואת הצפור החיה׃ והזה אל הבית שבע פעמים׃ וחטא את הבית בדם הצפור ובמים החיים ובצפור החיה ובעץ הארז ובאזוב ובשני התולעת׃ ושלח את הצפור החיה אל מחוץ לעיר אל פני השדה וכפר על הבית וטהר׃ זאת התורה לכל נגע הצרעת ולנתק׃ ולצרעת הבגד ולבית׃ ולשאת ולספחת ולבהרת׃ ללמד ביום הטמא וביום הטהר זאת תורת הצרעת׃ וידבר יהוה אל משה ואל אהרן לאמר׃ דברו אל בני ישראל ואמרתם אליהם איש איש כי יהיה זב מבשרו זובו טמא הוא׃ וזאת תהיה טמאתו בזובו רר בשרו מזובו או סתם בשרו מזובו טמאתו הוא׃ כל משכב אשר ישכב עליו הזב וכל כלי אשר ישב עליו יטמא׃ וכל האדם אשר יגע בו ולא שטף את ידיו במים וכבס בגדיו ורחץ במים וטמא עד הערב׃ והכלי חרש אשר יגע בו הזב ישבר וכל כלי עץ ישטף במים וטהר׃ וכי יטהר הזב מזובו וספר לו שבעת ימים לטהרתו וכבס בגדיו ורחץ את בשרו במים חיים וטהר׃ וביום השמיני יקח לו שתי תרים או שני בני יונה ובא לפני יהוה אל פתח אהל מועד ונתן אתם אל הכהן׃ ועשה אתם הכהן אחד חטאת והאחד עולה וכפר עליו הכהן לפני יהוה מזובו׃ וכי תצא ממנו שכבת זרע ורחץ במים את כל בשרו וטמא עד הערב׃ וכל בגד וכל עור אשר יהיה עליו שכבת זרע וכבס במים וטמא עד הערב׃ והאשה אשר ישכב איש אתה שכבת זרע ורחצו במים וטמאו עד הערב׃ והאשה כי תהיה זבה דם יהיה זובה בבשרה שבעת ימים תהיה בנדתה וכל הנגע בה יטמא עד הערב׃ וכל אשר תשכב עליו בנדתה יטמא וכל אשר תשב עליו יטמא׃ וכל האדם אשר יגע במשכבתה וכבס בגדיו ורחץ במים וטמא עד הערב׃ וכל הנגע בכלי אשר תשב עליו יכבס במים וטמא עד הערב׃ ואם על המשכב הוא או על הכלי אשר היא יושבת עליו בנגעו בו יטמא עד הערב׃ ואם שכב ישכב איש אתה ותהי נדתה עליו וטמא שבעת ימים וכל המשכב אשר ישכב עליו יטמא׃ והאשה כי יזוב זוב דמה ימים רבים בלא עת נדתה או כי תזוב על נדת טמאתה כל ימי זוב טמאתה כימי נדתה טמאה הוא׃ כל המשכב אשר תשכב עליו כל ימי זובה כמשכב נדתה יהיה לה וכל הכלי אשר תשב עליו טמא יהיה כטמאת נדתה׃ וכל הנגע בהם יטמא וכבס בגדיו ורחץ במים וטמא עד הערב׃ והיא כי תטהר מזובה וספרה לה שבעת ימים ואחר תטהר׃ וביום השמיני תקח לה שתי תרים או שני בני יונה והביאה אל הכהן אל פתח אהל מועד׃ ועשה הכהן את האחד חטאת והאחד עולה וכפר עליה הכהן לפני יהוה מזוב טמאתה׃ והזרתם את בני ישראל מטמאתם ולא ימתו בטמאתם בטמאם את משכני אשר בתוכם׃ זאת תורת הזב ואשר תצא ממנו שכבת זרע לטמא בה׃ ודוה בנדתה והזב את זובו לזכר ולנקבה ולאיש אשר ישכב עם טמאה׃

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[1] BC write this clause twice. E ל [2] BE וְנָתַן
[3] D וְהִנֵּה הַנֶּגַע [4] D לו

ܕܡܫܬܐ ܕܐܢ ܕܐܡ ܕܥܒܕ ܡܢܐ ܕܒܟ. ܐܓܪ ܒܡܠܝܟ ܐܓܪ. ܐܡܪ
ܐܓܪ ܒܪܒܬ ܟܠܗ ◇

XVII [1] ܗܘ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܡܢ ܕܥܕ ܕܐܡܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܕܐܓܪ ܒܪܒܬ. ܟܬܒ[2] ܡܠܟܐ ܕܟܠ ܕܒܟ ܒܪܟܐ. ܐܡܪ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[3] ܫܠܝܚ ܡܠܟ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܕܥܡܪ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܐܡ ܕܐܡ ܡܠܟ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ[4] ܡܠܟ. ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܐܡ ܕܐܡ ܡܠܟ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܕܐܡ. ܕܟܬܒ
ܕܐܡ ܕܐܡ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܐܡ ܕܐܡ ܡܠܟ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ.
ܕܐܡ ܕܐܡ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܐܡ ܕܐܡ ܡܠܟ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܕܐܡ

XVI[1] ⲁⲛⲟⲕ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲣⲟⲫⲏⲧⲏⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲛ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲧⲉ ⲡⲓⲥⲁⲧⲁⲛⲁⲥ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲉⲧⲥⲱⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲓ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲧ

ܕܐܦܠܘܢܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܒܚܠܡ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܘܬܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܬ ܐܢܐ ܐܦ ܐܢܐ

ⲙⲛ ⲛⲓⲙⲁⲣⲧⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲛⲓⲕⲁⲑⲁⲣⲥⲓⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ

ܕܡܢ ܫܡܫ ܘܥܕ ܫܡܫ ܐܬ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡ

ܡܠܟܘܗܝ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܚܝܩܪ[1] ܒܪ ܚܢܕܒܐ ܕܐܒܝ ܠܐ
ܫܡܥ ܠܟ ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܥܒܕܬ ܟܠ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܝܘܢ[2] ܒܪ ܐܒܝ ܘܐܢ ܠܐ
ܐܫܬܟܚ[3] ܠܝ ܡܢ ܐܢܫ ܐܠܐ ܒܟܬܒ ܟܬܝܒ ܒܝܕ ܡܠܐܟ ܐܠܗܐ
ܕܐܠܗ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܟܚ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܐܢܫ ܐܠܐ ܒܟܬܒ ܟܬܝܒ ܒܝܕ ܡܠܐܟ ܐܠܗܐ

ܡܝܬܟܠܡ ܟܡܐ ܕܡܟܬܒ ܒܟܬܒ ܐܚܪ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ[1] ܡܝܬܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ
ܕܫܡ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ[2]. ܟܬܒ ܒܟܬ ܒܗܝܟܠ[3] ܡܪܕܟ[4] ܐܠܐ
ܡܝܬܐ ܡܪܕܟ[5] ܕܢܝܚ ܒܗ ܕܫܡܐ ܐܝܟ. ܟܬܒ
ܒܟܬ ܒܗܝܟܠ ܕܐܠ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ[6] ܠܐ ܡܬܩܪܒ ܒܟܬ
ܒܗܝܟܠ[7]. ܟܬܒ ܒܟܬ ܒܗܝܟܠ ܕܐܠ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ[8] ܒܟܬ
ܒܗܝܟܠ ܕܐܠ[9]. ܟܬܒ ܒܟܬ ܒܗܝܟܠ ܕܐܠ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ
ܒܟܬ ܒܗܝܟܠ[10]. ܒܟܬ ܒܗܝܟܠ ܕܐܠ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ
ܒܟܬ ܒܗܝܟܠ[11] ܐܠܗܐ. ܟܬܒ ܒܟܬ ܒܗܝܟܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܟܬ.
ܒܟܬ ܐܠ ܒܟܬ ܐܠܗ. ܐܠ ܒܟܬ ܠܐ ܒܟܬ ܒܗܝܟܠ
ܒܟܬ ܐܠ ܒܟܬ ܐܠܗ. ܒܟܬ ܒܗܝܟܠ ܐܠܗܐ ✧

XIII ܒܟܬ ܟܡ ܒܗܝܟܠ ܒܟܬ ܒܗ ܐܠ ܒܟܬ[12]. ܒܟܬ ܟܡ
ܒܗܝܟܠ ܒܟܬ ܒܗ ܐܠ ܒܟܬ[13]. ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ. ܒܟܬ ܐܠ ܒܟܬ
ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܒܟܬ ܒܗܝܟܠ ܒܟܬ ܒܗ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ. ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ ✧ ܒܟܬ ܒܗܝܟܠ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ

[1] D ܡܝܬܟܠܡ and (*sic*) ܡܝܬܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ. The word ܐܡܪ is wanting in A, which has ܡܝܬܐܡܪ

[2] In B a later hand has written ♃, *Jupiter*, over this word.

[3] Read ܒܟܬ (?) [4] D ܒܟܬ [5] Here A adds ܐܡܪ

[6] Over this word is written in B ܐܡܪ, *vas* ? [7] Apparently corrupt. Read ܡܬܩܪܒ ? [8] ABD add ܒܟܬ [9] D ܒܟ

[10] A ܒܟܬ [11] ABCE ܒܟܬ. Gr. γέννησον. [12] E ܒܟ

[13] D ܒܟ

ܡܝܬܟܠܡ ܟܡܐ ܕܡܟܬܒ ܒܟܬ ܒܗ. ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ[1]. ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ[2] ܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ[3]. ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ
ܐܡܪ ..ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ ..ܐܡܪ ܐܠ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ

[1] Rather ܒܪܐܫܝܬ and ܒܪܝܬ [2] D omits ܐܡܪ [3] A has merely ܒܪܐܫܝܬ. For ܐܡܪ read ܐܡܪ [4] D ܡܫܡܝܐ

[5] D omits ܐܡܪ [6] Read ܒܟ, without **o**. D ܒܟ

[7] ܐ is wanting in A. [8] Glossed in B by ܒܪܐ

[9] D ܐܡܪ; ABC ܒܪܐܫܝܬ (DE ܒ) [10] D ܒܪܐ

ܕܫܡܫܐ ܐܬܠܟ ܟܡ ܟܘ ܡܢ ܕܫܡܫ ܐܓܪܐ ܕܐܒܝܠ. ܕܫܡ
ܐܓܪܐ ܒܠܚܕ ܕܫܡܫ[1] ܒܠܒܢܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܫܡܫܐ ܕܐܒܝܠ. ܠܐ
ܫܡܫܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܒܠܚܕ ܕܫܡ ܡܢ ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ. ܐܠܐ ܒܠܚܕ
ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ. ܒܠܚܕ ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ ܕܫܡ ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ
ܕܐܒܝܠ[2]. ܕܫ ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ ܕܐܒܝܠ ܒܠܚܕ ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ[3].
ܕܫ ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ ܕܐܒܝܠ ܒܠܚܕ ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ ܕܫ ܕܫܡ
ܐܓܪܐ ܕܐܒܝܠ ܒܠܚܕ ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ ܕܫ ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ
ܕܐܒܝܠ ܒܠܚܕ ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ[4] ܕܫ ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ ܕܐܒܝܠ[5].
ܕܫ ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ ܕܐܒܝܠ[6] ܕܫ[7]. ܕܫ ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ.
ܕܫ ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ ܕܐܒܝܠ[8] ܕܫ ܐܓܪܐ[9] ܕܫ ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ.
ܕܫ ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ ܕܐܒܝܠ. ܕܫ ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ[10] ܕܫ
ܐܓܪܐ ܕܐܒܝܠ. ܕܫ ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ ܕܐܒܝܠ ܒܠܚܕ ܕܫ
ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ ܕܐܒܝܠ[11]. ܕܫ ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ ܕܫ ܕܫ
ܕܫ ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ ܕܐܒܝܠ[12]. ܕܫ ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ ܕܫ ܕܫ
ܕܫ ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ ܕܐܒܝܠ ܒܠܚܕ ܕܫ ܕܫܡ ܐܓܪܐ.

[1] Read ܕܫ ? [2] A word is wanting here. Over ܕܫ there is written in pencil in B ܕܫ, for ܕܫ, *Cancer*; and over ܕܫ in ink ܕܫ, for ܕܫ, *Saturn*. [3] D ܕܫ ܕܫ ܕܫ

ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢ ܕܟܘܟܒ ܫܒܝܥ[1] ܕܡܫܟܢ ܕܝܘܡ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢ ܕܫܡܫ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢ ܕܐܪܝܚ ✧

XI ܡܐܢ[3] ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ✧

[1] ABCE ܫܒܝܥ [2] D ܕܟܘܟܒ [3] D ܡܢ [4] AB ܫܘܠܛܢ
[5] Read ܫܘܠܛܢ [6] D ܒܟܠ [7] B and C omit from ܕܐܝܬ to ܫܘܠܛܢ; DE ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ (E ܫܘܠܛܢ) ܒܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ
[8] D omits ܕܟܘ [9] Read ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢܬܐ? [10] D ܒܝܬ
[11] D ܡܕܝܢܬܐ [12] D ܫܘܠܛܢ, AB ܫܘܠܛܢܐ

ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢ ܕܟܘܟܒ ܫܒܝܥ[1]. ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢ ܕܟܘܟܒ ܫܒܝܥ[2] ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ[3] ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢ. ܡܫܟܢ ܕܟܘܟܒ ܫܒܝܥ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢ ܕܫܡܫ. ܡܫܟܢ ܕܫܡܫ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢ ܕܐܪܝܚ. ܡܫܟܢ ܕܐܪܝܚ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢ ܕܝܘܡ. ܡܫܟܢ ܕܝܘܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܫܘܠܛܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ✧

XII ܡܐܢ[4] ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ✧

[1] E ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢ ܕܟܘܟܒ ܫܒܝܥ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܟܢ [2] D ܕܟܘܟܒ ܫܒܝܥ
[3] ABCD omit ܒܗ [4] D omits ܡܢ [5] ABC ܡܫܟܢ
[6] ܕܐܝܬ seems to be accidentally repeated from a preceding clause.
[7] D omits ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ [8] D ܒܝܬ [9] ABCD ܡܫܟܢ [10] D ܕܐܝܬ
[11] D ܫܘܠܛܢ [12] In B there is written in pencil on the margin ܫܒ for ܫܒܬܝ, *Saturn.* [13] In B there is written in pencil on the margin ܡܐܙܢ, *Libra.*

ܒܪܝܫ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܕܐܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܕܐܬ ܐܢܫ ܘܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬ ܐܢܫ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܕܐܬ ܐܢܫ ܘܐܢܫ ܠܐ ܐܬ ܐܠܗܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܕܐܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܠܗܐ

ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢ ܐܢܬ ܨܒܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܠܝ ܗܢ ܒܪܝܪ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܢ ܐܢܬ ܨܒܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܠܝ ܗܢ ܒܪܝܪ ܐܢ ܠܐ[8] ܐܢ ܐܢܬ ܨܒܐ ܬܗܘܐ ܠܝ ܗܢ ܒܪܝܪ ܐܢ ܠܐ

ܕܢܦܫ ܗܘ ܕܚܛܐ ܢܬ ܘܐܢ ܐܚܪ ܠܐ ܢܥܒܕ ܠܗ[1] ܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܢܦܫ ܗܘ ܕܚܛܐ ܢܬ ܘܐܢ ܐܚܪ ܠܐ ܢܥܒܕ ܠܗ[2] ܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܢܦܫ ܗܘ ܕܚܛܐ ܢܬ ܘܐܢ ܐܚܪ ܠܐ ܢܥܒܕ ܠܗ[3] ◇ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܢܦܫ ܗܘ ܕܚܛܐ ܢܬ ܘܐܢ ܐܚܪ ܠܐ ܢܥܒܕ ܠܗ[4] ◇

VI ܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܢܦܫ ܗܘ ܕܚܛܐ ܢܬ ܘܐܢ ܐܚܪ ܠܐ ܢܥܒܕ ܠܗ[5] ◇ ◇ ◇

ܟܠ ܡܕ[1] ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܟܦܢܐ[2]. ܘܡܢܗ[3] ܡܬܦܫ ܟܦܢܐ ܠܡܛܠܬ
ܙܘܓܝܗ. ܘܡܢܗ ܘܒܗ ܟܠ ܟܦܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܙܘܓ ܠܐ ܡܬܦܫ ܟܦܢܐ
ܒܪܡ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܡܪ ܟܠ ܙܘܓ ܘܙܘܓܬܐ ܒܟܠ ܕܪ ܘܕܪ ܒܟܠ
ܟܦܢ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܡܪ ܟܠ ܙܘܓ ܘܙܘܓܬܐ ܒܟܠ ܕܪ ܘܕܪ ܒܟܠ
ܟܦܢ. ܒܪ ܕܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܒܗ ܟܦܢ ◆ ܡܬܦܫ ܟܦܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ[4] ܙܘܓ
ܘܙܘܓܬܐ ܒܟܠ ܕܪ ܘܕܪ ܒܟܠ ܟܦܢ. ܒܪ ܕܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܒܗ ܟܦܢ
ܒܪ ܕܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܒܗ ܟܦܢ ◆ ܡܬܦܫ ܟܦܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܙܘܓ ܘܙܘܓܬܐ
ܒܟܠ ܕܪ ܘܕܪ ܒܟܠ ܟܦܢ. ܒܪ ܕܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܒܗ ܟܦܢ ◆ ܡܬܦܫ
ܟܦܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܙܘܓ ܘܙܘܓܬܐ ܒܟܠ ܕܪ ܘܕܪ ܒܟܠ ܟܦܢ. ܒܪ

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܢܬ ܘܡܢ ܐܝܟܐ ܐܬܝܬ[1] ܘܠܡܐ ܐܬܝܬ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܐܢܐ ܐܬܝܬ ܘܐܢ

IV ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ[1] ܡܪ[2] ܐܒܪܗܡ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܥܠ ܡܫܬܐ ܘܒܥܠ ܡܫܟܒܐ ܥܡ ܫܪܐ[3] ܘܥܡ ܫܦܚܬܐ ܕܐܢܫ ܚܕ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܒܥܠ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܥܠ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܒܥܠ ܡܫܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܥܠ ܡܫܬܐ ܐܦ ܒܥܠ ܡܫܟܒܐ ܥܡ ܫܪܐ ܘܥܡ ܫܦܚܬܐ ܕܐܢܫ ܚܕ ܐܦ ܒܥܠ ܡܫܟܒܐ ܥܡ ܫܪܐ ܘܥܡ ܫܦܚܬܐ ܕܐܢܫ ܚܕ ܐܦ ܒܥܠ ܡܫܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܥܠ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܒܥܠ ܐܢܬ

ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲃⲉ ⲡⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲉⲙ ⲛⲁⲓ

ואמרתי מאהבתי את אלהי ואת אלהיכם. ואת בקרי ואת צאני[1] אמר לא תשאו[2] עליהם עול אשר לא נשאו[3] עליהם אחיהם ולא תרכבו עליהם[4] אשר לא רכבו עליהם אחיהם. ולא תגזזו[5] את צמרם ולא תאכלו את חלבם. ולא תלבשו את בגדיהם. ולא תשחטו[6] אותם כי אם בבית המקדש. ואת דמם תזרקו[7] על המזבח. ואת חלבם תקטירו[8] לאשה. ואת בשרם תאכלו. כאשר תאכלו את בשר הצבי ואת בשר האיל. ואם תעשו כן אז אני אהיה לכם לאלהים. ואתם תהיו לי לעם. ואם לא תעשו כן אז אני אהיה לכם לאויב. ואתם תהיו לי לאויבים. ואם תאמרו אלינו מדוע אתה מצוה אותנו בדבר הזה. אז אנחנו נאמר אליכם. כי אנחנו מצווים מפי אלהינו. ואם תאמרו אלינו מדוע אלהיכם מצוה אתכם בדבר הזה. אז אנחנו נאמר אליכם. כי אלהינו מצוה אותנו מפי אלהיו. ואם תאמרו אלינו מדוע אלהיו מצוה אתכם בדבר הזה. אז אנחנו נאמר אליכם. כי אלהינו מצוה אותנו מפי אלהי אלהינו. ואם תאמרו אלינו מדוע אלהי אלהינו מצוה אתכם בדבר הזה. אז אנחנו נאמר אליכם. כי אלהינו מצוה אותנו מפי אלהי אלהי אלהינו. ואם תאמרו אלינו מדוע אלהי אלהי אלהינו מצוה אתכם בדבר הזה. אז אנחנו נאמר אליכם. כי אלהינו מצוה אותנו מפי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהינו. ואם תאמרו אלינו מדוע אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהינו מצוה אתכם בדבר הזה. אז אנחנו נאמר אליכם. כי אלהינו מצוה אותנו מפי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהינו. ואם תאמרו אלינו מדוע אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהינו מצוה אתכם בדבר הזה. אז אנחנו נאמר אליכם. כי אלהינו מצוה אותנו מפי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהינו. ואם תאמרו אלינו מדוע אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהינו מצוה אתכם בדבר הזה. אז אנחנו נאמר אליכם. כי אלהינו מצוה אותנו מפי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהינו. ואם תאמרו אלינו מדוע אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהינו מצוה אתכם בדבר הזה. אז אנחנו נאמר אליכם. כי אלהינו מצוה אותנו מפי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהינו. ואם תאמרו אלינו מדוע אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהינו מצוה אתכם בדבר הזה. אז אנחנו נאמר אליכם. כי אלהינו מצוה אותנו מפי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהינו. ואם תאמרו אלינו מדוע אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהינו מצוה אתכם בדבר הזה. אז אנחנו נאמר אליכם. כי אלהינו מצוה אותנו מפי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהינו. ואם תאמרו אלינו מדוע אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהינו מצוה אתכם בדבר הזה. אז אנחנו נאמר אליכם. כי אלהינו מצוה אותנו מפי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהינו. ואם תאמרו אלינו מדוע אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהינו מצוה אתכם בדבר הזה. אז אנחנו נאמר אליכם. כי אלהינו מצוה אותנו מפי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהינו. ואם תאמרו אלינו מדוע אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהינו מצוה אתכם בדבר הזה. אז אנחנו נאמר אליכם. כי אלהינו מצוה אותנו מפי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהינו. ואם תאמרו אלינו מדוע אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהינו מצוה אתכם בדבר הזה. אז אנחנו נאמר אליכם. כי אלהינו מצוה אותנו מפי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהינו. ואם תאמרו אלינו מדוע אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהינו מצוה אתכם בדבר הזה. אז אנחנו נאמר אליכם. כי אלהינו מצוה אותנו מפי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהי אלהינו. ואם תאמרו אלינו מדוע אלהינו מצוה אתכם בדבר הזה. אז אנחנו נאמר אליכם. כי אלהינו מצוה אותנו מפי אלהינו. ואם תאמרו אלינו מדוע אלהינו מצוה אתכם בדבר הזה. אז אנחנו נאמר אליכם. כי אלהינו מצוה אותנו מפי אלהינו. ואם תאמרו אלינו מדוע אלהינו מצוה אתכם בדבר הזה. אז אנחנו נאמר אליכם. כי אלהינו מצוה אותנו מפי אלהינו. ואם תאמרו אלינו מדוע אלהינו מצוה אתכם בדבר הזה. אז אנחנו נאמר אליכם. כי אלהינו מצוה אותנו מפי אלהינו. ואם תאמרו אלינו מדוע אלהינו מצוה אתכם בדבר הזה. אז אנחנו נאמר אליכם. כי אלהינו מצוה אותנו מפי אלהינו. ואם תאמרו אלינו מדוע אלהינו מצוה אתכם בדבר הזה. אז אנחנו נאמר אליכם. כי אלהינו מצוה אותנו מפי אלהינו. ואם תאמרו אלינו מדוע אלהינו מצוה אתכם בדבר הזה. אז אנחנו נאמר אליכם. כי אלהינו מצוה אותנו מפי אלהינו. ואם תאמרו אלינו מדוע אלהי

ܗܢ ܫܠܡ ܘܥܕ ܟܕ ܫܠܛ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܒܥܡܐ
ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܕܒܢ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܘܗܘ ܒܫ
ܫܢܬ ܫܢܝܢ. ܘܐܙܠ ܒܫܠܡ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ[1] *

BOOK I.

I ܒܫܢܬ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܘܬ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ ܡܠܟܐ
ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ. ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܪܘܦܐ ܘܡܠܟ ܒܐܣܝܐ. ܘܟܕ
ܫܡܥ ܕܐܬܐ ܥܠ ܕܪܝܐ[2] ܕܐܣܝܐ ܘܥܒܪ ܒܬܪܟܝܐ. ܘܐܬܐ
ܥܠ ܐܬܪ ܕܐܝܠܝܘܢ ܕܐܬܝܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܝܘܢ ܘܒܢܐ ܠܗ ܒܬ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܩܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܐܝܠܝܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܕܐܬܐ ܥܠ ܐܬܪ
ܕܐܝܠܝܘܢ[3] ܕܐܬܝܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܝܘܢ ܘܒܢܐ ܠܗ ܒܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ
ܕܩܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܐܝܠܝܘܢ. ܘܒܥܐ ܠܡܐܬܐ ܠܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܗܝ
ܕܩܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܐܝܠܝܘܢ[4] ܘܐܬܐ ܥܠ ܐܬܪ ܕܐܝܠܝܘܢ ܘܒܢܐ
ܠܗ ܒܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܩܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܐܝܠܝܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܕܐܬܐ
ܥܠ ܐܬܪ ܕܐܝܠܝܘܢ ܕܐܬܝܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܝܘܢ ܘܒܢܐ ܠܗ ܒܬ
ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܩܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܐܝܠܝܘܢ. ܘܐܬܐ ܥܠ ܐܬܪ ܕܐܝܠܝܘܢ
ܕܐܬܝܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܝܘܢ[5]. ܘܗ ܕܡܠܟ ܫܢ[6] ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܘܐ
ܒܐܬܪ ܗܢܘܢ ܡܠܟ ܫܢ.

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[1] BCDE have ܕܟ ܫܢܬ ܫܒܥ ܠܐ ܫܠܛ. ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ܒܪ ܦܝܠܝܦܘܣ
ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܥܠ ܐܬܪ ܕܐܝܠܝܘܢ ܕܐܬܝܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܝܘܢ
ܘܒܢܐ ܠܗ ܒܬ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܩܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܐܝܠܝܘܢ. ܘܗܘ ܒܫ ܫܢܝܢ.
ܘܐܙܠ ܒܫܠܡ ܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ ✲ CD omit ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ
[2] D ܒܪܝܐ [3] D ܐܝܠܝܘܢ [4] Read ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܕܝܢ
[5] D ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ [6] All five MSS. read ܫܢ, but this is a mistake, as the Greek text has *τὸν τελευταῖον τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα* (see Müller, Pseudo-Callisth. p. 1, col. 2, n. 11).

ﻫﺪﻳﺔ

ﻫﻨﺪﺳﺔ ﺍﻟﻤﺜﻠﺜﺎﺕ

ﻟﻠﺪﻛﺘﻮﺭ ﻣﺤﻤﺪ ﺍﻟﺒﻬﻲ.

ﺃﺳﺘﺎﺫ ﺑﻜﻠﻴﺔ ﺍﻵﺩﺍﺏ

ﺍﻟﻘﺎﻫﺮﺓ

ﻣﻄﺒﻌﺔ ﻟﺠﻨﺔ ﺍﻟﺒﻴﺎﻥ ﺍﻟﻌﺮﺑﻲ

١٣٧٠ ﻫـ ١٩٥٠ ﻡ