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ARTICLE XII.

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NOTICE

OF A

LIFE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

TRANSLATED FROM THE SYRIAC

BY

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MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD AMONG THE NESTORIANS;

WITH

EXTRACTS FROM THE SAME.

BY

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## NOTICE

OF A

### LIFE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

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#### § 1.

OF this work Dr. Perkins says: "We found the volume in manuscript, at Oroomiah, in the ancient Syriac language, without date or authorship." Having executed the translation during intervals of leisure in his missionary work, our esteemed friend has sent it together with a copy of the original MS. to be deposited in the archives of the American Oriental Society. With regard to the age of the production I am entirely incompetent to pronounce. A specimen of the original is subjoined, containing among other things Alexander's fabulous visit to China, in order that Syriac scholars may decide whether it is of a pretty late date, or is to be referred to as early a period as the times of Abulfargius in the thirteenth century.

The present writer, having had his attention directed towards Dr. Perkins' translation, not long after its arrival in this country in 1851, soon perceived that the original was drawn from occidental sources; and on further examination it is certain that it is but a translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes, chiefly agreeing with the earliest form of that writer's life of Alexander. The following pages are intended to show the relations of this Syriac work to the Greek and Latin recastings of this worthless but popular novel, to the Persian accounts of Alexander and to some other forms in which the same myth has appeared in several parts of the world.

#### § 2.

The mythic histories of Alexander the Great may be divided into the oriental, the Greek or western, and the medi-





æval or romantic. It is now certain that all of these had one common source in the falsifications of history, which began probably in Egypt, and perhaps under the Ptolemies, and which, gathering folly and monstrosity in the course of time, assumed at length the form of the Greek life of Alexander by Pseudo-Callisthenes, and of the Latin version of Julius Valerius so called. I am willing to believe that this work was composed long before the seventh century, to which Letronne assigns the Latin version just mentioned.\* That it became popular is due not to the merit of the unknown writer, who lies hid under the name of Callisthenes, for he has no merit of style, choice of materials, arrangement, or power of representation, but to the great hero, whose memory lived in the Greek and Eastern mind, yet perhaps without giving birth to mythic narratives—unless intentional fictions deserve that name. In the course of time many subordinate parts were added to the story, particularly by the Christian mediæval writers; but it is impossible not to see the same woof in them all.

### § 3.

Thus whoever will examine Shea's translation of *Mir-khond*, or an abstract of Firdosi's *Shâh Nâmeh*, as far as it relates to Alexander, and will compare either with Pseudo-Callisthenes, will need no proof that the Persian version of the story was in the main derived from the Greek novel, rather than from traditions floating in Persia itself. But for those who are not likely to make this comparison I subjoin a translation of a passage from Spiegel's *Alexander-Sage bei den Orientalen* (Leipzig, 1851).

"Having in what has gone before exhibited the principal shapes which the Iskender-myth assumed in the Oriental poets and historians, we are now ready to bring forward our own view of the course which this fable took.

"The result, as it seems to us, is not at all difficult to be drawn out of the representation which now lies before our readers. No one, who compares the foregoing account of the western myth with the Iskender-myth in Firdosi, can entertain even the smallest doubt that the latter has made use of the former: all the leading outlines of the Greek myth recur again, and the same is true of Nisâmi. That the coloring in Firdosi differs from that of Callisthenes or Vale-

\* *Journ. des Savans* for 1818, pp. 617-619.

rius, and that of Nisâmi again from Firdosi's, can excite no surprise, and only proves that the myth ran just the same course in the East, as it did in the West in the middle ages. Every poet endeavored to accommodate the fiction, as far as might be, to his own circumstances and conceptions: thus Firdosi depicts Alexander more as a Christian king, as he was acquainted only with the later Byzantine emperors. And for this reason too he transports queen Qidâfa [Candace] into Andalusia, since he could do nothing with Semiramis and her kingdom, while Nisâmi on the other hand carries her to Berdaa, and in general lays the scene of the expedition in other countries. The whole has a decidedly Moslem coloring, just as the mediæval forms of the fable have a Christian. The only deviation, worth naming, of the Moslem from the western romance is the story of the birth of Iskender: such an alteration, which is probably intentional, is explained by the offended national pride of the Persians, which was ashamed to be obliged to acknowledge the victory of a foreigner. This very natural turn given to the fable was long ago looked at in this light. And, lastly, that the historians receive the fable as true history has its ground in the uncritical spirit of the middle age, and finds its analogy in the West, as we have already remarked in the introduction.

"Further, we have already expressed it as our opinion that Alexander has been confused with a fabulous conqueror of early Arab antiquity—Dsul-Karnein. From this commingling of fables we derive the various ingredients which appear in the oriental form of the fable, but which do not appear in the occidental form, and cannot be explained by it. Here belongs without doubt the expedition of Iskender to Mecca for the purpose of visiting the holy Kaaba, as well as his deeds in general in Arabia, and his journey in quest of the fountain of life, in which narrative the prophet Khizr suddenly is brought on the canvass, of whom the fable elsewhere makes no mention. A very few traits only can be regarded as properly invented by the orientals. To these belongs the story of Alexander's appearing as his own ambassador before Darius, but this story is plainly nothing but the echo of an earlier one, likewise to be found in the Iskender-myth, that Alexander went as his own ambassador to queen Candace. Another portion of the fable which appears in Nisâmi, but not in Firdosi, may be drawn into question as to its source. It is Nisâmi's story that Alexander on his return out of the regions of darkness, after his pretended search for the water of life, received a stone from Serosch. This stone became so heavy in the regions of light, that nothing could equal its weight in the balance until finally dust was brought which counterbalanced it. This story is to be met with also in Jewish writers, and it would be worth investigating to which the priority belongs."



Accepting as we do the general conclusion of Spiegel, we cannot conceive that the particular narrative of Alexander's appearing as his own ambassador before Darius is of eastern origin. It appears in Müller's MS. A., in Julius Valerius, and in our Syriac biography, which three represent the oldest form now extant of the Greek myth. It appears also in Pfaffe Lamprecht's Alexander and in our English Kyng Alisaunder, although not in the published French romance on this subject. In short it is identified with the occidental fable, and, as far as we can judge, has nothing peculiarly eastern about it. Alexander played the same trick a third time upon his visit to China; and this may perhaps, like the expedition against the Russians in Nizâmi, and like the Gog and Magog story, be an eastern invention, although our Syriac manuscript includes it, and thus shows that it may have had a prior existence in a Greek original.

## § 4.

The Fable of Alexander had great attractions for the mind of Europe in the middle age, and served as the subject of romances in Old French, German, English, Spanish, Old Norse, Danish, Swedish and Bohemian. Several romances of this cycle lie unpublished in the libraries of France and Germany, written in the old languages of those countries; but the printed poems are *Li Romans d'Alixandre* by Lambert li Tors, and *Alexandre de Bernay*; and the Alexander of Pfaffe Lamprecht.\* Both poems seem to have been composed in the twelfth century. The English poem *Kyng Alisaunder*, was published by Weber in his *Metrical Romances of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, from a manuscript of the fourteenth, but no certain name or date has been found for the author. Another Alexander in the Scottish dialect, from which Weber has given a few extracts, was translated from the French in the fifteenth century.

\* *Li Romans d'Alixandre* was first published by H. Michelant (Stuttgart, 1846), as one of the volumes issued by the 'literary union.' The work of Lamprecht first appeared in Massmann's *Denkmäler deutscher Sprache und Literatur*, 1828; and again in his *Gedichte des 12ten Jahrhunderts*. I have used Weismann's very useful edition (Frankfurt on the Main, 1850), and owe much to it.

The English poem, also, principally drew its materials from French sources. The author says (v. 2199):

"This batail destuted is [is wanting]  
In the French, wel y-wis :  
Therfore Y have hit to colour  
Borowed of the Latyn autoure," etc.

The same source must be ascribed to the poem of Pfaffe Lamprecht, who mentions his master at the beginning of his work.

"Elberich von Bisenzun  
der brâhte uns diz liet zû :  
der hêtiz in walischen getichtit ;  
Ih han is uns in dûtschen berihtet.  
nieman ne schuldige mih,  
alse daz buoch saget, sô sagen ouch ih."

That is, 'Alberic of Besançon (?) brought us this book. He composed in the French, and I have arranged it in German. Let no one find fault with me, for as the book says so say I.'

The published French romance is a most wearisome work of more than twenty thousand Alexandrine verses, exceeding thus the other two poems which are about equal in length, by nearly two-thirds in the number of lines and much more in the amount of matter. That the authors of this poem drew from a Latin source appears from the poem itself.

"la verté de l'estore, si com li rois le fist,  
un clers de Casteldun, Lambers li Tors l'escrist,  
qui de l'latin le traist, et en roman le mist."—p. 249.

M. Talbot\* says of it: "nous ne doutons pas le moindre du monde que le poème, objet de notre étude, ne soit une imitation versifiée du Pseudo-Callisthènes." The same thing is true, unquestionably, both of the German and of the English poem. Although there may be evidence in these works of access to other sources, and among the rest of acquaintance with facts derived from Q. Curtius, it is clear that Pseudo-Callisthenes has furnished them with a large part of their materials arranged in nearly the order of the original. Of their relations to one another this is not the place to speak. Suffice it to say that they choose and reject, enlarge

\* *Essai sur la Légende d'Alexandre-le-Grand dans les Romans Français du Douzième Siècle*, par Eugène Talbot. Paris. 1850.



or contract, with the free spirit of *trouveurs* or *makers*, that geography and personal names assume different forms at their will, and that even essential parts of the earliest story are discarded by one or more of them. Thus no portion of the work of Pseudo-Callisthenes can have been earlier than the story of Nectanebus, and of the disgusting fraud practised by him which resulted in the birth of Alexander. But the French and the German poems both allude to this story only to condemn it. The French author says, after mentioning the imputations of the envious against queen Olympias:

“la roine le sot, qui mult en fut irie;  
 Quar li plusior disoient, sens nule legerie,  
 que Alixandres est nés de bastarderie;  
 car é l'tans k'il fut nés, si come la letre die,  
 ert i. clers de l'pais, plains de grande voisdie;  
 Natabus ot a non en la langhe arrabie;  
 a l'nestre aida l'enfant, coi que nus li en die.—p. 4.

The English Kyng Alisaunder, on the other hand, far from guarding the honor of the Macedonian queen, goes through the story, just after the model of Julius Valerius, with the exception, that Nectanebus is Philipp's enemy, and determines to be avenged upon him. And in general this poem is so similar to the earlier form of the fable, that one may suppose that the author had before his eyes one of those prose French romances, from which Berger gives extracts, in the *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, tome xiii., and which is little else than a translation from the Latin of Julius Valerius. The German poem again knows no more of the story of Gog and Magog than the first form of the Greek fable does, but both the French and English interweave this singular story into their works—the latter at considerable length. The French poem resolves all the wonders which Alexander saw in India into the narrative form; while Pfaffe Lamprecht preserves the original epistolary form, which is retained by J. Valerius. Probably in this he followed his immediate authority, although Gervinus\* finds in it a proof of refined art. These may suffice as specimens of the differences prevailing in the mediæval poems of this cycle. They imply not only free choice of materials, but also difference of immediate source.

\* Geschichte der poetischen National-Literatur der Deutschen, I. 285.

We have thus reached the Greek Pseudo-Callisthenes, and its translation into Latin, as the earliest known source of the mythic life of Alexander. Upon the publication of the former, for the first time, in Müller's edition of Arrian\* (Paris, 1846), it came to light that the Greek manuscripts present several refabrications,—purposely made, as if the new editors were aware of the fictitious character of the narrative, and felt that they had the right of altering it at will. Müller finds three such editions in the manuscripts, which he calls A. B. and C. A Leyden MS. from which Berger published an extract, agrees closely with A. To this form of the Greek the Latin version also comes nearest. The manuscript A., although deplorably corrupt, and in parts lacerated, furnishes us no doubt the earliest form. B. is next in the order of time, and C. is latest of all. The two latter afford some proofs of being written after Christian ideas began to prevail, but I have observed no traces of this in A.† All there is heathen.

The following are the principal differences between these three editions, as pointed out by Müller. The MS. B.—which that scholar has made the basis of his edition—indicates a plain attempt to introduce somewhat of the truth of history into the fabulous narrative. Thus in this MS., Alexander, after subduing the tribes of Thrace, goes down immediately into Greece; Demosthenes arouses the Athenians, and Thebes is destroyed. A., on the contrary, with V. (Julius Valerius), makes Alexander proceed on a journey to Italy and Africa, found Alexandria, fight one battle with the generals of Darius, and then, on his return to Greece, sack Thebes; while Demosthenes is the pacificator at Athens, and Demades the favorer of warlike measures. B., however, cannot let the Italian expedition go unmentioned, but represents Alexander as passing from the Southern coast of Asia Minor to Sicily and Italy. The peril of Alexander from bathing in the Cydnus is placed by B. before the battle of Issus, while A. and V. assign it to the time before the battle of Arbela. The wonders of India, and Alexander's marvellous adven-

\* Berger de Xivrey had prepared a copy of the text of the MS. C., for publication, and had, in the *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, tome xiii. (published in 1838), given some extracts from the Greek and from Julius Valerius, as well as from an old French translation of that work.

† For the only possible exception to this remark, comp. § 11, at the end.



tures in distant regions, are narrated by him in A. and V., in the third book, in letters to Aristotle and Olympias. B. inserts these marvels in two places, partly in the second book out of their connexion, and partly in the third, where the historical form is substituted for the epistolary. B. as well as C. has the story of Gog and Magog, or of the unclean nations whom Alexander walled up within the northern mountains, which is unknown to the earlier recension.

The MS. C. contains a still later form of the narrative than that which appears in B., but one which is based on the recension found in that MS. It goes farther than B. in stamping upon the epistles of the earliest recension, which give an account of the wonders of the East, a narrative form. It contains much new matter not in B., as for instance, a story, that Alexander, after the death of Darius, on returning to Ægypt through Judæa, gave in his adhesion to the Jewish faith, and subsequently introduced the worship of Jehovah at Alexandria, making light of the gods of the country. The occurrences at the Cydnus, already narrated twice, take place again at a lake in Ægypt. This MS. runs far ahead of the others in its love of the marvellous, the most absurd specimen of which is that Bucephalus, already dead (Pseudo-Call. iii. 3), even according to C.'s account as it would seem, appears alive again at the time when Alexander is poisoned, and after tearing to pieces the boy who gave him the potion, expires at his master's feet.

A. and V., although manifestly belonging to the same recension, differ considerably from one another. And here the ability to judge fully what was the original form of the Latin version is not in our power. It is quite probable that when Zacher's edition shall have appeared, the collation of new manuscripts will bring this version and A. closer together. At present the principal differences are these: 1. One or the other exceeds in fullness or in brevity. In general V. contracts the more expanded text of A.; but the case is sometimes reversed: thus in the chapter on the marvels of India, V. is more copious. 2. V. has some new matter, not in A., as the passage concerning the mythic ancestors of Alexander from Phavorinus (i. 13), another enumerating the maternal ancestors of Alexander from Achilles downward (i. 42), and a letter from Aristotle (iii. 27). The same letter appears in the Syriac life of Alexander, and must have been

in an early Greek text. 3. Matter in A. which is not in V.—not to speak of the treatise of Palladius on the Brahmans which is evidently an insertion by a later hand—is such as follows: the brief narrative of the subjugation of Musicanus, of the storming of the rock Aornus, and the siege of the city of the Malli; the attempt of Alexander after he was poisoned to throw himself into the Euphrates; and the bargain between Perdiccas and Ptolemy to divide the empire. "Igitur hæc quoque," says Müller, "seriorum additamenta putaveris." This may be true of the passage in ii. 4, but the passage including the two last circumstances (iii. 32), is shown to be ancient by the parallel place in the Syriac life, and might easily have been omitted by the Latin translator, whose account of Alexander's death is much contracted.

#### § 6.

An Armenian life of Alexander, under the title *Padmuthiun Acheksandri Maketonazwui* (History of Alexander of Macedon), was published by the Mechitarists at Venice in 1842, and is attributed by them to Moses of Chorene, cent. v. Of this I learn from other sources that it follows substantially the recension contained in A. But how far it resembles and how far it differs from our Syriac life, I have no means of judging. At the end of the first book, as it stands in A. and V., that is, after the sack of Thebes, this version adds: "Here are finished the birth and deeds of Alexander by the wise Aristotle. We commence now with his expedition to Plataeae, a city of Athens." Then at the end of the life appear lamentations over the death of Alexander by himself, Olympias, Roxana and his captains and soldiers, together with words of admonition to his friends. Neither these lamentations, nor the words above cited, which serve as a preface to the second book, are in the Syriac life, nor in A. nor V.

#### § 7.

We are now prepared to enter into the relations of this Syriac life of Alexander somewhat more fully. It consists of two parts, the life proper, corresponding with Pseudo-Callisthenes, and a short appendix containing a curious form of the story respecting Alexander's expedition against Gog Magog and the other nations within the northern mountains.



This appendix we have thought well worthy of being printed in the Journal of the Oriental Society, as one of the specimens of the Syriac work. The life itself must be regarded as a translation at first or second hand from a Greek original. We suppose it to be an immediate translation, but cannot entirely account on this hypothesis for the amazing differences in the proper names, which will be spoken of in their place. The Greek source was unquestionably the same as that from which A. and V. are drawn. Deducting the very great blunders occasionally committed by N. (the Syriac life), it adheres to an original text more faithfully than V. does; and is usually more full than A., when the two differ. Arbitrary contractions of the original are seldom attempted by the Syriac translator. The order of the narrative is with one exception the same as in A. and V.; and in one case only is there an omission of any considerable length. Wherever B. and C. differ from A., they differ also from N.; but in one or two instances C. alone contains passages,—one of which is evidently an interpolation,—which are found in N. and nowhere else. The conclusion to be drawn from this is, that the Syriac translator had before him a fuller Greek text than any now existing. Finally, N. contains two passages of considerable length in the account of the wonders in India, which are neither in A., which is very brief in this place, nor in V., which is more copious. A part of the materials in these passages is worked up in another form and another place by C.; while the rest are not extant in any Greek text.\* And here the curious fact discloses itself that a portion of this new matter appears in Firdosi's Shâh Nâmeh. As a Greek source is betrayed by one of these passages, the presumption is that both are simple translations from one and the same manuscript with the rest. These two passages are subjoined as among the more curious portions of the work.†

\* Comp. Ps.-C. II. §§ 36, 38, with the second extract from the Syr. transl.

† It may not be amiss to add in a note a brief table of contents of the Syriac life of Alexander, although it agrees so closely with the argument of the MS. A. of Pseudo-Callisthenes, as given by Müller, in his introduction to that author.

Nükteebûs (Nectanebus), king of Egypt, fleeing from enemies, goes to Macedonia, and there by magic arts becomes the father of Alexander, persuading Olympias that he is the god Ammon. The same arts allay the jealousy of Philipp. The birth of Alexander delayed until the right conjunction of the planets. His tutors. Bucephalus brought from Cappadocia. Alexander throws Nükteebûs into a pit, and he discloses Alexander's parentage. Alexander rides Bucepha-

## § 8.

Some of these particulars we propose to speak of more at large. First, then, the order of the narrative in N. coincides, we believe, throughout with that in A., with the exception that Chapter XVII. of Book I. of Pseudo-Call. in the Syriac follows Chapter XVI. This is probably due to mere oversight, rectified as far as possible afterwards; for in this N. departs from the Latin, and all the Greek authorities.

lus. (C.) Conversation between Aristotle and his scholars: *Correspondence between Xanthus* (Zeuxis in V.) *Philipp, etc., concerning Alexander's generosity. Contest of A. at the games with Nicolaus.* Philipp divorces Olympias and marries Cleopatra. A. returning from the games quarrels with his father, and afterwards reconciles him to his mother. A. invades Mootneea (Methone) with an army. On his return he finds barbarians (Persians) demanding tribute, and sends them away. A. goes with an army to the country of the Armenians (to another city of the Thracians, in the Greek). Theoseedos (Pausanias), assassinates Philipp. A. returns in time to slay Theoseedos, and to have an interview with his father yet alive. Prepares an army and ships. Goes over the sea of Deatos to Rome, Chalcedon (Carthage), Libya, *builds Alexandria*, goes to Memphis (where he finds an inscription relating to Nükteebûs and himself), and to Tyre. *Messages between Alexander and Darius*, and between the latter and two of his satraps. A. fights a great battle with Darius in Arabia. On returning to Greece he visits Eleoon (Ilium), Babildar (Abdera), the shores of Oosteen (the Euxine), etc. He consults the oracle of Apollo at Akarnantus (Ἰλῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀκαργαντινοῦ—MS. A.). Sacks Thebes. Attends the "Olympian games of Corinth." Displaces the Athenian magistrate at Par-teedus (Plateae). *Discussions at Athens*, where the pacific counsels of Demosteenos prevail. Letter of A. to the Athenians. (B.) A. goes to meet Darius, enters his camp as his own ambassador, sits at the feast with Darius, and being detected escapes. Battle and defeat of Darius. A. visits the "temple of Cyrus" and tombs of the Persians. Assassination of Darius by two of his officers. He expires amid the good offices of A., who punishes the murderers, corresponds with the wife and mother of Darius, and espouses Roxana his daughter. A. stills the murmurs of his army on his way to meet Poor, king of India. Poor is defeated and slain. Letter from the Barkhmeenee (Brahmans) to A. and his interview with them. *Long letter to Aristotle recounting the adventures and wonders in the East.* (A. + A.) Visit to Kandaka queen of Samrai in disguise, and his detection by the queen who has his picture. Visit to a sacred place where Serpedon (Serapis) gives him an oracle. Visit to the land of the Amzens (Amazons). Letter from Aristotle, and from A. to Olympias, detailing the wonders of the land of darkness, etc. Prodigy at Babylon betokening his death. Is poisoned by Antipatros and Cisandros. Effects of the poisoning. A new will. Criscos (Perdicas) and Ptolemy agree to share what A. gives to the latter. Grief of the Macedonian soldiers. Will of A. His conquests and the thirteen Alexandrias which he built. At the end, the translator adds that after he died in Babylon, the day was called Ktal-Aleemee, *murder of youth*. There has been no such king. "May the Lord God give rest to his soul with the kings that have followed him and those that hear of him." [Parts where the Syr. transl. seemed to us much fuller than the MS. A., are printed in italics. A. in parentheses denotes addition, B., omission, and C., transposition].



The only long omission in N. of matter found in A. is that of Chapters VI–XIII. of Book II. This passage commences after the termination of Alexander's affairs with the Athenians, and closes just before Alexander goes, disguised as a messenger, to the camp of Darius. In the Greek and Latin, Alexander proceeds against the Lacedæmonians whose submission he receives, then marches through Cilicia against the barbarians, bathes in the Cydnus, and is cured by the physician Philipp, of the illness thus contracted, breaks the bridge over the Euphrates, has his life attempted by a Persian, rejects the offers of a satrap to betray Darius, and when now in the vicinity of the enemy by a stratagem makes them believe that his army is much greater than the reality. In this passage also, several letters from Darius to Porus and to his own satraps with their answer are inserted. Instead of all this N. says: "Then Alexander departed from thence, and went to Macedon, and came to the borders of Persia and encamped on the river Tigris. And Alexander went as a messenger, till he came to Babylon." The Syriac translator then goes on to describe Alexander's visit to the camp of the Persians, and his dress, in terms which are taken from the description, in the original, of the dress of Darius. In the original, furthermore, nothing is said of Alexander's visit to Macedonia or of his entrance into Babylon (or Babylonia). In the original, again, a motive is given for Alexander's going disguised to the Persian camp:—Ammon, appearing to him in a dream, informs him that his messenger will betray him, and orders him to take the mission upon himself. This looks like an intentional contraction of a full text, but as the Syriac translator has made use of this liberty in no other instance, he may have here followed a defective authority.

An instance when the Syriac translator gives us matter, to be found in the MS. C. only and no where else, occurs in the description of the contest between Alexander and Nicolaus (PS.-C. I. §§18, 19), where N. is much fuller than any of the recensions, and deviates in minor points from them all. Thus the games at which Alexander and Nicolaus contend are celebrated at Ephesus\* instead of Olympia, and Nicolaus (Nicaleos) is king of Areeta and in another place of Haleea,

\* Perhaps a blunder for Pisa.

and son of Kiryana. This is a blunder for son of Areius (so B.; C. has Ardeus; A., Abeaius corrupt for Areius; V. has nothing), king of Acarnania. It is curious that the modern Greek romance of Alexander\* calls Nicolaus son of Darius (instead of Areius, and evidently corrupt). Here it may be worth while to notice a close agreement between A. and N. When Alexander resolves to contend with Nicolaus in the chariot race, he says, according to the Syriac: "I have sworn by the progeny of the gods and of my fathers, and by my conception in my mother's womb of the offspring of the gods, that in this very contest I will vanquish you, in the contest of horses and chariots; and I will also come to your country, and both you and all the people in your country will I conquer in my fury." A. has *Νικόλαε, ὁμνυμι ἀγνήν τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρὸς σποράν, καὶ μητρὸς γαστέρα ἱερὸν* (sic) *ὥς καὶ ἐνθάδε ἄρματα νικήσω, καὶ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι Ἀκαρνανῶν δόξαί σε συλλήψομαι*. Here B., C. and V. condense, but all the differences between A. and N. are due to free translation. Again, N. gives the names of the combatants at the games three times over; the other authorities only twice. These names, be it noticed, differ in N. from those in the Greek and Latin, and in the three places from one another. N. also alone gives the names of the chariots (or charioteers, as he must have read it in his original text). N., furthermore, gives the names of four of Alexander's horses; the MS. C. gives those of two. But the principal points of agreement here between N. and C. are first an account of the colors which the combatants wore. N. says: "Now the champions were robed in garments of various colors. The first put on sky-colored apparel; the second and third, scarlet clothing; and the fourth, green clothing; and the fifth and sixth, garments of the color of wax; and the seventh, violet-colored robes; and the eighth, purple." The germ of this appears in a passage, concerning which Müller remarks: "Cod. C. præpostere intercalata habet, nescio unde, hæc:" *Καὶ ἰδοὺ Νικόλαος τῇ σφαιρίᾳ ἐξωσμένος ἐσθῆτι, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Κλυών ὁ Κορίνθιος ἡκασία* [a corrupt word for which Müller conjectures *πρασίνω* or *πρασίνω*, but *κοκκίνη* would suit the Syriac text better], *καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξωσμένος*. This is all which C. contains regarding the colors of the combatants. But the most striking point of resemblance in this portion of the

\* As we learn from Berger de Xivrey apud Müller.



narrative between C. and N., is found in a ridiculous story of the achievements of Bucephalus. Nicolaus having plotted the destruction of Alexander in the second contest, where the latter used Bucephalus in lieu of another horse, the animal, lashed to fury by his master's whip, raises his front legs, and strikes Nicolaus dead, and also tears another combatant from his chariot, by seizing hold of his left hand with the mouth. The rudiments of this also lie in the MS. C., where we have *καὶ ὁ Βουκέφαλος περικυλλεῖ τοὺς ἵππους, καὶ τὸν μὲν Καλλισθένην περιδραμὼν τῇ σφενδόνῃ (?) ἀπερρίψατο.*

## § 9.

On the other hand, not only does N. agree with A. in almost every instance where that MS. differs from B. and C., or from either of them, but in several instances the resemblances, when the Latin translator condenses the narrative, are quite striking. One such instance occurs early in the life, in the account of the birth of Alexander. Olympias is told to endure her pangs, until a favorable conjunction of the planets shall arise. Nectanebus in N., after calculating the stars, speaks as follows: "Delay seating yourself a little, O queen, until an hour passes; for this hour Scorpio prevails, and Saturn and the Sun and Libra are adverse, and whoever is born in this hour, great armies of animals will devour him. And in this hour the zodiacal signs of the sun move very fast. But hold on, and strengthen yourself, and pass this hour; for in this hour Cancer and Saturn were duped by his children, and then was born a biform, and he bound him and threw him into the sea, and the sea was emptied from his increase, and Jupiter took the throne of heaven in his stead. In that hour Leoopus was born, who taught revolution. In that hour Horn-shape bathed [?]; Libra forsook the beam of peace, and from her height came down to the earth, and held intercourse with the silly Idnumtane [Endymion], and of him she brought forth a charming son, and he died by a flame of fire. Therefore he who is born in this hour, will die in the fire. In this hour home-loving Venus was married; and Mars was killed without sword or blow. In this hour the women who serve Venus mourn and weep for her husband. Pass by this hour, for the god Mars rises up and threatens. In this hour, Mars, the lover of adulterers and warriors, naked and without

weapons, with powerful men forced the daughter of the Sun, and he stands in disgrace. Whoever is born in this hour, will be despised and contemned among men. Hold on this hour, O queen; for the star Mercury, the Scribe, prevails in the zodiac, and the horned Goat was born, and afterwards his sons were alienated from him, and went into the desert. In this hour the Dogstar was born. In this hour therefore seat yourself on the couch of childbearing, and advance your pains as vigorously as you can, for the sake of Jupiter the lover of virgins. In this hour was born Dionysus, the quiet, peaceful and humble, who taught rest. And in this hour, Ammon having ram's horns was born. As to the Bucket and Fishes [Aquarius and Pisces?] . . . . in this hour was born the father of men and the king of gods and the holder of the world; he who establishes the kingdom—Jupiter, was born in this hour, O queen."

Of this long passage, evidently abounding in mistranslations, and looking somewhat like a version from a poetical original, we have nothing in B., C. or V. A. is here miserably corrupt,\* but amid the corruption we trace a text very much contracted indeed, but yet reminding the reader continually of the Syriac. For the passage beginning: "for this hour Scorpio prevails," A. affords the following parallel: *Ὁ γὰρ ὁ καρπὸς [σκορπίος, not καρκίνος as Müller proposes], καὶ ὁ παμφαγὴς ἥλιος \* τετραζυγον πληθὸς ἰδεῖν αἰθεράων ζώων \* κέτοπιν ἰόντα τὸν γεννώμενον ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ \* πάντα ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταστρέφει.* What the sense is here I cannot tell, but N.'s "great armies of animals will devour him" seems drawn from *πληθὸς . . ζώων . . καταστρέφει.* Again in the sentence beginning: "for in this hour Cancer and Saturn," we have in A.: *ὁ γὰρ καρκίνος \* καὶ Κρόνος ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων τέκνων ἐπιβουληθεῖς, etc., and: Διὸς ἀμφοῖ τὸν θρόνον.* Afterwards the passage: "In that hour Horn-shape . . . Libra," etc. finds its parallel in A.'s *ἡ γὰρ κεράσφορος Μήνη ταύρῳ ζυγῶ* [corrupt, but the last word giving occasion to the Libra of the Syriac] *προλιποῦσα τὸν ὕψιστον, ἐπὶ γῆς κατέβη οὐ καλῶς Ἐνδυμίωνα εὐκαλον περιπύξασα παῖδα, Διὸς τὰ χρήσιμα πυρὶ φλέγει τελευτᾷ* [πυρὸς φλογὶ τελευτᾷ]. And in the same way several other resemblances may be traced.

\* Müller justly says of A.'s text, which he gives in his notes: "Codex A. uberius narrationis præbet centones, ita tamen mancos et dilaceratos, ut scriba ne verbum quidem eorum quæ exararet, intellexisse videtur." A corrupt text, as well as an imperfect knowledge of the original, may have embarrassed the Syriac translator here.



Another striking example of the greater closeness of relation between A. and N., than between V. and either of them, is furnished by the poem in more than one hundred lines which the flute-player Ismenias is narrated by A. and V. (not by B. and C.), to have recited before Alexander, in order to arouse his pity for fallen Thebes. V. does not mention his name, and makes use of about thirty lines of the original. The Syriac translator, though here also he is singularly at fault and full of blunders, can be traced through a large part of the poem. He, like V., does not name Ismenias. He probably had a corrupt text; but if the translation into English does him justice, where he calls the man a trumpeter, and says that he "sung in the Macedonian language through the trumpet, for he understood the Macedonian language," it will be difficult to say what blunder he could not make.

One more illustration only of the close relation between N. and A. The poisoning of Alexander by Antipater and his son, is despatched by V. within the space of ten or twelve lines. B. and C. are fuller, but omit several particulars. A part of the narrative in A. is on a page where nearly all the words are obliterated. The sounder portion of the narrative in that MS. begins thus:—*τὸν καλούμενον Ἐυφράτην, ὃς διὰ μέσης Βαβυλῶνος διαρρεῖ. Ταύτην ἐκέλευσε ἀνοῖξαι, καὶ μηδένα προσεδρεύειν \* πάραντα δὲ τρόπον εἰώθησαν φυλάττειν.* The Syriac here supplies the missing words: "And the house in which he was had a door opening to the river Euphrates. He ordered that that door should be left open, and he told the keepers not to remain there to watch it." Then the two narratives proceed onward together for some time.

In several cases where names are mentioned by A., they are omitted by all the other texts that I have compared excepting the Syriac.

#### § 10.

A few of the principal peculiarities of the Syriac life, by which it is distinguished from all the Greek recensions and from Julius Valerius, deserve to be noticed. We have already mentioned the two passages of considerable length found in the account of the marvels of the East, and have said that, as one of them at least must have had a Greek source, the presumption is strong in favor of the Greek

origin of the other. Minor peculiarities in this translation are such as the following.

1. The legend represents ambassadors from Darius as demanding the tribute according to custom paid by king Philipp. They had come, says V., "*petitum pecunias a Philippo pretium scilicet aquæ atque terræ;*" where perhaps an obscure apprehension of the old symbols of earth and water, demanded by the Persian king, gave rise to the fiction. Alexander, still a youth, replies: "*Hæccine elementa Persæ mortalibus venditant, quæ cunctis deus in commune largitus est?*" A., B. and C. have the same response, the latter, however, in another connexion. B. and C. make Alexander ask the ambassadors what they expected to receive. They reply: *ὥς χουσαῖ ἐκατὸν ἀπὸ λιτρῶν εἴκοσι χουσίον.* The Syriac, although not containing this passage, implies its existence in Alexander's answer, which is: "go and say to Darius your master, that formerly, when Philipp had no son, the hens he possessed laid golden eggs, but that they have become barren and do not lay, from the time that he had a son Alexander." It is remarkable that, although not in the Greek of either of the recensions nor in the Latin, this anecdote is found in the Persian legend of Alexander. In Shea's Mirkhond (p. 383), the parallel passage runs as follows: "As Dára, king of Ajem, deposited in the strong-hold of his treasury an annual tribute of a thousand golden eggs from Filikoos, after that monarch's death he sent an embassy to claim the usual acknowledgment; to which demand Iskander thus replied: 'The bird which laid the golden eggs has long since disappeared.'" Firdosi mentions the same circumstance.

2. In all the authorities Darius sends to Alexander a whip and a ball and a box of gold. (Ps.-C. i. § 36.) In the Syriac, Darius adds ten measures of shishmeen (sesamé-seeds) to symbolize the number of his troops. In his subsequent speech to his army, Alexander makes use of these seeds, and says, after putting some of them into his mouth: "they are many but tasteless." And they recur again in a letter from Darius, where pardon is offered to Alexander: "I have sent to you shishmeen. If you can count them you may know how numerous are my armies." Finally Alexander sends Darius some mustard-seed, "that you may know," says he, "that a little mustard is sharper than much shishmeen." And after the story is repeated in the



report of the messengers, Darius takes a handful of the mustard-seed into his mouth and says: "they are few but sharp."

The Greek and V. agree with the Syriac in the number of letters in this passage (Ps.-C. I. §§ 36-40), excepting that they want the last reply of Alexander; but not a word about the shishmeen or the mustard-seed occurs in them all. It is remarkable, again, that Mirkhond follows this variation from the Greek form of the fable. Darius says in this historian (Shea, p. 385): "I send you a coffer full of gold, and an ass-load of sesamé; to give you by these two objects an idea of the extent of my wealth and powers." Zu-ul-Kurnain (i. e. Alexander) replies, as in N.: "... as to the sesamé, although the grains are many in number, it is however soft to the touch, and of all kinds of food the least noxious and disagreeable. In return I send you a *kafis* of mustard-seed, that you may taste and acknowledge the bitterness of my victory."

This same incident of the seeds transmitted by each king to the other passed westward also. It appears in both the French and German romances. In the French, Darius sends a load of small white grains, sweet to the taste, like peas, more than a Spanish mule could carry, and bids tell Alexander that he has more men than there are grains in the load. Pfafe Lamprecht describes these grains as poppy-seeds, which Alexander was told to count if he would ascertain the host of Darius. Alexander put some of them into his mouth, and said: "They are so soft and taste so well that I hope I shall well drive away his army with my young men." Both romances make Alexander send back peppercorns to Darius.\*

3. In several particulars of the account of Bucephalus (Ps.-C., I. §§ 13, 17), the Syriac translation differs from all the other sources above named. It agrees indeed with A., and with that MS. only, in stating that the wonderful man-eating colt was brought to Philipp by rulers of Cappadocia. But it differs from A. and the rest—1. In saying that Bucephalus was shut up in a circular iron prison. But the word here used in the Greek, *κύκελλος* (the cancellus of late Latin), may have been misunderstood. 2. The Syriac states that

\* Michelant's *Alixandre*, pp. 232, 233. Lamprecht, vv. 1889-1943.

the whole country was filled with the stench from the bones and skulls of men whom the horse had devoured. This may be an oriental exaggeration of the translator. 3. It is also said that the horse had a natural mark on him, of a wolf holding an ox in his mouth.\* 4. Alexander bridles him and then mounts, but in the other authorities, he rides on him without bridle. 5. Philipp, who happens to be on the wall inspecting troops, sees his son upon the horse. These last particulars seem to show a fuller and somewhat different text from any Greek one that is extant.

4. In Ps.-C., I. § 15, Philipp, on consulting the oracle at Delphi (or, as the Syriac has it, on consulting Poleeooos, a diviner at Delphi, i. e. Apollo!), receives the response, that he who shall mount Bucephalus and ride through the city, shall reign over the world. The Syriac wholly mistakes the sense of a very plain passage, but among other things has: "Surrounded by elephants, he will run a great horse," etc., and these elephants he introduces twice. It is possible that his text made mention of elephants, it being incredible that he should so far pervert the present text, as to draw from it this absurdity.

5. In a passage answering to Ps.-C. I. § 16, the Syriac alone introduces the names of two of Aristotle's scholars, Kalkalah and Pateoon. These may be inventions of the translator.

6. In the account of the contest with Nicolaus (Ps.-C. I. § 18), the Syriac alone informs us that Alexander received from his father forty horses and asses, sixty chariots with harnesses and bridles, and ten thousand dinars. This coin is introduced more than once. The games where Alexander fought are said to have been at Ephesus, but I now suspect this to be a blunder of the Syriac translation for Pisa of the original.

7. In Ps.-C. II. § 16, Alexander compares the Persians to flies attacked by wasps, but in the Syriac to honey-bees fleeing before smoke. This looks like an intentional variation. In the same section, after the passage over the river Strangas (Istrakeenos, Syr.), which all mention, the Syriac alone carries Darius across another river, which he calls the Lee-veeda.

\* In another place (Ps.-C., I. § 15), the Greek and Latin represent Bucephalus as having a brand of the head of an ox on his thigh.



These examples are perhaps more than sufficient to make it appear, that after all due allowances for mistranslation, and for arbitrary departures from the original or additions to it,—which however I must impute to him in the least degree—the text which the Syriac translator followed, differed from that of A., and from V.'s Greek text, not only in containing certain larger portions not to be found in either of them, but also in many minor particulars. It was, in short, although not a new recension, like those in the MSS. B. and C., another, somewhat altered, edition of the text which A. represents.

### § 11.

Two instances have just been pointed out, in which the Syriac life agrees with the Persian accounts of Alexander, while yet Pseudo-Callisthenes and his Latin translator have nothing corresponding. In these cases, however, as was remarked, some of the mediæval poems furnish a parallel, and thus make it probable that the Persians borrowed from a fuller Greek text, or from this very Syriac translation. A third instance, where there is no parallel to be found in occidental romances, is the visit of Alexander, under disguise, as his own ambassador, to the king of China (Tsin). This may be found in the third of the accompanying extracts. Firdosi's version of this fable, as we learn from Spiegel's abstract (Alexander-Sage, p. 31), is as follows: "Iskender . . . wendet sich gegen den Fagfûr von China. Wieder in alter Weise, als sein eigener Gesandter erscheint er vor dem Fagfûr, und wird mit allen Ehren empfangen. Er übergibt dem Fagfûr einen Brief, worin derselbe in allen seinen Besitzungen und Würden bestätigt wird, wenn er den Iskender als seinen Oberherrn anerkennen will, und ihm von allen Früchten des Landes Tribut bezahlt—ein Begehren, in das der Fagfûr auch willigt." The Syriac life is more modest, and gives indication, perhaps, of an earlier form of the fable, in that no submission on the part of the king of Tsin is mentioned.

Although, so far as I have observed, there is no other account of Alexander's visit to China, yet in the work of Palladius inserted in the MS. A., he visits the silk-making people of the Seres (Müller's Ps.-C., p. 102); and in the English poem the same account re-appears with some additions (Weber 1, 290).

"Theose Seresys, as Y finde,  
Uppurest folk buth of Ynde,  
They haven seolk, gret plenté,  
And maken clothis of gret dynté,  
And goth heom seolf y-liche bare."

They are thus an Indian people, as in Palladius.

This may be the place to add that the author of our translation introduces a number of words which he calls Persian, into his work. The first instance of this occurs near the beginning, in an account of some astrological calculations performed by Nectanebus: "He arranged the sun of crystal and the moon of diamond, and Mars, which is called in Persian *Vahram*, of a red stone of the color of blood; Mercury the Secretary, which in the Persian language is called *Tiar*, of an emerald; Jupiter, which is called in Persian *Hoormareer* [?], of a white stone; Venus, which is called in Persian *Anaheed*, of sapphire, a stone of black color [?]; and keeper of hours (Saturn) called in the Persian *Pharnoog*" . . . . We find also: "Hector whom they call in Persian *Sootee*" (I. 42, Syr. p. 128, where Meeroz is spoken of without any Homer in the original); "the Caspian Gates, *Veroop Hager* as it is called" (II. 19, Syr. p. 181); "ass-goats, called in the Persian tongue *karboos*," and "animals called *horned-noses*, which are called in the Persian tongue *merkadad* or *bergadad*" (III. 20, Syr. pp. 272, 273); and a *takti-rawan* is mentioned in two places, the latter of the two being where Alexander's body is to be carried in it into Egypt.

Twice only do words professing to be Indian occur. The male and female trees (III. 17, Syr. pp. 239, 240), are called in their language Meetoora and Mioosa (in A. *μουντοῦ ἐμαιοῦσαι*, in B. *μουνθεῖα μαθοῦς*). The huge animal, larger than an elephant in size, and called by V., as well as by Palladius, *Odontotyranus*,\* is said in the Syriac life to have the name of Mashklet, in the native tongue. Only one allusion, and that a singular one enough, shows the translator to be acquainted with the Scriptures. It occurs in the narration of the building of Alexandria, and is as follows: "And this Serpedos is Joseph, the son of Jacob, whom the Egyptians regard as a god."

\* This name passed into the mediæval romances. The French romance (p. 291) speaks of the Tirant, a monster with three horns. The English poem mentions deutyrauns (dentyrauns?) larger than elephants, also with three horns sharp and strong. (Weber 1, 224).



## § 12.

The manner in which the Syriac translator has performed his task deserves our notice. Here, as we are not entirely certain what was the character and state of his text, deviations from the text of A., so far as they give a good meaning, and yet may be laid to the charge of the translator, ought not to be reckoned against him. There is reason also to believe that his Greek copy contained a text imperfect or corrupt. But aside from all this, his blunders are so numerous and glaring that we cannot help regarding him as entirely incompetent for his work.

Wenrich in his essay *De Auctt. Græcc. versionibus et commentariis Syriacis, Arab., etc.* (Leipz., 1842), § xiv., raises the question how the numerous versions from Greek into Syriac, at one time made, were executed. To this he returns answer that nearly all have perished in consequence of the Syriac being superseded by the Arabic, while the few extant ones remain unpublished in the chests of libraries. It is unfortunate that the present work, one of the few specimens of its kind, should speak so unfavorably of the abilities of the translator. Perhaps, however, it is not a fair specimen. Perhaps the original work was judged to be so worthless that a competent hand could not be found to give his time to it, or it may have been hurried over without care or revision. The fact however still remains that mistakes in regard to the Greek language, some of them enormous enough, occur not unfrequently; and that ignorance is occasionally manifested of Greek customs and geography.

We will illustrate what has been said by a few examples out of many.

Pseudo-Call., I. §§ xx. xxi. The subject is the repudiation of Olympias, Philipp's marriage with Cleopatra, and the brawl at the marriage-feast. The Syriac translator speaks of Olympias as cast out from among Philipp's wives, and of Cleopatra as added to his other wives. When Alexander, returning from an expedition, finds his father in the act of celebrating his marriage, he says in the other authorities: "When I give my mother Olympias in marriage to another king, I will invite you to the wedding;" N. has, on the contrary: "I will not invite you to the wedding, as you did not

delay, and wait till I should come." Lysias (a jester according to A., V. and N., but the brother of Cleopatra according to B.) grossly insults Alexander at the feast, and is killed by him by means of a table hurled at his head, as N. has it, but with a cup, as the others agree in representing. Philipp, upon this, rushes at his son with a sword, as the others have it, but with a knife taken from the cook, as N. has it. Alexander now makes a general attack upon the guests. He "smote the guests and half killed them—Rupeton and Killeetaron, and others their companions—and the house was filled with the dying." The original (the MS. B.) has here ἦν δὲ ἰδεῖν Κενταύρων ἱστορίαν. The Latin, "prorsus ut nihil de Centaurorum Lapitharumque convivio demutaret." The text before the Syriac translator must have been: ἦν δὲ ἰδεῖν Λαπιθῶν καὶ Κενταύρων ἱστορίαν, which he so incredibly misunderstood as to turn the Lapithæ and Centaurs into two persons present at the entertainment. L and R are not unfrequently put for one another in the proper names of this work, as Kartil for Kraterus. In Ps.-C. I. § 22, it is said that thenceforward, people at the time of marriage avoided using the name of Λύσιος, lest it should be an omen of divorce. The Syriac translator, unable to understand this, guesses at the meaning: "And in consequence of the death of Lucius, every man kept his mouth from railing."

Pseudo-Call., I. § 46. In N., Alexander says to the Thebans shut up within their walls: "Do you therefore eat the pitch of Doratha, inasmuch as you, by your own will, have shut yourselves up in a cage." V. has nothing corresponding; but A.'s text is: πάνν γὰρ ὑπὸ τὸ δόρυ πάντας ἔχω ἐαυτοὺς ἐγκλείσαντας ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν. It seems strange that the sense in so easy a passage could be misapprehended; but if N. had in his Greek MS. some corrupt reading like πάνν γὰρ πικρὰ δόρυα ἔδετε ἐγκλείσαντες κ. τ. λ. his mistake admits of a possible solution.

Pseudo-Call., I. § 46. The Thebans, after the sack of their city by Alexander, inquire at Delphi whether they will ever be reestablished there. This is related by N. at much greater length than by A. and V. B. and C. have nothing parallel. The oracle replies:

Ἐγὼ δὲ τ' Ἀλκίδης καὶ ἱμαντόμαχος Πολυδεύκης,  
οἱ τρεῖς ἀθλήσαντες ἀνακτιήσουσι σε, Θήβη.  
(ἀνακτιήσουσι?)



This oracle appears in the Syriac translation, as follows: "When Plooneekus and Anmeetakus and Turkalus, three heroic men, engage in combat together, then will Thebes be rebuilt."

Just afterwards a Theban at the Isthmian games is represented as throwing down three antagonists, instead of gaining three kinds of victory. Here N. differs in other respects also from A. and V.

Pseudo-Call., II. § 1. Alexander says to the Athenians in A.: *νῦν δὲ ἀναβας εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἔλεγον Ἀθηναίους ἀξιούσθαι με* [hiatus]: which V. partly omits. The sense is apparently: "After making an expedition into Asia [for Alexander in the legend had lately returned from Asia], I thought that the Athenians would deem me worthy to lead the armies of Greece." N. however has: "And now I have come to this corner of Asia [Athens!], for I wish to know how you regard me." It is probable that the hiatus in A. was found by the Syriac translator in his manuscript also.\*

Pseudo-Call., II. § 2. N. has: "the death of that tormented one, your father;" while *τριςκάλου* properly denotes thrice bad, worthless.

Ibid. "You who urged the Athenians to fight against the king of Persia."—A. "And by this advice you would create enmity between us and the king of Persia."—N.; which is in this place nonsense.

II. § 5. "Socrates who was herald in Alis" [Hellas] in the Greek is *Σ. τὸ Παιδευτήριον τῆς Ἑλλάδος*.

II. § 17. "First know this, that man is born."—N., for "that you were born a man."

II. § 19. N. has: "And I will give, to each man, every month . . . three horses [!], six drachms and grain and straw and grass and food." It should be: "I will give to a footman three gold pieces, and to a horseman five [and grain and fodder," which is wanting in A.]. Was the text of N. corrupt here?

II. § 22. A. has: "Since in judgment, wisdom and power, you are on a par with the Olympian gods." N.'s translation is: "and that those gods whom your mother Olympias worships [!] may raise you and magnify you over all nations,

\* Another instance where a hiatus existing in A. may be traced, as I think, in the Syr., occurs in the passage quoted in § 9; where A. has *ὁ γὰρ Κρκίνος* \* καὶ Κρόνος, and the Syr. "Cancer and Saturn were duped by his children."

in word [as if it were *λόγῳ*, and not *λογισμῳ*], and knowledge and power."

III. § 18. Candace, descendant of Semiramis (proneptis, V.), is called in N. queen of *Samrai*. This word is drawn by the translator from Semiramis, whom he thus almost incredibly turns into a place.

These specimens, to which many might be added, are perhaps more than sufficient to test the skill of the Syriac translator. It will be readily believed, after this, that he is often free even to looseness, and that the point of the narrative, wherever there is any subtlety, vanishes in his hands.

### § 13.

The fate which the proper names have met with in this Syriac translation deserves a moment's attention. They may have been drawn from a very vicious MS. It would not be strange, if in passing from Greek into an oriental language they should be somewhat altered in shape; nor would they be less but rather much more exposed to change by careless transcription of the text than other words. And they might be intentionally altered by one who felt that he had a work of fiction in his hands, which he was free to remodel as he chose.

Even in the latest Greek recension of Pseudo-Callisthenes the names begin to show a tendency towards alteration. Thus the MS. C. gives to Pausanias the murderer of Philipp the *alias* of Anaxarchus. The same MS. gives three names to the younger son of queen Candace: *Δορήφ τὸν καὶ Θοάντα καὶ Φόρμον καλούμενον*. A daughter-in-law of queen Candace is called Harpussa by B. and C., Matersa by A., and Margie by V. The Latin version does not often vary from A.; but one singular instance is contained in the words occurring just before Alexander is poisoned: "Mater ejus ad eum scripserat super Antipatri et Divinopatri simultatibus," where Müller proposes to read "Cleopatrac" instead of the monster of a name in the text. That name however must have been in the MS. of Julius Valerius, from which the French poem borrowed its materials, as it makes mention of him several times (between pages 501 and 507 of Michelant's ed.). Thus we read:

"Divinuspater vient, li sers de pute trace,  
o lui Antipater, qui de mort le manace."



I believe the name in V. grew out of A.'s corrupt text, which is τῆς δὲ μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Ὀλυμπιάδος πλεονάκις γραφομένης περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ δεινοπαθοῦσης, σκυβαλλίζεται μήτηρ οὐσα ἀνθρώπων. Somehow or other δεινοπαθοῦσης was transformed into Divinopatri in the Latin.

The romances of the middle ages show no hesitation in altering names and inventing new ones. Many of Alexander's heroes are scarcely distinguishable in their new dress, and historical verity is as entirely lost sight of in the introduction of new characters, as in other kinds of invention. The twelve peers elected by Alexander at Aristotle's suggestion, in the French romance, are mentioned in the following lines:

"Primerains i metes Tolomé et Clincon,  
Lincanor et Philote, et Dant Emenidon,  
Perdicas et Lione avoec Antigonun,  
et le conte Arides, Ariste et Caunon,\*  
Antioeus avoec; or sunt XII. par non."

Here Clincon may be Clitus; Lincanor, Nicanor; Lione, Leonnatus; Arides, Arrhibas (Arrian, 3, 5); Ariste, Ariston (Arrian, 3, 11); Caunus, Calanus (Arrian, 3, 5); Emenidus, who is a principal hero of the poem, possibly Eumenes. In the German romance of Lamprecht, Hephaestion becomes Vestian; Oxyathres (brother of Darius, Ps.-C., II. 7), Occeatyr; Parmenio, Parmînus; Eumelus (Ps.-C., II. 14), Eomulus; Bessus and Ariobarzanes, Bysan and Arbazan; and the younger son of queen Candace is called Karakter,—in the Latin, Charogus. In general this poem contains few names,—the attention being concentrated on Alexander,—and of the few the most are correctly written. In the English romance a number of fictitious persons appear, and historical names are somewhat deformed. Let Neptanabus, Clorpatras, Bulsifall (Bucephalus), Glitoun (Clitus), Etheilieches (Eteocles), Dalmadas (Demades), Octiater (Oxyathres), serve as examples of the latter. Mark of Rome, duke Tibire in Alexander's army, with a great multitude on the Persian side, might be adduced as examples of the former. The names of places and the geographical notices in this poem, notwithstanding the anachronisms and absurdities, are deserving of study.

\* The names in part take the accusative form of the Old French.

The Persian accounts of Alexander, as far as I can gather, exercise the same freedom in regard to proper names. Filiqûs, Qîdâfa (who is in Firdosi queen of Andalusia), are perhaps stereotyped mistakes of ف for ق, and ن for ي, as Spiegel remarks. The murderers of Darius become Mahyâr and Dschânusyâr; Roxana, Rusanek; Candaulus, Qîdrûs; while the younger son of Candace is Tînôs.

The Syriac version so often shows an intention to follow the original Greek in the proper names, and yet differs from it in many other instances so enormously, without notice and without the appearance of invention, that I am at a loss to account for the variations, which are greater and more surprising in the names of places than of persons. The names are as numerous as in the MS. A., and even a few are to be met with which cannot be found there, where they exceed in number those of V., B. or C. In some instances the Greek accusative serves as the form which the Syriac adopts, and this, with neglect of the Greek vowels, changes a name materially: thus we have Mikthoon for Μαχητήν, Olympida for Olympias. In other instances a syllable is omitted, or a letter changed, or left out, or inserted, and a resemblance may be detected. But in a number of cases, and that too in lists, where in other respects agreement between A. and N. may be traced, occur names of entirely another form, which no philological process can bring into connexion with the names of the original. These great deviations, united with the resemblances already noticed between the Syriac life and the Persian accounts of Alexander, led me at one time to conjecture that the Syriac might not be directly derived from the Greek, but that rather the transformations should be ascribed to a distillation through two languages. But this hypothesis could not stand. For the points of connexion with the Persian legend are nearly all to be discovered in the mediæval also; the Syriac at times shows an immediate dependence on the Greek; and the names do not indicate, as far as I can judge, any influence from the Persian. Nay, they differ from one another: Qîdâfa is Candaka in the Syriac, Qîdrûs, Candarus (Candaules). It is easier to suppose that this Syriac translation is the source from which the Persians drew.



A few examples of the manner in which the Syriac translator treats proper names are here subjoined. First we give names of persons, then of places.\*

1. Names of persons. Nūkteebūs for Nectanebus throughout. The MS. L. has the reading *Νεκταβός*, but no doubt by accidental omission of a syllable. Idnumtaneē (p. 29 of the Syr. MS.) = Endymion. The teachers of Alexander are Lucraneecus, from Peelos—(Lacratetis is his nurse in A., Alacrinis in V.; in A. Polynices the teacher of letters is from Pella);—Apus from Limnæus in grammar = Alcippus of Lemnos in A. and V. teacher of music; Arispeemon teacher of apophthegms = Aristomanes teacher of rhetoric in A. (the name being corrupted according to Müller for Anaximenes); Aristotle, from Melaseus (*Μελήσιος* of A.); and Ardeepos of Dmatskeeos, teacher in the art of war. Here the text of A. is at fault, being, as it stands, *ὁ πλοκτύπιος δὲ Λαμψακῆς ὁ σωωτάς*. The Syriac seems to indicate that the first words point out exercise in arms, like *ὁ πλοδιδάσκαλος*; and A. shows that Dmatskeeos is a corruption of *Λαμψακηνός*, —*Λ* being read for *Λ*, *ts* standing for *ψ*, and the vowels being erroneously placed in the Syriac. But where Ardeepus comes from, and what *ὁ σωωτάς* means, I am unable to say.

In the list of combatants in the games, where Nicolaus and Alexander contend (Ps.-C. i. § 19, Syr. pp. 60, 61), the Syriac has nine names like the Greek and Latin authorities, but they are all so much altered that two or three only have any resemblance. These are Keetmaus = Klitomachus, Nikomos = Klinomachus, and possibly Adustus = Aristippus.

In the list of persons who visited the talking trees with Alexander (Ps.-C. iii. § 17, Syr. pp. 240, 241), Phoormioon = Parmenio, also written soon after, within the space of two pages, Parmaoon; Arthooroon = *Κράτερον* in the accusative, elsewhere written Kartil; Gooroon supplies the place of Iollas in the original; Philipos (sic) has no doubt fallen out of A.'s and V.'s text, as he is mentioned afterwards; Mikthoon = *Μαχητήν*; Tarnesagotha = *Θρασυλόντα* (!); Tarthakith = Theodectes; and Harclioon stands for Heracleon, which must have fallen out of A.'s and V.'s text. There were twelve in all, but A., V., N. name only eight, Neocles and Diiphilus mentioned by A. and V. being unknown to N.

\* It may be remarked that Dr. Perkins seems not to have followed a uniform system in his transcription of proper names.

In the list of guests present at the entertainment where the fable makes Alexander to have been poisoned, A. gives seventeen names, a part of them in a corrupt text, besides Medius and Iollas the cupbearer. The Syriac gives twelve, part of which only have some distant resemblance to those in A. Priscos is Perdiccas; Lyseeus, Lysimachus; Peelepos, Philippus the physician, or the engineer; Harkleetondees, Heracleides; Preetoon, perhaps Python.

The list of guests at the table of Darius, when Alexander goes in disguise to his camp, as his own ambassador, is remarkable, as being so unlike the original that only intentional change can account for it. It wears also an oriental look:—can it have a Persian source? The words are these: "Then Darius reclined on his couch, and his nobles and magnates sat before him: first Darius; second Bar Nooragh his brother (Oxyathres in A., which MS. alone has any names in this place); the third Vashinghee; the fourth Door-yagh; the fifth Banmar; the sixth Zadmahir; the seventh Verdad; the eighth Kineear; the ninth, the one in the centre, a king of barbarians; the tenth Prudes, a general; the eleventh Peeus, a chief of the army; the twelfth Rooitmus." A. names fourteen, and the ninth in A.'s list, being a king of Æthiopians, corresponds with the ninth in N.

We add a few specimens of single proper names selected from different parts of the Syriac translation. Some explain themselves, being but slightly altered, as Eskeeanos, Dimatteeos (Demades), Deemosteenos, Hypasteeon and Esphais-tohondoos (Hephaestion), Candarus (Candaules), Peeleen (*Φίλων*), Ptalameeos, Cisandros, Ooleus (Iollas), Antony (Antigonos), Kilpagra (Cleopatra), Serpedon (Serapis), Soosee-neekus (Sesonchosis), Ereeoodak (Rodogune), Esther (Statura), Petaoos (Pytho). Others again are greatly altered, showing either a different text, or unaccountable corruption, or intentional substitution. Thus Pausanias, the murderer of Philipp, is Theoseedos; Alcibiades (ii. 4) is Abtermteenos and, immediately after, Alnakbeetus; Kynægirus and Mnesochores, Koodkanoor and Meeseekis; and so on. Demosthenes himself, by a corruption no doubt of the Greek text, becomes two men (ii. 4), so that the second speech of the orator is attributed to another person: "And the counsel of Doodsteeanos was the same as that of Demosthenes;" while at the end of the speech of this man, the translator has:



"And when Demosthenes had said these words." It is noticeable that wherever the name of Xerxes occurs, it becomes Cyrus in the Syriac.

2. Names of places and national names have experienced an equal or still greater alteration. To mention only a few: Pelusium becomes Peelos; Pella, Peeleen (I. 3), where it is in the accusative; Methone, Mootnea. Carthage is Chalcedon (which the MS. A. in one instance at least justifies by reading *Χαλκηδονίους* for *Καρχηδονίους*); Abdera, Babildar; the Scamander, Escamplis; the Euxine, the river Oosteen; the *Ἀμαζονικὸς ποταμὸς* (III. § 25), the sea Misneekos; Delphi, Zelepus (I. § 46); Plataea, both Parteedus and Platinus, within a few pages, and so on. A great number of examples, showing greater changes, might be adduced, some of them betraying the grossest ignorance. Whoever will compare the first specimen of Dr. Perkins' translation with the corresponding passage from the MS. A., given in Müller's notes to Ps.-Call., will find a multitude of instances where the names of places are utterly distorted;—much of which however must be due to a vicious text.

#### § 14.

The result of our enquiries into the Syriac translation is as follows. 1. It follows in general the recension of Ps.-Call., which is contained in A. and V. 2. It implies a fuller text in its Greek original than that of A. or of the Greek source of V., and one differing from theirs in a number of places. 3. That text was most probably posterior in time to the text of A., but this is not certain. 4. The translation is executed freely, unskillfully, with great carelessness and ignorance both of Greek, and of history and geography. 5. It was probably drawn from the Greek directly, and not at second hand. 6. Its points of resemblance to the Persian legend of Iskander, and the introduction of Persian words do not seem to prove that it was influenced by Persian works pertaining to this cycle; but, on the contrary, the close connexion with the Greek, every where manifest, shows that it may have been a source at second hand, from which, in part, the Persians themselves drew their accounts, resembling the Greek, of Alexander.

#### EXTRACTS FROM DR. PERKINS' TRANSLATION.

*Extract I.*—Containing an account of the building of Alexandria much fuller than those of A. and V.—Syr. pp. 90–102.

"And when Alexander slept, he saw in a dream Ammon, the god, speaking to him and saying: 'Thou art of my progeny, and there is in you a likeness of four gods. And if you do not believe how you can be of the race of the gods, who die not and decay not, I will show you that there may be men bearing likeness from the race of the gods, not in bodily constitution, but in wisdom, and understanding, and foresight. And by the union of the race of gods with men, every thing that is hard and difficult, in the world, men can comprehend and accomplish. You therefore have in you a descent from a serpent, and from Hercules, and from Dionysus, and from Ammon. And from the serpent, you will go over all the earth like a dragon. And from Hercules, you will be strong like Hercules, and will yourself exhibit power and might. And from Dionysus, you will always be full of pleasure, joy and rejoicing. And from Ammon, like me, you will hold a rich sceptre, and in dominion and wealth be master of the world. Now let there be no doubt to you in regard to these words.'

"And when Alexander had seen all these things in a dream, he awoke from sleep, and commanded that there should be a brazen image for Ammon in the temple of Ammon. And he placed it on a pillar; and on the base of the pillar he wrote thus: 'This image Alexander the son constructed for Ammon his father, and placed it in this temple.'

"And again he had a dream, and prayed to the god Ammon, and said: 'My father, show me a place where a great city may be built, that may be called after my name, and my memory not be blotted from it.' And again the god Ammon appeared to him, in a dream, and said: 'King of the Macedonians, Alexander, this I grant you. In Alis Volis, in the fields, where the fallow ground is ploughed up, is the place to build a city, and it shall become renowned and celebrated; and wealth and riches will increase there; and the chief god shall have his seat in it; and around it shall be



the river Nile. And they shall water its fields with plenty of water, and of its produce many shall be fed. The river shall water villages and fields, without fear in the irrigation, and there shall be no harm from it.'

"And when he had seen this vision in a dream, he departed from that country of Ammon-deekee; and a wild ox came before him; and when he saw the ox, he turned and said to his officers: 'If it be granted to me to build a city in this country of Egypt, I will order that darts be hurled at this mountain-ox.' And he took his weapons and hurled a dart at the wild ox. The dart passed through the ox, far beyond. He stumbled and fell, from the force of the shock, a long space of ground distant, and died on the spot.

"Then Alexander shouted and said: 'O dead, you have instantly shown me the place that is necessary for me. Therefore the very place in which the wild ox died, they call *Instantly Dying*, till this day. And Alexander drove on and went to that spot, beyond the wild ox, and reared a monument. They call it the monument of the god Aslis. He also commanded sacrifice to be offered in the same place. And from thence he returned and came to the wild ox, and saw a great hill; and around it were situated twelve villages, the names of which are Steeleemus, Pakhara, Impthaos, Akleelos, Eenookpeelas, Pythonus, Lyndos, Kupsin, Ispasid, Memistera, Peelaoos, Hankeeteos, which was in the centre of the hill, and which they called the great city. And when Alexander saw it, he was seized with wonder at the water which surrounded the villages, and marvelled at the many waves, as being very strange, which, though they were in the sea, did not mingle with it. And he saw a place which they called Milla, and its waters entered a cubit into the sea and caused great commotion. Then Alexander asked: 'What is this place? and who built it?' And they said to him: 'Deus, whom they call Zeus; and next, Ertaoos.'

"Now from these twelve villages, proceed twelve rivers, and mingle with the sea. And Alexander saw those rivers thus; many of them were filled from the springs of the city and had destroyed the lanes and streets. And with the exception of two streams, there were none that remained unfilled and the mouths of which were not destroyed. And their mouths mingled with the sea. One of them was Looktosneedos, which was the great river, which they called the

god Serpedos. And this Serpedos is Joseph, the son of Jacob, whom the Egyptians regard as a god. And from that one, proceeded another; they called it Okooreda. And still another great river, which they called Klidnaver. The name of another large one was Noparter.

"And when Alexander saw the place which the great rivers and streams surrounded, he remembered the dream which the god Ammon manifested to him; and he saw on that spot fifteen towns. And he heard that there was in that place a temple of Jupiter; and one of Ahla, whom they call the mother of the gods. And entering the temple, he worshipped there and offered sacrifice. And as he was surveying the temple, he saw there two tables of red marble, which were very beautiful, and they were placed under an idol; and there were engraved on them writings of the priests. And they were inscribed to this effect: 'From the time that I, the upholder of the world, Ceseo Koosos [Sesonchosis], was at first known as master on earth, I set up this image, in honor of the great god, the Sun, in the likeness of Serpedon, on account of the great favor I received from him.'

"And when Alexander read this writing, he thought in his mind that Serpedon is the first god. And he entered again into that place, where they stated the temple of Serpedon to be, and found a dish of his gold. And on the dish it was thus written: 'I, Ahla, son of Permetus, before men were born, made this cup for the great god Serpedon.'

"And when Alexander had read this writing, he said: 'From this it is clear, that the first god is Serpedon; for this cup was made before Permetus had created men. And moreover Ammon thus shewed me in a dream, that "in that place it is permitted you to build a city, where the first god has his seat." And now I implore this one, and seek favor of him; for thus also Ceseo Koosos showed me in writing, that the first god seen in the world was this one.' Then he sacrificed to Serpedon, and besought him and said: 'If thou art from the beginning till now, and administerest the world, and wast the first god seen, Serpedon, show me the city I have in contemplation to build; and I will give it the name Alexandria; also make known to me whether they will take my name from it, and call it by the name of some other king.' And having said these things, he slept,



and beheld in a dream, while he held him by the hand and carried him up on a high mountain, and said to him: 'Alexander, can you take away this mountain and remove it to another place?' Alexander answered: 'How can I, master?' Then the god said to him: 'As you are not able to remove this mountain, so no man can remove your name from this city, or attach his own name to it.'

"And again Alexander said: 'Master, what mastery or power shall there be in Alexandria, by which its name shall be borne through the world?' Serpedon said: 'In this way—when the city is founded, they shall call it *Great City*; and its greatness shall be told in all the world. And men without number shall dwell in it, who shall be renowned on your account. And pleasant winds, by the combination of wholesome air, shall minister to it; and the knowledge and skill of its inhabitants shall be famed in the world; for I will build it in wisdom, and will be a helper unto it; and the waves shall not be agitated by the sea. Blasting and heat shall not enter it, nor shall winter and cold remain in it. Nevertheless, earthquakes shall sometimes occur in it, yet they shall not commit great injuries in it; and these shall be from the envy of evil spirits. And if the armies of all the kings of the earth shall gather against it, they can in no wise harm it. It hath been stated that it shall be renowned in the world. And furthermore, whether in thy life or thy death, thou shalt come hither, and in the city thou hast built there shall be to you war.'

"And again Alexander said to him: 'Master Serpedon, I desire to know what is your true name.' And Serpedon added and said to him: 'First consider in your mind, whether you can compass the hosts of heaven—one of a hundred, and twenty of two hundred—to tell their names; then can you comprehend my name.'

"And when the god had said these words to him, Alexander said to him: 'Master Serpedon, this too make known to me, how and when and by what death I shall die?' And the god again told him in a dream: 'It is not difficult; but it is honorable and well, that from a mortal who is born, his death, and in what way he shall die, should be concealed. Men who are mortal thus fancy in their minds that they shall not die, and that this world will not be dissolved. But if you would know by what death you shall die, then know,

by a good and easy death shalt thou die. Your sickness will resemble that of a man who hath drunk poison. Therefore fear not; for your death shall be without sickness of the body; and if you die in youth, you will be free from many evils.'

"And when he had comprehended these oracular words in a dream, he commanded architects to be called—three wise and learned men; one Synkerton, from Aroonteeoos; and one Areeanaoos, from Agootos; and one Kreermatin, from Kookullin; and he set them over the building of the city: Synkerton, to lay the foundations; and Aroonteeoos, to measure off and build the streets and lanes; and Kreermatin, to build in the city. And he gave them gold—fifty myriads of talents; and every talent is four hundred dinars. And the length of the city is from the tomb of Aslis to Barteena; and its width, from Dnoor to Leekersitra, which they call Sideerniflis.

"And when Aristotle, the teacher of Alexander, heard about the building of this city, he sent to him thus and said to him: 'No, master; do not begin to build so large and spacious a city, and place in it men of various countries and different tongues, lest they revolt from serving you, and take the city from you. And moreover, if the city should make a feast and sports, heralds could in several days only give notice among the people. And if all the fowls in the world assemble, and all the barley-bread that exists in your dominions, be collected in one place, for provision, they will not suffice for food for the people in it.'

"After this message was received by Alexander, great perplexity seized him, and he was thoughtful and anxious; and he commanded that they should call the Egyptian astrologers—those who were wise in sooth-saying, and he related to them this message. And when the astrologers had heard the message, and saw that the king was thoughtful and anxious, they said to him: 'O king, enter upon building the city; for it will become a city great and noted, and plentiful in productions. All the extremities of the land will bring to it produce to sell, and many regions will be sustained from it, and it will be itself in no need of sustenance from any other land. And every thing that is made in it will be of high price among the people, and they will transport it to distant countries.'"



*Extract II.*—From Alexander's letter to Aristotle, giving an account of his adventures, and being new matter not in any Greek source, nor in V.—Syr. pp. 226-235.

“‘From thence we departed and came to another forest. In that forest there were fruit-trees, the fruit of which was very delicious. In it were wild men, who, in their faces, resembled ravens. In their hands they held missiles. Their clothing was of skins. When they saw us, they hurled missiles at the troops and killed some of them. And I ordered the troops to shout and go upon them with a rush. And by doing that, we slaughtered one hundred and thirty-three of them. They killed one hundred and sixty-seven of our horsemen. The carcasses of the slain I ordered men to take and carry to their country. We tarried in that place three days. We ate the fruit of those trees, for there was no other food.

“‘From thence we departed and came to a river. By the river was a spring of water. I ordered to encamp there, and that the troops should rest a little. It was the ninth hour of the day, and behold a *man-animal*, joined in body to the hog of the desert. He did not fear us at all. I ordered the troops to take him. And when the troops came near him, he was not frightened in the least. Then I commanded a naked woman to approach him, that they might the more easily take him. And when the woman went to him, the animal tore the woman in pieces and began to devour her. And seeing it, we ran upon him with a rush, and smote him and killed him.

“‘And from the country of the *man-animal*, in which there were men like him without number, myriads of whom we killed, for we all stood ready with our weapons; and where I commanded that they cut down all their forests, and burn them with fire, and to burn them with their forests—from thence we departed, and came to the country of the *thong-footed*. And when they saw us, they began to throw stones. They threw straight. They hit us. And seeing that they killed some of the troops, drawing my sword, I ran upon them alone. By divine aid, I smote the chief of the *thong-footed*, and the rest were frightened and fled away, and concealed themselves in the rocks. There were also among them *donkey-footed*.

“‘From thence we departed and came to another place. There were men with lions' heads and sloping tails.

“‘From thence we departed and came to a river. And on the bank of that river was a tree which increased from morning till the sixth hour, and from the sixth hour till night it diminished in height, till nothing of it was seen. Its odor was exceedingly agreeable. I gave orders to collect from its leaves and fruits, when suddenly an evil spirit smote the troops, and cruelly distressed them. And we heard the sound of hard blows, and sores and wounds appeared on the backs of the soldiers. And afterwards we heard a voice from heaven like the sound of thunder; and thus it said: ‘Let no man cut any thing from this tree, nor come near it; for if you come near it, all your troops will die.’ There were also birds that resembled partridges. I gave orders that they should cut nothing from the tree, nor kill any of the birds. And there were in the river stones, the color of which in the water seemed very dark; but when we took them out of the water, they were very white; and when we again threw them into the water, their color was very black.

“‘And from thence we departed and encamped by a spring. And then passing through a waste desert, we reached the ocean which surrounds all the world. And while we were passing along the sea-shore, I commenced drumming. And I heard the voices of men speaking in the Greek language, but did not see them. Nor did we see any thing else in the sea, save that we saw something like an island, and it was not very far from us. Some of the troops were desirous of going to that island, by swimming; and having taken off their clothes they went down into the sea; and animals in the shape of men, very stout in body, came up from the deep and seized twenty of the troops, and went down again into the deep.

“‘From thence we departed, from fear, and came to a certain place, the men of which place had no head, but had a mouth and eyes in their breasts. They talked like men. They gathered mushrooms from the earth and ate them. Each mushroom weighed ten drachms. The minds of those men were like little children. They were very simple in their conduct.

“‘From thence we departed and came to a place which was a desert; and in that place there was a bird on a tree



which had no leaves nor fruit. It was accustomed to sit on it. On its head was something resembling the rays of the sun. They called it the *palm-bird*.

“From thence we again journeyed and came to a place of many forests of great trees. In that forest there were animals like wild asses in our country. The length of each was fifteen cubits. They were not ferocious; and the troops killed and ate many of them. And we journeyed on sixty-five days, and arrived at a place which they call Ooberkier. On the seventh day, we saw two birds with very large bodies, their faces like the faces of men. Suddenly, one of them said in the Greek language: ‘Alexander, you tread on the soil of the gods.’ Again, in the same language, it said to me: ‘Alexander, conquering Darius and vanquishing king Poor is enough for you.’ And having heard such a voice, we returned from that land of the Ooberkier, and came on. And I ordered to go from thence to Wilkah. And from thence we arrived at the declivity of a mountain. The mountain was very high. On the top of the mountain was built a temple, its height a hundred cubits. And when I beheld it, I greatly marvelled. And there was a gold chain bound around it, and the weight of the chain was three hundred drachms. I ordered that the door of the temple should be opened, that I and my army might enter. And on entering it, we found in it stairs of sapphire—two thousand and five hundred. And we saw in it a very large building; the windows around it were of gold; and there were in it images of thirty masons, made of pearls and gold. On coming near to the building, we saw that it was all gold, and on the windows were golden images—images of Panstorus, i. e. singers. They stood in the windows, dancing. In the temple there was built a golden altar. By the altar there stood candlesticks of sapphire; the height of each was forty cubits; and golden candles were placed on them; and they glistened like the light of a candle. And on the altar, instead of fire, there was placed a candle made of stone. And it glistened like light. In the temple there was placed a golden bedstead, made with pearls. Its length was forty cubits. And a very costly bed was spread on it. And one like a great man was reclining on it. And a brightness shone from him like the brightness of lightning. And a robe of gold and emeralds, and other beautiful stones, was

spread over him; and there was something like a vine, its fruit made of gold and pearls, and before the bed was placed a table of ivory. And when I beheld, I did not desire to approach rashly, and uncover the face and see who he was.

“Then I sacrificed to the god in the temple and worshipped, and turned from thence and went out. And when I was going out at the door, suddenly there was a fearful voice, like the sound of thunder, and the noise of the rushing and raging of the sea. And when the tumultuous noise subsided, again I heard another voice from within the temple, and it said thus to me: ‘King Alexander, rest—cease from thus worrying yourself. Do not penetrate the temple of the gods and discover their mysteries, for he whom you saw on that bed is I myself, Dionysus; and I say, I who committed to you this warfare, that you will easily conquer in this war, and come to our country to rest, and they will number you in the same category with us.’

“And having heard such a voice, my mind was seized with fear and with joy; and again I sacrificed to him and worshipped, and went out to travel about the place, and to write this view of it.

“And then I commanded those fifty Hindoos, my guides, who had misled me into such paths and places, to be slain and cast into the sea.”

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*Extract III.*—Being matter not found in any Greek source, nor in V.—Syr. pp. 244–270.

N. B. The translation of the following fragment has been executed by Rev. Dr. MURDOCK and submitted before printing to the inspection of Prof. W. W. TURNER, whose sagacity and learning enabled him to make a number of valuable suggestions. Dr. Perkins' translation of this portion was unfortunately lost, having been separated from the body of the MS. in order to be sent to Prof. William D. Whitney for his examination of several points, and disappearing probably by robbery of the mail.



"Then I held a consultation with my troops; and we decamped again from there, and marching fifteen days in a straight course, we came to the country of the Prisikaiee. And to Alexander and these Hindoos and his troops, the Hindoos dwelling in that country brought presents.

"We had presents also from distant countries. And we had skins of fishes, like the skins of leopards; yea, some of the skins were [as] of enormous leopards. And among them were heads of a cubit each, and of three cubits each. And the ears of those fishes were, some of them, six cubits each; and the weight of each of them was a hundred pounds. And the heads of these fishes were two cubits long, and some of them three. They were in the shape of well-pitchers, each holding fifty cups of water, which were very beautiful in appearance. And thirty purple sponges, and fifty white ones. So we took some of them with us from the country of the Prisikaiee; and we turned our heads to the West.

"And after travelling ten days, we came to a high mountain. And some of the people inhabiting the mountain said to us: 'King Alexander, thou canst not pass over this mountain; because a great god, in the form of a dragon, dwells there, and guards this region from foes.' And I said to them: 'In what place is that god?' They replied: 'He is three days' journey from here, in a river.' And I said to them: 'Does this god change his form?' And they said to me: 'From fear of him, no adversaries dare come to this region.' And I said to them: 'Can he keep off adversaries from all the region round about you?' And they said: 'No, only from this part where his habitation is.'

"And I said to them: 'This god hath a temple; and ye go to it, and are acquainted with it.' And they said: 'Who can go near it, since he, with the breath of his mouth, swallows down an elephant?' And I said: 'How do ye know, as ye have not gone near him?' And they said: 'We know that many persons are swallowed by him every year, besides the two bullocks which are constantly given him every day for food from our country. He moreover slays men.' And I said: 'How do ye give [him] these two bullocks to eat?' And they said: 'One devoted to the service of the god, collects bullocks from the country, and daily, in the morning, before the god leaves his temple, leads forth two bullocks, and goes down to the bank of the river, and ties

the bullocks' legs, and throws them down on the river-bank; and then ascends to the top of the mountain. And when the god comes out of his temple, he crosses over the fearful river, and swallows down those bullocks.'

"And I said to them: 'Does this god cross over but once, or does he cross whenever he fancies?' And they said: 'He crosses but once.' Then I concluded that this was no god, but a trick of evil demons. And, retaining some natives of the place, I decamped and came to the bank of the river. And I gave orders, that they should expose the bullocks according to their wont, and I and my troops would take [our] stand on the top of the mountain.

"And we looked on, when the wild beast came out of his cavern, and went to the bank of the river. And when I saw the beast, I supposed it to be a black cloud resting upon the river-bank. And the smoke that issued from his mouth was like a thick cloud in the midst of darkness. And we saw when he crossed over the river, and before he came up to the bullocks, that he, by the suction of his mouth, drew in those bullocks and swallowed them, as if shot from a sling.

"And after seeing such things, I gave directions for the next day, that in place of these two large bullocks, calves of a very small size should be set forth; so that the beast should become very hungry the next day. And on that day, when he found the calves, he went every way, along the side of the river: and as he passed along the second time, being urged by hunger, he turned this way and that, and found nothing. And when he inclined to come towards the mountain, my soldiers, all as one, set up a shout against him. And when he heard that shout, he turned back and went over the river. And at that instant I commanded that two bullocks of huge bodies should be brought, and be killed and skinned, and their flesh taken away; and that their skins should be filled with gypsum and pitch and lead and sulphur, and should be laid in that place.

"And when they had so done, the wild beast crossed the river again as was his wont; and when he came to these two skins, he instantly drew them with his breath and swallowed them. And as soon as the gypsum entered his belly, we saw his head fall to the ground, and his mouth gaped open: and he prostrated many trees with his tail. And when I saw that



he had fallen, I ordered a blacksmith's bellows to be brought, and balls of brass to be heated in the fire and thrust into the mouth of the beast. And when five balls had been thrust into his mouth, the beast closed his mouth and died.

"And we decamped from there, and came to a country in which was a high mountain, and from the mountain flowed a river called Bar-Satees. And they told us that there was a god in the mountain: and the whole mountain was of sapphire. Then I and my troops went up the mountain. And the mountain was full of fountains and springs of water. And the people of that country said to me: 'You must not go presumptuously up this mountain; because its gods are powerful. And I commanded sacrifices to be there offered. And immediately, from the mount there came many sorts and sounds of music. And on hearing [them], I again worshipped. And from the mountain I heard a voice, in the Greek tongue, which said to me thus: 'King Alexander, return, and advance no further; because, from here and onward is the country of men who conquer and subdue vast armies by their skill and valor.' And in reply I said: 'Since it has thus pleased you, shew me whether, if I go alone, I shall return from there alive.' And the gods replied and said to me: 'Go thou only; for to thee it is conceded to behold something excellent.'

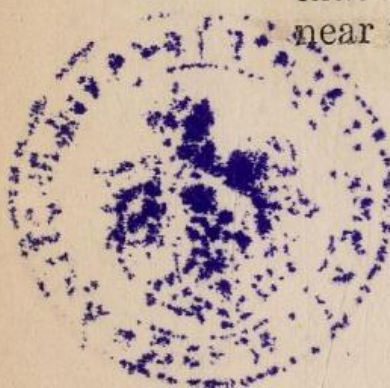
"And I responded again, and said: 'What is that something excellent, which I am to behold?' And the gods said to me: 'Thou art to behold a king, a son of the gods, who travels as an honored priest from his own to many lands. And thou wilt learn, how from a small matter a thing becomes so honorable.' And when I heard these words, I commanded a city to be built near the mountain, and a statue of brass to be erected upon it, and to name it Alexandria Queen of the Mountains.

"And I commanded my troops to remain in that country. And I and my twenty friends arose, and went to a land called Kathaon: and we halted in that place two days. And from there we decamped, and marched ten days along mountains and watery places; and then we marched fifteen days in a desert, and came to the borders of China (Tzin). And when we came to China, I assumed the name of Pithaoo, the messenger of king Alexander. And as we drew near to the gates of the king of China, they went in and

informed him concerning me. And he commanded that I should be interrogated outside. Then Gundaphar, captain of his host, questioned me respecting my coming to the land of China. And I told him that I was a messenger from king Alexander. And Gundaphar said to me: 'Wherefore hast thou come hither?' And I said: 'I am sent to the king of China, and my message is to him; and it is not fitting that I should tell my master's message to thee.' Then Gundaphar went in to the king of China, and informed him.

"The king then ordered the palace to be decorated, the curtains of silk to be suspended, and the golden couch to be spread; and told them to call me. And when I entered his presence, I did not worship him. And he questioned me, and said: 'Whence comest thou?' And I answered and said: 'I am the messenger of king Alexander.' And he said to me: 'Who is this Alexander?' And I replied: 'He is from Macedonia, the sovereign of that country, and the ally of the Persians and the Hindoos.' And he said to me: 'What country is this Macedonia?' And I said: 'It is in the western part of the world, where the sun goes down.' And he said to me: 'And where did you leave him?' And I said: 'He is near by, and not far off; behold, he is by the river Beersatoos.'

"And he said to me: 'For what purpose did he send thee?' And I said: 'My master Alexander is by the gods constituted lord over the kings of the inhabited world; and I have come to conduct thee to him. And my message is this: Thus saith Alexander: By the good pleasure and assent of the celestial gods, I am placed over all the kings of the inhabited world, and I am to be head and commander over all governors. And whoever voluntarily accepts this my supremacy, shall possess all his territory, and remain lord over it: but whoever does not accept me, shall not retain his country and his dominions. And if thou dost not believe me, that this is so, inquire and learn what majesty and renown in the world Darioosh king of Asia possessed: for he also was a warrior, and was victorious; but afterwards, because of his resistance, to what a condition was he reduced and humbled! And also Poor, king of the Hindoos, —who was so great and powerful, and contrived sagacious schemes and projects of various kinds, and was abundant in resources, and considered himself, not only as sovereign over





men, but also as chief and lord among the gods,—he likewise, because he did not yield, learned what a fate overtook him. And now, in regard to thee, I have heard that intelligence and prudence are happily and eminently thine. And I have thought fit, not to come against thee as an enemy, with armies and troops; but I have sent a messenger to thee as to a friend; that thou mayest come voluntarily to me, and that I may see and taste the riches of thy knowledge, from the doors of thy mouth, by the fruits of thy words. And if there is any thing very noticeable in thy country, bring it with thee, that I may see it.'

"Then he questioned me, and said: 'Is king Alexander a giant in body?' And I said to him: 'No; he is even very small.' And he said to me: 'Do thou, in accordance with the custom of ambassadors, refresh thyself with me to-day, and to-morrow thou shalt receive my response to thy message.' And as it was the hour for dining, the king of China gave orders, and a feast was prepared in his house; and they placed me on the lower couches in the eating-hall.

"And when the feast terminated, he ordered a bed-chamber to be prepared in the royal palace, and directed me to sleep there. And in the morning, while it was yet dark, he commanded me to be conducted into his presence. And when I entered, I did obeisance to him. And when he saw me do obeisance to him, he became suspicious of me.'

"And again he directed questions to be put to me. And when I again repeated my message before him, he said to me: 'Thy message is that of yesterday, but thy actions are not those of yesterday; for yesterday thy behavior was of one sort, and to-day it is of another.' And I said to him: 'Thou hast rightly said, O king; because yesterday when naked I was clothed in the language of my message on behalf of Alexander, and thou, O king, sawest Alexander in me, and in the speech of my lips thou heardest that of Alexander: and to-day Pithaoos is ambassador.' Then he commanded a girdle to be brought. And he said: 'Tell me how Alexander is framed as to his stature.' And I said: 'Alexander is like me as to his stature.' And he said to me: 'Is the king no taller than thou?' And I said: 'No.' And he commanded my height and breadth to be measured, and the girdle to be cut off, according to my measure: and when it was cut off, he ordered it to be passed around [me] and marked.

"And he said to me: 'Pithaoos, go, and take this answer from me to king Alexander, and say to him: I have heard thy message which thou didst send to me. And I have heard of thy prosperity, and thy power, and thy grandeur; and likewise of thy victory over Darioosh, and of thy power and triumph over Poor. Yet the subjugation of many nations I consider to proceed not solely from thy good fortune, that [thou shouldest have] such pride; but I think it is also owing to their ill fortune, and to this more than any thing. And as it was given thee by fortune, therefore there is given to thee fortune and prosperity. But I am not given to such pride as that of Darioosh and Poor who were before thee. Thou shouldest therefore know, that in prosperity thou art to have no confidence: and further than this vex not thy soul. And of such as have approached and come near to the completion of the days of their life, let not thy hands become executioners; for the office of an executioner is of vile repute. And in regard to my coming to thee, [as] thou hast sent unto me, this [is my answer]: Lo, by the words of my mouth I stand before thee, and with the tongue of Pithaoos I converse with thee. And therefore, be not angry that my body cometh not to thee. And come not thou to our country, in battle array; because we have never surrendered. And I say this not on thy account, as if we were more valorous than thou, but this I say for my own sake. But if thou shouldest come against us, and our good fortune should fail us, like that of Darioosh and Poor, thou slaying our king, and thy hands being our executioners, yet no one of us would accept slavery to save his life. And let this also be in thy cogitation, that if thy fortune should at last turn against thee, this great name of thine and thy power would, in that case, perish. For this deceptive prosperity does not remain constantly in one place. We mortals, therefore, who have done and accomplished so much,—who, with many expeditions and toils and slaughterings, have exterminated numerous persons of our own nature and kind, and have conquered many countries,—yet afterwards, and against our will, every thing vanishes from us and is gone; and of the multitude of countries we had seized, and the many lands we had subjugated, the earth becomes to us like the measure of this girdle.' And at the same time he put the girdle into my hands.



"He also gave me a coronet of gold, which was set with pearls and sardonyxes.

And quicksilver [?], a thousand talents.

And he gave me ten thousand bracelets uncolored.

And five thousand silken garments.

And two hundred specimens of cane.

And a hundred Egyptian skins.

And a thousand Hindoo swords.

And five horses of the desert; and a thousand skins of musk.

And ten horns of wild beasts, each a cubit long.

"And he said to me: 'Take these as a present from me to Alexander.' Now I was inclined not to receive them; but afterwards I reflected that perhaps he would become suspicious of me, if I did not take them, and recognize me as being myself Alexander.

"And from there I and my friends returned, and came to the encampment of my troops. And from there I gave orders to decamp; and from among mountains and a rough country, we came to a level and desert country. And from there we made a march of twelve days in a wilderness. And in that wilderness we saw numerous wild beasts, which were like our goats in shape, but their heads and teeth differed, being like those of foxes. And we saw those beasts by the saltations of which they get musk. And on the thirteenth day we came to a place where there were camps of a barbarous and savage people, well equipped with spears and arms. And when the savage people saw us, they advanced against our camp with arms in battle array. And when we saw that they came for a fight, I directed my troops to equip themselves for battle. And when they came near and attacked us, my troops shouted, and we closed in together. And while we were commingled together in the battle, it chanced, by a contingency from the gods, that I killed the captain of these banditti with the sword. And when they saw that their captain was slain, and also many men on both sides, they turned their backs, and fled from us. And I commanded my troops to slay the women and children of these savages, and to plunder their goods.

"And from there we decamped and came to a country called Z'bosos. And all the people of that country, with the priests of their deities, came out to us, bringing presents and refreshments. And we remained in that land ten days. And I commanded the priests of the country to offer sacrifices.

"And from there we decamped and came to a country called Soor. And the country was large and populous. And there I saw a great river, which flowed from the South and the West. And this river was difficult to pass: and there was no method whatever of passing over it. I had great anxiety, and made supplication to all the gods of Macedonia, and to Amoon the god of Lebaees; and also vowed vows, that, if they would aid me, and I should pass over this river with my troops, I would build a city at the passage of the river, and in it erect a temple for the gods. And when the people of that country heard [thereof], they sent unto me, saying: 'We will not permit you to enter our country.' And when I heard this message, I commanded the messengers to be bound, and a guard to be set over them. And I asked them: 'Who is the ruler in this country? and how old is he? in what town does he reside? and how many eminent men of the country are with him?' And the messengers said: 'Swear to us, by the gods, that thou wilt do us no harm, and we will conduct thee, and shew thee the place: for all the eminent men of the country are in that town.'

"Then I swore to them, by all the gods, that if they would inform me truly, I would not kill them; but if they should say any thing to the contrary, I would slay them with the others in the towns. And, with the good pleasure of the gods, I commanded these eight messengers to be confined, each one by himself, and then to be interrogated. And when we received their several answers, they were of accord. My troops I commanded to be prepared; and [I ordered] Kookäroos, captain of the host, to take one of these bound messengers, and to go forward by night, with fifty horsemen, and to explore the way, and see the town: for it was evening, and we knew not the customs of the country, and I was fearful about it. Then an officer went and explored the way; and returning, he came to me and said: 'The road is an easy one, and the town is not large.'

"Then I and my troops marched to that town. And I commanded the trumpets to sound, and the battalions to encompass the town. And I ordered much wood to be brought, and a fire to be kindled all around the town, and the battalions to be stationed outside the fire. And I commanded that every one fleeing from the town should be slain.



"And when the men of the town heard the sound of the trumpets, they ran out of the houses, and seeing the fire that encompassed the town, some were disposed to flee; but in fleeing from the city, they fell by the hand of my soldiers. Then their chief and the principal men of the town came to the outside of the town and said with a loud voice: 'King Alexander, turn thy wrath into reconciliation, and command not thy servants to be slain.' Then I bade them come to me. And when they came, I ordered them to be carefully guarded.

"And we came to the country of the Soondikaiee. And when I saw that the whole country surrendered to me, I commanded a city to be built there, and to be named Samarkand. And in that city, I commanded a temple to be built to Zaa, whom they call Nanyee. And when they were erecting the temple, I ordered it to be painted with gold and the best paints; and inscriptions in Greek to be inscribed upon it. And I commanded all the Soondikaiee to assemble in the place, and to make a feast to Zaa, and offer sacrifices to her. And when the Soondikaiee had so done in their country, their satisfaction as to the love and affection of Alexander was confirmed.

"And again we decamped from there, and came to the farther side of the river Teseetoos, which is interpreted Behrooz. And when the king saw that the river was large and difficult to pass, he commanded all the carpenters and artificers of Sood [i. e. Samarcand] to be brought together, and he ordered much timber to be given to them. And he also commanded Espheestahandoos to prepare five hundred Alexandrian boats. And he ordered that the aspect of the boats should be very sharp-pointed. And he commanded two ropes to be made of the barks of trees, one of which was fifty cubits in length; and that men should pass over to the other side of the river in the boats, and should build on that shore a sort of tower. And while they were so doing, I commanded the width of the river to be measured, and all the boats to be brought to the bank of the river. And [I ordered] them all to be lashed together, one after another, with the one rope, to planks of wood; and [when] with the other rope they had lashed to the boats, according to the number of them, bullock-skins filled with air, [I ordered them] to pass this rope over and make its end fast to the tower. And when they had made this rope fast, he com-

manded that the stronger rope, with the boats, should be fastened from one side [of the river] to the other; and that many men should pull on the rope from the shore. And when the foremost of the boats came to the middle of the river, and the boats were drawn and stretched by [their] sagging, he straightened the bridge, commanding many men, on this side and on that and in the middle, to haul on the rope that was fastened to the bank of the river, lest the boats that were fastened to the cable, should strike upon the rocks and be wrecked. And when the bridge attached to this cable came to the other side, [the waters] first dashed with violence against the skins, and upon those skins the violence stopped and subsided. Thus by his cunning and skill he constructed the bridge. And he commanded the troops to pass over.

"And when we had passed the river and had made a two days' march, I saw a river copious and abundant in its flow; and it had many country-towns with palaces about them. And the people of that country were fair-minded; and their land was abundant in its products, and corn and fruits were plenty. And I commanded the phalanx to repose in that locality; and we remained in our position five months. And I ordered a great city to be built there. And, on account of the beauty and desirableness of the country, I commanded that it should be called by two names. And to a part of the city I gave the name of Cūsh; which is interpreted in Persian, Behlee. And within the city, I ordered the erection of two temples; one temple to Zeus, and the other to Zaa. And I ordered them to be built with mortar and stones, and at a large expenditure. And I ordered a statue of myself and another statue of my friend Aidmalos, to be made of brass, and be set up in those temples. And on account of the beauty and pleasantness of the country, some of the Grecian soldiers that were with me, were desirous of abiding in that country. And I directed five hundred men to remain and dwell in it, and especially on account of the magnificence of those temples. And I commanded sacrifices and a great festival to be celebrated.

"And we decamped from there, and came to a river: and on the bank of that river I commanded the phalanx to encamp: and we rested in that place five days. And when I gave orders to decamp from there by night, Parioog came against us, all prepared with his troop. And my soldiers



had let loose their horses and cattle to feed in the meadow on the bank of the river. And Parioog and his band stole all these horses and cattle, and went into the woods, driving them away from the bank of the river. And when I heard these things, I led forth troops of guards and troops of Macedonians. And on that day we examined the river, and the horse-tracks on the bank of the river, and then pursued after Parioog. And we proceeded a day's march after him, but did not overtake him. Then I vowed and made supplication to the god Amoon, that, if we overtook Parioog and his band, in the place where I should come upon him I would build a city to his name, Amoon, and in it would erect a temple to him. And then, after travelling five miles, the ground was covered by water, and the tracks of the horses were not discernible. And I directed to search around the waters, and in the woods, for tracks of horses. And when they searched, they found no tracks of horses there. But I knew that the god Amoon would come to our aid. And I directed fire to be set around this wood, so that Parioog and his band could not endure the heat from the flames of the fire: whereupon they all forsook the wood. And my valiant troops fought with Parioog, and slew him. So Parioog died; and of his band there died, by the conflagration and by the hands of my soldiers, two hundred and seventy men; and a thousand and three hundred more were made captives. And we recovered all our horses and cattle. And our whole camp reposed there. And as for all those standing waters, I commanded them to bring earth, and to fill up the place in which these waters were, and build a city thereupon, and erect within the city a temple to the god Amoon. We were in that place four months. And when the city and the temple were completed, I commanded people to be brought from various parts to dwell in it; and I gave it the name of Mergeeos, that is, Lordship. In that place I offered sacrifice to the god Amoon."

*Extract IV.*—Syr. pp. 329–357.—The subjoined specimen has already been mentioned, as not forming a part of the Life of Alexander, but as rather an appendix derived from another source. It contains perhaps the most curious version, to be found any where, of the singular story how

Alexander walled up a number of impure nations within the northern mountains. This story appears for the first time in the Koran (Surah xviii.), and may have been borrowed in part from some apocryphal Jewish or Christian writing suggested by Ezekiel, Chapters xxxviii., xxxix., and by Revelations, Chapter xx. It runs as follows in Sale's translation.

"The Jews will ask thee concerning Dhu'lkarnein. Answer, I will rehearse unto you an account of him. We made him powerful in the earth, and we gave him means to *accomplish* every thing *he pleased*. And he followed *his* way, until he came to the place where the sun setteth; *and* he found it to set in a spring of black mud; and he found near the same a certain people. And we said, O Dhu'lkarnein, either punish *this people*, or use gentleness towards them. He answered, Whosoever *of them* shall commit injustice, we will surely punish him *in this world*; afterwards shall he return unto his LORD, and he shall punish him with a severe punishment. But whosoever believeth, and doth that which is right, shall receive the most excellent reward, and we will give him in command that which is easy. Then he continued *his* way, until he came to the place where the sun riseth; *and* he found it to rise on certain people unto whom we had not given any thing wherewith to shelter themselves therefrom. Thus *it was*; and we comprehended with our knowledge the *forces* which were with him. And he prosecuted *his* journey *from south to north*, until he came between the two mountains; beneath which he found certain people who could scarce understand what was said. *And* they said, O Dhu'lkarnein, verily Gog and Magog waste the land; shall we therefore pay thee tribute, on condition that thou build a rampart between us and them? He answered, The *power* wherewith my LORD has strengthened me is better *than your tribute*: but assist me strenuously, and I will set a strong wall between you and them. Bring me iron in large pieces until it fill up *the space* between the two sides *of these mountains*. *And* he said *to the workmen*, Blow *with your bellows*, until it make *the iron red hot as fire*. *And* he said *further*, Bring me molten brass, that I may pour upon it. Wherefore, *when this wall was finished*, Gog and Magog could not scale it, neither could they dig through it. *And* Dhu'lkarnein said, This *is* a mercy from my LORD: but when the prediction of my LORD shall come *to be fulfilled*, he shall reduce *the wall* to dust; and the prediction of my LORD is true."

On Dhulkarnein, Beidhâwy's note is as follows: "That is, Iskander the Great, king of Fârs and Rûm, or, as is also



said, of the East and West; and it was on that account he was called Dhulkarnein [of the two horns], or because he grasped the two extremities of the world, its East and its West, or, as is also said, because two ages of men were ended in his days, or, as is also said, because he had two horns, that is, two ringlets, or, as is also said, because there were two horns to his throne; and it is maintained that he was so called on account of his pugnacity, just as the pugnacious person is called a ram, as if he butted his fellows."\*

Spiegel, in the little work already cited, decides that Dhulkarnein was a mythic conqueror of early Arab tradition, who has been blended with Alexander the Great.

The MS. B. of Pseudo-Callisthenes has preserved a form of this story, which has perhaps the next claim in point of antiquity to that in the Koran. The style of this passage shows, I think, as well as the matter, that it is borrowed from some Jewish or Judæo-Christian source. A nearly literal translation of it here follows. "Moreover I found there [Alexander writes to his mother] many nations eating the flesh of men and drinking the blood of animals like water; for their dead they do not bury but devour. On seeing such most vile nations, I feared lest, by this kind of food, they would defile the earth with their wicked defilements, and prayed to the Providence above, and waxed strong against them, and slew the most of them with the edge of the sword, and subjugated their country. And fear took hold of them on every side, from the greatest of them to the least. For when they heard that Alexander, the king of the Macedonians, was coming hither, they said: 'He will slay us all with the sword, and wishes to lay waste our cities and to rule over us.' And so, being turned to flight, they pursued one another, and so nation fought against nation among them, and they were hurried into flight (*ἐσαλεύοντο εἰς φυγὴν*). Their kings are twenty and two; and I pursued from behind, until they fortified themselves (*ἐνίσχυσαν*) within the two great mountains, the names of which are the Paps of the North; and there is no ingress or egress other than by those great mountains, for they exceed in height the clouds of heaven; and these mountains are

\* For this extract from Beidhâwy's commentary I am indebted to Prof. Salisbury.

stretched out like two walls on the right and left towards the North, as far as to the great sea that lies under the Bear and the place of darkness.\* And I devised various devices that they might have no exit from the place where they were made to enter within the mountains. The entrance between the great mountains is forty-six royal cubits wide. Again therefore I prayed earnestly to the Providence on high with all my heart, and it heard my supplication. And the Providence on high commanded the two mountains, and they were shaken, and shifted their position as if vying with one another, each twelve cubits [approached twenty-four cubits nearer to one another]. And there I made brazen gates of twenty-two cubits in breadth, and in height of sixty cubits, securely, and smeared these same gates with *ἀσόκιτον*† inside and outside, that neither fire nor iron, nor any contrivance whatsoever, might be able to force open the gates; for the fire, when brought to them is extinguished, and iron is broken in pieces. And outside of these most formidable gates I set up another structure of rock-stone, each stone eleven cubits broad, twenty high and sixty thick. And this structure thus made I shut up [made an enclosure of it], having poured tin with lead into the stones, and smeared and daubed the said structure with the *ἀσικόντινον*, in order that nothing might have power to control the said gates, to which I gave the name of the Caspian. Twenty-two kings I shut in there *εἰς ὀκτακόσια τρία καὶ ἑν.‡* And the names of the nations are Magog, Kynekephali, Nūni, Phonerati, Syriasi, Iones, Katamorgori, Himantopodes, Kampanes, Samandres, Hippyres, Epambori. And I cleansed the parts of the North of these impious ones, having enclosed also two other very large walls, the one on the East one hundred and twenty cubits [long], and the one on the West ninety, and twenty-four cubits broad [i. e. walls, if I see into the meaning, which united the other two before mentioned]."

\* In the original, *ἕως τῆς μεγάλης θαλάσσης τῆς ὑπὸ ἄνσον καὶ τὸν σκοτεινὸν τόπον*. I conjecture *ἀρκτον* for the unmeaning word *άνσον*.

† For this corrupt word, which appears in several forms in B. and C., Müller has no emendation.

‡ Müller observes on this: "*excidisse aliqua videntur*." The text (which was perhaps *τριάκοντα ἑτη*), must have reference to the more than eight hundred years during which these nations would be shut up within this wall. Compare the extract from the Syriac translation towards the end.



The MS. C. gives substantially the same account. Alexander, on seeing the narrow path through the mountains, prays to God that they might come nearer together. His prayer is Jewish or Christian: "God of gods and lord of all the creation, who by thy word didst make all things, both heaven and earth and sea; nothing is impossible for thee, for, like slaves, all things obey thy will. For thou spakest and they were created, thou commandedst and they were brought forth. Thou alone art eternal, without beginning, the invisible God, and there is no one besides thee. For in thy name and by thy will I have done what thou didst desire, and thou gavest all the world into my hand. I beg thy much praised name to fulfill my request, and be thou willing that these two mountains may come together, as I asked thee, and overlook not me, the miserable one, who have trusted in thee." C. adds to B.'s account that Alexander planted brambles within the walls. He gives the names of sixteen nations, beginning with *Γόθ* and *Μαγός*.

This singular fable entered into the Persian accounts of Iskander. I subjoin here, from Spiegel's work, an abstract of Firdosi's version of it, and a passage from Mohl's translation of the *Mojmel-ut-Tewârich*.

After Alexander, according to Firdosi, had returned from the regions of darkness, he allowed his army a short rest, and then went eastward in order to see the wonders of the world in that direction. He came to a town, the inhabitants of which informed him that Yâjuj and Mâjuj resided in that region, and that they would be thankful if he would free them from these neighbors. Yâjuj and Mâjuj are described as monsters who sleep in their own ears. To protect their town Alexander builds a wall which it is impossible for the demons to scale.

Mohl's abstract of the story in the *Mojmel-ut-Tewârich*, is as follows:

"Après la guerre contre Darab, Secander parcourut l'Occident d'un bout à l'autre jusqu'à ce qu'il arrivât à l'endroit où le soleil se couche, comme le prouve un verset du Koran. Ensuite il fit bâtir la muraille de Yadjoudj et de Madjoudj; on la fit en briques de fer, entre lesquelles on plaça du plomb, du cuivre et un mélange (d'autres métaux), de la manière que les architectes du Roum savent le faire; ensuite on y appliqua le feu, jusqu'à ce que tout fonda et formât une masse solide. Cet événement est attesté par la parole de Dieu dans

la sourate de la Caverne (Sur. XVIII. 95). Alexandre fit placer sur cette muraille lorsqu'elle fût achevée, l'inscription suivante: 'Au nom de Dieu, le glorieux, le sublime! Cette muraille a été bâtie à l'aide de Dieu, et elle durera ce que voudra Dieu. Mais lorsque huit cent et soixante ans du dernier millier seront passés, cette muraille se fendra dans le temps des grands péchés et crimes (du monde) et de la rupture des liens du sang et de l'endurcissement des coeurs, et il sortira de cette muraille une multitude d'hommes de ce peuple telle que Dieu seul en saura le nombre. Ils atteindront le coucher du soleil et ils dévoreront tout ce qu'ils trouveront de nourriture et de fruits jusqu'à ce qu'ils se jettent sur l'herbe sèche et les feuilles des arbres. Ils épuiseront toutes les rivières, qu'ils traverseront, de manière à n'y pas laisser une seule bouchée d'eau. Quand ils auront atteint le pays de Sabous, ils périront tous jusqu'au dernier selon l'ordre de Dieu.'"

This passage, it will be seen, contains a part of the same apocryphal chronology which the Syriac appendix exhibits more fully.

The French romancer (pp. 300, 312) makes Gos and Margos, or Got and Margot, allies of Porus. In one passage he says that *Porrus* summoned all his men in Bactria ("en Bautre"), and all the orientals, so that none staid away. The people of the deserts were there from as far as the bounds of Arcus ["dusc'à bones [or bosnes] Arcus," to the pillars of Hercules].\* Gos and Margos came thither from the land of the Turks, bringing with them four hundred thousand men and more. They swore by the sea which has *Netrus* for its sire, and by hell's gate which *Celebrus* guards, that they would turn backward Alexander's pride. For this he shut them up afterwards: until the time of Antichrist none of them shall ever issue forth.

In the other passage (p. 312), after mentioning the defeat and flight of Got and Margot, he goes on to say that Alexander pursued them with all speed, bathing his horse in their blood. Some escaped within the defile. "The king stopped there and had a cement made of lime and mortar, better than which was never seen. Straight to the foot of the mountains the king caused it to be carried. It was made so tight that nothing could undo it."

\* The same expression occurs on page 3 of the French romance. The word Arcus, Arcu, has caused the French litterateurs some trouble, but M. Talbot shows that it is for Ercole.



The English Kyng Alisaunder is much fuller, and derives its materials from another source.\* Alexander having persuaded his barons to go with him upon an expedition for sight-seeing and war,

“Over dales and over cleven  
To Taracounte per force they dryven,  
Theo maister that ther was  
Of all the lond of Magogas.  
Theo wayes weore so strayte and fyle, 5  
That mon no hors, by twenty myle,  
No myghte come the toun nigh,  
To greven or to don anoye :  
And they al day his folk to-drowe,  
Soken heore blod, heore flesch to-gnowe. 10  
That ilke men of that lond  
Were blak so cole brond ;  
And teth haden yolowe as wax ;  
Every toth as a boris tox. 15  
Rowgh they weore so a beore,  
They were mowthed so a mare.  
Evetis and snakes and paddokes brode  
That heom thoughte mete gode.  
Al vermyn they eteth, 20  
Bestes, men, al quyk they freteth.  
Everich of heom lyth by othir,  
Sone by modur, and suster by brother.  
So comyn they buth, y-wis,  
Non n’ot who his fadir is.  
Al that nacioun of that lond 25  
Weore fallen to heore hand.  
Two and twenty kyngs fram Gog,  
All what thon come to Magog.  
No man telle no myghte  
Of heore folk, bote our dryght.”† 30

The king, unable to reach them in battle, and foreseeing what mischief they would do to the nations of the “myd-delerd,” whom they would “to-frete” [chew to pieces] with

\* Weber’s Metrical Romances, vol. i. pp. 252–258. Comp. p. 246.

† Some explanations may not be unsuitable. V. 1. *cleven*, cliffs. 5. *fyle*, vile or foul. 9. 10. *to-drowe*, *to-gnowe*, tore, gnawed to pieces. 12. 15. *so*, as. 14. *tox*, tusk. 17. *evetis*, efts. 18. This seemed to them good food. 20. They devour every thing living. 23. So promiscuous are they that none know, etc. 29. 30. No man could count their people save our Lord.

their teeth, bethought himself to deliver mankind, by some device, of these foul “unwreste wyghtis” [base wights]. Taking his barons he goes to a hill, and there “on Sarsynes wyse” [in Saracen fashion] made sacrifice, and prayed until counsel came from heaven how he should destroy them.

There is an island called Meopante between Egypt and Inde, where a people live who make a very tenacious kind of bitumen [“botemay”]

“That no water, salt no cler [fresh],  
Heom to drye hath no power.”

Alexander made alliance with them, and even went with their king under the flood, where he saw the fishes devouring one another, and other wonders of the ocean. In the MS. C. of Pseudo-Callisthenes, the visit of Alexander to the depths of the sea in a kind of diving-bell is narrated more at large.

Alexander staid there more than half a year, provided himself with vast quantities of their clay or bitumen, and on returning gives battle a number of times to his foes. He shuts the wild nations in, both by land and by sea. He stopped the sea of Calpias [the Caspian], through which they were wont to invade other nations in piratical excursions, by building a mole or wall with pillars of metal, a hundred feet long, so firmly consolidated that no ship could pass out until doomsday. Upon the land he stopped the pass that goes from Taracounte\* to Calpias. For there was no other way but over a mountain sky-high.

“No comuth they thennes ay,  
Til hit come to domesday.  
Antecrist shall come thanne,  
And cheose him so feole man,  
And schal falle, thorough blanis myght, 5  
Al Alisaunder’s werk dounryght;  
And alle theose out with him lede,  
Al the world to much quede.  
For tho that n’ul his men beon  
With heore teth heo wolith to-teren.”† 10

This legend appears to have been quite popular in the middle ages. In the German poem of Titurel, as we learn

\* Derbend?

† 5. And shall throw down by sorcery? 8. To the great damage of the world. 9. *n’ul*, will not. 10. *to-teren*, tear to pieces.



from Weber, the people enclosed are called the Red Jews, and the mountains are as high as the rainbow. In the German story of Apollonius of Tyre, the nations are Gog, Magog and Kolck (the Colchi). Sir John Maundeville calls them "the Jews of the ix kyndes, that men call Gog and Magog." At the time of Antichrist, they shall "comon out and do mochyll harme to Cristenmen." The passage out shall be disclosed to them by a fox which shall come and make his den under the gates of Alexander: these people chasing the fox shall find his hole, and shall "grave after him tyll they com to the yates that kyng Alysaunder dyde make of great stonys well dight with symend." Giovanni of Florence, also, considers these nations to be the ten tribes of Israel who have been converted into Tartars by their place of residence, while Pseudo-Gorionides, probably a French Jew of century xi. who wrote a history of the Jews in Hebrew, calls them Alans.\*

The subjoined version of the same story is more remarkable than any other which we know of, and in its fervid style, so unlike the flat biography of Alexander preceding it, reveals its eastern origin.

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*"Again: the heroism of Alexander, son of Philipp, the Macedonian; how he advanced to the border of the world, and made a gate of iron, and shut up the northern side, that the Heveenai [brave men?] might not come forth and sack the countries. Behold, it is found written in the archives of Alexandria."*

"In the second year, i. e. the seventh of the reign of Alexander, he placed the crown on his head and clothed himself in royal robes, and sent and called the imposers of the crown, and the soldiers, and Preekeus, and the marshals, and all the troops, and addressed them, saying: 'Hear, all of you, sons of the army.' They said to him: 'Say on, wise king, king of the Greeks—whatever you command us, shall take place.' He said to them: 'This thought hath occurred to me. Wonder seized me, as to how broad is the earth, and how much is the height of heaven. And how many are the countries of kings, my compeers; and on what the heavens are placed: whether darkness and wind hold them up: or

pillars of fire go up from the earth and sustain the heavens, so that they may not come in contact with any thing; or whether they are suspended by the will of God, and will not fall. This I wish to go and see, on what the heavens are placed, what surrounds the whole earth.'

"The nobles answered the king, saying: 'Command us that we may speak.' And he ordered them, and they spoke and said to him: 'Respecting the matter that your Highness and Majesty would go and see on what the heavens are supported, and what surrounds the earth, the terrible seas that surround the earth will not afford a road; for there are eleven seas full of light, among which the ships of men are accustomed to pass; and between them there is dry land, about ten miles; beyond that ten miles is an evil sea, Okeanos, which surrounds all the earth; and men can not approach that evil sea; and vessels can not enter it; nor can birds fly over it. If a bird fly over it, it is arrested and falls and drowns in it. The water resembles an expanse. If men bathe in it, they suddenly expire; and the leaves of trees near it are scorched from the smell of the water, as though fire had blazed upon them.' The nobles said these things to Alexander.

"He said to them: 'Have you been on your feet and seen that sea?' They said: 'Yes, wise king; the same thing your Majesty conceives, we also conceived. We went that we might behold on what the heavens are supported; but the evil sea gave us no passage.'

"Alexander said to them: 'I do not regard you as liars; but though you went, and the sea did not yield you a path, that you might pass, still I will go and see all the borders of the heavens; and if there is a king who has more territory, I will take his realm, and slay him; or whether there is any corner from which robbers issue forth.'

"And all the troops accepted the things which Alexander spake. And they blew trumpets in Alexandria, and the army was numbered that went forth with him, three hundred and twenty thousand men. And Alexander the king bowed and worshipped, saying: 'O God, thou Lord of kings and judges, who settest up kings and dissolvest their power, I have perceived in my mind that thou wilt magnify me above all kings, and hast added unto me horns on my head that I may pierce with them the kings of the earth, and

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\* See Weissmann's *Pfaffe Lamprecht*, ii. 503.



that I may take away the great power of the kings of the earth, and cast them down. I will magnify thy name, O Lord, forever—and may thy memory continue forever and ever! And I will write thy name, O God, in the book of my kingdom, that there may be unto thee a remembrance in all times. If the Messiah cometh in my days, who is the Son of God, I will worship Him—I and my armies. And if he does not come in my days, when I go forth and conquer kings and take their countries, this throne on which I sit, which is a *kathedra* of silver, I will carry and place in Jerusalem, that when the Messiah cometh from heaven he may sit on this throne of my kingdom; for his kingdom will endure forever. And let there be seven hundred drachms of gold for the honor of Christ before him, when he cometh. And if I die in some corner of the world, or if here in Alexandria, let the crown of my kingdom be suspended over the throne which I have given to Christ. And every king who shall die in Alexandria—let his crown be taken and suspended over that golden throne which I bequeath to Christ.

“And they went forth and proceeded to Mount Sinai, and encamped on it. And they launched vessels on the sea, and went to Egypt. And the troops went up to see whether sea or waves appeared in sight or not. And the generals answered and said: ‘King Alexander, without smiths the army can not proceed. Command therefore that such may go with us from Egypt; for there are none on the face of the earth like the smiths of Egypt.’

“And Alexander called Sernacos, king of Egypt, and said to him: ‘Furnish me seven thousand smiths, workers in brass and iron, that they may go with us; and when I return from the lands to which I go, if they desire it, I will send them hither; or I will give them some territory of my kingdom, and they need not pay taxes to the king, but let them furnish subsidies.’

“And Sernacos, king of Egypt, chose seven thousand workers of brass and iron, and presented them to Alexander; and they ate bread together. And they launched their ships on the sea, and sailed on the sea four months and twelve days, and reached dry land, which is beyond the eleven light seas; and Alexander and his troops landed. And he sent and called the ruler of the camp, and said to him: ‘Is there a man that deserves to die?’ They said to him:

‘We have thirty-seven men whom we have bound, who deserve death.’ And the king said to the ruler: ‘Bring the malefactors,’ and they brought them. And the king commanded them, saying: ‘Go to the evil sea, and drive down stakes that the ships may be made fast; and make ready every thing necessary for a sea-voyage. And the men proceeded and came to the edge of the sea. And Alexander thought that, if the thing were true which they had told, that all who approached the evil sea would die, then those men must die. And as they advanced and reached the edge of the sea, they immediately died. Alexander and his camp saw that they died; for he and the chief men were riding out to see what would befall them. And they saw that they died just as soon as they reached the sea; and king Alexander feared and turned back. And he knew that they could not cross over to the border of the heavens. And the whole camp rode, Alexander and his troops, between the evil sea and the light sea, even to the place where the sun enters a window of heaven; for the sun is the servant of the Lord. Neither by night nor by day does he cease from his going. And at the point of his rising, he rises on the sea. And the men who dwell there, when he rises, abscond and hide themselves in the sea, that they may not be scorched by his rays. And he passes through the midst of the heavens, till he arrives at the point where he enters a window of heaven. And where he enters, there are fearful craggs; and those who dwell there have caves, cut in the precipices; and when they see the sun setting, they run away from before him, both men and birds, and conceal themselves in the caves; for the rocks crumble down before the flames of the sun, and descend; and if they touch beasts or men, they are burned. And when the sun enters the window of heaven, it bows and worships God its Maker. It goes forth and descends all night still in the heavens, and still proceeds and finds itself at the place where it rises.

“And Alexander saw the place of the sun’s setting. And he found a declining mountain, the name of which was Moses. And they proceeded down it and ate bread there. And they descended to the source of the Euphrates, and discovered it issuing forth from a cave. And they came to Haloorus, from which the Tigris issues like a mill-stream. And they went forth from thence and proceeded to the river Klat.



And they ascended a mountain that is called Ramat. There was a garrison. And Alexander and his troops stood on the top of a mountain, and saw the four winds [quarters] of heaven; and Alexander said: 'Let us go toward the North.' And they came northward, and entered Armenia and Azerbaijan, and Middle Armenia. And they entered the land of Tornageus, and went through the country of Perdeea, and through the country of Tkeel, and the land of Roobalee; and through the land of Kantarman, and through Goowal, and Zamrat: these countries Alexander crossed, and went on and passed through the valley of Moses; and crossed the plain called Bahelipta, and went and encamped at the door of a great mountain. And there was in it a way by which merchants passed into the regions within. And Alexander sent heralds of peace, even riders proclaiming peace; and they went about and made proclamation through all the land: 'The king of the Greeks hath come to this country. He will not kill, he will not destroy, he will not overturn, but let every man dwell in quiet. "Let three hundred men, however, be chosen, aged in years, and pass before me," saith king Alexander, "that I may learn of them what I need."' "

"And when the men of the country heard the heralds of peace make proclamation, they no longer feared. They selected three hundred men, who went to Alexander, while he was encamped in the country. And he commanded that the people should not flee before him. And when the aged men of the country went in before him, he inquired of the men to whom they belonged? 'And to whom do you pay taxes? Who is the king that rules over this country?' The old men answered and said to the king: 'This country belongs to Tobar, the king of the Persians, who is of the lineage of Ahashuerus; and to him we give gold.' He said to them: 'How much does this mountain descend in this way?' They said to him: 'This mountain proceeds thus, without any pass, and enters the sea of the Kotrai, and still goes on and has its termination by upper Persia and Hindostan. And from this road upward, this mountain proceeds to a great river, on this side of the sea. And there are small paths there. If a man ride not on horse-back, he can not pass there. And men who go into them without jingling bells, can not enter; for beasts ascend from the sea and river,

and come down from the mountains, and crouch in the way; and if people come to pass on in them, they are immediately slain.'

"Alexander said: 'This mountain is higher and more fearful than all the mountains I have beheld.' The aged citizens of the country said to the king: 'Your Majesty, O king, our master, neither we nor our fathers can step up it one step. Neither from that side can men ascend it, nor from this side. It is the boundary which God has placed between us and the people beyond.' Alexander said: 'Who are the people beyond this mountain which we behold?' They said: 'The natives are Heveenai.' He said to them: 'Who are their kings?' The men said: 'Gog and Magog and Nabal, kings, the sons of Japheth; and king Geeg, and Theamron, and Theyamron, and Baetgamly, and Yapobar, and Shomardak, and Glooseeka, and Akshaphar, and Selgaddoo, and Nisleek, and Amerpeel, and Kaoza—these are the kings of the Heveenai.'

"Alexander said to them: 'What is their appearance, dress and language?' The old men answered and said to the king: 'There are some of them whose eyes are blue; and their wives have one breast. The women fight more than the men. They wound men with knives. On their thighs, and on their necks and hands, are suspended knives. If one of them has occasion to fight, wherever she extends her hand, there is a knife. They wear tanned skins. They eat the raw flesh of whatever dies; and they drink the blood of men and animals. They can not war against cities and fortresses; but they run into the roads and about the gates of cities; they surround men who run abroad. They are swifter than the wind that blows. Ere they are heard of, they have gone forth to war and arrive at the place, because they practice witchcraft. They run between the heavens and the earth. Their chariots and swords and spears glisten like fearful lightnings. They take shields in their hands. Each one has two or three horses. Five or six men go before and behind each one. The sound of the wailing of one of them is more terrible than the roaring of a lion. God hath delivered over the nations into the hands of one another. The terror of the Heveenai is dreadful to all nations who see them; for they are not possessed of human kindness. When they go out to war, they bring forth a pregnant woman, and



kindle a fire and bind her before the fire; and roast the child within her; and her body bursts; and the child comes out blistered. They place it in a kneeding tray, and pour water on its body, and its body melts in the water. They take their swords and bows and arrows and darts, and dip them in that water. It appears as though there were with each one a hundred thousand horsemen; and every hundred men seem to have a camp of a hundred thousand devils standing by; for their sorceries are more than in all other lands.' 'Moreover, master,' said the old men to Alexander, 'we also make this known to your Majesty: if the anger of God rise not, and slay the fathers with the children, and smite the earth with wrath, the Heveenai do not go forth for plunder; for they are more invincible than all kings in battle.'

"Alexander said to the citizens of the land: 'Have they ever gone forth to plunder, in your day?' The old men answered and said to the king: 'Your kingdom, our lord king, and your crown, may God establish! These forts that are overturned in our country, and in the lands of the Romans, they overturned. And these towers they razed. When they go forth to plunder, they strip the countries of the Romans and of the Persians, and then again pass away to their own country.'

"Alexander said to them: 'Who are the nations that are beyond them?' The old men said: 'The Baet Amardat—the Klee-b-varnasha [Dog-men]. And beyond the Dog-men, the nation of Mneenee.'

"'There are no more men, but fearful mountains, and hills, and valleys, and frightful cliffs and caves, in which are serpents, asps and vipers; and men do not go there, lest the serpents should instantly devour them. For the lands are desolate, and there is nothing there besides desert. And beyond all the mountains there appears the paradise of God in the distance; for paradise is neither near the heavens nor the earth; as a city, beautiful and strong, it appears as though between the heavens and the earth. Clouds and darkness that are round about it, appear from a distance. And the horns [corners] of the northern quarter are supported upon it.'

"Alexander said to them: 'How do the four rivers go forth?' The aged men answered: 'Master, we make known

to your Majesty, that God caused four rivers to proceed from the paradise of God; but God knowing that men would presume, and obstruct the rivers, and pass through them, he drew the rivers away from the land, and brought them among valleys and mountains and plains; and brought them into many mountains. Some of them he caused to flow from mountains, and some of them to issue from caves. And he surrounded the garden of Eden with seas, and rivers, and the ocean, and the evil sea, that men may not approach paradise—that they may not see how the rivers take their rise, but behold them in their issues from the mountains or in the valleys.'

"Alexander, having heard what the aged men said, marvelled much respecting the great sea that surrounds all the world. Alexander said to his armies: 'Desire ye to do something wonderful in this country?' They said to him: 'As your Majesty commands.' The king said: 'Let us construct a brazen gate and close up this mountain-pass.' The troops said: 'As your Majesty orders, so be it.' Alexander ordered, and they brought three thousand smiths, workers in iron, and three thousand workers in brass; and they cast iron and brass as a man would work mud. And they brought it and constructed a gate—its length twelve cubits, its width eight cubits. And he constructed the lower sill of the door from mountain to mountain, twelve cubits, and spiked it to the cliff of the mountain. And he fastened in it two bars of iron, each bar of twelve cubits. And he constructed two bars of iron, from cliff to cliff, behind the door, and fastened the ends of the bars in the cliffs. He made fast the gate and the bars. And he cut iron spikes and drove them together, that if the Heveenai should come and break away the cliff beneath the iron sill, though a footman should pass, a horseman might not, so long as the gate should stand, made firm by the bars. He bored the lower sill, as a threshold of the door, and drove therein bolts of iron. He turned it in, like the gate of Shooshan behind the Medes. Men brought and worked iron and brass, and fitted the gate and its frame together, as one would smooth mortar. And he fastened iron spikes in the cliff, and nailed the iron key which had twelve notches. And he encompassed it with brazen chains. Behold, it is hung and made firm.



"And Alexander, moreover, wrote on that gate, that the Heveenai will go forth and subject the land of the Romans and the Persians, hurling darts from chariots, and then will return and enter their own realm. Again: 'I wrote that, after eight hundred and twenty-six years, the Heveenai will go forth in a small path that issues in front of Halorus, from whence the Tigris takes its rise, like the stream that works a mill. They will sack nations, and intercept roads, and terrify the earth by their issuing forth.' Again: 'I wrote, made known, and prophesied, that it would come to pass, that after nine hundred and forty years there would be another king, when the world should come to an end, by the command of God, the Ruler of the universe. The realms will provoke God to anger, sin will abound, wrath will rule, the iniquities of men will rise and eclipse the heavens, and the Lord will come in his fierce anger; and the kingdoms lying beyond this gate—when the Lord wills to destroy the sons of men, and send men upon men to destroy one another, the Lord will assemble kings and their armies that are beyond the mountain. By his nod he will gather them all together, and they will come; with their spears and swords they will stand behind this gate; they will look toward the heavens and call on the name of the Lord: 'O Lord, open for us this gate;' and the Lord will send his power from heaven, and an echo shall ring on this gate, and will destroy the gate, and it will be cast down by the power of the Lord. It will not be opened by the key I have made. And an army will go forth by this gate which I have made, and wear off from the sill of iron a hand-breadth, by the hoofs of horses and beasts that will come forth to destroy the earth by the command of the Lord. And from the lintel shall be worn off half a hand-breadth by the points of the spears that running pass out of it. When the Heveenai go forth according to the command of God, the kingdoms shall come forth from the borders of heaven, the Heveenai, the Persians and the Arabs—twenty-four kingdoms that are recorded in this book. The kingdoms shall fall upon each other, and the earth shall rot in the blood and filth of men. The kingdom of Greece shall be clad in pomp, and come forth, and take a hammer of iron in its right hand, and a hammer of brass in its left hand, and as iron melts in the fire, and brass boils in the

flames, so shall the armies of the kingdoms melt before the kingdom of Greece; and the kingdoms of the Heveenai, and the Persians, one by one. And a few of them will escape and flee to their own country; and the rest the kingdom of Greece will destroy. And my kingdom shall go forth, called the kingdom of Alexander, son of Philipp, the Macedonian, and destroy the land on the borders of heaven, and there shall not be found people or kingdoms dwelling on the earth that shall stand before the kingdom of the Greeks. Behold, I have written and made known, even I, by my own hand-writing; verily, I have not stated falsehood in what I have written. Perhaps nations and countries will not believe me, that what I have written shall come to pass. If you will not receive my words, receive those of Jeremiah, who by prophecy signified before-hand concerning that kingdom. Thus saith he, in his book: "From the North, evil shall be opened on all the dwellers of the earth." Behold, I have a sign wrought by God. Among the cliffs, beyond this gate, where a thin cliff rises, there is suspended a sponge filled with blood, and the Heveenai shall come and wash their heads in it and then return. This testimony was placed there by God, that men might behold it and fear—that as the blood descends from the sponge, so shall the blood of men be poured out on the mountains and hills.'

"Alexander and his army marvelled at the gate they had made. Then the people of the land went down and told Tuberlak, the king of the Persians, and said to him: 'There hath come hither Alexander, son of Philipp, the Macedonian, and he hath constructed a gate of iron before the Heveenai. Rise, take your army and go and slay him, and seize what belongs to you.' And Tuberlak rose up, and sent to Moshashbree, the king of Farther India, and to Barseedak, king of Greece; and he sent to Armenia, and to all the countries that regarded him, and hired and bought eighty-two kings and their armies, one hundred and thirteen myriads. And all the kings and their armies took counsel with Tuberlak, that they would come. It was the season of summer, and the camp of Alexander were lying down to rest, and the king himself was lying down, and behold the Lord came to Alexander and saw him asleep, and he called to him and said: 'Rise up there.' And the king arose and kneeled down and worshipped the Lord. The Lord said:



'Behold, I have magnified you above all kingdoms. And I have raised up horns of iron on your head, that with them you may gore the kingdoms of the earth. You placed your confidence in me, when you went forth to war, to visit other realms. Now, behold, many kings and armies are coming upon you, to slay you; call upon me and I will come and help you. For I am the Lord who helpeth all that call upon me.' And the Lord departed from Alexander.

"And the king waked his troops and said to them: 'Behold, ravagers are coming upon us. Let the watchmen go up to the mountain-top and behold and see; for the Lord hath appeared unto me this hour.' And the watchmen went up and saw the troops and their kings, even a world without bounds. And they ran and told the king: 'O king, we die, unless God, who knows their number, should destroy them.'

"Then Alexander gave orders that the troops of his camp should be numbered, to see how many were dead and how many alive. And his camp was numbered, and there were found in it three hundred and sixteen thousand; four thousand were dead: for when they went forth from Alexandria, they were three hundred and twenty thousand men. And Alexander commanded the men of his army, all who had authority in it, that every man should construct an altar of incense to the Lord, on pieces of earthen ware and stones, 'that the Lord may come and help us, and may come and behold the army, its sweet savor from the smoke of the incense.' And Alexander took his crown and purple, and placed them before the Lord and said: 'Thou, Lord, hast power over my life and over my kingdom. Do thou deliver thy servant and his army from their enemies.'

"While Alexander was praying, the kings and their armies were marshalling. And Alexander answered and said: 'The victory is the Lord's.' And the camp cried out and said: 'O God, come thou to our aid.' And Alexander said: 'O Lord, who hast appeared unto me in this land, succor us.' And the Lord appeared, coming on a chariot of seraphim, and angels and cherubim coming before him shouted; and he stationed his host over the camp of Alexander. And the Lord appeared standing on the West. And all the camp of Alexander looked toward the Lord; and the Lord succored the camp, and the people prevailed to whose help

the Lord came. And there arose a terrific fight, while the people shouted: 'This is the battle of the Lord, who hath come and descended in the midst of us.'

"Moreover, the Lord appeared to Alexander and said unto him: 'Do not be afraid of kings and their hosts; for I am with you.' And the voice of the Lord went thundering along among them, till the kings and their armies quaked before the camp of God. And Alexander and his army slew sixty kings and their hosts. Those who fled, fled; those who were scattered, were scattered. And Alexander took Tuberlak, king of Persia, but did not slay him. And Alexander and his hosts arose and bound Tuberlak, king of Persia, and the chiefs of all Persia. And Tuberlak brought forth gold and silver, and crystals and gems, and beautiful stones of jasper, and delivered them to king Alexander. And Alexander subdued all Persia, even to the Black Sea. And he was inclined to slay Tuberlak. But Tuberlak said to him: 'What profit will you realize, if you slay me? Take the gold I possess, and I will place Persia in pledge to you. Let it pay you gold fifteen years. And then, after fifteen years, let Babylon and Assyria be independent.'

"Tuberlak and Alexander sat down and took counsel together, and said: 'Concerning the gate which is at the North, constructed of iron and brass, let sixty men go from the Greeks, and sixty men from the Persians, and guard it, each one eating and drinking from provision furnished by the king.'

"And Tuberlak, king of Persia, brought forth sorcerers and magicians and astrologers, fire and water, and all his gods, and divined by them; and they made known to him, that at the end of the world the kingdom of the Greeks should go forth and subdue all the earth, and the king of Persia, who should be found in the country, would be slain; and Babylon and Assyria would be destroyed, according to the commandment of God. Thus divined Tuberlak, king of Persia, and gave his hand-writing to king Alexander. And in the writing, the thing that was to happen in regard to Persia agreed with Alexander; for the king and the chiefs prophesied that Persia would be destroyed by the hands of the Greeks, and that all kingdoms would be destroyed. That it [Greece] would continue and rule, till the end of time, and would deliver the kingdom to Christ who was to come.



“And Alexander and his troops arose and departed from Persia, and went forth into the desert, and went and encamped in the mountains of Greece. And he brought the smiths whom he had taken from Egypt, and gave to them Baetdma and Baetdooshee, to labor and dwell there, exempting them from the king’s taxes. And he went up and worshipped at Jerusalem. And he embarked on the sea and went to Alexandria. And when he died, he deposited the silver throne of his kingdom at Jerusalem.”

SYRIAC TEXT OF EXTRACT III.

(Syr. pp. 244-270.)

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