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THE BOOK OF THE GESTS OF ALEXANDER  
OF MACEDON

*Sefer Toledot Alexandros ha-Makdoni*



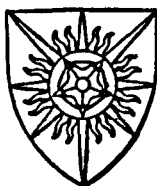
# THE BOOK ÒF THE GESTS OF ALEXANDER OF MACEDON

*Sefer Toledot Alexandros ha-Makdoni*

A MEDIAEVAL HEBREW VERSION  
OF THE ALEXANDER ROMANCE  
BY IMMANUEL BEN JACOB BONFILS

Edited and translated  
with introduction and notes

by  
ISRAEL J. KAZIS, Ph.D.



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In memory of my beloved father, Jacob, ל"ט

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# Preface

This work represents a study of the text of a Hebrew manuscript which is a mediaeval Hebrew version of the Alexander Romance or the legendary history of Alexander the Great. Inasmuch as the Hebrew text in its greater part is a translation of the *Historia de Preliis Alexandri Magni*, a widespread Latin version of the Alexander Romance, and in some parts is based on other Hebrew sources such as *Yosippon*, *Sefer Musere ha-Pilosofim* and a short chronicle, the text has been studied here in relation to all these sources. The Latin text was of considerable help in establishing the meaning of those passages in the Hebrew manuscript which are corrupt or which may represent a misreading of the Latin text by the author. On the basis of the Latin it was possible to make a number of emendations in the Hebrew which rendered the text intelligible. In comparing the Hebrew with the Latin, differences between them in the narrative, sequence of events, names, places, numbers and dimensions were studied and noted. A comparison of our text with the other Hebrew sources was of similar help in establishing a correct reading in many instances in which the text was corrupt. The emendations and the differences are indicated in the notes and appendices while the variant readings are recorded in the apparatus to the Hebrew text.

The edition and the translation of the text is preceded by an introduction which deals among other things with Hellenistic Jewish influence in *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, the accounts of Alexander in Talmudic literature, the Alexander Romance in mediaeval Hebrew sources and concludes with an analysis of the Hebrew text with reference to its sources, structure, and style.

Throughout my work I was fortunate in being able to turn for guidance and advice to my devoted teacher and dear friend, Professor Harry A. Wolfson of Harvard University. It is very difficult to express to him in words the appreciation and gratitude which I feel. He has amply fulfilled the words spoken by an ancient Jewish sage: "Let the honor of thy disciple be as dear to thee as thine own." His counsel in the methods of research,

in the organization of the material, and in the art of translation served as a constant source of guidance throughout my work and was of incalculable help to me. For his illuminating instruction so freely given and for his devoted friendship so warmly expressed I am most grateful.

It was also my good fortune to be able to consult with Professor Francis P. Magoun, Jr., of Harvard University, who by his vast erudition in the field of the Alexander Romance and his warm interest has been of great help to me in the course of my work. For his valued counsel and instructive observations I am profoundly grateful.

To my beloved father, of blessed memory, I owe a debt of deep gratitude for the time he spent with me in reading the manuscript, especially those passages in which the script was not clear or the text was corrupt and where, as a result, two minds proved better than one in trying to establish a correct reading. A product of the East European Jewish intellectual tradition, my father brought with him to this country a substantial knowledge of the Bible, the Talmud, and Modern Hebrew literature. A business man by day and a student in the evening and on weekends, he gave me his intellectual companionship to the end that he, like his forebears, might transmit to his children a love of learning.

Whatever words of gratitude I might express to my dear wife, they would still fall short of what I feel. Despite her many duties at home and in the community, she became thoroughly involved in the various tasks necessary to prepare this volume for publication. A woman of valor, she proved most helpful in providing me with many added hours for my work by relieving me of various duties and by keeping the demands upon my time to a minimum. Her devotion served as a constant source of inspiration as well as an encouraging challenge to complete this book after many years of work.

Finally, I wish to express my deep appreciation to my secretary, Miss Elaine Saxe, who typed the final draft of the manuscript with particular and painstaking care. For her splendid cooperation and devotion I am most grateful.

Temple Mishkan Tefila  
Newton, Mass.

ISRAEL J. KAZIS

# Introduction

Among the heroes whose names stand out in the pages of history very few have enjoyed as much world-wide literary fame as has Alexander the Great. The legendary account of Alexander's biography, based on sources from antiquity and the Middle Ages and referred to by modern scholars as the Alexander Romance, has found expression in many literatures in the West and in the East.<sup>1</sup> According to Tarn, "more than eighty versions of the Alexander Romance, in twenty-four languages have been collected . . .; no other story in the world has spread like this."<sup>2</sup>

The figure of Alexander left its impression in Jewish literature also. Stories about Alexander and accounts of his life are found in Jewish sources from antiquity and the Middle Ages. The Jewish sources from antiquity are as follows: (1) The material ascribed to Hellenistic Jewish writers which is found in the so-called *Pseudo-Callisthenes*, a Greek romance written by an unknown Alexandrian author some time after 200 B. C. E. and in the opinion of some scholars as late as the year 300 C. E.<sup>3</sup> This work is the basic source for most of all the legendary accounts of the life of Alexander. (2) Josephus. (3) Talmudic literature. The mediaeval Jewish sources are represented by six Hebrew versions of the Alexander Romance, including the manuscript which is the subject of our study, and two other Hebrew works, *Musere ha-Pilosofim* and *Sod ha-Sodot*, which contain material bearing upon the life of Alexander. We shall survey all these sources in order to offer a background for the manuscript under study which was written in France in the fourteenth century. The introduction will accordingly consist of three parts: (1) Alexander in Jewish sources from antiquity. (2) Alexander in mediaeval Jewish sources. (3) An analysis of the text of the manuscript published in this book.

## I. ALEXANDER IN JEWISH SOURCES FROM ANTIQUITY<sup>1</sup>

### TALMUDIC LITERATURE

The greatest number of Alexander episodes is found in that body of writings which we shall refer to by the general term of Talmudic literature. This includes two works of the Tannaitic period, namely *Megillat Ta'anit* and *Mekilta*; the two Talmudim, Babylonian and Palestinian; the group of Midrashim on the Pentateuch and the five Scrolls known as *Rabbot*; the Midrash on the Pentateuch known as *Tanhuma*; individual Midrashic works such as *Pesiḳta de-Rab Kahana*, *Midrash Tehillim*, *Pirḳe Rabbi Eli'ezer* and *Midrash Yonah*; *Targum Sheni*; the scholia to *Megillat Ta'anit*; one of the minor Midrashim, *Midrash 'Aseret Melakim*; two late compilations of Midrashic material, namely *Midrash Agadah* and *Yalḳuṭ Shim'oni*.

### LIST OF ALEXANDER EPISODES

An examination of these sources reveals the presence in what we have referred to as Talmudic literature of the following eleven episodes: (1) Alexander's visit to Jerusalem. (2) The disputations between the Jews and the gentiles in the presence of Alexander as the arbiter. (3) Alexander and the elders of the south. (4) Alexander's journey to the region of darkness. (5) Alexander and the women (Amazons). (6) Alexander at the gate of the Garden of Eden. (7) Alexander's ascent into the air. (8) Alexander's descent into the sea. (9) Alexander and King Kazia. (10) Alexander and the bones of Jeremiah. (11) Alexander and the throne of Solomon.

### JEWISH ELEMENTS IN *Pseudo-Callisthenes*

The second source from antiquity, in terms of the number of Alexander episodes it contains, is the material ascribed to Hellenistic Jewish writers in *Pseudo-Callisthenes* which will be referred to henceforth by its abbreviation as *Ps.-Call*. The text of *Ps.-Call*.



is not extant in its original form and is known to us in its revised and elaborated versions from a moderate number of extant Greek manuscripts. Of these Carl Müller selected three Paris manuscripts designated as Codex A, Codex B and Codex C and based his edition of *Ps.-Call.* on them. Müller found that these manuscripts represented three different recensions of *Ps.-Call.* These recensions are referred to in the literature as A', B' and C' or more widely by the Greek letters as  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ . It is believed that there was also a fourth recension, referred to as  $\delta$ , which we shall discuss later in the section dealing with Alexander in mediaeval Jewish sources. Recension  $\alpha$  is assumed to be the closest to the lost original text of *Ps.-Call.*, while  $\beta$  represents a revision of  $\alpha$ , and  $\gamma$  represents the reworking of a manuscript belonging to  $\beta$  by an author who in the opinion of some scholars was Jewish.<sup>5</sup> Thus Müller holds that the author of Codex C, representing recension  $\gamma$ , was either Jewish or Syrian Christian;<sup>6</sup> Ausfield believes that he was Jewish,<sup>7</sup> while Rieger is of the opinion that the author of Codex C and of Codex B, representing recension  $\beta$ , was Jewish.<sup>8</sup> Other scholars hold as we shall see presently that several chapters in Book II of *Ps.-Call.* represent interpolations by an Alexandrian Jewish author.<sup>9</sup>

In *Ps.-Call.* we find parallel accounts of seven of the Alexander episodes which occur in Talmudic literature, namely, 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 as listed above, an allusion to one, namely, 10, and a reflection of the moral lesson contained in another, namely, 9. Two of the episodes in Talmudic literature, namely, 2 and 11, are not found at all in *Ps.-Call.*

### JOSEPHUS

In Josephus, the third source from antiquity, there is a parallel account of only one of the episodes in Talmudic literature, namely, Alexander's visit to Jerusalem and his experience with Sanballat and the Samaritans. This account is found in *The Jewish Antiquities*, XI, viii, 3-5. There are other references in Josephus' writings to Alexander such as his bestowal of the rights of citizenship on the Jews of Alexandria (*Against Apion*, II, 4, 35); his addition of the district of Samaria to the territory of the Jews

(*Against Apion*, II, 4, 43); the miracle at the Pamphylian Sea whose waters God caused to retire before Alexander's troops so that they might pursue the Persians and overthrow their empire (*Ant.*, II, xvi, 5). A comprehensive account of the references to Alexander in Josephus may be found in the following sources: A. Büchler, "La Relation de Josèphe concernant Alexandre le Grand," *REJ*, XXXVI, 1898, pp. 1-26; I. Spak, *Der Bericht des Josephus über Alexander den Grossen*, Königsberg, 1911; and R. Marcus' survey in Appendix C to Vol. VI of *Josephus*, Loeb edition, Cambridge, Mass., 1937, pp. 512-32.<sup>10</sup>

### PARALLELS IN NON-JEWISH SOURCES

In addition to these three Jewish sources from antiquity there are two non-Jewish sources which contain accounts of Alexander episodes that are found in Talmudic literature. Plutarch, *Lives*, includes an account of Alexander's dialogue with the Gymnosophists which is parallel to the Talmudic account of Alexander and the elders of the south but is more directly related to the story of Alexander and the Gymnosophists in *Ps.-Call.*; and Pseudo-Epiphanius, *The Lives of the Prophets*, includes an account of Alexander and the bones of Jeremiah which is parallel to the Talmudic account but to which in *Ps.-Call.* there is only an allusion.<sup>11</sup> A comparison of these two accounts with those found in Jewish sources follows later.

We shall now proceed with an account and discussion of the Alexander episodes as related in Talmudic literature and of their parallels in the other sources from antiquity.

#### 1. ALEXANDER'S VISIT TO JERUSALEM

In the accounts of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem<sup>12</sup> as contained in Talmudic literature, *Ps.-Call.* and *Josephus* there are certain common elements: Alexander's attitude as he approaches Jerusalem is not friendly to the Jews. The High Priest and his retinue go forth to greet Alexander. When Alexander sees the High Priest, he is profoundly impressed and his attitude toward

the Jews becomes very favorable. This theme is elaborated with varying details in these sources. We shall quote the source from Talmudic literature and shall then compare it with the accounts in Josephus and *Ps.-Call.*

In the original text of *Megillat Ta'anit*, ch. 9, we read: "On the twenty-first day of Kislev is the day of Gerizim on which no mourning is permitted." The scholium to the text reads as follows: "This is the day when the Cuthim (Samaritans) asked Alexander of Macedon (for permission to destroy) our Temple, saying to him, 'Sell us five *kurs* of land on Mount Moriah.' And he gave these to them. Simon the Just was informed of this. What did he do? He put on his priestly garments and wrapped himself in his priestly garments. Some of the noblemen of Israel went with him as well as a thousand counsellors, dressed in white, and young priests who caused the sacred instruments to resound. And torches of fire lighted their way. They walked all the night, some walking on one side and others on the other side. When Alexander asked: 'Who are these?', the informers answered him: 'These are the Jews who rebelled against you.' When they arrived at Antipatris, the sun was shining, and at the time of the first watch they met. The Macedonians asked them: 'Who are you?' They replied: 'We are the people of Jerusalem and we have come to greet the king.' When Alexander of Macedon saw Simon the Just, he descended from his chariot and prostrated himself before him. Thereupon his men said: 'A great king like you should prostrate himself before this Jew?' He answered: 'I see the image of this man when I go into battle and am victorious.' And Alexander said to them: 'Why have you come?' They said to him: 'Is it possible that these gentiles have misled you into giving them the place where we pray for you and for your kingdom that it never be destroyed!' And he said to them: 'And who are they (who misled me)?' And they said: 'It is the Cuthim who stand before you.' Thereupon Alexander said: 'They are herewith delivered into your hands.' What did they (the Jews) then do to them? They pierced their heels, tied them to the tails of their horses and dragged them over thorns and thistles until they came to Mount Gerizim. They ploughed it (Mt. Gerizim) under and sowed it with vetch, just as they

(the Cuthim) planned to do with our Temple. And the day on which they did this was made a festival."

This story is found with slight variations in the Talmud, *Yoma*, p. 69a. There is in addition another story in Talmudic literature which contains supplementary material for the account of Alexander's meeting with the High Priest. It is found in two places: in the scholium to *Megillat Ta'anit*, ch. 3, and as the concluding element in an account of the disputations carried on before Alexander by the Jews and their enemies in *Genesis Rabbah*, LXI, 7. The latter passage reads as follows:<sup>13</sup>

"Alexander wished to go up to Jerusalem, but the Cuthim (Samaritans) told him, 'Take heed, for they will not permit thee to enter their Holy of Holies.' When Gebi'ah, the son of Kōsem, learned of this, he went and made him a pair of felt shoes and set them with two costly stones worth twenty thousand zuzim. When they reached the Temple Mount, he said to him: 'Your Majesty, remove your shoes and put on these felt shoes, as the pavement is smooth and you might slip.' When they came to the Holy of Holies, he said to him: 'Thus far we may enter but no farther.' 'When we come out I will straighten your hump,' he (Alexander) threatened. 'If you could do that, you would be famed as a great surgeon and receive a great reward,' he retorted."

Before proceeding to an examination of the accounts in Josephus and *Ps.-Call.*, there are several elements in the sources from Talmudic literature which require comment. In the Talmudic tradition the High Priest who met with Alexander was Simon the Just. This name may refer either to the first Simon the Just (310–291 or 300–270 B. C. E.) or to the second Simon the Just (219–199 B. C. E.), both of whom served as High Priests after Alexander's time. In this respect Josephus is more correct historically by calling the High Priest Jaddus who is identified with Jaddua, the grandfather of the first Simon the Just, and who served as the High Priest at the time of Alexander.<sup>14</sup>

Another historical inaccuracy in the Talmudic tradition is the placing of the date of the destruction of the Samaritan Temple in the time of Alexander. Historically, as we know from Josephus, it was not destroyed until two hundred years later in the reign of John Hyrcanus I. A third anachronism in the accounts in Tal-

mudic literature is found in the designation of the place where Alexander and the High Priest met as Antipatris. This name was given much later by Herod to a town built by him in honor of his father, Antipater. This error in chronology is obviously due to prolepsis, that is, the use of a name by which a place came to be known later on. However, there is doubt whether the meeting of Alexander and the High Priest took place at the site on which later the town known as Antipatris arose. It is quite possible that the identification of the meeting place with this site is based on an error. In Josephus, the place where they met is called Saphein or Sapha. According to Schürer, Saphein is the Aramaic form of the Hebrew Zophim and he identifies it with the hill called Scopos which is the modern Mount Scopus about a mile north of Jerusalem. Since Antipatris was called Kepharsaba in pre-Herodian times, it has been suggested that the sources in Talmudic literature mistook Saba for Sapha, a variant of Saphein, and hence referred to the meeting place as Antipatris instead of Saphein.<sup>15</sup>

In the account in *Genesis Rabbah* quoted above, we find that it is not the High Priest with whom Alexander went to the Temple, as in Josephus, but rather Gebi'ah, the son of Kosem,<sup>16</sup> who successfully pleaded the case of the Jews before Alexander in the disputation with their enemies. Gebi'ah, as his name indicates, was a hunchback. This explains Alexander's retort to him when he told him that they may not enter the Holy of Holies. Alexander was displeased and expressed his displeasure by referring to his hump. The parallel source in the scholium to *Megillat Ta'anit*, ch. 3, adds one significant element to this story, namely, that while Gebi'ah and Alexander stood before the Holy of Holies, a serpent bit Alexander. Donath suggests that in this incident, which is not recorded elsewhere in Talmudic literature or in Josephus, there was a substitution of Alexander for Ptolemy Philopator who according to III Maccabees was stricken by God with deafness and convulsions when he dared to go into the Holy of Holies.<sup>17</sup>

The versions in Talmudic literature of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem, though they were written down later than the composition of the works of Josephus, are not dependent on Josephus.

Both are independent literary products of an older common oral tradition. The chronological errors which we have described in the Talmudic sources indicate the free working of the minds of the authors. Similarly, abbreviated allusions to events such as the rebellious attitude of the Jews toward Alexander and the long-drawn struggle between the Samaritans and the Jews show that these accounts were drawn from an oral tradition where these events were common knowledge.

### THE VERSION IN JOSEPHUS

The account in Josephus of these common traditions is fuller, more detailed and, as we have seen in some instances, more accurate. The following is a synopsis of the account in Josephus of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem:<sup>18</sup> During his siege of Tyre, Alexander sent a letter to the Jewish High Priest requesting aid for his army as well as the tribute which he formerly paid to Darius. In return for this, Alexander offered his friendship. The High Priest refused to violate his oath to Darius. Alexander grew angry and threatened to punish the Jews. Meanwhile Sanballates, the Samaritan, abandoned Darius and together with his followers went over to Alexander. In return, Sanballates was granted permission to build a Temple, and he appointed his son-in-law Manasses, the brother of Jaddus, to be the High Priest. After Alexander had taken Gaza, he set out for Jerusalem. Jaddus was seized with fear and ordered the people to pray for deliverance from danger. God appeared to Jaddus in a dream, reassured him and told him to go forth without fear together with the priests to meet Alexander. Jaddus rejoiced at this revelation and went forth with his large retinue to meet the king. Upon seeing the High Priest, Alexander prostrated himself before him to the utter amazement of his officers. Alexander indicated that it was not before the High Priest that he prostrated himself but rather before God for whom this man was the High Priest; that it was the High Priest whom he saw in his dream at Dium in Macedonia; and that it was he who encouraged him to cross over into Asia with confidence and promised that he would lead his army to victory. Alexander concluded by saying that on seeing

the High Priest he was reminded of the vision and believed that he had made this expedition under divine guidance and would defeat the Persians. Afterwards he gave his hand to the High Priest, went up to the Temple and offered sacrifices to God. Alexander was shown the Book of Daniel and identified himself as the one destined in the book to destroy the empire of the Persians.<sup>19</sup> On the next day Alexander suggested that the Jews might ask him for whatever gifts they desired. The High Priest requested and was granted the following: Permission for the Jews to observe their laws, exemption from tribute on the seventh year as well as permission for the Jews of Babylon and Media to observe their laws. Alexander then offered the Jews the opportunity to join his army with the privilege of observing their own customs. Many joined his army.

In Josephus, Alexander shows the same friendly attitude toward the Jews as in Talmudic literature. He prostrates himself before the God of the Jews and attributes his victorious expeditions to His Providence. That God helped Alexander achieve victory is also asserted by Josephus elsewhere in his description of the miracle at the Pamphylian sea whose waters God parted so that Alexander's troops might pursue the Persians.<sup>20</sup> In the account of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem, Josephus goes further than the sources in Talmudic literature in emphasizing the relationship between God and Alexander. Josephus has Alexander join the priests in the Temple in the worship of the God of Israel.

#### THE VERSION IN *Ps.-Call.*

This motif assumes an even greater prominence in our third source, *Ps.-Call.*, Codex C,<sup>21</sup> ch. 24. The account in this source is briefly as follows: Alexander conquered the country of the Jews. Those Jews who wished to offer resistance sent out spies disguised as envoys. These men were very much impressed with the fearlessness of Alexander's troops in the face of death. On the basis of their report, the rulers decided to submit to Alexander. The priests put on their priestly robes and went forth to meet Alexander. "Alexander was awed by their appearance . . . and summoned one of the priests and said to him: 'How divine is your

appearance! Tell me, I pray, what god do you worship? For I have never seen so seemingly an array of priests among those of our gods.' The priest then said, 'We serve one God who created heaven and earth and all things in them. But no man is able to tell His name.' Thereupon Alexander said, 'As servants of the true God go in peace, go. For your God shall be my God. And I will make peace with you and will not invade your country as I have done those of other nations, because you have served a living God.' Then the Jews took an abundance of money in gold and brought it to Alexander. But he refused to take it, saying, 'Let this, together with the sum set apart by me, be tribute to the Lord God. But I will not take anything from you.'<sup>22</sup>

In comparing the three sources we find that while the Talmudic tradition indicates that Alexander went up to the Temple and Josephus relates that Alexander worshipped God in the Temple, *Ps.-Call.* goes further and has Alexander accept the God of Israel as his God. It will be noted that the story of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem is found only in the Codex C recension of *Ps.-Call.* It is missing in the other recensions.<sup>23</sup> This acknowledgement of the God of the Jews by Alexander is found again in chapter 28 of Book II in Codex C, *Ps.-Call.*<sup>24</sup> That chapter deals with the founding of the city of Alexandria by Alexander. When the work involved in building the city was completed, the author relates that Alexander mounted the tower and set at naught all the gods of the land and proclaimed the one true God, invisible, inscrutable, borne above the Seraphim and glorified by a thrice-holy voice. Moreover, the account of Alexander's occupation and conquest of Egypt as related in Codex C is hostile to the Egyptians.<sup>25</sup> Donath and Pfister therefore maintain that chapters 24-28 of Book II which deal with Alexander's visit to Jerusalem, the conquest of Egypt and the founding of Alexandria represent interpolations by an Alexandrian Jewish author.<sup>26</sup> These interpolations reflect the apologetic and polemical literature produced by Alexandrian Jewry in its effort to exalt Judaism over paganism, to defend it against its detractors, and to secure and protect the civil rights of its adherents. This tendency is similar to that found in the Jewish Sybilline Oracles and in several of the Apocrypha.<sup>27</sup>



Of the sources which we have discussed, the date of Josephus can be definitely ascertained for we know that Josephus wrote *The Jewish Antiquities* in the fifty-sixth year of his life which was the year 93 C. E.<sup>28</sup> The sources in Talmudic literature, regardless of the time they were committed to writing, go back to an earlier time albeit their exact date cannot be definitely determined.<sup>29</sup> As for the interpolations in *Ps.-Call.*, conjectures as to their date are based on the need assumed to have been felt by Alexandrian Jewry for apologetic literature, and thus in the opinion of Donath the stories took shape in the first century during the reign of Caius Caligula<sup>30</sup> (37-41). Probably all these sources go back to an older common tradition.<sup>31</sup>

## 2. THE DISPUTATIONS

The sources in Talmudic literature contain an account of disputations carried on between the Jews and the gentiles before Alexander who served as the arbiter. The gentiles are the Ishmaelites, the Canaanites, and the Egyptians, the first two nations claiming the right to the land of Palestine, and the third claiming compensation for the silver and gold which the Jews took from them when they left Egypt. This account is found in three places: the Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, p. 91a; *Genesis Rabbah*, LXI, 7; and the scholium to "On the twenty-fifth day of Sivan" in ch. 3, *Megillat Ta'anit*. The material is the same, with slight verbal modifications, in all three sources.<sup>32</sup> The following passage is from *Genesis Rabbah*, LXI, 7:

"In the days of Alexander of Macedon, the Ishmaelites came to dispute the birthright with Israel and they were accompanied by two evil families, the Canaanites and the Egyptians. 'Who shall go to plead against them?', it was asked. Said Gebi'ah, the son of Kosem: 'I will go and plead against them.' 'Take heed not to let the land fall into their hands,' they cautioned him. 'I will go and argue with them,' he replied, 'If I defeat them, 'tis well; while if not, ye can say, who is this hunchback to take up our case?' So he went to debate with them. Alexander of Macedon said to them: 'Who is the plaintiff, and who the defendant?' The Ishmaelites answered: 'We are the claimants, and we base our

claim on their own laws. It is written, but he shall acknowledge the firstborn, the son of the hated, etc. . . . (Deut. 21:17), and Ishmael was the firstborn.' Gebi'ah, the son of Kosem said: 'Your Majesty! Cannot a man do as he wishes to his sons?' 'Yes,' he replied. 'Then,' he pursued, 'surely it is written, and Abraham gave all that he had unto Isaac' (Gen. 25:5). 'But where is the deed of gift (to his other sons)?' He replied: 'But unto the sons of the concubines that Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts.' Thereupon they departed in shame.

"The Canaanites then pleaded: 'We base our suit against them on their own Torah. It is everywhere written, 'The land of Canaan,' then let them return us our country.' He (Gebi'ah the son of Kosem) said to him: 'Your Majesty! Cannot a man do as he pleases with his slave?' 'Yes', he replied. 'Then surely it is written, a slave of slaves shall he (Canaan) be unto his brethren (Gen. 9:25). Hence they are now our slaves.' Thereupon they fled in shame.

"Then the Egyptians said: 'We base our suit against them on their own Torah. Six hundred thousand left us, laden with silver and gold utensils, as it is written, and they despoiled the Egyptians (Ex. 12:36). Let them return us our silver and gold.' And Gebi'ah the son of Kosem said: 'Your Majesty! Six hundred thousand men served them two hundred and ten years, of whom some were silversmiths and some goldsmiths. Let them pay us (for their labor) at the rate of a dinar per day.' Thereupon mathematicians sat and calculated (what was owing for their labor), and they had not reached a hundred years before Egypt was found to be forfeit (for the sum due), and so they departed in shame."

The argument advanced by Gebi'ah, the son of Kosem, against the Egyptians' claim has its parallel in Alexandrian Jewish literature in Philo's *Life of Moses*.<sup>33</sup> In justification of the action on the part of the Jews in despoiling the Egyptians "of the jewels of silver and jewels of gold,"<sup>34</sup> Philo argued that the Jews had a moral and legal right to the spoil which they took with them from Egypt: morally, in return for the deprivation of liberty, and legally, either as payment for the long duration of their

service or as their rightful due as victors to the goods of their enemies.<sup>36</sup>

In the case of the two other disputations there are no parallels in extant Hellenistic Jewish literature.

### 3. ALEXANDER AND THE ELDERS OF THE SOUTH

The Talmudic account of the dialogue between Alexander and the elders of the south is found in Tractate *Tamid*, pp. 31b-32a, and reads as follows:

"Alexander of Macedon put ten questions to the elders of the south. He asked: Which is farther, from heaven to earth or from east to west? They replied: From east to west. The proof is that when the sun is in the east all can look at it, and when it is in the west all can look at it, but when the sun is in the middle of the sky, no one can look at it.<sup>36</sup> The Sages, however, say: The distance in both cases is the same, as it says, 'For as the heaven is high above the earth (so great is His mercy toward them that fear Him); as far as the east is from the west, (so far hath He removed our transgressions from us).'<sup>37</sup> Now if one of these distances is greater, the text should not write both but only the one which is the greater. What then is the reason why no one can look at the sun when it is in the middle of the sky? Because it is absolutely clear and nothing obstructs the view. He said to them: Were heavens created first, or the earth? They replied: The heavens were created first, as it says, 'In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.'<sup>38</sup> He said to them: Was light created first, or darkness? They replied: This question cannot be solved. Why did they not reply that darkness was created first, since it is written, 'Now the earth was unformed and void and darkness,' and after that, 'And God said, let there be light, and there was light.' They thought to themselves: Perhaps he will go on to ask what is above and what is below, what is before and what is after.<sup>39</sup> If that is the case, they should not have answered his question about the heaven either. At first they thought that he just happened to ask that question, but when they saw that he pursued the same subject,

they bethought themselves not to answer him lest he should go on to ask what was above and what was below, what was before and what was after.

"He said to them: Who is called wise? They replied: Who is wise? He who discerns what is to come to pass. He said to them: Who is called a mighty man? They replied: Who is a mighty man? He who subdues his passions. He said to them: Who is called a rich man? They replied: Who is rich? He who rejoices in his portion.<sup>40</sup> He said to them: What shall a man do to live? They replied: Let him mortify himself.<sup>41</sup> What shall a man do to kill himself? They replied: Let him keep himself alive.<sup>42</sup> He said to them: What should a man do to make himself acceptable to others? They replied: Let him shun government and ruler.<sup>43</sup> He said to them: I have a better answer than yours: Let him be a friend of government and ruler and (use his influence to) do good to mankind.<sup>44</sup> He said to them: Is it better to dwell on sea or on dry land? They replied: It is better to dwell on dry land, because those who set out to sea are never free from anxiety till they reach dry land again. He said to them: Which among you is the wisest? They replied: We are all equal, because we have all concurred in the same answers to your questions. He said to them: Why, now, did you oppose me?<sup>45</sup> They replied: The Satan is too powerful.<sup>46</sup> He said to them: Behold, I will slay you by royal decree. They replied: Power is in the hands of the king, but it does not become a king to be false.<sup>47</sup> Forthwith he clothed them with garments of purple and put chains of gold on their necks."

With reference to the nationality of the elders of the south most students of the question are agreed that they are to be identified with the Gymnosophists of India.<sup>48</sup> It has been suggested that this legend is of Hellenistic origin and that it reflects the notion, found in Greek literature, that the Jews are a philosophical people and are descended from Indian philosophers. This idea was, according to this view, employed in Hellenistic Jewish literature in order to prove the antiquity of the Jews as well as their pre-eminence in the field of philosophy.<sup>49</sup>

THE DIALOGUE IN PLUTARCH AND *Ps.-Call.*

An account of Alexander's dialogue with the Gymnosophists is found in Plutarch and is in certain of its elements parallel to that found in the Talmud.<sup>50</sup> Wünsche feels that it is difficult to determine which account represents the original version.<sup>51</sup> Lévi holds that the Talmudic account represents the remains of an older Palestinian Aramaic version which in the original had a great affinity with the account in Plutarch. He is of the opinion that the Talmudic version presupposes the background supplied in the Plutarch version.<sup>52</sup> Wallach in a detailed study notes the points of resemblance between the accounts in Plutarch and in the Talmud and maintains that the Talmudic version goes back to a source which is older and more original than the one underlying the account in Plutarch. He points out that a version of the dialogue belonging to this older Greek source was found by Ulrich Wilcken in a Greek papyrus in the Berlin Museum and that it is to this source that the version of the dialogue in the Latin Metz Epitome of Alexander's "Gesta" goes back. He indicates the parallels between the dialogues in the papyrus, in the Epitome and in the Talmud.<sup>53</sup> Another account of the dialogue is found in *Ps.-Call.*, Book III, 6. It differs from the version in the Talmud and, according to Wallach, belongs to a tradition different from that in the older source just mentioned.<sup>54</sup> While the Talmudic version has its origin in Hellenistic sources, the account as found in the Talmud bears a definite rabbinic stamp and represents the product of much interpolation and elaboration. The passages in Aramaic represent the older layer while the Hebrew ones represent the later elements.<sup>55</sup>

The fourth, fifth, and sixth episodes, namely Alexander's journey to the region of darkness, Alexander and the women (Amazons), and Alexander at the gate of the Garden of Eden, are found in the Talmud, *Tamid*, 32a-b and follow in succession immediately after the account of Alexander's dialogue with the elders of the south. We shall quote these three legends as they occur in *Tamid* after which we shall comment upon them.

#### 4. ALEXANDER'S JOURNEY TO THE REGION OF DARKNESS

"He (Alexander) said to them (the elders of the south): 'I want to go to the country of Africa.' They said to him: 'You cannot go there because the mountains of darkness are in the way.' To which he replied: 'That will not stop me from going. Was it for that that I asked you? But tell me what I am to do.' 'Take Libyan asses that can travel in the dark and take coils of rope and fix them at the side (of the road) so that when you return you can guide yourself by them and reach your destination.' He did so and set forth."

#### 5. ALEXANDER AND THE WOMEN (AMAZONS)

"He (Alexander) came to a place where there were only women. He wanted to make war with them but they said to him: 'If you slay us, people will say: he killed women; and if we slay you, they will call you: the king who was killed by women.' He said to them: 'Bring me bread.' They brought him bread made of gold on a table made of gold. Whereupon he said to them: 'Do people here eat bread made of gold?' To which they replied: 'If you wanted bread, had you no bread in your own place to eat that you should have journeyed here?' When he left the place, he wrote on the gate of the city: 'I, Alexander of Macedon, was a fool until I came to the city of women in Africa and I learned sound counsel from women.'"<sup>58</sup>

#### 6. ALEXANDER AT THE GATE OF THE GARDEN OF EDEN

"In the course of his journey he sat down by a spring and began to eat. He had with him some salted fish, and as they were being washed they gave off a sweet odor. He said: 'This shows that this spring comes from the Garden of Eden.' Some say that he took some of the water and washed his face with it. Others say that he went alongside of it until he came to the gate of the Garden of Eden. He cried out: 'Open the gate for me.' They replied: 'This is the gate of the Lord, the righteous shall enter into it.' (Ps. 118:20.) To which he replied: 'I too am a

lord and king. I also am of some account. Give me something.' They gave him an eyeball. He went and weighed all his silver and gold against it, and it was not equal to it. He said to the Rabbis: 'How is this?' They replied: 'It is the eyeball of a human being that is never satisfied.' He said to them: 'How can you prove that this is so?' They took a little dust and covered it, and it was immediately weighed down. And so it is written: the nether world and destruction are never satiated, so the eyes of man are never satiated." (Prov. 27:20.)

#### VERSIONS IN *Ps.-Call.* AND MEDIAEVAL SOURCES

Accounts of these episodes also occur in *Ps.-Call.* in the following places: For the legends of Alexander's journey to the region of darkness and of his arrival at the gate of the Garden of Eden parallel elements are found in Book II, chs. 39-41.<sup>57</sup> In the latter episode as related in *Ps.-Call.* the journey is to the spring of life which confers immortality upon those who drink its water.<sup>58</sup> Elaborations of the legend of the journey to the spring of life, it may be remarked, are met with in the Persian, Arabic and Turkish versions of the Alexander Romance,<sup>59</sup> while the legend of the journey to Paradise is found in elaborated form in the twelfth century Latin work, *Alexandri Magni Iter Ad Paradisum*.<sup>60</sup> As for the legend of Alexander and the Amazons, there is a parallel in part in *Ps.-Call.*, Book III, chs. 25-26.

With reference to the origins of the legends of Alexander's journey to the region of darkness and of his arrival at the gate of the Garden of Eden, Donath holds that the versions in Talmudic literature and in *Ps.-Call.* are based upon a common source which is Jewish.<sup>61</sup> Wünsche is of the opinion that these two legends represent rabbinic elaborations of stories that are of ancient Persian origin. He professes to see the reflection of the principles of Light and Darkness of the Parsee religion in the legends of the spring of Life and the region of darkness.<sup>62</sup> Lévi holds that the Talmudic account of these legends represents an abridged and later version than that found in *Ps.-Call.*<sup>63</sup> Concerning the story of Alexander's arrival at the Gate of Paradise, Lévi maintains that it is of Jewish origin and that the medieval Latin version,

*Alexandri Magni Iter Ad Paradisum*, is a translation of a Jewish source anterior to the briefer version found in the Talmud.<sup>64</sup> As for the legend of Alexander and the Amazons, Lévi holds that while versions of this legend are found in other literatures, the story of the gold bread is a creation of the Jewish imagination.<sup>65</sup> Wallach is of the opinion that the Alexander legends found in the Talmud in *Tamid*, namely the dialogue with the elders of the south, the journey to the region of darkness, the arrival at the gate of the Garden of Eden and the encounter with the Amazons represent remnants of Hellenistic-Jewish apologetic literature in which well-known stories and themes deriving from general Hellenistic material were elaborated upon by Jewish writers and used as propaganda to prove the antiquity of the Jewish people to the Greeks and Egyptians.<sup>66</sup>

#### 7. ALEXANDER'S ASCENT INTO THE AIR

This legend occurs in three versions in Talmudic literature. The first version and probably the oldest occurs in two sources: The Palestinian Talmud, '*Abodah Zarah*, ed. Krotoschin (1866), III, 1, 42c, and *Numbers Rabbah*, XIII, 14. The account in this version reads as follows:

"Rabbi Jonah said: Alexander of Macedon, when he wished to ascend into the air, used to rise higher and higher until he saw the world look like a ball and the sea like a dish. On account of this they depict him with an orb in his hand. Why not let them depict him with a dish in his hand? Because he has no dominion over the sea. The Holy One, blessed be He, however, has dominion on sea and has dominion on land . . . Accordingly they (the princes) brought a dish (as an offering) to symbolize the sea and a basin to symbolize the land."<sup>67</sup>

The second version of this episode is a briefer one and is more in the nature of an allusion to the first version inasmuch as it only makes mention of Alexander's desire to ascend to the heavens but does not include an account of his ascent. This version is found in two sources: *Pirḳe Rabbi Eli'ezer* (New York, 1946), XI, 28b-29a and *Yalḳuṭ Shim'oni* (Jerusalem, 1952), 1 Kg. 18, sec. 211, p. 758.



The third version occurs in a later source and bears a closer resemblance to the account of this episode in *Ps.-Call.*, Book II, ch. 41. This version occurs in *Midrash 'Aseret Melakim* and may be found in H. M. Hurwitz ha-Levi, *Bait 'Eked ha-Agadot* (Frankfurt a. M., 1881), pp. 44-45, and in J. D. Eisenstein, *Ozar Midrashim* (New York, 1915), II, 463. The account in this version reads as follows:

"The eighth king is Alexander of Macedon who ruled from one end of the world to the other, as Scripture says: 'And as I was considering, behold a he-goat came from the west . . . and the he-goat magnified himself exceedingly . . .' Furthermore, Alexander sought to ascend into the heavens to know what was there. And he made a yoke and bound two eagles to it and suspended meat above it in the manner of those who fowl with hawks.<sup>68</sup> And when they saw the meat, they would fly higher and higher until<sup>69</sup> he saw the world before him like a ring in the (palm of his) hand."

As for the origin of this legend, Lévi believes that the versions of it in Talmudic literature are based on the version in *Ps.-Call.* referred to above.<sup>70</sup> It is possible however that the versions in Talmudic literature and in *Ps.-Call.* derive ultimately from a common source.

## 8. ALEXANDER'S DESCENT INTO THE SEA

This legend is found in two sources in Talmudic literature: *Midrash Tehillim*, Ps. 93, 5,<sup>71</sup> and *Yalkuṭ Shim'oni*, Ps. 93, sec. 848.<sup>72</sup> Except for a minor difference in detail both sources contain the same account. We shall quote the account in *Midrash Tehillim* after which some comments will be made on a doubtful reading in the text.<sup>73</sup>

"'Out of the voices of many waters, the mighty breakers of the sea' (Ps. 93:4). It happened that when Hadrian Caesar sought to fathom the depth of the Adriatic Sea,<sup>74</sup> he took ropes and kept lowering them for three and half years, until he heard a heavenly voice which said: 'Hadrian will end (ere his rope does)!' Again, Hadrian Caesar sought to know how the waters praise the Holy One, blessed be He, and so he made chests of

glass into which he put men, and then lowered the chests into the Great Sea.<sup>75</sup> When the men came up, they said: 'We have heard the waters of the Great Sea praise the Holy One, blessed be He, thuswise: The Lord on high is mighty.'"

Despite the fact that the name Hadrian Caesar occurs here as well as in *Yalkuṭ Shim'oni*, it is suggested that this represents a scribal error and that the emperor referred to in this episode is Alexander. This suggestion is supported by the following considerations: First, as indicated in our discussion of the preceding episode, Alexander's desire to fathom the depth of the sea is mentioned along with his desire to ascend into the heavens in two other sources in Talmudic literature, namely *Pirke Rabbi Eli'ezer*, XI, and *Yalkuṭ Shim'oni*, 1 Kg. 18, sec. 211.<sup>76</sup> Secondly, this legend is associated with Alexander in *Ps.-Call.*, Book II, ch. 38.

#### THE LEGEND IN *Ps.-Call.*

The legend as related in Talmudic literature appears to be an abbreviated account of the story of this episode as found in *Ps.-Call.* and reveals the presence of a rabbinic motif. In the Greek account, Alexander descends into the sea in order to seek pearls. In the Jewish account, Alexander's concern is not with pearls but rather with discovering how the waters praise God.

As is the case of the legend dealing with Alexander's ascent into the air, Lévi believes that the version of the episode under discussion as found in Talmudic literature is based on the version which occurs in *Ps.-Call.*<sup>77</sup> However, it is possible that both versions derive ultimately from a common source.

#### 9. ALEXANDER AND KING KAZIA

This legend occurs in Talmudic literature in three versions which in the main agree with one another but reveal some minor differences. One version is found in the Palestinian Talmud, *Baba Meṣia*, ed. Krotoschin (1866), II, 5, 8c. The account of the episode in this version reads as follows:

"Alexander of Macedon went to visit King Kazia. The latter showed him much gold and much silver. Whereupon (Alexander)

said to him: 'I do not need your gold and silver. I have come only to see your ways, how you deal, how you dispense justice.' While he was engaged in conversation with him, a man approached him with the following complaint against his friend. He had bought a field from him and in clearing it had found a treasure of dinars (in a dunghill). The buyer said: 'I bought the dunghill but did not buy the treasure.' The vendor said: 'I sold the dunghill and all it contained.' While they were engaged in argument, the king said to one of them: 'Have you a male offspring?' 'Yes,' he replied. He then said to the other: 'Have you a female offspring?' 'Yes,' he replied. Whereupon he said to them: 'Let them be married to one another and the treasure will belong to both.' He (Alexander) began to laugh, and he (King Kazia) asked him: 'Why are you laughing? Have I not judged well? Had this case come before you, how would you have judged?' He replied: 'We would have slain both of them and the treasure would have gone to the king.' Whereupon he said to him: 'How very much you must love gold!' He prepared a meal for him (Alexander), setting before him meat made of gold and chickens made of gold. He (Alexander) said: 'Do I eat gold?' King Kazia, (thinking in his heart) 'A curse upon the man's soul!' said: 'If you do not eat gold, then why do you love gold so much?' King Kazia again asked him: 'Does the sun shine in your country?' 'Yes,' he replied. 'Does rain fall in your country?' he asked. 'Yes,' he replied. 'Do you perchance have small cattle in your country?' 'Yes' he replied. King Kazia, (thinking in his heart) 'A curse upon the man's soul!' said: 'You live only because of the merit of small cattle, as it is written: 'Man and beast Thou preservest, O Lord.' '' (Ps. 36:7)

Another version of this episode occurs in the following four sources: *Genesis Rabbah*, XXXIII, 1; *Pesiḳta de-Rab Kahana*, IX, 24; *Leviticus Rabbah*, XXVII, 1; and *Midrash Tanḥuma*, Emor, 6. This version differs from the first in these two elements: (1) Upon his arrival in the country of King Kazia, Alexander is presented not with gold and silver but with articles of food made of gold. The account of this element reads as follows in *Midrash Tanḥuma*: "They came out to meet him with golden apples, golden pomegranates and golden bread. He said to them: 'Is then

gold eaten in your country?' They answered: 'Is it not so in your (country), else why have you come to us?' To which he retorted: 'It is not your wealth that I have come to see but rather your administration of the law.' " (2) This version does not include the story dealing with the golden meal prepared by King Kaḏia for Alexander which in the first version is introduced by the statement, "How very much you must love gold!" and concludes with the question, . . . "then why do you love gold so much?"

The third version of this episode which occurs in *Yalkuṭ Shim'oni*, Ps. 36, sec. 727 includes both the presentation of golden articles of food to Alexander upon his arrival as found in the second version as well as the golden meal prepared by King Kaḏia for Alexander as found in the first version. It would appear that the author of *Yalkuṭ Shim'oni*, a Midrashic compilation believed to have been done in the thirteenth century,<sup>78</sup> either had both versions before him and combined them or drew upon a source in which they were already combined.

### THE MORAL LESSON IN *Ps.-Call.*

While the narrative of the legend of Alexander and King Kaḏia has no parallel in *Ps.-Call.*, the moral lesson which this legend contains, namely, the absurdity of the greed for gold represents a theme which, as Wallach has indicated,<sup>79</sup> is found in *Ps.-Call.*, Book III, ch. 11-12. In this source, Dindimus, the King of the Brahmins, while expounding the Brahmin philosophy of life, ridicules Alexander's greed for gold. This theme is also expressed in the Talmudic version of Alexander's meeting with the Amazons which we have quoted above. It is also met with in a different form and connection in Plutarch's *Morals*.<sup>80</sup>

With reference to the origin of the legend of Alexander and King Kaḏia, Wallach differs with Lévi, who suggests that the legend may be of Jewish origin,<sup>81</sup> and with Klausner, who maintains that it is not of Greek origin.<sup>82</sup> Wallach holds that it is ultimately of Greek origin and that it reflects, in the form in which it is found in Talmudic literature, the apologetic influence of

Hellenistic Jewish literature in which the claim of superiority was advanced by the Jews in their controversy with the Greeks and Egyptians.<sup>83</sup> He therefore feels that it belongs to the same body of Alexander legends represented by the four which occur in the Talmud in *Tamid* which were discussed above, namely, the dialogue with the elders of the south, the journey to the region of darkness, the arrival at the gate of the Garden of Eden and the encounter with the Amazons.<sup>84</sup> Wallach believes that the legend of King Kazia is reminiscent of Alexander's meeting with the Indian Gymnosophists and suggests that the name Kazia is either that of an historical Indian king or of an Indian town. He rejects the Midrashic view that the name Kazia is derived from the Hebrew word *kez*, meaning *end* and therefore refers to a legendary king believed to have lived at the end of the world, namely, the interior of Africa.<sup>85</sup> The view that King Kazia lived in Africa is expressed in three of the sources mentioned above in which this legend is found: *Pesikta de-Rab Kahana*, IX, 24; *Leviticus Rabbah*, XXVII, 1; and *Midrash Tanhuma*, Emor, 6. It is interesting to note, however, that prior to Wallach the suggestion that the name Kazia was that of an Indian king had been made in *Pene Mosheh*, the eighteenth century rabbinic commentary on the Palestinian Talmud.<sup>86</sup>

#### 10. ALEXANDER AND THE BONES OF JEREMIAH

This episode occurs in a late Midrashic compilation, namely, *Midrash Agadah*, ed. Buber (Vienna 1894), II, Nu. XXX, 15, p. 157, and reads as follows:

"... And the Holy One, blessed be He, reproved them (the children of Israel) through Jeremiah, may peace be with him, whom the children of Israel stoned (to death) in Egypt. And the Egyptians brought him to burial because they loved him, for he had prayed on their behalf against the whales and the crocodiles<sup>87</sup> which were in the Nile and which used to kill the Egyptians. And King Alexander removed his bones and buried them in Alexandria."

## PARALLEL IN PSEUDO-EPIPHANIUS

This legend is only alluded to in *Ps.-Call.*, Book I, ch. 32, but a parallel to it with some variations is found in Pseudo-Epiphanius', *Vitae Prophetarum*.<sup>88</sup> According to the latter, Alexander brought serpents from the Peloponnesian Argos to Alexandria and placed them in the Nile in order to combat and destroy the serpents and crocodiles which were there. However, this objective was not achieved. Whereupon Alexander removed the bones of Jeremiah from the grave to Alexandria and laid them in various places in a circle around the city. Then the reptiles were driven away.

As for the origin of this legend, Pfister holds that the Greek version of the Jeremiah episode had its source in the same literary circles which produced the Judaeo-Greek version of the story of the founding of Alexandria. The account in Talmudic literature, he feels, represents a later abbreviated version going back either to the Greek version or to an older common source.<sup>89</sup>

## 11. ALEXANDER AND THE THRONE OF SOLOMON

This legend occurs only in Talmudic literature and is found in *Targum Sheni*, I, 2.<sup>90</sup> According to this legend the throne of Solomon, of rare and marvelous construction, was taken into captivity along with the Jews by Nebuchadnezzar. The throne became the possession in turn of the heads of succeeding empires, including Alexander. The passage in this legend relating to Alexander reads as follows: "And after Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, Alexander of Macedon came and captured the throne of King Solomon and brought it to Egypt."<sup>91</sup>

Before concluding this section on Alexander in Jewish sources from antiquity it should be noted that there are two instances in Talmudic literature in which Alexander is confused with other historical personages. One instance has already been described above in our discussion of the episode dealing with Alexander's descent into the sea where although the text reads Hadrian, the reference is obviously to Alexander. In the other instance the

text reads Alexander of Macedon but the context of the narrative requires a different person. In a passage in the Talmud, *Sukkah*, 51b, which describes the past glory of Jewish life in Alexandria, the third century Amora, Abaye, makes the comment: "And Alexander of Macedon killed them all (the Jews)." The reference to Alexander of Macedon is due either to a scribal error or to confusion on the part of the Babylonian Amora quoted.<sup>92</sup> Historically the Alexander referred to is Tiberius Julius Alexander, an apostate Jew, who as prefect of Egypt in the middle of the first century C. E. ordered the Roman soldiers to attack the Jews in the wake of the rioting that broke out between them and the Alexandrians. As a result, according to Josephus, some fifty thousand Jews were slain.<sup>93</sup>

## II. ALEXANDER IN MEDIAEVAL JEWISH SOURCES

### RECENSION $\delta$ OF *Ps.-Call.* AND THE *Historia de Preliis*

The mediaeval Alexander Romance in its many versions in the languages of the East and the West is derived ultimately from *Ps.-Call.*<sup>1</sup> As was indicated above,<sup>2</sup> the text of *Ps.-Call.* has come down to us in three recensions referred to in the literature as  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ .<sup>3</sup> Ausfeld held that there was a fourth recension which he designated as  $\delta$ .<sup>4</sup> He believed that the text of this recension, of which there is no known manuscript, served as the basis of an anonymous Syriac version which was composed about the seventh century<sup>5</sup> and of a Latin version which was done by the Archpresbyter Leo of Naples in the tenth century.<sup>6</sup> Recension  $\delta$  would then represent an elaboration of a manuscript belonging to the  $\alpha$  group.<sup>7</sup> These four recensions constitute the main divisions of the textual tradition of *Ps.-Call.* within which the sources of the many translations are to be located.<sup>8</sup>

It is a generally accepted opinion that the Syriac version was translated into Arabic. For though the Arabic text of the translation is not extant and though there is no direct evidence that it had been made, the assumption that such a translation had existed is based upon the study of the Ethiopic version which by internal evidence shows that it had its origin in the Arabic version.<sup>9</sup> This lost Arabic version is assumed to have been made in the ninth century from the Syriac and like the Syriac to have belonged to the  $\delta$  recension.<sup>10</sup>

In addition to the Syriac and the Arabic versions, the Latin version of the Archpresbyter Leo of Naples would also go back to the  $\delta$  recension. Leo, while on a trip to Constantinople in the middle of the tenth century, found and transcribed a Greek manuscript of *Ps.-Call.*, returned to Naples and translated it into Latin. This Latin translation which is generally referred to as the *Historia de Preliis*<sup>11</sup> became in turn the source of numerous translations and adaptations. The Latin text gradually underwent elaboration and interpolation, giving rise in time to a number of



recensions of this work. Among these recensions three in particular were most widely used. They<sup>12</sup> are referred to as I<sup>1</sup>, I<sup>2</sup>, and I<sup>3</sup>.

### HEBREW VERSIONS OF THE ALEXANDER ROMANCE

Among the various mediaeval versions of the Alexander Romance there are six known Hebrew ones. These Hebrew versions are represented by the following six sources: (1) The Alexander Romance as found in *Yosippon*. (2) Ms. Cod. Heb. 671.5, Bibl. Natl., Paris. (3) Ms. 145, Jews' College, London. (4) Ms. LIII, Bibl. Estense, Modena; Ms. Cod. Heb. 2797.10, Bodleian, Oxford; Ms. Damascus, subject of a study by A. Y. Harkavy, *Neizdannaya Versiya romana obŭ Alexandrē* (St. Petersburg, 1892). (5) Ms. Cod. Heb. 1087, Bibl. I. B. de-Rossi, Parma. (6) Ms. Cod. Heb. 750.3, Bibl. Natl., Paris, the subject of our study.

### RELATION TO *Ps.-Call.* AND *Historia de Preliis*

The basic source of most of these Hebrew versions is the *Historia de Preliis* in the I<sup>2</sup> recension. Thus the second and third versions are based on I<sup>2</sup> while the sixth version is based on a mixed text combining I<sup>1</sup> and I<sup>2</sup>. The version in *Yosippon* is based in part on I<sup>2</sup> and in part goes back to recensions  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  of *Ps.-Call.* While one view maintains that the version in the Parma manuscript represents a direct translation from a Greek text based on recension  $\alpha$  of *Ps.-Call.* and that it is the basis for a significant part of the Alexander Romance in *Yosippon*, another opinion holds that the version in the Parma manuscript is based in the main on the version found in *Yosippon*. According to this latter opinion, the version in the Parma manuscript would therefore also go back in large measure to the I<sup>2</sup> recension of the *Historia de Preliis*. The version represented by the Modena, Bodleian, and Damascus manuscripts is not based on the *Historia de Preliis*. It contains some material for which parallels are found in recension  $\gamma$  of *Ps.-Call.* but consists for the most part of diverse, fanciful elements whose sources are unknown.

We shall proceed with a description of these versions, leaving the version represented by the manuscript under study for the final part of the introduction. We shall also describe two other mediaeval Hebrew works, *Musere ha-Pilosofim*<sup>13</sup> and *Sod ha-Sodot*,<sup>14</sup> which contain material bearing upon the life of Alexander. The versions will be discussed in the following order: (1) *Yosippon*. (2) Paris Manuscript and (3) London Manuscript. (4) Modena, Bodleian, Damascus Manuscripts. (5) Parma Manuscript.

### 1. *Yosippon*

This book is a popular mediaeval history of the Jewish people dealing primarily with the period of the Second Commonwealth. It is in the main an abridged version of the works of Josephus and it is assumed to have been based originally on the following: A Latin translation of Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*; *Hegessipus*, a fourth century free Latin translation of Josephus' *Jewish War*; the Second Book of Maccabees and other Apocryphal writings; the *Agadah*; and some mediaeval chronicles. In the course of time many interpolations were inserted.<sup>15</sup>

The published editions of *Yosippon* go back to two recensions of this work one of which is found in the Mantua edition, *editio princeps* (1476-1479), edited by Abraham ben Solomon Conat and the other in the Constantinople edition (1510), edited by Tam ben David ibn Yahya.<sup>16</sup> The former has been re-edited by Günzburg and Kahana (Berditschev, 1896-1913).<sup>17</sup> The Constantinople edition is followed by the many other editions of *Yosippon*. For the purpose of our survey, we have used the Berditschev edition, referred to as *Yos. B*, to represent that of Mantua and the Venice edition of 1544, referred to as *Yos. V*, to represent that of Constantinople.

While the date of the composition of *Yosippon*, the work of an Italian Jew, has been a subject of wide disagreement among scholars, ranging in opinion from the fourth to the tenth century,<sup>18</sup> all are agreed that *Yosippon* contains many interpolations among which is the Alexander Romance.<sup>19</sup> The latter was inserted in *Yosippon* in connection with the account of Alexander's visit to

Jerusalem.<sup>20</sup> The material in this account which deals with Alexander's meeting with the High Priest and the Samaritan episode is parallel to that which is found in Talmudic literature, in Josephus and in *Ps.-Call.*<sup>21</sup> The account in *Yosippon* is closer to that in Josephus than to the others.<sup>22</sup> There is one element in the account in *Yosippon* which is not found in Josephus, in the Talmudic sources or in *Ps.-Call.* and that is the giving of the name Alexander to the boys born to the priests of Jerusalem and Judea as a tribute to Alexander.<sup>23</sup> *Yosippon* contains a more elaborate account of Alexander's dream in which he sees the likeness of the High Priest<sup>24</sup> than do Josephus<sup>25</sup> and the Talmudic sources.<sup>26</sup> In the account of the relations of the Jews and the Cutheans, that is to say, the Samaritans, *Yosippon* follows Josephus rather than the Talmudic tradition.<sup>27</sup>

Alexander's visit to Jerusalem is followed in *Yosippon* by the Alexander Romance which is an interpolation.<sup>28</sup> The accounts of the Alexander Romance in *Yos. B* and in *Yos. V*<sup>29</sup> follow the same order of events and also agree in content excepting for some instances where *Yos. V* contains additional material and for some minor variations in the narrative.<sup>30</sup> The account in *Yos. B* is written in a more condensed form than that in *Yos. V.*<sup>31</sup>

The Alexander Romance in *Yosippon* is divided into two parts.<sup>32</sup> Part A contains the following episodes: Nectanebor and Queen Olympias; the birth of Alexander; his early years; his first military victory; the reconciliation of Philip and Olympias through the efforts of Alexander; Alexander's refusal to pay the tribute to Darius; his victories over Armenia and Bithynia; the death of Philip; and Alexander's accession to the throne. Part B contains the following: Alexander's expeditions to Italy, Africa and the land of the Medes; Alexander and Darius; Alexander's encounters with the strange animals, men and trees; his journey to the region of darkness; Alexander and Porus, King of India; Alexander and the Gymnosophists; Alexander's letter to Aristotle, including the Candace episode; Alexander and the Amazons; and the death of Alexander.

Part A and Part B represent two different versions of the Alexander Romance. As Rieger has indicated, the source of Part A is the *Historia de Preliis* in a recension, I<sup>2</sup>, closely related

to the Codex Seitenstettensis, while Part B follows the account in the Greek original of *Ps.-Call.* in the version of the Leyden manuscript.<sup>35</sup> Thus Part A goes back through the *Historia de Preliis* to recension  $\delta$  of *Ps.-Call.* while Part B goes back through the Leyden manuscript to recension  $\beta$  of *Ps.-Call.* Part B also contains some material which belongs to recension  $\alpha$  of *Ps.-Call.*<sup>36</sup> According to another opinion, the Hebrew version represented by Part B is based on a Greek text which goes back to recension  $\alpha$  of *Ps.-Call.* but it also corresponds in many passages to recension  $\beta$ .<sup>35</sup>

There is general agreement among scholars on the basis of the nature of the corruptions in the text of the Alexander Romance in *Yosippon* that the author did not use the Greek and Latin sources directly. Most of them hold that the material in these sources was made available to the author through an unknown Arabic version.<sup>36</sup> Wallach, however, assumes that because of similarities and parallels between *Yosippon* and two other mediaeval Hebrew versions of the Alexander Romance, represented by Ms. 671, Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, and Ms. 145, Jews' College, London, there must have existed a common Hebrew archetype on which they are based and which in turn is derived from an unknown Arabic version.<sup>37</sup> Flusser believes that the interpolation represented by Part B in *Yosippon* is based on the Hebrew version of the Alexander Romance found in a manuscript in the De Rossi collection in the Parma Library, No. 1087, which in his opinion is a direct translation from the Greek *Ps.-Call.*<sup>38</sup> As for Part A, Lévi<sup>39</sup> and Flusser believe that it is based on the Hebrew version found in the first part of Ms. 145, Jews' College, London, which in turn represents a translation of the Arabic version of the Alexander Romance.<sup>40</sup>

It is generally agreed that Part B is an older interpolation than Part A. There is an opinion that Part B represents, on the basis of internal evidence, the Hebrew elaboration of the Alexander Romance by the author of *Yosippon* himself, while Part A represents a later interpolation which may have been inserted by Abraham Conat, the editor of the Mantua edition of *Yosippon*,<sup>41</sup> 1476-1479. According to another opinion Part B was inserted

into the text of *Yosippon* not later than 1148 and Part A was added by another interpolator before the year 1160.<sup>42</sup>

## 2. PARIS MANUSCRIPT AND 3. LONDON MANUSCRIPT

Two versions of the Alexander Romance are represented by Ms. 671, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris,<sup>43</sup> and Ms. 145, Jews' College, London.<sup>44</sup> We shall refer to the former as Ms. P and to the latter as Ms. L.

Israel Lévi published<sup>45</sup> the text of Ms. P and in the notes to the text incorporated a detailed analysis of Ms. L. He compared the latter with Ms. P and both of them with the Latin of the *Historia de Preliis*. He also discussed the relation of the two manuscripts to the Alexander Romance in *Yosippon*.

Ms. P and Ms. L represent two versions of a Hebrew translation based on an unknown Arabic translation of the I<sup>2</sup> recension of the *Historia de Preliis*, thus going back to the  $\delta$  recension of the *Ps.-Call*. The translator of Ms. P is anonymous,<sup>46</sup> while the translation of Ms. L is attributed in the colophon to Samuel ben Judah Ibn Tibbon. Lévi<sup>47</sup> and Ausfeld,<sup>48</sup> on the strength of the colophon, regard Ibn Tibbon as the translator. Steinschneider, however, does not rely on the colophon but holds that a consideration of the kind of works translated by Ibn Tibbon would lead one to conclude that he would not have "condescended" to translate a collection of wonder tales. Steinschneider therefore regards Ms. L as anonymous and refers to it as Anonymous A and to Ms. P as Anonymous B.<sup>49</sup> Flusser holds that Ibn Tibbon, who lived from 1150–1230, could not have been the translator because, in his view, the translation was already in existence before the year 1160, when part of it was inserted as an interpolation in *Yosippon*.<sup>50</sup> Lévi, proceeding on the assumption that Ibn Tibbon was the translator of Ms. L and that Ms. P and Ms. L are translations of two different versions of a common lost Arabic source, places the date of these translations at the beginning of the thirteenth century.<sup>51</sup> Ausfeld holds that Ibn Tibbon made his translation from the Arabic about the year 1200.<sup>52</sup> Lévi maintains, on the basis of the fact that the transliteration of the Latin

follows the western and not the eastern pronunciation, that the author of the lost Arabic translation was a Mohammedan who lived in Sicily.<sup>53</sup> Steinschneider, however, is of the opinion that the solutions advanced for the problems concerning the time and the place of the Hebrew and Arabic translations are still in the realm of hypothesis, although he does suggest Italy as the place where the Hebrew translations were done.<sup>54</sup>

In general Ms. L and Ms. P are similar to each other in content and in the order of events. As Lévi has already indicated, Ms. L and Part A of *Yosippon*, including the first twenty lines of Part B of *Yosippon*, show a rather striking resemblance in style and in the details of the narrative.<sup>55</sup> In his notes to the text of Ms. P, Lévi points out a number of passages in Ms. L which differ from Ms. P but are either almost identical with or closely resemble *Yosippon*.<sup>56</sup> Beginning however with col. 87, l. 21, Part B of *Yosippon*,<sup>57</sup> with the exception of a few passages which have parallels in Ms. L,<sup>58</sup> differs from both Ms. P and Ms. L. The latter two manuscripts continue to follow the I<sup>2</sup> recension of the *Historia de Preliis*, while Part B of *Yosippon* is based chiefly on the Leyden manuscript version of the *Ps.-Call*. Part B of *Yosippon* represents an abbreviated account of the narrative of the Alexander Romance, leaving out a number of episodes and differing in the order of events.

In view of the striking similarities between part A of *Yosippon* and the first part of Ms. L, Lévi is of the opinion that the former represents an interpolation which was taken from the latter. He also suggests that the few parallel passages in Part B of *Yosippon* and Ms. L also represent an interpolation in the former taken from the latter.<sup>59</sup> Steinschneider, commenting upon Lévi's view, hesitates to express a definite opinion on the subject because he feels that there are still too many unsolved problems concerning the relationship of Ms. L to Ms. P and of both of these to the Alexander Romance in *Yosippon*.<sup>60</sup> Wallach disagrees with both Lévi and Steinschneider and maintains that the existence of parallels or similarities between Ms. L and *Yosippon* does not mean that one took from the other, for, as he indicates, there are also similarities between the texts of Ms. P and *Yosippon*. Wallach suggests instead, as we have seen above, that there was

a common Hebrew archetype underlying the Alexander Romance as found in Ms. P, Ms. L and *Yosippon*.<sup>61</sup> Flusser, like Lévi, holds that Part A of *Yosippon* is based on the first part of Ms. L. In his view the scribe who copied Ms. L had before him two different translations of the lost Arabic version. One of these is preserved in Ms. P, while the other, which was incomplete, is found in the first part of Ms. L and in Part A of *Yosippon*. The scribe completed his manuscript by copying the remainder from the translation found in Ms. P.<sup>62</sup>

That Ms. L and Ms. P are based on the I<sup>2</sup> recension of the *Historia de Preliis* is evident from a comparison of the Hebrew with the Latin of the I<sup>2</sup> recension as found in the text of the *Historia de Preliis* published by Alfons Hilka.<sup>63</sup> In the main, the Hebrew incorporates the interpolations which are found in recension I<sup>2</sup> and follows the transposed order of the paragraphs peculiar to recension I<sup>2</sup>. In many passages Ms. L is closer to the Latin,<sup>64</sup> but there are also some passages in which Ms. P is closer to the Latin.<sup>65</sup> There are passages in both manuscripts, more so in Ms. P, which are corrupt or are not clear or miss the sense of the Latin. In such cases the text of one manuscript is often of help in clarifying the meaning of the other.<sup>66</sup> Both manuscripts contain elements not found in the Latin,<sup>67</sup> and each manuscript contains elements not found in the other.<sup>68</sup>

#### 4. MODENA, BODLEIAN, DAMASCUS MANUSCRIPTS

The version of the Alexander story represented by the Modena, Bodleian, and Damascus manuscripts differs radically from all the other Hebrew versions. The Modena manuscript was published by Israel Lévi in the *Steinschneider Festschrift* in 1896.<sup>69</sup> The Bodleian manuscript was discovered by Moses Gaster who translated it into English and published it in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1897.<sup>70</sup> The Damascus manuscript was found in Damascus by A. Y. Harkavy and was made the subject of a study by him in 1892.<sup>71</sup>

This version, unlike the versions discussed above, is not based on the *Historia de Preliis* and does not follow recension  $\delta$  of *Ps.-Call*. Steinschneider hesitated to express an opinion concerning

the source of this unusual and rather fanciful story of Alexander, contenting himself with the statement that its source is yet to be investigated.<sup>72</sup> Lévi defers to Harkavy's view that the source of the greater part of the episodes in this version remains unknown.<sup>73</sup> Ausfeld, who regards it as a collection of fantastic adventures, suggests that among other sources this version also used a text belonging to recension  $\gamma$  of the *Ps.-Call.*<sup>74</sup> Lévi<sup>75</sup> and Ausfeld<sup>76</sup> regard this version as without value for the study of the history of the Alexander Romance. In Lévi's opinion this version exercised no influence whatsoever on any of the Christian, Arab, or even Jewish story tellers because it stands outside the literary tradition of the Alexander Romance.<sup>77</sup> Gaster takes issue with the view of Ausfeld and especially of Lévi.<sup>78</sup> In his opinion this version is of great value for the study of the legendary history of Alexander. He holds that it contains legends belonging to an oral tradition other than and older than the literary tradition represented by *Ps.-Call.* Out of this older tradition, he maintains, grew the early Eastern Romances, Christian and Hebrew, some of which were later absorbed in the *Ps.-Call.* tradition, while elements of others found their way in various mediaeval Romances. In Gaster's view the existence of parallels and resemblances between the Eastern and Western Romances is not due to chance but indicates rather that the latter drew upon the former either directly or indirectly. He regards this version as the oldest hitherto identified source among the ancient Eastern Romances.<sup>79</sup>

In his analysis of the text of the manuscript, Gaster indicates parallels to it in Talmudic sources, in *Ps.-Call.*, particularly recension  $\gamma$  but also recension  $\beta$  and in the Syriac, Ethiopic, Slavonic, French, and German versions.<sup>80</sup> While Lévi regards this version because of its uniqueness and dissimilarity to the *Ps.-Call.* tradition as the product of an undisciplined mind given to excessive fantasy,<sup>81</sup> Gaster attributes the marked difference not to the extravagant inventiveness of an individual author but rather to the projection upon the popular figure of Alexander of experiences and events deriving from a variety of local traditions. Drawing upon various versions of the Alexander Romance, Gaster seeks to demonstrate how the accounts reflect the adapta-



tion of the personality of Alexander to local interests and prejudices. Thus, in the Syriac and Ethiopic versions Alexander is portrayed as a devout Christian; in the Persian version as a faithful Mohammedan;<sup>82</sup> in the Hebrew version under consideration Alexander acknowledges the God of the Jews<sup>83</sup> and is circumcised;<sup>84</sup> in some Western mediaeval Romances Alexander becomes a good Christian knight.<sup>85</sup>

As for the date of the composition of this version, Lévi believes that it was written sometime between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries in Southern Italy or Sicily.<sup>86</sup> Steinschneider also feels that it represents a late composition.<sup>87</sup> Gaster, however, argues for a much earlier date, holding that it antedates the version of the Alexander Romance in *Yosippon*, which in his opinion is a translation of an Arabic text of the seventh or eighth century.<sup>88</sup>

## 5. PARMA MANUSCRIPT

This manuscript, which is found in Parma, Mss. Cod. Heb. Bibl. I. B. de-Rossi, No. 1087, includes a Hebrew composition which in the opinion of Flusser represents a literal and direct translation from the Greek.<sup>89</sup> In his study of this manuscript Flusser indicates that it consists of three elements: (1) The Alexander Romance translated from a Greek text based on recension  $\alpha$  of *Ps.-Call.* He believes this Greek source to be a mixed text reflecting the Armenian version of recension  $\alpha$  and Ms. A (Parisinus Graecus), the earliest representative manuscript of recension  $\alpha$ . It also corresponds in some places to recension  $\beta$  of *Ps.-Call.* Except for those passages where he abridged the material, the Hebrew translator rendered the Greek text literally. Consequently this Hebrew translation can be employed along with the Armenian version and recension  $\beta$  as a valuable aid for studying Ms. A in an effort to reconstruct the oldest text of *Ps.-Call.* (2) A Byzantine chronicle dealing with events from the death of Alexander to Augustus Caesar. This chronicle is based on the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, but also contains some additional historical details. (3) Part of Palladius' work on the Brahmans.

The first two elements constitute what is called the *Ma'aseh Alexandros* (The Alexander Romance) in this composition. This version does not contain the account of Nectanebus and Olympias and the birth of Alexander. As was indicated in our discussion of *Yosippon*, Flusser holds that Part B of *Yosippon* represents an interpolation based on the *Ma'aseh Alexandros* in the Parma manuscript and that the latter underwent abridgement and distortion at the hands of the interpolator. This opinion differs from that of Steinschneider, who believed that the main body of the text of the Parma manuscript was made up of excerpts from *Yosippon*.<sup>90</sup> In support of his view Flusser argues first that the account in the Parma manuscript is more complete and that the interpolator deleted many elements from it when he inserted it into the text of *Yosippon*; and secondly, that since there are manuscripts of *Yosippon* in which the Alexander Romance is entirely missing, it is more reasonable to assume that the *Ma'aseh Alexandros* in the Parma manuscript is the source of the interpolation in *Yosippon* and not vice versa. In his opinion the *Ma'aseh Alexandros* was written at the latest by the middle of the twelfth century, inasmuch as the version based on it was already found in *Yosippon* at that time.<sup>91</sup>

The short Byzantine chronicle which follows upon the Alexander Romance is also found in *Yosippon* and in the Hebrew manuscript which is the subject of our study. Flusser maintains that the translator of the Alexander Romance which is found in the Parma manuscript also translated the chronicle which either formed part of the Greek manuscript containing the Alexander Romance or was found by the translator elsewhere and was appended to the Alexander Romance. This chronicle deals with the period from the death of Alexander to Augustus Caesar and is based on the account covering this period in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius.<sup>92</sup> However, the author of this chronicle also made use of material from other sources and in the case of two historical events included information not found in other sources.<sup>93</sup>

In comparing the text of the chronicle in the manuscript under study with that in the Parma Ms. which Dr. David Flusser of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem kindly made available to me, we found that with the exception of a few slight differences

in spelling, name forms and dates these two texts represent the same recension.<sup>94</sup> Lévi, in stating that the chronicle in the manuscript under study "is copied almost verbally" from the chronicle in *Yosippon*, did not call attention to the differences between them which we have noted in our critical apparatus.<sup>95</sup>

The third element in the Hebrew composition in the Parma manuscript represents, according to Flusser, a translation of part of Palladius' work on the Brahmans.<sup>96</sup> This work in its entirety is found as an interpolation in *Ps.-Call.*, Ms. A, III 7-16. Inasmuch as only the first part of this interpolation, III 7-10, is attributed to Palladius in the first two editions of his work and since the segment preserved in the Parma manuscript corresponds to the concluding portion of the first part, Flusser suggests the possibility that only this part constituted the original work of Palladius.<sup>97</sup> Unlike the Alexander Romance and the chronicle, the section in the Parma manuscript dealing with Palladius' work on the Brahmans has not been included in *Yosippon*.

Finally, the Parma manuscript also contains legends dealing with Alexander which are found in the Babylonian Talmud.<sup>98</sup>

#### OTHER HEBREW SOURCES

In addition to the several versions of the Alexander Romance, we may also mention two mediaeval works which bear upon the life of Alexander. They are *Musere ha-Pilosofim* and *Sod ha-Sodot*.

*Musere ha-Pilosofim*<sup>99</sup> or *The Dicta of the Philosophers* deals in part with Alexander. It is a translation from the Arabic by Judah ben Solomon al-Ḥarizi (1170-1235), the famous Spanish Jewish poet and translator. The original Arabic is the work of Ḥunain ibn Ishāḳ (d. 873), a Syrian Christian well-known for his translations from Greek sources. It is a collection of apothegms and includes also some information about their authors. It contains observations on life, the nature of man, the problem of good and evil, music, and other subjects. Among the thinkers referred to in this book are Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Diogenes, Hippocrates, Pythagoras, and Euclid. The book is divided into three sections, the third one dealing with the last days and the death of Alexander. This latter section contains among others the fol-

lowing elements: an exchange of letters between Alexander and his mother; eulogies by Olympias and the philosophers after Alexander's death; the philosophers' words of comfort; and a letter of consolation from Aristotle to Olympias.

As we shall see presently, the author of the manuscript which is the subject of our study made extensive use of the third section of *Musere ha-Pilosofim*.

*Sod ha-Sodot* or *Secret of Secrets* is a translation of an Arabic work, *Sirr al-Asrār*, that was immensely popular in the Middle Ages through its Latin translation, *Secretum Secretorum*, which was made not earlier than the twelfth century.<sup>100</sup> The Arabic work is also a translation that was made according to the preface from *rumi* which in turn was made from the Greek. What *rumi* means is uncertain. Some take it to mean Byzantine, that is to say, Neo-Greek; others believe it to be a corruption of a word which means Syriac, while some say it refers to Latin. Of all these, Syriac is the most likely reading.<sup>101</sup> There is no extant Greek original and Steinschneider doubts whether any such existed.<sup>102</sup> The Hebrew version was published for the first time by Moses Gaster, who based the text upon the collation of four manuscripts. He also published a translation of it in English with an Introduction.<sup>103</sup>

The translator into Arabic was Yaḥyā ibn al-Baṭrīk who lived about the year 800. He was a Christian Syrian, a freed slave of the Kalif-al-Mamun. In the preface to the book he relates that he was asked by the latter to go and seek out this work and that after a long search he found it in the Temple of the Sun built by Hermes.<sup>104</sup>

This work, wrongly ascribed to Aristotle, purports to contain his views on the art of government and other subjects which he communicated to his pupil, Alexander. The book in the main offers instructions to the king with reference to the governing of his own people and those whom he conquers as well as the management of the affairs of state in peace and in war. It also contains instructions on several other arts, a knowledge of which can benefit the king, such as physiognomy, the preservation of the body, and the properties of precious stones and pearls.

As for the Hebrew translation, Steinschneider and Lévi re-

gard it as anonymous, thus rejecting Assemani's opinion that Judah al-Ḥarizi was the translator. They attribute this opinion to an incorrect assumption, namely, that since *Musere ha-Pilosofim* which was translated by al-Ḥarizi is often found joined to the manuscript of *Sod ha-Sodot*, the latter was therefore also assumed to have been translated by him.<sup>105</sup> Gaster argues in favor of al-Ḥarizi as the translator because of the similarity and in some instances even identity of language in both works.<sup>106</sup> It is generally agreed that the translation belongs to the thirteenth century.<sup>107</sup>

### III. A STUDY OF THE TEXT OF THE MANUSCRIPT PUBLISHED HERE

#### AUTHOR

The Hebrew text printed in this volume has been transcribed and edited from a photostatic copy of a manuscript found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris as part of Ms. Hébreu 750.<sup>1</sup> The name of the author and the title of his work are not found in the manuscript, due to the fact that the first folio is missing. They were, however, given in a manuscript which was kept at the Royal Library in Turin, Italy, and was believed to have been another copy of the manuscript under study.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately that manuscript was destroyed by fire along with other manuscripts. Israel Lévi, however, had published<sup>3</sup> an excerpt from the first folio of the Turin manuscript. From it we learned that the title of the work was *Sefer Toledot Alexandros ha-Maḵdoni*, which we have rendered as *The Book of The Gests of Alexander of Macedon*, and that it was translated from the language of the Christians, that is, Latin, into the Hebrew by the *Ba'al ha-Kenafayim*, the author of the *Wings*. This identifies the author of the manuscript as Immanuel ben Jacob Bonfils, who wrote the popular mediaeval astronomical work, *Shesh Kenafayim*, that is, *Six Wings*, by which book he was best known.<sup>4</sup> He lived in Orange and later in Tarascon, France, in the fourteenth century and carried on his literary activity between 1340 and 1356.<sup>5</sup> He was a physician and a man of erudition, proficient especially in the fields of astronomy and mathematics, on which subjects he wrote a number of works.<sup>6</sup>

In the excerpt from the Turin manuscript referred to above Immanuel offered an interesting explanation for undertaking the translation of the Latin manuscript. He was attracted by the artistry of the manuscript, which was illuminated with "beautiful representations in various colors and in silver and gold." He wrote that, while most people believed the stories contained in the manuscript, he did not. "Nevertheless," he added, "everything is possible." He felt that the stories would appeal to

people and would be "a source of delight to them and as honey to their taste." Immanuel also translated the legends to the illuminated drawings and included them, forty-seven in number,<sup>7</sup> in their corresponding places in the Hebrew manuscript, thus preserving a description of the contents of these representations.<sup>8</sup> The Old French Prose Alexander Romance which is based on the I<sup>2</sup> recension of the *Historia de Preliis* has also preserved such legends, fifteen of which correspond to those in our Hebrew manuscript.<sup>9</sup>

### THE THREE PARTS OF THE TEXT AND THEIR SOURCES.

Like the Latin version of the Alexander Romance, the Hebrew translation represents a fanciful account of the youthful conqueror and empire-builder in which biographical data are overlaid with an abundance of strange and extravagant tales, bordering at times on the fantastic. The narrative begins with a description of the circumstances which surrounded his birth and which gave rise to the belief that he was begotten by a god and ends with his death in Babylonia and his burial in Alexandria. This "romantic biography"<sup>10</sup> deals in the main with Alexander's exploits as warrior and conqueror, his experiences with the rulers and peoples whom he subdued in the many lands which he invaded, his feats of high courage and his qualities as a persuasive leader and shrewd statesman. The following elements in the story of Alexander are treated in detail: the machinations of Nectanebus, the astrologer-king of Egypt who fled to Macedonia, won the confidence of Queen Olympias, had relations with her and through the art of magic made her believe that she was impregnated by the god Ammon and that Alexander was the fruit of this conception; Alexander's first victory, while still very young, over Nicolaus, ruler of the Peloponnesus; the role he played in bringing about the reconciliation of his parents, King Philip and Queen Olympias; his relationships with Darius, Emperor of Persia, including his appearance as a disguised messenger at the palace of Darius, his several battles with the latter's armies, his complete victory over the Persians and his annexation of their empire; his visit to the temple in Jerusalem and his friendly attitude

toward the High Priest and the Jews; his destruction of Thebes and his grant of permission to Clitomachus to rebuild it; the moving account of his trust in his physician Philip, who had been falsely accused of planning to poison him; his correspondence with Talistrida, Queen of the Amazons, and his visit with her; his invasion of India, his difficulties with his own soldiers who murmured because of the heat and thirst; his battles with Porus, King of India, and his troops and his final victory over them; his encounters in the forests of India with strange and grotesque human beings, beasts, monsters and birds; his extensive correspondence with Dindimus, King of the Brahmans, containing the latter's description of the simple, austere, and peaceful way of life followed by his people as well as his views on religion and his criticism of the self-indulgence of the Greeks and of their religious beliefs and practices; Alexander's experiences with Candace, Queen of Meroe, and her sons; his correspondence with Queen Olympias and with Aristotle, his teacher; the conspiracy against him by Antipater and his sons which finally led to his death by poison in Babylonia; his last testament containing the appointment of rulers for the various parts of his empire; his burial in Alexandria; the list of cities which he built and which bore the name Alexandria.

While the account in the Latin text ends at this point, the Hebrew version continues with two more items: a collection of apothegms and a short chronicle. The apothegms represent the moralistic reflections and observations of a group of philosophers and government officials who gathered at the coffin of Alexander to express their feelings of grief over his passing and to console Queen Olympias. This apothegmatic material consists in the main of the following elements: the expression of grief by Queen Olympias; comments by the philosophers on the lesson to be drawn concerning the meaning of life and death from the passing of Alexander; expressions of grief by Alexander's widow, his officers and members of his staff; the philosophers' words of consolation to Olympias; Aristotle's letter of condolence to Olympias and her response; Olympias' reply to Alexander's letter which was sent to her before his death; Alexander's moral teachings and observations on life.



The chronicle which is the concluding part of the Hebrew text records in brief a number of events from the time of Alexander's death to the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans under Pompey. Among the events mentioned are: the establishment of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid dynasties; the translation of the Bible into Greek during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus; the capture of Syracuse by the Romans; the devastation of Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes; the Maccabean uprising and victory; the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans under Pompey and the taking of Aristobulus, the Jewish ruler, into captivity.

From this brief summary of the contents of the manuscript we find that the text consists of three parts: (1) The Alexander Romance; (2) the Apothegms; and (3) the Chronicle. We have introduced these headings into the text in order to designate the three elements of which it is composed. The sources of the material contained in the manuscript are as follows: Part One of the manuscript, which constitutes the main body of the text, represents a translation of the *Historia de Preliis*, the Latin version of the Alexander Romance. It also contains material which is found in *Yosippon*, the mediaeval Jewish historical work described above; some passages which are based upon material found in the *Old French Prose Alexander Romance*; and a letter from Aristotle to Alexander which is taken from *Sefer Musere ha-Pilosofim*, that is, *The Dicta of the Philosophers*, a mediaeval work described above. Part Two of the manuscript consists of material derived entirely from *Sefer Musere ha-Pilosofim*. The chronicle in Part Three which is also found in *Yosippon* and in the Parma Ms. described above is based ultimately on the *Chronicon* of Eusebius. Inasmuch as Part One constitutes most of the text and therefore requires a more extended treatment, we shall analyze Parts Two and Three first.

#### ANALYSIS OF PARTS TWO AND THREE

The apothegms and moralizing reflections on life and death in Part Two are taken verbatim from *Sefer Musere ha-Pilosofim*. The following ten chapters from this work are found in our text in this order: Book III, chapters 4-8, 10-12, and 3; Book II,

chapter 5. With the exception of a major omission in chapter 10 and a few slight omissions elsewhere, these chapters appear in full in our text. The change in the order of the chapters may be due to the following: Chapter 12 deals with a letter which Olympias sent to Aristotle in reply to his letter of condolence. The author of our manuscript may have felt it appropriate to insert Chapter 3 at this point since it contains Olympias' letter to Alexander in reply to the words of comfort which he wrote her in anticipation of his approaching death. In placing the fifth chapter of Book II after the selections from Book III, the author may have considered it appropriate to do this because this chapter consists of Alexander's opinions and observations and would therefore serve as a fitting piece with which to end a work dealing with his life.

The text in our manuscript is corrupt in some places. To establish a correct reading we have consulted A. Loewenthal's edition of *Sefer Musere ha-Pilosofim* (Frankfurt a. M., 1896), and have indicated in the apparatus to the Hebrew text or in the notes the changes made in our text.

The insertion by the author of the apothegmatic selections after the conclusion of the story of Alexander represents an arrangement which resembles that found in one of the recensions of the *Historia de Preliis* known as the I<sup>3</sup> recension.<sup>11</sup> The two other recensions, I<sup>1</sup> and I<sup>2</sup>, upon which the Alexander Romance in our Hebrew text is based, do not contain apothegmatic material. The apothegms in our text are not the same as those in I<sup>3</sup>. However, two of the apothegms in our text are similar to those in I<sup>3</sup>, and the introductory phrase "another said" before each apothegm occurs in both texts.<sup>12</sup> The apothegms in I<sup>3</sup>, as found in the Strasburg edition, go back to the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Petrus Alfonsi<sup>13</sup> and thus indirectly, as Pfister indicates, to Arabic sources.<sup>14</sup> Pfister is of the opinion that the apothegms in I<sup>3</sup> derive ultimately from an Eastern source and that they as well as those in the Ethiopic version of the Alexander story<sup>15</sup> and in the work of the ninth century Syrian Ḥunain ibn Ishāq, of which *Musere ha-Pilosofim* is a translation, all belong to a common tradition.<sup>16</sup> A comparison of the apothegms in the Ethiopic version with those in our text reveals similarities in six instances.<sup>17</sup>

Pfister also indicates that the interpolations which characterize I<sup>3</sup> and distinguish it from I<sup>1</sup> and I<sup>2</sup> contain several Jewish elements; the encounter with Samson in the valley of Jehoshaphat; the erection of a monument by Alexander with an inscription in Greek, Latin, Indian, and Hebrew; the investment of the unclean peoples of Gog and Magog; and the letter of the Jew Mardocheus to Alexander which contains a plea to acknowledge the God of the Jews. Pfister therefore suggests the possibility that the author of the I<sup>3</sup> recension may have been Jewish.<sup>18</sup>

Part Three of our text consists of a short chronicle beginning in the middle of fol. 78<sup>v</sup> and ending at the bottom of fol. 79<sup>v</sup>. It contains a review of events from the time of Alexander's death to the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans under Pompey. As was indicated above, this chronicle is also found in the Parma manuscript and in *Yosippon*<sup>19</sup> and represents a translation of a Greek source based on the *Chronicon* of Eusebius. In *Yosippon* the chronicle is preserved in its entirety, concluding with Augustus Caesar. In the Parma manuscript the last few lines are missing, while in our manuscript the chronicle extends only as far as Pompey. A comparison of the texts of the chronicle in the Parma Ms. and in our manuscript revealed, as was noted above, that they both represent the same recension.<sup>20</sup>

#### ANALYSIS OF PART ONE IN ITS RELATION TO *Historia de Preliis*

Part One of our text consists of the Alexander Romance and constitutes the main body of the manuscript. It represents a translation of a mixed Latin text combining the I<sup>1</sup> and I<sup>2</sup> recensions of the *Historia de Preliis*. In order to compare the Hebrew with the Latin, we have made use of the following two works: Oswald Zingerle, *Die Quellen zum Alexander des Rudolf von Ems. Im Anhang: Die Historia de Preliis, Germanistische Abhandlungen IV* (Breslau 1885), which represents the I<sup>1</sup> recension; and Alfons Hilka, *Der Altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman nebst dem lateinischen Original der Historia de Preliis* (Halle 1920), which represents the I<sup>2</sup> recension.<sup>21</sup> We have followed the paragraph numbering used in these two Latin texts in dividing the Hebrew text into paragraphs and in numbering them.<sup>22</sup> How-

ever, whenever the paragraphs so numbered happened to be subdivided into smaller paragraphs in the Hebrew manuscript, we have preserved those paragraph divisions.

In comparing the Hebrew and the Latin texts with a view toward establishing the relationship of the former to the I<sup>1</sup> and I<sup>2</sup> recensions we find that the Hebrew may be divided into two sections: (1) Paragraphs 1-46. (2) Paragraphs 47-130. In the general framework of the narrative in section one, the Hebrew text goes back to I<sup>1</sup>, while in section two the Hebrew goes back to I<sup>2</sup>.

*Section One.* The Hebrew follows the order of events in I<sup>1</sup> with the exception of the following: Parts of paragraphs 1 and 24, the entire paragraph 25, and paragraphs 41-45 of the Latin are missing in the Hebrew. Of these the omissions in paragraphs 1, 24, and 25 are probably due to imperfections in the Hebrew manuscript, whereas paragraphs 41-45 were most likely not included in the Hebrew text. While in the order of events section one follows I<sup>1</sup>, it also incorporates some of the variant readings and interpolations that are found in I<sup>2</sup>. These variant readings and interpolations from I<sup>2</sup> which generally follow S, that is, Codex Seitenstettensis (now Harvard University Ms. Lat. 121) are found in eleven of the forty paragraphs which are included in this section.<sup>23</sup>

*Section Two.* The Hebrew in the general framework of the narrative goes back to I<sup>2</sup>. While it generally follows the order of events as found in I<sup>2</sup>, it pursues its own order of events in some parts, and in the sequence of a few paragraphs it adheres to the order found in I<sup>1</sup>. For the purpose of comparing the Hebrew with the Latin, we may separate the material in this section into two divisions: 1) Paragraphs 47-76. 2) Paragraphs 77-130.

In the first division, as in I<sup>2</sup>, the numerical arrangement of the paragraphs is irregular.<sup>24</sup> The paragraphs are arranged in the following order: 48, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 49<sup>1</sup>, 50, 55, 57, 47, 49<sup>2</sup>, 66, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 66, 67, 69, 70, 58, 59 (70), 60, 65, 68, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76. With the exception of paragraphs 72-74, in which the Hebrew follows the order of events in I<sup>1</sup>, the transposed sequence of the remaining paragraphs corresponds

either to I<sup>2</sup> or is peculiar to the Hebrew. The following omissions occur in this division: Parts of paragraphs 48, 74 and 76 and the entire paragraph 75. The missing elements in paragraph 48 were most likely not included in the Hebrew text while the omissions in the other three paragraphs are probably due to imperfections in the Hebrew manuscript. In this division the Hebrew not only shows a decided preference for the order of events in I<sup>2</sup> but also incorporates most of the interpolations that are found in I<sup>2</sup>. These interpolations which generally follow S are found in 18 of the 25 paragraphs which are included in this division.<sup>25</sup>

In the second division the Hebrew generally follows the order of events in I<sup>2</sup> up to paragraph 100 except for the presence after paragraph 90 of paragraphs 109 and 110. Except for the latter two paragraphs, the material in the Latin from the middle of paragraph 100 up to and including the beginning of paragraph 123 is missing in the Hebrew. In addition to this lacuna which is due to imperfections in the Hebrew manuscript, omissions occur in the following paragraphs: 77, 87, 90, 99, 109, and 130. The elements missing in 77, 87, and 130 were most likely not included in the Hebrew text while the omissions in 90, 99, and 109 are probably due to imperfections in the Hebrew text. In this division, as in the first, the Hebrew not only follows the order of events in I<sup>2</sup> but also incorporates many of the interpolations that are found in I<sup>2</sup>. These interpolations which generally follow S are found in 16 of the 34 paragraphs which are included in this division.<sup>26</sup>

#### ADDITIONAL MATERIAL IN THE HEBREW TEXT

A comparison of the Hebrew and the Latin texts reveals passages in which the former includes material not found in the latter. While in some instances the Hebrew made use of other sources, the additional material represents in the main an expansion of the Latin. The author's individual treatment of various episodes in the narrative is the product of his own imaginative faculty and represents an elaboration which as a rule is germane to the context of the story.

In the passages containing elements from outside sources the author drew upon material found in the following works: *Yosippon*, *The Old French Prose Alexander Romance*,<sup>27</sup> and *Sefer Musere ha-Pilosofim*.

In the case of *Yosippon* we have found corresponding passages in six of the paragraphs of our text. In a few of these passages our text follows that of *Yosippon* almost verbatim and in others it follows with variations; in some it employs phraseology found in *Yosippon* even though in general content it corresponds to the Latin.

With reference to the *Old French Prose Alexander Romance* there are corresponding elements in ten of the paragraphs of our text. With the exception of two passages, these elements represent minor details in the narrative consisting of an additional sentence or phrase or of a proper name or number differing from or missing in the Latin.

As we have seen above, our author made extensive use of *Sefer Musere ha-Pilosofim* for the apothegmatic material which constitutes the second part of our text. He also included in Part One of our text a chapter which is taken from this work and which consists of a letter from Aristotle to Alexander.

We have collected the passages corresponding to material in the aforementioned three sources and have included them in Appendix I.

In addition to the material based upon other sources, our text also contains expansions and elaborations of various episodes found in the Latin. These elaborations reveal certain characteristics which may be described as follows: Material embellishment; rhetorical embellishment achieved through the use of similes, hyperbolism and the substitution of direct for indirect discourse; reiteration; anticipation of what is to follow in the narrative; explication in cases where the Latin leaves room for the reader's imagination; and Judaization through the insinuation of the author's religious views into the text of the narrative.

Examples illustrating the several kinds of elaboration and expansion will be found in Appendix II.

## STYLE

The text abounds in Biblical expressions and allusions, there being no less than sixty-five passages in it which incorporate verses or phrases from the Bible. The author introduces the Biblical material into the text in several ways. He makes use of it when the narrative suggests a parallel situation in the Bible. Thus, when Alexander succeeds Philip on the throne, the author puts into the mouths of the Macedonians the words spoken by the children of Israel to Joshua after he had succeeded Moses as leader of his people: "Whosoever he be that shall rebel against your command and shall not hearken unto your words in all that you shall command him, he shall be put to death; only be strong and of good courage."<sup>28</sup> When Darius asks Alexander to bury him after his death, the author employs the words used by Joseph in describing a similar request made of him by Jacob that he be buried "in the grave which I dug for myself."<sup>29</sup> When Clitomachus is honored by Alexander, the author has the crier proclaim the bestowal of this royal honor in the words spoken by Haman in announcing the conferring of royal honor upon Mordecai: "Thus shall it be done to a . . . man whom the king delights to honor."<sup>30</sup> When Alexander is about to die, the author draws upon the Biblical account of Jacob's death: "When he had done speaking, he drew up his feet into the bed, breathed his last and died, and was gathered to his people."<sup>31</sup>

In some instances the author's purpose seems to be to enhance the appeal of the narrative by introducing familiar quotations. Thus, after the death of Porus, Alexander promises the Indian soldiers freedom and security in words spoken by Micah: "And you shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree . . ."<sup>32</sup> When Dindimus informs Alexander that his people do not engage in warfare, the author employs a paraphrase of the well-known Biblical passage: "We have broken our swords and our spears to pieces and we do not learn war."<sup>33</sup> When Dindimus is discussing the nature of man, he utters the oft-quoted words from Genesis: "For the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth";<sup>34</sup> and when he condemns tyranny and the treachery which it breeds, he draws upon the words of Malachi: ". . . We

all have one father, and one God has created us; why then do we deal treacherously every man against his brother, profaning the covenant of our God?"<sup>35</sup>

The author has incorporated into the text many Biblical passages for their dramatic effect. In order to make the remarks of a defiant Persian soldier ring out with a bold flourish, the author couches them in the form which the Bible employs to express Sheba's defiance of David: "We have no portion in Alexander neither have we an inheritance in the son of Philip."<sup>36</sup> To describe the exhilarating effect of wine upon Alexander, the author introduces the appropriate words from the experience of Ahasueros: "When the heart of the king was merry with wine."<sup>37</sup> To provide a poignant expression for the effect of Olympias' rebuke of Antipater, the author employs the words used in the Bible in the case of Ahasueros' fateful reprimand of Haman: "As the words left the mouth of the queen, they covered Antipater's face."<sup>38</sup> In order to draw a word picture of a devastating hail storm, the author turns to the striking Biblical description: "... and hail and fire flashing continually in the midst of the hail."<sup>39</sup>

In some instances the author substitutes a well-known Biblical object or figure for the one found in the Latin. Thus when Darius tells his captains that he intends to dress Alexander, if captured, in a coat of purple and send him home to his mother, the author uses instead "a coat of many colors",<sup>40</sup> an allusion to Joseph's famous garment. When Nectanebus describes the god, Ammon, as having ram's horns, the author substitutes "the horns of Azazel,"<sup>41</sup> the mythical demon referred to in the Bible as dwelling in the wilderness. While the Latin simply states that Alexander was served at a banquet in the palace of Darius, the author introduces two well-known Biblical personalities, "the chief of the bakers and the chief of the butlers,"<sup>42</sup> to wait upon him.

#### DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE HEBREW AND LATIN VERSIONS

Differences between the Hebrew and the Latin versions are found with respect to numbers designating quantity, dimension.



and the duration of an event, and also in connection with elements of episodes in the narrative.

In the case of numbers there are at least thirty-seven instances in the text in which the Hebrew differs from the Latin. Differences are found in the numbers of troops, the size of a gift, the depth of a river, the amount of the spoils shared in by the soldiers, the duration of an encampment, the length of a battle, the figures on war casualties, the respective heights of Alexander and Porus, Alexander's age at the time of his death, the number of years he spent in warfare, the number of kings he vanquished, and the number of cities he built.

With reference to differences in elements of episodes in the narrative, we have already discussed those that are due to elaboration and expansion and to the introduction of material into the Hebrew text from outside sources.<sup>43</sup> As for the differences under discussion here, we have found that several of them reflect a variant reading of the Latin text as found in S (Codex Seitenstertensis, now Harvard University Ms. Lat. 121) or reveal the influence of the Greek or Syriac version of *Ps.-Call.* While we know that the Hebrew text is based on a mixed Latin text combining the I<sup>1</sup> and I<sup>2</sup> recensions of the *Historia de Preliis*, we do not, however, know which manuscripts in particular our author used. It is possible that the manuscripts upon which he based his translation may have contained material other than that found in the two Latin texts,<sup>44</sup> representing the I<sup>1</sup> and I<sup>2</sup> recensions, with which we have compared the Hebrew. This therefore might account for some of the differences. We have also found that some differences may be due to the author's misunderstanding or misreading of the Latin text and possibly to textual corruptions.

We have collected the differences in numbers and in the elements of episodes and have included them in Appendix III.

#### CHANGES MADE IN THE TEXT OF THE MANUSCRIPT

In the interest of a more readable text it was considered necessary to make a number of corrections in the Hebrew manuscript. Some of these corrections were suggested by the Latin and the other sources; some were indicated by the context of the

narrative, while others were required because of corruptions in the text of the manuscript. We did not, however, attempt to correct all the purely grammatical errors such as the wrong or inconsistent use of gender and number, or the superfluous use of the definite article or its omission. The changes may be classified as follows: 1. Corrections of evident scribal errors. 2. Emendations. 3. Additions. 4. Transpositions.

With the exception of the corrections of minor scribal errors, we have called attention to the changes made in the manuscript either in the notes or in the apparatus to the Hebrew text.

#### TRANSLITERATION OF LATIN NAMES AND TERMS

The Hebrew transliteration of proper names and terms is on the whole rather faithful to the Latin. There are, however, a number of distortions which may be due to scribal errors in the Hebrew manuscript, to corruptions in the Latin manuscript or manuscripts used by the author or to the misreading on his part of the Latin. In some cases the transliteration of the same name or term appears in various forms and spellings. No attempt was made to remove these inconsistencies. The different forms and spellings are included in a list which we have compiled of the transliterated names and terms and the Latin forms upon which they are based. This list, arranged in alphabetical order according to the Hebrew, is found in Appendix IV.

An examination of the transliterated names and terms reveals the following features: The sounding of the final *s* in some instances and its silence in others; the varying pronunciations of *c*, *x* and *z*; the interchange of consonants; syncope; the rendition of plural names by the ending *i* in the Hebrew; the dropping of the *h* at the beginning of some names; the rendition of the names of countries in the accepted Hebrew form in some cases and in the Latin form in others; and the presence of instances where the Hebrew transliteration is closer to the French, as found in the *Old French Prose Alexander Romance*, than to the Latin. A by-product of the transliteration is the light shed on the pronunciation of Latin in fourteenth-century France, the home of the author of our manuscript.

## THE MANUSCRIPT

The Hebrew manuscript is found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris as part of Ms. Hébreu 750. It occupies sixty-five folios, the numbering of which follows an irregular sequence. The account begins with folios 80–90<sup>v</sup> and continues thence with folios 24–79<sup>v</sup>. The folios are  $8\frac{3}{4}$  by  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches. According to the colophon, the copying of this manuscript was the work of two scribes: Ḥayyim and his grandfather Yehosef, “a student of the scribes, son of Daniel of the family of Mioniḳi.” The colophon states that Ḥayyim copied part of the manuscript and Yehosef the remainder. A marginal note found in folio 38<sup>v</sup> indicates that Ḥayyim copied up to line 8 of that folio.<sup>45</sup> Both Ḥayyim and Yehosef call attention to their names in the text of the manuscript in order to indicate that they were the copyists. Ḥayyim does this by adorning the word *ḥayyim* when it occurs in the text<sup>46</sup> or by singling out for adornment the individual letters of his name from among words in the text.<sup>47</sup> Yehosef follows the latter method.<sup>48</sup> In the colophon it is stated that the copying of the manuscript was completed in the month of Elul in the year 1428.

## APPARATUS TO THE HEBREW TEXT

The Hebrew text which is found in the latter part of this volume is the basis of the English translation. In comparing the account in Part I of the Hebrew text with that of the Latin as found in Zingerle, *Die Quellen zum Alexander des Rudolf von Ems*, and in Hilka, *Der Altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman*, we occasionally adopted the Latin reading for the sake of a more readable text. In that portion of Part I which contains Aristotle's letter to Alexander, derived from *Musere ha-Pilosophim*,<sup>49</sup> we have adopted various readings from among several manuscripts upon which Loewenthal's edition of *Musere ha-Pilosophim* is based. In Part II of the Hebrew text, which is based entirely upon *Musere ha-Pilosophim*, we have similarly adopted various readings from among the several manuscripts upon which the above-mentioned edition of the book is based. In Part III of the Hebrew text we

have incorporated readings from the chronicle in *Yosippon*, the chronicle in the Parma Ms. described above, and the *Chronicon* of Eusebius.

In two of the places where passages were omitted in the Hebrew manuscript, the omissions were filled in on the basis of the corresponding passages in the Latin source in order to orient the reader in the content of the narrative. Thus, the very first page of our Hebrew manuscript, corresponding to some of the material in the first paragraph of the Latin source, is missing. This material was translated and introduced within brackets at the beginning of our Hebrew and English texts. In another place, the material corresponding to paragraphs 107, 108 and part of 109 of the Latin source is missing in the Hebrew manuscript. In this instance a paraphrase of the Latin passage has been introduced within brackets in the Hebrew and English texts in the appropriate places.

Throughout our edition of the text wherever we adopted a reading other than that of the Hebrew manuscript, we recorded the reading of the Hebrew manuscript in the apparatus. Similarly, wherever the adopted reading was selected out of several possible sources, the particular source used is indicated in the apparatus. The sigla employed in the apparatus are as follows:

ⲙ = The Hebrew manuscript which is the subject of our study.

ⲛ = Zingerle, O., *Die Quellen zum Alexander des Rudolf von Ems, Germanistische Abhandlungen*, IV (Breslau, 1885).

ⲏ = Hilka, A., *Der altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman* (Halle, 1920).

Ⲑ = *Sefer Musere ha-Pilosofim*, ed. A. Loewenthal, (Frankfurt a. M., 1896).

ⲑ = M. in Loewenthal's *Musere* for Mss. München, 43, 210, 243.

Ⲓ = Br. in Loewenthal's *Musere* for Ms. Breslau, Saraval 19.

ⲓ = P. in Loewenthal's *Musere* for Ms. Paris 894.

Ⲕ = *Yosippon*, Mantua edition re-edited by Günzburg and Kahana (Berditschev, 1896-1913).

ⲕ = *Yosippon*, Venice edition, 1544, representing the Constantinople edition.

ⲓ=Chronicle in Ms. Cod. Heb. Bibl. I. B. de-Rossi, No. 1087, Parma.

ⲛ=Eusebius, *Chronicon*, II, Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XIX (1857).

[ ]=Addition.

( )=omission.

[     ]=different reading.

The explanation in Hebrew of the apparatus and the sigla is found immediately preceding the Hebrew text in this volume.

#### SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

We have sought to present a literal translation of the Hebrew, but in a few instances it was found necessary to resort to a free translation in order to convey the meaning of the text. To avoid repetition in translating the conjunction *waw* we have employed in addition to *and* such words as *but*, *thereupon*, *whereupon*, *then*, *in the meantime*, etc. . . . Where a proper name is repeated within a sentence or is found in the preceding or following sentence, the personal pronoun has been substituted. In a few instances, in order to avoid redundancy, a phrase consisting of two words with the same meaning was translated by one word in the English. In many instances the clause "and he answered . . . saying" or "the queen asked him . . . saying" was rendered as "and he answered" and "the queen asked him."

As indicated elsewhere in the Introduction, we have employed the paragraph numbering found in the Latin texts of the *Historia de Preliis* edited by Zingerle and Hilka.<sup>50</sup> Occasionally, however, we found it necessary in the English translation to subdivide some of the numbered paragraphs into smaller paragraphs without attempting to make these subdivisions always to correspond to the subdivisions in the Hebrew text. With reference to the many Biblical allusions found in the Hebrew text, their source has not as a rule been indicated in the notes because for the most part they are rather well-known. However, the source of those allusions which might not be easily recognized has been indicated.





The Book of the Gests of Alexander  
of Macedon



# The Book of the Gestes of Alexander of Macedon

## I

### [THE ALEXANDER ROMANCE]

[The<sup>1</sup> very wise Egyptians who knew the measurement of the earth, who ruled the waves of the sea and understood the order of the heavens . . . handed over this knowledge to the entire world by means of the loftiness of their teaching and their magical arts. It is said of Nectanebus, their king, that he was an ingenious man, proficient in astrology . . . and amply endowed with magical powers. When he was informed on a certain day that Artaxerxes, the king of the Persians, would come against him with a mighty hostile force, he did not arouse the army . . . but went instead alone into a chamber in his palace, took a bronze basin and poured rain-water in it. He held a bronze staff in his hand and by means of magical incantations . . . beheld and perceived in that water-filled basin fleets of ships that were coming against him. 1

At that time some generals had been assigned by Nectanebus to keep watch in various parts of Persia. A certain one of these came to him and said: "Most noble Nectanebus! Artaxerxes, the king of the Persians, is coming against you with a multitude of hostile troops recruited from very many nations . . . When Nectanebus heard this, he said with a smile: " . . . Your speech to me was not like that of a general but like that of a timid man. For power resides not in the multitude of people but in the fortitude of one's spirit . . . " After saying this he entered the chamber in his palace once again by himself and made little wax boats and placed them in the basin filled with rain-water. Holding in his hand a staff made of a palm branch and fixing his gaze on that basin with all his might, he began to chant an incantation and saw how the gods of the Egyptians were piloting the ships of the

barbarians. Whereupon he immediately changed his dress, shaved his head and beard, and took with him as much gold as he could carry as well as those objects that were necessary for astrology . . . and for the art of magic. He then fled secretly from Egypt to Pelusium and from there to Ethiopia. He clad himself in linen garments . . . and pretending he was an Egyptian soothsayer, he came to Macedonia and sat unrecognized in a public place where he engaged in divination] on behalf of anyone who approached him.\*

When the Egyptians saw that Nectanebus delayed his return to Egypt, they went to make supplication before their god whose name was Serapis. And they said: "Lo, our King, Nectanebus, has not returned, and we do not know what has befallen him." Whereupon Serapis answered them: "Nectanebus, your King, has fled from Egypt because of the Syrians who will come to wage war against you. Their king will rule over you. But after many days his [Nectanebus'] son, the issue of his loins, will return and deliver you from your enemies who will then become your subjects." Thereupon the Egyptians made a statue out of black stone in honor of Nectanebus and they inscribed on the pedestal of the statue the words of their god's reply to them. And Nectanebus remained in Macedonia unrecognized.\*\*

- 2 It came to pass when King Philip was away with his army that Nectanebus ascended the palace of the king to see the queen. When he saw that she was beautiful, lovely and radiant, he was filled with such a desire for her that his heart was almost consumed by the passion. He drew near to Queen Olympias, bowed and said: "God save you, O Queen." He refrained from addressing her as "my Mistress." The queen said to him: "Master and sage, draw near, I pray, and sit down." Nectanebus drew near to the queen and she asked him: "Are you from Egypt?" Nectanebus answered: "O Queen, you have spoken well. It is true that I am from Egypt where there are wise men who interpret dreams, understand the song of birds, know the hidden things and foretell the destinies of those who are born. I am expert and

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A\* picture of Nectanebus dressed in white garments, with his head and beard shaved."

\*\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of the Egyptians making supplication before their god and a picture of the statue of Nectanebus."

wise in these matters. My knowledge is like that of a prophet and my understanding encompasses all that I have mentioned." Nectanebus looked into the face of the queen with great desire. When the queen heard his words and saw that he stared at her, she said to him: "What were your thoughts about me when you stared at me?" Nectanebus answered: "I remember the beautiful words of the gods who told me that I would look into the face of Queen Olympias."

While saying these things, he drew forth from his bosom 3 some tablets of copper, mixed with silver and gold, upon which there were three circles. In the first one were engraved the twelve houses of heaven, in the second the twelve animals of the zodiac, and in the third the sun and the moon. Afterwards he opened an ivory box and drew from it seven shining stars and seven figured stones corresponding to the seven planets. When Olympias beheld these wonders, she said: "O master, if you wish me to believe all that you show me, then tell me the year, the day and the hour of King Philip's birth." When Nectanebus heard her words, he made his calculations by means of astrology and magic and told her the year, the day and the hour of King Philip's birth. When he had completed his work, he said to the queen: "If you wish to hear anything else, please ask." Whereupon the queen said: "Tell me what will become of me and of King Philip. For I have heard it said that when King Philip returns from the army, he will put me aside and take another wife." Nectanebus answered: "O Queen, the report is false and without truth as far as the present is concerned. Indeed, this will happen some years from now but not in the immediate future. However, in the end he will take you for a wife as in the beginning." Whereupon the queen said: "O master, I beseech you, tell me the truth." Nectanebus answered: "One of the gods will lie with you." And she said to him: "Which god will lie with me?" Nectanebus answered: "His name is the great Ammon. He is delightful, wonderful and makes men rich." Whereupon she said to him: "Describe his form and appearance. If your words come true, we shall honor you." Nectanebus answered: "He is neither a youth nor an old man; he is middle aged. He has the horns of Azazel\* and his beard is white. You will see him in a dream, and

in that dream he will lie with you." The queen said: "If this proves to be true, then I shall pray before you not as a prophet or as a seer but as a god."\*

Nectanebus went forth from the queen, saying: "Remain in peace." He went to a waste place outside of the city where he gathered herbs and ground them. Then he engaged in divination and muttered incantations in order that Queen Olympias might see that which he had recounted to her. It came to pass at night that the queen saw the god Ammon lying with her. While he lay with her, he said: "My Mistress, the Queen, from a god have you conceived the one who will redeem you."

- 4 The queen awoke and was very happy. It came to pass in the morning watch that she rose from her bed and ordered that Nectanebus be brought before her. When Nectanebus came, she spoke with him, telling him all that she had seen in the dream. Nectanebus said: "If you will give me a place in your palace, I shall reveal to you even further the truth of this matter. The truth is that this god will come to you again in the form of a dragon and afterwards he will appear in the form of a man." To which the queen said: "You have spoken well. Whenever you wish, you may come and stay in my palace. If I find this to be true, you shall be a father to him [who will be born]." The queen ordered her servants to give him a place in her bed-chamber, and they set up a bed near the queen's bed. It came to pass in the evening that Nectanebus began his work of divination by means of the arts practised by the devils. He transformed himself into a dragon, went over to the queen's bed and entered it. He embraced her and lay with her during that night. When he rose from the bed, he placed his hand on her womb and said: "O Queen, the fruit of your conception will be victorious. He who is born of you shall not be humbled before any man." Thus was Queen Olympias deceived, for she lay with a man and thought that her intercourse was with the god Ammon. In the morning Nectanebus rose from his bed in the form of a dragon and descended from the palace. The queen remained in bed pregnant. When it came to

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Nectanebus engaged in divination before the queen."

pass in the period of her pregnancy that her stomach swelled visibly, she ordered that Nectanebus be brought before her. Then she said to him: "What will King Philip say about me when he returns from the army?" Nectanebus answered, saying: "O Queen, do not be afraid. The god Ammon will for my sake help you in whatever you may desire. King Philip will not be able to speak ill of you. Strengthen yourself, therefore, because I have spoken the truth to you."\*

After these things Nectanebus left the palace and went outside of the city. He gathered herbs, ground them and took their juice. Then he seized a sea-calf and began to mutter incantations over the herbs and the juice, employing the art of magic in order that the god Ammon might appear in a dream to King Philip.

It came to pass at night that King Philip had a dream in which the god Ammon was lying with Queen Olympias, his wife, and was saying: "Lo, you will conceive and give birth to a son who will redeem you and Philip his father." After the intercourse Philip saw a golden ring lying in the bosom of the queen. In that ring there was a stone on which was engraved the head of a lion, the sun in its course and a knife. When King Philip awoke, he ordered that his soothsayer<sup>4</sup> be called before him. When the soothsayer came before the king, he related to him the dream which he had dreamed. The soothsayer then said to the king: "My lord, the King! Know in truth that your wife is with child, not by a man, however, but by the god Ammon. As for the head of the lion and the sun in its course, this is their interpretation: The boy who will be born to the queen will be powerful and wise and will vanquish mighty kings. He will capture cities and will extend his rule into the East. He will subject all the peoples to forced labor for tribute."

After these things King Philip ordered all his commanders, 6  
horsemen and troops to go forth and wage war against his enemies. He went forth with his army, fought with his enemies, conquered them and subjected them to forced labor for tribute. When

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Nectanebus, transformed into the dragon, lying with the queen."

he was in the thick of the battle, he saw a dragon walking before him, slaying all his enemies.\*

Philip departed from the army and came to Macedonia. He went to his chamber in the palace, and the queen came before him. The king took hold of her, embraced and kissed her with great passion. Then he said to her: "My mistress, so lovely and wise! Unto whom did you give yourself, Olympias? Have you sinned in what you have done? In truth you have not sinned because it was forced upon you by a god and not by a man. I have seen in a dream all that you have done. Therefore I cannot say anything to you."

7 He took her by the hand and both of them sat down at their table to eat. All the commanders and horsemen ate and drank with them. Meanwhile Nectanebus went up to Philip's palace and entered the dining hall in the form of a dragon, moving and crying with great rage. All those who were eating with the king and queen grew pale. Then the dragon approached the queen, laid his head in her lap and kissed her. Whereupon the king said: "I have seen this creature, O Queen Olympias, and I say this to you, my commanders and horsemen: I saw this dragon when I was at war with my enemies, and he walked before me slaying all our enemies."\*\*

8 It came to pass after a few days while King Philip was sitting in his bed-chamber that a bird came and sat in his lap. It laid an egg which fell to the ground and broke. Out of it came a little serpent which crawled around the egg in order to enter it as in the beginning. However, when it put its head inside the egg, it died. Seeing this the king became frightened and trembled exceedingly. He ordered that the soothsayer be called before him. When the soothsayer arrived, the king showed him the broken egg and the serpent which had come out of it and told him all that had happened. Whereupon the soothsayer said: "My lord, the King, a son will be born unto you who will rule after your death,

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of King Philip and of the dragon slaying his enemies."

\*\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of the king and queen and the horsemen eating and drinking, and of the dragon coming forth and kissing the queen."

and before he returns to the land of his birth he will travel around the entire world.”\*

It came to pass that when her days to be delivered were fulfilled, the queen became ill and was seized with labor-pains. She ordered that Nectanebus be called before her and said to him: “I am ill and am seized with labor-pains.” Nectanebus made his astrological calculations and said to the queen: “Rise a little from your seat because the elements have been transformed by the power of the sun.” The queen rose, rested a little and the pains left her. Afterwards he said to her: “Sit down in your place.” The queen sat down for a little while and then gave birth to a son. When the boy fell to the ground, the earth trembled and lightning and thunder and great and wondrous heavenly lights filled the entire universe. The day grew black and there was darkness, and hail fell from the heavens.<sup>5</sup>

The king trembled exceedingly and was very much terrified, and in his fright he went to the queen and said to her: “My mistress, I had been harboring the thought that this boy should not be permitted to live and that he should therefore not be allowed to be weaned and to grow since he was not born of me. Now, however, I think that he was born of a god because I have seen these lights and portents and because the elements have been transformed. I shall therefore order that the child should be permitted to live and to be weaned so that he may remain as a memorial after me. I shall love him as my own son.” And he named him Alexander.\*\*

It came to pass afterwards that the lad Alexander was with the servants of the king and they loved him. In appearance Alexander did not resemble King Philip or Queen Olympias. The hair of his head was like the lion’s. His eyes were large and bright but were not alike; one was black and the other red. His teeth were sharp like those of the wolf and his chest was like the breast of the lion. While he was at school, he would enter into

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: “A picture of the king telling the soothsayer all that had happened to him.”

\*\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: “A picture of Alexander when he was born and of the king coming before the queen.”

contests with his fellow students and would surpass them both in studies and in strength.

- 12 When he was twelve years old, he was able to ride by himself and was learning the art of warfare. As his father's commanders and horsemen did, so did he. When King Philip observed his strength and his power, he was very pleased with him and said: "My son, Alexander, I love your mighty deeds and your ingenuity but I am grieved because you do not resemble me in figure and in appearance." When the queen heard the words of the king, she was very much worried. She sent for Nectanebus and said to him: "Tell me the truth. What is King Philip thinking of doing with me, for he said to Alexander: 'My son, I love your power and your ingenuity but I am worried because your figure and appearance are not like mine.'" Nectanebus answered: "O Queen, the thoughts in King Philip's heart are proper toward you for I see the sun shining opposite to a certain star."<sup>6</sup>

- 13 Alexander listened and heard his words, and said: "Father,<sup>7</sup> is this star visible in the heavens? Can you show it to me?" Nectanebus said: "Come with me outside of the city and I shall show it to you." Then Alexander said: "Do you know how you will die?" And Nectanebus said: "Yes, my son." Whereupon Alexander said: "It is a great thing to know how long you will live and in what manner death will overtake you." And Nectanebus said to Alexander: "My dear son, I have but one son and he will kill me." Afterwards Nectanebus went down from the palace and went outside of the city at night. Alexander followed him and both of them came to the edge of a ditch which was near the city wall.<sup>8</sup> Nectanebus said: "My son, Alexander, look at the stars in the heavens and behold a certain star whose light has grown dim. Mercury is shining and Jupiter is shining very brightly." While Nectanebus was gazing at the stars, Alexander drew near to him, pushed him and threw him into the ditch, and said: "Thus shall you die, old man. Did you know this? Then why did you wish to know the secrets of the heavens and their constellations?" Nectanebus answered: "I knew all that would happen to me. Did I not tell you that my son would kill me?" Then Alexander said: "Am I really your son?" Nectanebus said to Alexander: "You are really my son and out of my



loins have you come." When Nectanebus said these things, Alexander's heart yearned for his father. He descended into the ditch but when he drew near, he found him dead. Alexander took him, placed him on his shoulder and brought him into the palace. When Queen Olympias saw her son, Alexander, carrying the corpse of Nectanebus, she cried out and said: "What have you done?" Alexander answered: "Mother, how did you give yourself to him for his pleasure?" And the queen said: "It was not of my own free will."\*

In those days there was a prince in Cappadocia who sent a horse as a gift to King Philip. The horse was a colt, untamed and untrained, large and very handsome. It was bound and tied with iron chains and fetters. It ate only human flesh. The name of the horse was Bucephalus. Its head was as round as a circle and it appeared as though precious stones protruded from its forehead and from the back of its head. When King Philip beheld how beautiful the horse was, he was filled with great astonishment at its beauty. He ordered that his servants should make an iron stall and place the horse in it, and that those men who were condemned to death should enter the stall and serve as food for the horse.\*\* 14

After these things King Philip was told in a dream that the man who rode the horse would rule over his kingdom after his death. Therefore he sat safely on his throne, thinking that the man who would reign after him would be wise and mighty.

When Alexander was fifteen years old, he was strong and mighty, wiser than all the boys of his age and well acquainted with the books of Aristotle. It came to pass one day that Alexander passed by the horse's place, and he looked up and saw the horse. It was locked up in an iron stall and in front of it were some hands and feet that were left over from its meal. He was greatly astounded. He put his hand inside the stall, and the horse stretched forth its neck, rested its head in Alexander's hands and stooped down. When the horse withdrew its head from the hands 15

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Alexander throwing Nectanebus into the ditch as he gazed at the stars and of his carrying him on his shoulder to his mother."

\*\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of the men leading the horse to King Philip as a gift."

of Alexander, it looked into his face. Alexander understood what the horse wanted. He opened the door, entered and placed his right hand gently on its shoulder. Then the horse, Bucephalus, recognized Alexander as its master even as the dog recognizes its master when it sees him.

16 Alexander rode the horse and passed through the city. When King Philip beheld Alexander riding the horse Bucephalus, he rejoiced and said: "My son, Alexander, I know in truth that you will reign after my death." And Alexander answered: "By this shall I know that you intend to do this on my behalf. Do me the kindness, I pray, and permit me to ascend the chariot." The king said: "Even this thing shall I do for you; only be strong and take with you one hundred horsemen and forty thousand talents of gold and go forth against your enemies. Do everything which I have commanded you to do and then you will prosper in your ways." Alexander listened to the command of the king. Then he went and ascended the chariot and took with him many precious things and much gold, and he came with his horsemen to the Peloponnesus.\*

17 When King Nicolaus heard that Alexander had come to his country, he became very angry and went forth with a great army to wage war against him. When Nicolaus reached the place where Alexander had encamped, he called out to Alexander and said: "Who are you, and what is there between me and you that you have come to wage war in my country?" Whereupon Alexander answered: "I am Alexander, the son of King Philip of Macedonia." Then Nicolaus said: "You know who I am, do you not?" And Alexander said: "I know that you are Nicolaus. However, do not exalt yourself and let not your heart be filled with arrogance because of your power and might. Do you not know that the great man is brought low and the lowly man is lifted up?" And Nicolaus answered, saying: "You have spoken the truth. However, give thought to the words which have issued from your mouth and tell me the truth: Why have you come to this country?" Alexander answered: "You already know

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Alexander riding the horse and ascending the chariot, sword in hand."

the truth, namely, that there is no issue between us. I shall merely cross through your land in order to reach my destination." When King Nicolaus heard Alexander's words, he became very angry and said: "To whom am I speaking? By my father's peace! If I were to spit in his face with force, he would die." While he was saying these things, he spat in Alexander's face and said: "Take this, you foolish young man, for honor is not seemly for a fool. Why were you not ashamed to speak with arrogance? You brought all this upon yourself."\*

Alexander conquered his impulse wisely and said to Nicolaus: "By the peace of my father and mother! The two of us shall fight one another. If you prevail and smite me, we shall become your subjects; but if I prevail, you and your men will become our subjects and serve us." To which Nicolaus answered: "So shall your judgment be; you yourself have decided it." Then both of them agreed to fight on an appointed day. Alexander departed, returned to Macedonia and related to King Philip all that had happened to him; and Nicolaus returned to his palace. The day of the battle arrived. Alexander left Macedonia, came to the place of battle and pitched his tent first; and Nicolaus also came with his army. When the trumpets were sounded, they joined battle and the fighting raged fiercely and furiously. Nicolaus' men were smitten before Alexander and Nicolaus turned his back to flee. Alexander, however, pursued him, seized and struck him and cut off his head.\*\*

Having won the battle, Alexander seized the cities, and all of Nicolaus' soldiers and horsemen swore allegiance to him and made him king over them. Thereupon Alexander returned to Philip with great honor.

Alexander found Philip dining with his new wife; for while he was away at war, Philip had put aside his wife Olympias, Alexander's mother, and had married the daughter of another man, her name being Cleopatra. When Alexander came before Philip, he bowed down and said to him: "Father, accept from me the

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Nicolaus spitting in Alexander's face."

\*\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Alexander fighting with King Nicolaus and slaying him."

crown of victory in my first battle. And now, when can I remove my mother's shame?" There was a man there, Lysias by name, who said to the king: "Cleopatra will bear you a son in your own image and likeness and he will reign after you." When Alexander heard Lysias' words, he became very angry and sprang upon Lysias with wrath and struck him on the head with a staff which was in his hand<sup>9</sup> and killed him. When King Philip saw what Alexander had done, he was greatly vexed. He rose from his throne and ran at Alexander, sword in hand. However, King Philip fell to the ground and his sword fell from his hand. Alexander said: "King Philip, why do you not rise? What caused you to become so aroused that you felt impelled to run after me in order to strike me with your sword?"<sup>10</sup> King Philip remained silent and said not a word in answer. After a few days Philip took to his bed and Alexander, his son, went to visit him and he said: "O King Philip, I know that it is not fitting or proper to call you by name. However, I shall not speak to you as son to father but as friend to friend. And now tell me, father, have you acted justly toward your wife and my mother, Olympias, whom you have put aside? Why did you commit such an evil? As for the slaying of Lysias, you did not examine and investigate the matter. I know that you will admit to the truth, namely that I did the right thing when I slew him. Yet you ran after me in anger, sword in hand, in order to strike me. Were it not for the compassion of my Creator as a result of which you failed to overtake me, I would have perished." Alexander wept bitterly. When Philip heard Alexander's words, his compassion was kindled and he wept and said to Alexander: "Go and bring her to me, and do as is fitting in your eyes." Alexander washed his face and went out. He restrained himself, left the palace and went to speak with Olympias his mother. He said to her: "Do not worry and do not harbor any thoughts in your heart concerning what he has done to you because it is the way of the entire world for a man to rule over his wife. Arise now, make haste and come with me." He took her by the hand and they both went to King Philip. When King Philip saw Queen Olympias, he embraced her with great desire.

19 After these things the messengers of King Darius came to

King Philip and asked him for the tribute. When Alexander saw Darius' messengers, he said to them: "Go tell Darius, the Emperor, that Alexander, the son of King Philip, said thus: 'For a long period in his life Philip did not have a son. He had instead a hen that laid golden eggs. When it came to pass, however, that a son was born to him, the hen ceased to lay for all time.' " When the messengers of Darius heard Alexander, they looked at one another in astonishment because of his wisdom and his words. The messengers returned to Darius and told him all that had happened to them.\*

After these things King Philip was informed that the people of Armenia had rebelled against him. Whereupon Philip assembled his entire army against Armenia and Alexander came forth to battle against them. They joined battle and the Armenians were smitten before Alexander and fled. Alexander slew many of them, scored a victory and subjected them to forced labor for tribute under King Philip as in the beginning. 20

In those days there was a king in the land of Bithynia<sup>11</sup> whose name was Pausanias. Although this king was mighty and strong, he paid tribute to King Philip year after year. For a long time Pausanias had coveted Queen Olympias, the mother of Alexander. Pausanias rebelled against King Philip, gathered many horsemen and a large army and invaded Macedonia. When King Philip heard that Pausanias had transgressed and rebelled against him and had invaded his country, he was filled with anguish and his heart was sorely grieved. He went forth to meet him with a small number of men because he had sent his army with Alexander to fight against his enemies. Pausanias' men fought against Philip's men and defeated them. Philip turned his back in flight, but Pausanias pursued him, struck him and stretched him out on the ground. He did not die immediately. However, he was benumbed and was like a corpse lying in the field. The entire kingdom of Macedonia trembled because they thought that King Philip had been slain. Pausanias marched into Macedonia<sup>12</sup> like a mighty hero who had been victorious in battle over his enemies. He

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of King Philip when the messengers came to ask him for the tribute and of Alexander answering them."

came into the palace of Olympias in order to take her by force and bring her with him to his country. The queen fled before him, ascended the tower and locked the door behind her.

When Alexander returned from Armenia with great honor and with great riches, he found all the people of his kingdom grieving and mourning over King Philip. Looking out from the distance and recognizing her son, the queen cried out and said: "Save me, my son Alexander, and avenge your father. Where is your might, my son?" When Pausanias heard the cry of the queen, he descended from the palace and went forth with his horsemen to meet Alexander in battle. When Alexander saw Pausanias coming toward him with his sword drawn, a sword which reeked with the blood of the many he had slain, he ran at him, struck and killed him and cut off his head.\*

Then Alexander was told that Philip had been smitten and wounded and that he was lying like a corpse in the field but was still alive. Alexander's heart yearned for him and he wept bitterly. King Philip opened his eyes, recognized Alexander and said: "Alexander, my son, I am happy when I behold your face because I know that you will take vengeance for me." King Philip sighed and said to Alexander: "Be strong my son, wage wars and avenge your father." When Alexander heard the words of the king, he wept and said: "O father, be strong because I have taken vengeance for you from those who rose up against you. I have slain him [Pausanias] and he is lying dead in the field." And Philip said: "Alexander, draw near, I pray, and kiss me, my son." Alexander drew near and embraced and kissed him. Philip breathed his last and died in the arms of Alexander. Alexander wept over him in the bitterness of his soul. Then he returned to his palace and ordered that the king be buried with great honor.\*\*

21 When the days of weeping and mourning had passed and Alex-

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Pausanias as he fought with King Philip and wounded him mortally. A picture of Pausanias as he went to take the queen by force. A picture of Alexander as he fought with Pausanias and cut off his head."

\*\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of king Philip dead."

ander was comforted, he issued a proclamation throughout the whole of his kingdom that all the people should assemble before him in order to inaugurate a new reign in the kingdom. When all the people of the kingdom had assembled, Alexander sat on the royal throne in Macedonia, blessed the people and spoke to them, saying: "Macedonians and Greeks, do not fear your enemies for God will give me strength to save you from the hands of your enemies, and they shall become our subjects and pay us tribute. If it be your will that I should rule over you in accordance with the command of Philip, my father, then let me know your opinion; but if you do not wish me to reign after him, then choose today another man who will rule over you and save you from your enemies." The people all rejoiced, shouted with exultation, clapped their hands and said: "Long live the King! Long live the King!" Then Alexander said to all the people: "Now that you have chosen me to be king over you, equip yourselves with whatever you may need, take along provisions for the journey and let us go forth to battle against our enemies." And all the people answered together and said: "O King Alexander, for many years we fought against our enemies under the command of King Philip but now our strength is diminished and we are no longer able to endure war. Therefore may you deem it proper to transfer the yoke of war to our youths because they are better able to bear it than we." Alexander answered and said: "Such a thing ought not to be done. You have not spoken what is right. Since you are wise and are expert in war from your youth, it is better for me to be with you in battle than with the young men who will hold to their views even though they lack understanding and wisdom and have not been tested in warfare." The men looked at one another in astonishment upon hearing Alexander's words, and they blessed him in a loud voice. Then they said: "Whosoever he be that shall rebel against your command and shall not hearken unto your words in all that you shall command him, he shall be put to death; only be strong and of good courage." And the people returned each man to his home.\*

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Alexander speaking to the people."

Thereafter all the people, old and young, obeyed the command of Alexander.

22 Then Alexander gathered a very large army and set out for Italy. When he came to Chalcedon, he pitched his tents there and waged war against the Chalcedonians. The Chalcedonians fled before Alexander and ascended the wall. Alexander said to them: "Why did you ascend the wall? Go forth to battle and we shall fight. If you do not wish to fight with us, then obey my command so that you may live and not die. You shall be our subjects and serve us." The Chalcedonians obeyed the command of Alexander, and he came inside the city and subjected them to forced labor for tribute. Then the people of the city swore allegiance to him. Alexander departed thence with his troops and they marched to the sea-coast in order to cross over into Italy. Having heard of Alexander's fame, the Roman counselors trembled exceedingly. They took counsel together and sent a gift to Alexander: six thousand dishes of gold, their weight being six hundred pounds,<sup>13</sup> and six thousand golden crowns. The Roman messengers arrived, brought the gift to Alexander and bowed down before him. Alexander received them with joy. They implored him not to cross over to wage war against them and not to destroy their land. Alexander fulfilled their request.\*

23 Alexander and all his troops embarked on ships and crossed over into Africa. He humbled the pride of Africa and subjected it to forced labor for tribute. Alexander departed from there and crossed over to one of the islands in order to worship the god Ammon. While he was on the road leading up to the temple, he chanced upon a stag. Alexander ordered his horsemen to bend their bows and shoot their arrows, but they were unable to hit it. Whereupon Alexander bent his bow, hit the stag and killed it.<sup>14</sup> Alexander then said to his horsemen: "You have seen what I have done; then do you likewise. Observe what I do and do the same." From that day on the horsemen began to bend their bows and shoot their arrows, and in this manner they gained experience.

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of the Roman messengers bringing the gift to Alexander."



Alexander went into the temple to worship the god Ammon and he offered up a sacrifice before him.\*

Alexander departed thence and came to a place called 24  
Taphosiris. In that region there were fifteen cities and twelve rivers which emptied into the sea. There was a temple there but its gates were closed. He offered up sacrifices to the gods and implored them to answer all the questions which he should ask. It came to pass during the night that Alexander saw the god Serapis in a dream . . .<sup>15</sup>

Then he departed from there and went to Damascus. He 26  
captured Sidon, subdued it and subjected it to forced labor for tribute. He departed thence and came to a city called Tyre and pitched his tents there.

Alexander<sup>16</sup> sent messengers to Jerusalem with a letter whose contents were as follows: "Alexander, the son of King Philip, to Onias,<sup>17</sup> the Priest, and to all the priests in Jerusalem, greetings! Let it be known to you that I, Alexander, have encamped with all my soldiers and horsemen in the great city of Tyre. Send us now provisions and all the various supplies that are required by the men who are serving in my army. Send us also the tribute because it is better for you to serve us and pay us the tribute than to pay it to Darius, King of Persia." The people of Jerusalem in reply to Alexander said to his messengers: "Thus shall you say to Alexander: 'The Jews of Jerusalem have sworn unto Darius, King of Persia, not to give aid, counsel or arms to any other king except with his permission. It is therefore not proper for us to violate the covenant which we have made between us.' "

The messengers returned to Alexander and brought back word 27  
to him, telling him all that the people of Jerusalem had said. Alexander became very angry and said: "When I come to Jerusalem, I shall wreak vengeance on them until they are destroyed. Their land will become waste and desolate, and no one will ever mention their name again." It came to pass that Alexander had a dream during the night. He dreamt that in his hands there were clusters

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Alexander striking and killing the stag, on his way to worship the god Ammon."

of grapes which he threw to the ground in anger. Then he trod upon them, causing wine to issue. When he awoke from his sleep, he ordered that the soothsayer be called. The latter came and said to him: "My lord, the King, know verily that this is the interpretation of the dream. The grapes which were in your hands represent the city which you will capture and even as you threw them to the ground, so shall you break down the walls of the city and cause them to fall to the ground. The wine which came forth when you trod upon the grapes represents the blood of the people who will be killed and slaughtered in the city." When Alexander heard the interpretation of the dream and what it foretold, he ordered his army to lay siege to the city of Tyre and to fight with violence. He besieged it and captured it. His men went up into the city, each man against his adversary, slew its people and broke down its walls. Alexander also captured two other cities and razed them to their foundations. He departed from there and set out in anger for Jerusalem.

- 28 When the people of Jerusalem heard that Alexander was coming to wage war against them, they trembled exceedingly. Onias the Priest assembled all the people of Jerusalem and said to them: "Go and fast. Do not eat or drink for three days, night or day. Let us return unto the Lord and pray unto Him. He will save us from the hands of Alexander and his army." They offered up sacrifices and prayed before the Lord, the great and the awesome One. The Lord heard their prayer and gave thought to them and delivered them from their distress.

It came to pass that Alexander and all his forces arrived at a camping ground on the road and encamped there. During the night while he was lying in bed in his tent, he lifted up his eyes and beheld a man dressed in fine linen standing over him. His sword was drawn and its appearance was like a flash of lightning on a rainy day. He raised his sword above Alexander's head and Alexander was seized with great fear and said to him: "Wherefore should my lord strike his servant?" The man said: "The Lord has sent me to conquer great and mighty kings before you. I am the one who walks before you to help you. Know now that you will die because your heart has emboldened you to go up to Jerusalem to do harm to the priests of the Lord and to His

people." Alexander answered: "Forgive, I pray, the transgression of your servant.<sup>18</sup> Oh my lord, if it displeases you, I shall turn back." The man said to him: "Do not fear, I have forgiven you. Arise and go forth to Jerusalem. When you come to the city, you will see a man dressed in fine linen like myself who resembles me in appearance. You shall quickly prostrate yourself and bow down before him. You shall do everything that he tells you to do. Do not disobey his orders for on the day that you do, you shall surely die." Alexander went forth to go up to Jerusalem.

During the night the Lord appeared to Onias, the High Priest, and said to him: "Thus shall you speak to the people of Jerusalem: 'Dread not, neither be afraid of Alexander. Open the gate of the city.' And you shall change your dress and put on your priestly vestments. You shall then go forth to meet Alexander together with the priests and the people of Jerusalem, all dressed in white garments." When the [High] Priest awoke, he summoned the priests and the people, told them of the dream which he had seen and ordered them to do all that he had been commanded to do.

The [High] Priest and all the priests and the people went forth even as Onias had been commanded. They came to a place called Scopulum.<sup>19</sup> This was a high place from which Jerusalem and the Temple could be seen. They took their stand there, waiting for Alexander to come unto them. When Alexander approached them, he beheld a spectacle of great splendor: The people were dressed in white garments, the priests wore their priestly vestments and the [High] Priest was attired in a robe of pure, white linen and on his head was the crown of holiness upon which was inscribed the revered and awesome name of the Lord. Alexander ordered that none of his men should approach or dare to confront them. Alexander went up to them alone. He descended from the chariot, knelt on his knees and bowed down before the High Priest. He blessed the Lord and said to Onias: "What does my lord command his servant?" When they beheld this, the priests and all the people of Jerusalem rejoiced. Some of them wept from great joy. The people lifted up their voices, blessed Alexander, clapped hands and said: "Long live the King! Long live the King!" Alexander became confused at their shouting and was greatly astonished.

The kings who were standing near Alexander were enraged when they saw him bow down before the [High] Priest. One of the king's commanders, Parmenion by name, became envious and said to him: "O great and victorious King, what have you done? I am astonished when I consider the person to whom you have bowed down. While all the kings and peoples bow down to you and extol and praise you, you have gone and bowed down to a man who does not even possess the strength to oppose you in battle." To which Alexander replied: "Do not be astonished for I have bowed down not to a man but to the Lord. In a vision at night as I lay in bed inside my tent I beheld a man who resembled this one in appearance and in dress. He said to me: 'When you go to Asia, you will conquer it and you will completely subdue the pride of Persia.' In all the places that we have been, I have not yet seen anyone who resembles him in appearance, in form and in dress. However, the man whom I saw in the vision at night resembles this man and he is the one who walks before me to subdue the kings and the peoples. And thus did the man whom I saw command me: 'When you behold a man dressed in linen garments who resembles me in form and appearance, you shall immediately prostrate yourself and bow down before him. Do everything that he commands you to do and do not disobey his orders.' When I beheld this man, I recalled the vision which I had and therefore bowed down before him. When he passes before me, I shall with the aid of my Creator subdue King Darius and the pride of Persia. I shall conquer the cities and the peoples and prosper wherever I go and achieve whatever I desire."

Afterwards, Alexander together with the [High] Priest and the priests came into Jerusalem and entered the temple of the Lord. The [High] Priest showed him the temple, the courts, the treasures,<sup>20</sup> the vestibule, the place of the Holy of Holies, the place of the altar and the place of the burnt offering. Then Alexander said to the Priests: "I shall erect a memorial for myself in this temple. I shall give the craftsmen an abundance of gold so that they may make a statue of me and erect it in the temple before the Holy of Holies. My statue shall be a memorial in this great House of the Lord." Onias however said to Alexander: "Contribute the gold which your lips offered for the sustenance of the priests of the

Lord and the poor of His people who come to worship Him in this temple. I shall make a better memorial for you than you have suggested. All the children who will be born to the priests this year throughout Judea and Jerusalem will be called by your name, Alexander. You will thus be remembered whenever they come to perform their service in this temple. It is not permitted to accept a graven image or figure in the House of God."

Alexander agreed that this should be done and gave him the gold. He asked the [High] Priest to inquire of the Lord on his behalf whether he should go forth to battle against Darius or whether he should desist. Whereupon the [High] Priest said to him: "Go, for he will surely be delivered into your hands." The priests brought before him the Book of Daniel and showed him the passage that dealt with the ram which was butting in all directions and the shaggy he-goat which ran upon the ram and trampled it to the ground. The [High Priest] said: "You are the shaggy he-goat which ran upon the ram and Darius is the ram. You will trample upon him and take his kingdom." And the [High] Priest encouraged him to go forth against Darius. When Alexander heard the interpretation of the vision, he rejoiced greatly and gave gifts to all the priests. He said to them: "Request many gifts of me and ask me for presents and they shall be granted." Thereupon they asked him, saying: "Grant us our petition and may our request be fulfilled. We shall know that we have found favor in your eyes in this way: All the Jews who live in Babylonia, in Media and in whatever place you may come and establish your rule shall be exempt from taxes and shall be free to observe the laws of their religion as they wish."<sup>21</sup> Alexander ordered that these things be written down in a book so that they would not be forgotten and would serve as a reminder that everything that had been requested was to be done. Alexander also recorded in books and in letters a description of the nocturnal vision in which he saw the angel and of the [High] Priest's conversation with him. He sent these to Macedonia and to Rome. Then Alexander departed from Jerusalem.\*

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Alexander bowing down before Onias the High Priest."

29 At that time some men fled out of Tyre<sup>22</sup> from Alexander and came to King Darius in Persia. They spoke with him and related all that they encountered at the hands of Alexander. When Darius heard their words, he asked them to describe his figure and appearance. The men from Tyre took a tablet, drew an image of Alexander and brought it to Darius. When Darius saw the figure, he expressed contempt and scorn because of its smallness.\*

It came to pass afterwards that Darius took a ball and a rod with a curved top, which is called "zocani" in Greek. These were intended for Alexander so that he might play with them after the manner of boys. Darius placed them in a golden box, enclosed a letter and sent them to Alexander. These were the words of the letter which King Darius sent to Alexander: "Darius, King of kings, to my servant Alexander, greetings. Let it be known unto you that I have received reports that you intend to come to our country to wage war and that a very small band of idle and worthless fellows has gathered about you. How will you be able to oppose us in war? Even if you could assemble all the men in the world and all the peoples on earth, you would not be able to wage war against us and against the Persians who are as the sand on the sea-shore and the stars in heaven in multitude. Therefore I command you to turn away from your thoughts and your waywardness. Retrace your steps and return home. Behold, I am sending you a ball and a rod with a curved top so that you may play with them after the manner of boys. I am also sending you a golden box because you are a poor and indigent lad. In Persia, however, there is gold in such abundance that its brightness surpasses the light of the sun. Indeed the sun is put to shame by its splendor. Therefore turn away from your thoughts and your folly and from the aid of the devils in whom you trust."

30 The messengers came to Alexander and brought him the letter, the ball, the rod and the box. He ordered that the letter be read before all his commanders and servants. When his com-

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of the men from Tyre drawing the figure of Alexander before Darius."

manders heard the words of the letter, they were indignant and very angry. When Alexander looked at the faces of his commanders and horsemen and saw their sad and distorted expression, he said to them: "My commanders and horsemen, why are your faces sad and why are you incensed over the words of this letter? Do not be distressed or angry. Do you not know that the dog which barks a great deal and whets its tongue has no strength? Be of good courage and let us prove strong! We shall go forth against them and it will be reckoned to us as bravery. Let us not lose heart because of the words of this dog. We shall wage war against him with wisdom and with skill."

Alexander ordered that the messengers of Darius be seized and hanged on the gallows. The messengers however cried out and said: "Our lord, the King! What is our offense and our sin that you have ordered your men to do evil to us? It is not fitting for a king like yourself to do such things." Whereupon Alexander answered and said: "The words of your king incited me to do evil to you." To which they replied: "Our king did not know of your greatness and wisdom. However, we who have heard and seen your wisdom and your superior virtues shall be able to tell everything.<sup>23</sup> Permit us now to return to our country and to our homes." Alexander listened to them and acceded to their request. He ordered that food, drink and gifts should be given to them and that no harm or evil should be done them. The horsemen who served Alexander fulfilled his command. They set the table and gave them food and drink. While they were eating and drinking, they said to Alexander: "If it shall seem good to you, O King, then give us one thousand horsemen and we shall deliver Darius into your hands." Whereupon Alexander replied: "Far be it from me to do such a thing, to shed innocent blood. Eat and drink and may it go well with you. I do not want to give you even one of my horsemen to surrender your king."\*

On the next day Alexander ordered that the following reply be sent to Darius: "Alexander, son of King Philip of Macedonia, to 31

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Alexander and of the messengers of Darius bringing him the letter, the rod, the ball and the box."

Darius, the Emperor, greetings. Let it be known to you that we have received the letter, the rod, the ball and the box from the hands of your messengers. I have read the letter and it seemed to me that it was not fitting, proper or right for a great king like you to say such things. Indeed you should have been apprehensive. For we have learned from our forefathers and have observed in our own day that a small and despised man may sit upon the throne of a great and powerful king. The time will yet come when the wheel of fortune will turn. If you, a great and powerful king, come to fight against us and win the war, we shall then no longer be able to stand before you. However, in vanquishing me, you will have defeated according to your own words a lowly and despised man. If on the other hand I shall vanquish you, I shall win great honor for having defeated a great and powerful king like you. If, as you said, I am poor and indigent, a time will yet come when I shall grow rich from your kingdom. The ball and the rod which you sent so that I may play with them after the manner of boys constitute a good omen. The ball signifies that I shall rule over the entire world. The rod with the curved top is a sign that all the kings on earth will bow down before me and be subservient to me, while the golden box means that they will all send me gifts. And you, O mighty King, have begun to pay me tribute by sending me the golden box." The messengers of Darius were called before Alexander. He gave them gifts, placed the letter in their hands and sent them to Darius their lord.

- 32 When Darius read the letter, he became very angry and sent a letter to Antiochus and to all his commanders. These were the words of the letter: "Darius, King of Persia, to Antiochus and to all his commanders, greetings. Let it be known unto you that we have heard that Alexander, son of King Philip of Macedonia, has in his folly invaded Asia, conquered it and slain its people. Asia is now subject to him. I command you as men who are brave, noble, honorable, wise and valorous to set out quickly and lie in wait for him on the road. Seize him alive and bring him to me, and I shall chastise him as one chastises a boy. I shall dress him in a coat of many colors and send him to Olympias, his mother, in Macedonia. Indeed he is not a warrior; he is a boy and should remain with the boys and play with them."



When Antiochus and Darius' commanders read the letter, 33 they sent him this reply: "Antiochus and all his commanders to Darius, King of Persia, greetings. Let it be known to you that we received your letter and have read it. Concerning the boy whom you have ordered us to seize and send to you, know in truth that we assembled a large army and fought a violent battle with him but were defeated and fled from him to the interior of the cities. Even as you are asking us for aid, so do we also seek aid and counsel from you. As for your saying that you intend to dress the boy in a coat of many colors, know that he seized the city of Tyre, destroyed it and slew its people because they had made a covenant with us."

While Darius was reading Antiochus' letter, a messenger 34 came and said to him: "Alexander and all his troops are encamped on the bank of the river called Granicus." Whereupon Darius ordered that a letter be written and sent to Alexander. These were the words of the letter: "Darius, King of Persia, to my servant, Alexander, greetings. Lo, I command you to refrain from crossing over into my country lest I go forth to meet you with the sword. All the kings of the East pay tribute to me and exalt and praise my name. What has entered your mind that you should cross the seas, the rivers, and the mountains in order to oppose me? I know that you have not acted wisely in this entire matter. Indeed you will earn great distinction if you are able to hold on to the kingdom of Macedonia and save it from my hands. You have become arrogant, and together with your men you have captured cities, destroyed them, broken down their walls and slain their people. Considering the evil that you have done, you should turn back and hide yourself from us lest all the wicked deeds which you have committed from the very beginning to this day come rolling back upon you. We are more numerous and mightier than you and we rule the entire world. What entitles you to receive letters from a king as great as I am? Moreover, when you received my letters, you expressed scorn and contempt for them. Lo, I desire and intend to show you my power and my might. I am sending you some poppyseeds. If you can count them, then you will also be able to count the people of Persia as well as my servants and soldiers. I shall now give you some

sound advice. Turn back and let it never enter your mind to repeat the things which you have done."

- 35 The messengers of Darius came to Alexander with the letter and the poppyseeds. Alexander ordered that the letter be read. Then he placed his hand in the bag containing the poppyseeds, took some, put them in his mouth and ate them. He said: "I see that the people are very numerous. However, they are weak and lack strength as is the case with this seed." While he was saying these things, messengers arrived and said: "Lo, Queen Olympias your mother has become ill and wishes to see you. She has ordered us, saying: Go to Alexander my son, and say to him: Make great haste, do not delay and come to me because I desire to see your face before I die." When Alexander heard this, he wept for it grieved him to his heart. However, he ordered that a reply be sent to Darius, and these were the words of the letter: "Alexander, son of Queen Olympias, to Darius, King of Persia, greetings. Let it be known to you that I have received your letter. You sent instructions for us to turn back and go home. Lo, I am notifying you that I shall not turn back out of fear or dread of you or because of your power and might. However, I find it absolutely imperative to return home to my mother not to kiss her bosom and suck her breasts after the manner of boys but because she has become ill and has taken to bed. She has bidden me, yea she has ordered me to come to her. With the aid of my Creator, however, I shall return quickly to your country to fight against you. I have received the poppyseeds which you sent and have eaten of them. They were as sweet as honey in my mouth. Lo, I am sending you some pepper in return for them. It is a small amount and is meant to inform you that the strength of the pepper will overcome the abundance of the poppyseeds which represent your people whose numbers cannot be counted." The messengers of Darius were then called before Alexander. He presented them with gifts, gave them the letter and the pepper and sent them to Darius.

Alexander departed thence with all his troops in order to return to Macedonia.

- 36 It came to pass at that time that the general in command of Darius' troops was in Arabia with a large and mighty army. The

general's name was Amonta. When he heard that Alexander and his army had departed, he came forth to meet Alexander in battle. Both armies encamped opposite one another and passed the night in their camps. In the morning the sign of battle was given, the trumpets were blown and they engaged in combat. The battle lasted three days. They did not rest or pause even at night. The blood which flowed from the slain and the wounded covered the earth and was like an overflowing stream. Darius' men fell in vast numbers and were routed before Alexander because he fought violently, leaping upon the Persians like a lion upon its prey. When Amonta saw that his warriors and horsemen had fallen, he turned his back in flight and escaped. He made his way to Persia and came before Darius. When he arrived, the messengers who had returned from their mission to Alexander were still in the presence of Darius and were reading Alexander's letter before him. King Darius asked the messengers what King Alexander had done with the poppyseeds. They told him that he had eaten some of them and that as he ate he said: "The Persians are many in number but are weak, and like the poppyseeds possess no strength." Then Darius took some of the pepper which Alexander had sent him, ate of it and said: "His people are very small in number but are strong like this pepper." Whereupon Amonta said: "My lord, the King, it is true that Alexander's men are a few in number but they are very strong. There is no one who can stand before them. We fought with them, were defeated and fled. We did not cease fighting for three days, night and day, but we could not prevail against them. Most of our warriors and men were slain."

When Alexander won the battle, his spirit was not exalted 37 with pride nor did arrogance find place in his heart. He ordered his horsemen to bury the slain among the Persians and Macedonians.\*

Alexander departed thence with all his troops and they came to Cilicia where there were many cities that paid tribute to King Alexander. Alexander took fifteen thousand soldiers from that country. He departed thence and came to the land of the Isaurians.

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Alexander fighting with Amonta, the general in command of Darius' army, and of his putting him to flight."

He fought with them and subjected them to forced labor for tribute. He departed thence and came to Persepolis,<sup>24</sup> the place of the nine Muses. He vanquished the people of Persepolis and made them subject to him. He took some horsemen from among them and came to Asia which he conquered and subjected to forced labor for tribute. He gathered many horsemen and came to Phrygia. There he entered the temple of the sun and offered up sacrifices. He departed thence and came to the shore of the Scamander River. That river was fifteen cubits deep. Alexander said to the people who were standing there: "Happy are you who enjoy the blessing of the Lord." One of the men whose name was Cletomedus replied and said to Alexander: "We could relate greater and more wonderful things about you and your heroic exploits. Indeed you have performed deeds which surpassed in might those that were performed by the men who besieged Troy. You have prospered through your mighty deeds. You have been victorious in wars and have humbled and subdued all the cities and men who opposed you from the very beginning to this day." To which Alexander replied: "Would that I were a disciple of Homer rather than the recipient of the kind of praise which was conferred upon Achilles."

- 38 Alexander departed thence and arrived with all his troops in Macedonia where he found his mother Olympias restored to health and out of bed. Alexander rejoiced with her for several days. Then he left Macedonia with his troops and set out for Persia. He came to a city called Abdira, and he and his troops pitched their tents and encamped near the entrance of the city. When the people of Abdira saw Alexander, they closed the gates of the city and fought with Alexander from off the wall. He offered them peace and said to them: "Come out and make peace with me. Do what I command and let us have peace ere I destroy the city and send you into exile. Let not Darius beguile you by saying: 'Fight against Alexander. Be strong and of good courage until I come and drive him away from you.'" However the people of Abdira answered him: "We cannot come forth to do what you command because we have made a covenant with Darius and we shall not violate our covenant. If it seems right to you, then grant us a respite of a few days so that we may send and

inquire whether he intends to come and save us from your hands." Alexander became angry at these words and ordered his horsemen to kindle a fire and burn down the gates of the city. When the people of Abdira saw the fire, they were seized with fear and terror. They said to Alexander: "Our lord, the King! Know assuredly that we did not shut the gates of the city in order to rebel and fight against you and your people. We were truly afraid that King Darius, upon hearing that we had submitted to your command, would send his commanders and horsemen to destroy the city." Whereupon Alexander replied and said to them: "Open the gates of the city and do as I command for Darius would not think of coming to wage war against you. He will not destroy the city nor will he make a full end of you for I shall save you from the hands of all the enemies who may rise up against you." When the people of Abdira heard the words of Alexander, they opened the gates of the city and did what he commanded. Alexander then said to them: "When I return after smiting Darius, I shall come again and talk with you."

Alexander departed thence and went to Chaldeopolis. He came to the shore of a river called Xenis. Alexander's men were hungry for bread and they cried out, saying: "It would have been better for us to die in our own country than die of hunger together with our cattle." When Alexander saw that his men were murmuring because they were hungry, he prayed to the Lord and offered up sacrifices before Him. The Lord listened to his prayer and ordained food for them; and they ate and were satisfied. Then the horsemen cried out and said: "Lo, our horses and camels will die of hunger. What shall we do for them?" Whereupon Alexander replied and said to them: "My mighty soldiers and horsemen! If our horses should die, what is there that we can do for them? Shall we cease fighting our enemies? But if we should die, of what use will the horses be? Therefore we would do well to go and find a place where we and our cattle can rest, and we shall eat, drink and rejoice." He departed thence and came to a place called Lucrus where they found food and drink. They remained there several days. He departed thence and came to a place called Tragachantes, and he encamped there. In that place Alexander found a temple of Apollo, and he desired to offer up a

sacrifice in the temple. However, one of the priests of the temple whose name was Zacora said to Alexander: "This is not the time to offer up a sacrifice." On the following day Alexander came into the temple and offered up sacrifices. The god Apollo called to Alexander and said: "Hercules." Alexander replied and said: "Apollo, why did you call me Hercules? I see that your oracular power has been destroyed."

- 39 Alexander departed thence and came to a city called Thebes, and he pitched his tent there. He made a request of the people of the city, saying: "Help me out by giving me four hundred horses." When the Thebans heard Alexander's command, they closed the gates of the city. Some four thousand of their men climbed up on the wall and called out to Alexander, saying to him: "If you do not withdraw from us, we shall go forth to battle against you." Alexander laughed and made jest of their words and said to them: "Why did you shut the gates of the city and then say that you want to fight with us? Know assuredly that I shall not depart from you until I conquer the city and subdue it. If you desire to fight with us, do not lock yourselves inside the city like virgins in their chambers. Men who are brave soldiers do not lock themselves inside the city. On the contrary, they come out to fight with the people who besiege them. Indeed, it is better for you to come out and fight and die on the field of battle than to die of hunger and thirst inside a city which is under siege and is in distress. It will then be reckoned to you as bravery." After these things Alexander ordered a thousand archers to surround the city and shoot at the men who were on the wall. He ordered a thousand horsemen to dig up the foundations of the city. While the archers were shooting their arrows, other men were burning the gates of the city. Finally the soldiers entered the city, each one against his adversary, and captured it.

Among Alexander's men there was one who despised and hated the people of that city. His name was Stisichorus. He rejoiced very much when he beheld the demolition of the homes, the destruction of the city and the slaughter of its people. Among the inhabitants of the city was a man whose name was Hismenea. When he beheld Stisichorus rejoicing over the destruction of the city, he left it and went and fell at the feet of Alexander. He

lifted up his voice in a tender lament and wept. He besought him not to destroy the city but to have compassion upon it. He implored him not to listen to his counselors of evil. Alexander said to him: "After witnessing the demolition of the wall, do you come begging before me?" Hismenea, however, answered: "Why do you not spare the city and show compassion for it especially since your father was of this city and was born in it?" Alexander was greatly incensed at his words and ordered that the city be destroyed and razed to its very foundations. Alexander then departed from there. In the meantime a commander from Thebes, Clitomachus by name, followed him together with those Thebans who had survived the slaughter and had been saved from the hands of Alexander. They came to the Temple of Apollo where they offered up sacrifices and prayed to Apollo. Apollo replied and said: "The man who wins in three contests shall rebuild the city of Thebes. After these victories he will be granted permission by Alexander to rebuild the city, and he shall maintain it in security and peace."

Alexander went to a city called Corinth. Its inhabitants entreated Alexander to join with them at a chariot contest in which the horsemen were to compete. A very large number of people had gathered to witness the contest. Alexander said: "Let the horsemen rise and compete before us." Then he added: "Who will volunteer to enter the contest first?" Whereupon Clitomachus said: "My lord, the King! I have already sworn to be one of the first to compete if it pleases your majesty." Alexander answered: "Rise and enter the contest." Clitomachus competed in three contests and won in all of them. Alexander then ordered that Clitomachus be crowned. He had him ride in his chariot and ordered the herald to proclaim before him: "Thus shall it be done to a mighty and victorious man whom the king delights to honor." The herald asked Clitomachus his name. He answered: "My name is: a man without a city." Whereupon Alexander said: "Mighty and victorious man, how can you say that you are or that your name is: a man without a city? It is not fitting for a valiant man like you to be without a city and without dominion." Clitomachus answered: "My lord, the King! Before your coming I had both city and dominion, but after your coming I had neither 40

city nor dominion." Alexander understood the meaning of his words and realized that everything that he had said referred to the city of Thebes. Whereupon Alexander said to him: "Go, build up the city of Thebes and rule over it as you see fit."\*

- 46     <sup>25</sup>Alexander departed thence and came to the land of the barbarians. When Darius heard that Alexander had come, he trembled exceedingly. He gathered all his commanders and wise men and took counsel with them. He said: "I see now that this Alexander is a man who has prospered and has been victorious in battles from his youth. Yet I believed him to be a worthless fellow. I ridiculed his exploits, mocked him and regarded him as a mad prophet. Now we shall have to submit to him and refrain from acting arrogantly toward him as we did in the past. He is a discerning and wise man and a warrior from his youth. I sent him a ball and a rod with a curved top so that he might play with them after the manner of boys. When he saw them, he accepted and regarded them as symbols of his majesty and sovereignty. His spirit became more imperious than mine even though I rule over the kingdom of Persia. Now give your advice and counsel here. What shall we do to this man who has annihilated our men and destroyed our land? Let us turn to our Creator for help. If the word has gone forth from the Lord to make him ruler over the kingdom of Persia, we shall be able to do nothing except submit to the will of our Creator."

While he was talking in this manner, his brother said: "I am very much astonished at the King and the princes. How could you harbor the thought that Alexander would come and conquer the kingdom of Persia? Now if it seems right to the King, the governors, the prefects and the cavalry officers and if you wish the kingdom of Persia to continue to enjoy prosperity and peace, then act as Alexander has acted. The king who wishes to wage war against another king does not send his commanders to fight without him while he remains in his bed-chamber in order to embrace his wife and lie between her thighs. Indeed he himself goes forth, passes in front of his commanders and leads them in battle. In

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of the brave Clitomachus winning three victories. A picture of Clitomachus, with a crown on his head, riding on a horse."



that way he lends strength to his commanders and horsemen." Whereupon Darius replied and said: "According to your words I shall have to learn from his actions and not he from mine." At which point another spoke, saying: "My lord, the King, Alexander is skillful and wise and yet he does all that his princes, sages and advisers counsel him. He does not insist on his own opinion even though his strength is like that of the lion." To this Darius retorted: "How do you know all this?" And he said: "My lord, the King, when King Philip was alive you sent me to Macedonia to ask him for the tribute, but he refused to give it. Moreover, Alexander gave us his reply, and it was then that I became aware of his wisdom and intelligence. This therefore is what we should do in his case. If it seems right to you, let the King appoint officers in all the provinces of his kingdom and let your commanders, horsemen and warriors be gathered unto you. Let all the men of valor and every man armed for war come equipped and ready to march. When Alexander beholds the multitude [of the subject nations under] Persia and the might of those foreign-speaking soldiers and the splendor of your horsemen, he and all his troops will be afraid and will tremble." Whereupon one of the commanders said: "You have spoken and counselled well. However, do you not know that one dog can chase many animals away? In similar manner the wisdom of the Greeks can triumph over multitudes of people."

Alexander<sup>28</sup> departed thence and came to the land of Armenia 48  
Major. He conquered it and subjected it to forced labor for tribute. It came to pass after many days that he came to a place where there was no drinking water, and the people were very thirsty. He departed thence and came to a place called Andriaci. Adjoining it was a river. He encamped and pitched his tent on the shore of the river and ordered his troops to obtain an abundance of logs from large trees. He bound them together with iron chains and constructed a large, wide bridge which spanned the river from shore to shore. Then he ordered his horsemen and commanders to move on to the bridge and cross the river first. The commanders and horsemen, however, were afraid to cross over on the bridge because the waters of the river were very turbulent. They feared that the bridge might collapse and that

they would be thrown into the river and drown. When Alexander saw that the horsemen were afraid to cross, he ordered the men who did not count for much, that is, the keepers of the beasts and the cattle, to cross over first. The horsemen crossed after them but with great dread for they were afraid that the horses might slip on the logs and fall. Finally, Alexander and the rest of the troops crossed over after them.

60 Alexander<sup>27</sup> departed thence and directed his march toward Persia. He came to a city called Persepolis where he and all his troops encamped and pitched their tents. He besieged the city for many days, captured it and subjected it to forced labor for tribute. He acted in this manner in the case of every city which had a covenant with Darius. Afterwards<sup>28</sup> Alexander took counsel with his commanders and horsemen and spoke in their hearing saying: "Is there to be found among us one who will volunteer to go to King Darius and learn whether he intends to come forth to fight against us or to submit to our command?" It came to pass that night that Alexander saw the god Ammon in the likeness of Mercury. He was carrying a robe on his shoulder which resembled the royal robe of Macedonia. He said to him: "Take my robe. Behold, I am ready to help you at all times. As for the messenger that you intend to send to Darius, do not send him. Indeed it is my desire and my will to endow you with my appearance and my form, and you shall go and speak with him. I know that it is difficult for a man like you to go on such a mission. However, fear not and be not dismayed for I shall help you, and you will suffer no adversity." Alexander awoke from his sleep and recalling the dream that he had, he felt very happy. He summoned his advisers and said to them: "Give me your advice concerning the dream which I had." They replied and said: "Our lord, the King, do as you see fit and in accordance with that which you saw in the dream." Alexander then summoned Eumilo, his general, who was a brave man and was faithful to him and ordered that he accompany him. Alexander and the general departed from the place of the encampment and arrived at the Tigris River. They found the river frozen and covered with frost. Alexander took the robe which had been given to him and crossed the river, leaving his general on the other side. His

general, however, cried out after him and said: "My lord, the King, allow me to cross over with you for I would rather die than have anything adverse happen to you." Alexander replied and said to him: "Wait and remain there with the horses until I return to you. The man whom I saw in the dream will accompany me and will be of help to me as spokesman and intercessor." As for the above-mentioned river, the ice would melt in the heat of the day and the water would become very turbulent. At sunset, however, the water would freeze and the river would revert to its previous state.

Alexander arrived in Persia alone. All those who saw him 61  
marveled at his figure and appearance and thought he was a god. The people of the city inquired of him concerning his princes and his country. He replied and said: "I am a messenger of Alexander." At that time Darius was traveling through the towns situated in the mountains which surrounded his country to assemble a large army in order to wage war against Alexander. When Darius returned to the city and found Alexander, he questioned him and brought him into the palace. He marveled exceedingly at him and thought that his appearance resembled that of the god Apollo. Darius said to him: "Who are you and whence do you come?" Alexander answered: "I am a messenger of Alexander who ordered me, saying: Go to Darius, speak to him and say: Thus said Alexander: Why have you delayed to go forth to battle against me? Lo, you are acting like a trembling and fearful man. Either you go forth to battle against me or else submit to my command and send me the tribute as do the kings of the East." Darius replied and said to him: "Are you Alexander that you speak so arrogantly? You do not speak like a messenger. Now go and return to Alexander and tell him that I pay no attention to his words and that I am not afraid of him." Darius ordered the overseer of his palace, saying: "Go, bring the man into the palace, slaughter an animal and prepare the meat for this man shall dine with me at noon. I shall repay Alexander for the manner in which he treated my messengers." Darius took Alexander by the right hand and brought him into a chamber. He showed him all his treasure house with its precious things: the silver, the gold and the vessels. He also showed him the dining

hall. Meanwhile, Alexander was thinking to himself, saying: "This is a favorable omen. The time will yet come when this palace will be mine for the king has taken me by the right hand."

62 Then Darius and Alexander left the chamber and entered the dining hall. Darius sat down to eat together with all his commanders. Alexander also sat with them. The service at dinner was in vessels of silver and gold, and the dining hall was bedecked with drapes which were adorned with precious stones. All of Darius' commanders kept staring at Alexander's figure, ridiculing and mocking him because he was short of stature. However, they were not aware of his cunning, bravery and wisdom. The chief of the bakers and the chief of the butlers, following Darius' instructions, served Alexander's meal in plates, dishes and flagons made of gold.<sup>29</sup> The chief of the butlers approached Alexander and served him his drink. Alexander drank and after he had finished drinking, he put the goblet in his bosom. This he did three times. Observing what Alexander had done, the chief of the butlers approached Darius and informed him, saying: "Thus did the messenger of Alexander." Darius called to Alexander and said: "O Macedonian, why have you committed this shameful act of putting the vessels in your bosom? Is this what is done in your kingdom?" Alexander replied: "Such is the custom ordained by our king, namely, that all who drink from his vessels shall put them in their bosom." All the commanders were amazed and said: "It is a great thing and a good custom."

63 Among Darius' commanders there was one whose name was Anepolis. For a long time Darius had sent him to King Philip in Macedonia to collect the tribute from him. Anepolis looked at Alexander and recognized him from his appearance, voice and conversation. He thought to himself, saying: "I saw this man in the palace of King Philip when I was in Macedonia to ask King Philip for the tribute. It seems to me that this is Alexander himself." He rose from his place, approached Darius and said: "My lord, the King, this man who has come to you from Alexander is Alexander himself." Alexander looked at the faces of the commanders and recognized from the whispering which passed among them that they were talking about him. He rose from his place and descended from the palace. He en-

countered a Persian with a wax taper in his hand. Alexander snatched the taper from his hand and mounted a horse which happened to be there. He rode away, taper in hand, and left the city behind him. When the Persians saw this, they shouted after him: "Seize him." The horsemen mounted their horses and pursued him. When evening fell, Alexander had come into the midst of a forest. Of the men who pursued him, some were thrown against trees and were accidentally hanged. Some stumbled into ditches and pits as a result of which many died while others suffered broken ribs, arms and legs.

Darius was sitting in his palace in silence, bewildered and astonished at the crafty manner in which Alexander had come to Persia alone. He lifted his eyes and saw a golden statue on the royal throne. It was there for a short time and then fell to the ground and broke. When Darius saw the statue falling, he was grieved and said: "This is a sign of the destruction of my kingdom."\*

After his escape from Darius' commanders, Alexander rode on and arrived at the bank of the Tigris River on the following day. He found that the river was frozen.

On the morrow Alexander assembled all his troops, went up to a high place and spoke in the hearing of the people. He encouraged them, saying: "My commanders, horsemen and brave soldiers! Do not fear or be in dread of the Persians because we are more numerous than they. Even if, God forbid, they were one hundred times as many as we are, we would still have no cause to fear them. The spiders are few while the flies are many but the flies cannot withstand the spiders." Whereupon all the people rejoiced and clapped hands and said: "Long live the King! Long live the King!" 64

It came to pass<sup>30</sup> afterwards that Darius assembled an army 49<sup>1</sup> which was as the sand on the sea-shore in multitude and he appointed five of his princes as its generals. He arrived with all his troops at the Tigris River and they pitched their tents

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of King Darius seeing the statue falling to the ground and breaking. A picture of King Darius sitting and eating with Alexander. A picture of King Alexander fleeing from the Persians with a wax taper in his hand."

nearby. On the following day Darius' commanders crossed the river and came on to the field to fight against Alexander. Alexander received the following report: "Lo, Darius and all his troops are encamped at the Tigris River. His commanders have crossed the river and have taken their position in the field." Thereupon Alexander and all his troops advanced to that place and encamped opposite their adversaries. The battle raged furiously. Neither side gave way to the other for they fought violently. However, when evening fell, Darius' men were routed before Alexander and they turned their backs and fled. A very large number had fallen among the Persians. When the barbarians saw their brothers falling in the field like sheaves before the reaper, they trembled exceedingly and also turned their backs and fled. Alexander offered up sacrifices to the gods and ordered that the slain be buried.\*

50 When<sup>31</sup> Darius heard that Alexander had defeated his commanders and had slain a great multitude among his soldiers, he was sorely grieved. Thereupon he assembled another army of 260,000 foot-soldiers. Alexander's men numbered 32,000 foot-soldiers and 13,600 horsemen. Then Darius and all his troops crossed the river, marched to the field and advanced to the place of battle. Both armies were arrayed opposite each other. The trumpets were blown and they joined battle. Many fell on both sides because the fighting was very violent. When Darius saw his people falling in the field, he turned his back and fled. In that battle there fell among Darius' troops 40,000 men who drew the sword while 120 horsemen and 800 foot-soldiers fell among Alexander's troops on that day. Thereafter Alexander set up camp in the field. He offered up sacrifices to the gods and ordered that the slain among the Persians and the Macedonians be buried. He sent all the wounded to the surrounding cities so that they might be healed.\*\*

55 Afterwards Alexander sent letters to all the provinces of his kingdom, and these were the words of the letter which Alexander

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Alexander pursuing King Darius."

\*\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Alexander fighting with Darius' commanders."

sent to his governors: "Alexander, the son of King Philip and the son of Queen Olympias, to all my commanders and warriors who are stationed in Syria, Cappadocia, Cilicia, Paphlagonia and Arabia and to all the people of my kingdom, greetings! Let it be known to you that I have fought with Darius, King of Persia, and have defeated and driven him from the battlefield. I am therefore issuing this order: Make haste and collect one thousand garments made of animal skins as well as one thousand embroidered skins and send them to me in Antioch where they will be ready for my horsemen to wear. I am sending you camels which will transport the skins to me at the Euphrates River."

After escaping from Alexander, Darius came to a city called 57 Persepolis. He sent a letter to Porus, King of India, requesting him to come to his aid. Porus, King of India, replied, and these were the words of the letter which King Porus sent to King Darius: "Porus, King of India, to Darius, King of Persia, greetings! Let it be known to you that we have received your letter. With regard to the request for aid which you sent to us, I am prepared to fulfil your wishes. I and all the people of my kingdom are grieved over the evil which has befallen you at the hands of Alexander and are distressed over all your trouble. I am sending you some of my horsemen and warriors who will be of help to you."

Afterwards Alexander received the following report: "Lo, 47 Darius has assembled a large army and intends to come to Mount Taurus. He will lie in wait for you on the way to attack and terrify you and all your troops." When Alexander heard all these things, he departed thence with all his troops, crossed the river and, on the strength of that report, marched seventy miles in one day. Alexander felt hot and perspired very freely. He wanted to bathe in the river because of the excessive heat and perspiration. The name of the river was Cidnus<sup>32</sup> and its water was very cold. Alexander bathed in the river and was seized with fever. He felt pain in all his limbs, and it was but a step between him and death.

When the Macedonians saw that Alexander was ill, they were frightened and dismayed and very fearful. They said: "When Darius hears that Alexander is ill, he will come to battle against us and will slay us." Alexander ordered that Philip, the

physician, be brought before him. He was a handsome young man, skilled in the art of medicine and pleasing in the eyes of Alexander. He said to Alexander: "I want to give you some medicine to drink and you shall, with the aid of the Creator, be cured."

Among those who were present there was a prince who ruled over Armenia. His name was Parmenion. This man was hostile to Philip, the physician, and hated him because he had observed that Alexander had for a long time loved him. He sent a letter to Alexander which read as follows: "Take heed and be on your guard against Philip's remedies. Do not drink his medicine because he will betray you. King Darius has vowed to give him his daughter in marriage if he kills you."

Alexander read the letter and kept it in his hand. He said nothing to the physician because he had found him to be faithful and pleasing. Philip took the medicine, brought it to Alexander and placed it in his hand. Alexander took it in one hand and held the letter in the other. The physician looked at Alexander and said: "My lord, the King, drink and do not be afraid of the medicine for it contains an effective remedy." Whereupon Alexander drank the medicine.\*

After Alexander had drunk the medicine, he placed the letter in the hand of Philip, the physician. Philip read it and was overcome with terror and trembling. He wept and said: "My lord, the King, I am not guilty of the crime ascribed to me in this letter." Whereupon Alexander said to him: "Come near to me, please." Philip drew near and fell at his feet. Alexander took him by the hand, embraced and kissed him and said: "Behold the love which I bear you. I drank from the cup of medicine before I showed you the letter. I placed my life in your hands after my commanders had slandered you. I did not believe their words. Know that this is due to my great love and affection for you." Then Philip replied and said: "My lord, the King, let my humble plea, I pray, come before you. Issue an order that the man who sent the letter be brought before you, and let the truth be proved.

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Alexander drinking the drug from the hand of Philip the physician."



If I am found guilty of sin, then put me to death. However, if I am not found guilty of sin, then you shall surely repay the man in accordance with the act which he has committed. His mischief shall return upon his own head and his violence shall come down upon his own pate for having brought an evil report against an innocent man." Alexander ordered that Parmenion, the sender of the letter, be brought before him. Parmenion came before Alexander and sought to beguile him with his words. Alexander recognized that it was out of his hatred for Philip, the physician, that he had brought the evil report against him. He ordered that his head be cut off because he had slandered an innocent man.\*

It<sup>33</sup> came to pass afterwards that Darius assembled a great 49<sup>2</sup> army consisting of 300,000 foot-soldiers and 100,000 horsemen. Then he came on to the field and moved toward Alexander in order to engage in battle. Both armies drew near and were arrayed opposite one another for battle. The trumpets were blown and an alarm was sounded. The sign of battle was given and they charged at each other. The battle raged furiously without cease from morning until evening. A great multitude fell among the Persians. When Darius saw that his warriors had fallen in the field, he turned his back to flee but Alexander pursued him. Darius was smitten and wounded in that battle. The number of the slain among the Persians on that day was 30,000 foot-soldiers and 10,000 horsemen. Moreover, 40,000 of them were captured alive. Among Alexander's men 150 fell on that day. On the slain among the Persians was found an abundance of gold, precious stones and silken garments. Darius' mother, sister, wife and daughter were captured and were brought before Alexander.\*\*

Then Alexander sent some of his horsemen to destroy Darius' ships which were in the harbor. His horsemen arrived at the harbor and found Darius' ships there. They smashed them to

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Alexander issuing the order to cut off Parmenion's head."

\*\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Alexander pursuing Darius. A picture of Darius' mother, wife, sister and daughter coming before Alexander."

pieces and scattered them over the sea in all directions. Indeed not even one of them was left.

Among the Persians who engaged in the aforementioned battle there was one who was mighty, brave and trained in warfare from his youth. Darius said to him: "If you will smite Alexander and take off his head, I shall bestow great riches upon you and shall give you my daughter in marriage." Whereupon the man disguised himself with cunning. He put on a Macedonian uniform and went and mingled with Alexander's men. When the battle grew violent, he advanced upon Alexander, drew his sword, struck Alexander on the head and split his iron helmet. Alexander was wounded slightly in the head. After seeing what that man had done, Alexander's horsemen, out of zeal for the welfare of their king, ran after him. They seized him and brought him before Alexander. Whereupon Alexander said: "O Macedonian, why have you done such an evil thing?" And the man answered: "My lord, the King, do not take me to be a Macedonian. I am a Persian and I have vowed unto the king to take off your head and bring it to him. And Darius said to me: 'If you will do this for me, I shall give you my daughter in marriage.' I have done as he has commanded; now I am in your hands. Do unto me as you see fit." Alexander summoned all his commanders, horsemen and warriors, placed the man before them and said: "What judgment shall be passed on this man?" Whereupon they all answered: "He is guilty of death because he has raised his hand against the king." However, Alexander replied: "My commanders and horsemen, the advice which you have given and the sentence which you have proposed are not good. Just consider and observe what this man has done. He has placed his life in jeopardy in order to fulfill the desire of his lord. Therefore take a lesson from him and be zealous for the welfare of your king. When he goes forth to fight with his enemies, help him and it will be counted unto you for greatness and bravery. Let not your hearts sink to the ground when you go forth to fight with your enemies. Rather, be strong! For it is better to die bravely than to live in shame." He continued to speak in such manner, employing words of admonition throughout his speech. Then he sent away the man

who struck him and ordered his horsemen to escort him and to do him no harm.

In the meantime Darius, who was smitten and wounded in that battle, fled and came to the city of Persepolis. He went up to the palace and sat on the ground. He put dust on his head and removed his royal garments for he was grieved. He sighed and wept out of the bitterness of his soul. Then he lifted up his voice in lamentation and said: "Woe unto me, my mother, for you gave birth to me only to behold trouble and vexation as well as the destruction of my kingdom and the slaughter of my people. From the heavens has this evil come upon me. How has the King of kings, who captured cities and islands and the bays of the seas and vanquished mighty kings, been lowered to the ground? And now I am in flight from a servant. Woe unto me for not having recognized his might and his wisdom! I would then have protected myself from him. I should not have mocked him nor regarded him as lowly and despised, for he has lowered me to the dust and has placed me in darkness and gloom. Now he reigns over my kingdom, having vanquished all the kings and princes who had covenants with me. Indeed his heart is exalted unto the heavens." Darius sat in silence until noon and his spirit revived. He rose from the ground and sat on his throne.<sup>34</sup> 66

It came to pass afterwards that one of Darius' commanders came to Alexander and said to him: "My lord, the King, I have performed acts of kindness on behalf of King Darius and he has not recompensed me for even one of them. Now if you so desire and if it seems right in your eyes, my lord, the King, then send 10,000 men along with me and I shall deliver Darius, his men and his commanders into your hands." Alexander replied: "My son, go and serve your lord and king for I shall pay no attention to your proposal to deliver your king and his commanders into my hands." He drove him out of his presence and said to him: "Beware, do not speak to me concerning this thing again." 51

It came to pass after these things that two commanders sent a letter to Darius their king. These were the words of the letter: "To Darius, King of kings, from your commanders and horsemen, greetings! Let it be known to you that Alexander came to our 52

country from Macedonia and reduced it to ruins. He destroyed our fortresses and slew our people in multitudes like the sand on the shore of the sea. He has lowered us to the dust. Lo, we implore your majesty to come to our aid lest we perish and the entire kingdom be destroyed. If you will bestir yourself to help us, we shall be able to stand up against him, and we shall engage in battle with the man who is consuming and destroying us. Perhaps we shall then drive him away from us. It is better for us to die in battle than to live in shame and in contempt and to be exiled from our land."

53 Darius read the letter and was very terrified. He ordered that a letter be sent to Alexander, these being its words: "Darius King of Persia, to Alexander, my servant, greetings! Lo, I command you to turn back even though your heart is proud and you have set yourself up as a prince over us. Do not act like a foolish and worthless fellow. If the gods of the East speak falsely and are lacking in strength and power, they will go and dwell in the north.<sup>35</sup> Apparently certain thoughts have arisen in your mind and you have been devising an evil plan, saying to yourself: 'In my hands are Darius' mother, sister, wife and daughter. Now I shall reign over his kingdom.' However, I am informing you that I have despaired of them. I regard them as though they no longer existed even as I regard my warriors and horsemen who have fallen in the battlefield. The time will yet come, however, when I shall requite you with more than what you have done to me and I shall take my revenge on you. You have sent word to me that you have honored my messengers. Know that I shall not become your friend on that account. On the contrary, I shall hate you. If you do them harm, I shall not hate you for it; indeed, I shall love you. I shall repay you yet for all that you have done."

54 Alexander read the letter and laughed and made jest of it. He ordered that a reply be sent to him, and these were the words of the letter which Alexander sent to Darius; "Alexander, the son of King Philip and the son of Queen Olympias to Darius, King of Persia, greetings! Let it be known to you that I have received your letter and have read it. I was amazed at your arrogance and at your foolish thoughts. Three times were you smitten before me in battle. You fled from me and hid yourself within the cities

because you were overcome with fear and dread of me. Yet your heart is still exalted and you will not be weary of fighting until you are become like one of your commanders who fell in the battlefield. As for your informing me that you will not bear me any love for having honored your messengers, know, indeed, that it was not out of respect for you that I honored them but rather out of self-respect. Lo, I am informing you that it is my intention, with the aid of my Creator, to come to your country in order to speak with you. Let the words of this letter be inscribed upon your heart so that you will remember them when I come to speak with you." Then the messengers of Darius were summoned before Alexander and he gave them the letter and also gifts. He sent them away and they came to Darius.

It came to pass after these things that one of Darius' commanders, Nostadi by name, sent a letter to King Darius. These were the words of the letter: "To Darius, the great King and King of kings, from Nostadi, your servant, greetings! Let it be known to you that we fought with Alexander, were smitten and fled from him. To be sure we engaged in violent battle with him but could do him no harm. Two of your commanders fell in that battle while Coxari was smitten and wounded and has fled to his country. Most of your horsemen and commanders have been captured, and Alexander has consigned provinces to them and has given them gifts. He has burned down the temple." King Darius sent him a reply, these being the words of the letter: "Darius, King of Persia, to Nostadi, the warrior, greetings! Let it be known to you that I have received your letter and am distressed over the evil that has befallen you at the hands of Alexander, that you were routed before him and that our mighty warriors and men were slain. Make haste now and do not tarry. Assemble all your troops. When he will come forth to meet the Macedonians in order to rejoice over the evil which he has wrought, you shall lie in wait for him on the way and capture him alive, if you can, and send him to me. I shall then repay him for what he has done to our men." 56

It<sup>36</sup> came to pass afterwards that Darius sent a letter to Alexander. These were the words of the letter: "Darius, King of Persia, to Alexander my subject, greetings! Now remember this, 66

I pray you, from your forebears: The man who has been victorious in war and has been helped by the wheel of fortune to humble and subdue his enemies will not, if he is wise, allow his heart to become exalted nor will he lord it over them or act arrogantly toward them. He will think rather of the future since he does not know what will happen to him in the end. Why has your heart been lifted so high that you say: 'I will ascend above the heights of the clouds and I will rule over all the kings of the earth.' Consider indeed whether your words are words of wisdom or words of folly. Do you not know that I am a great, mighty and wealthy king whose treasures cannot be counted nor numbered for multitude? Did you not see some of them when you were in my country in your artful disguise? If this victory has come to you from the Lord, let Him accept an offering. Send me my mother, my wife and my sister. Since you knew of my greatness, you should have submitted to me. However, if you will send them to me, I vow unto you to give you of my treasures which were stored up by my ancestors. And I shall give you my blessing."

67 Darius' messengers brought the letter to Alexander in the presence of all his commanders who, having listened to the words of the letter, rejoiced very much. One of the officers whose name was Parmenio said: "My lord, the King, take, I pray, the treasures and the wealth which Darius has vowed to give to you and send him his mother, wife, sister and daughter. For what will it profit you to keep them and not to send them back?" However, another of the commanders said: "You have not counseled right because it is better and more honorable for our king to keep them than to send them back for ransom. When the kings, princes and people who surround us will hear of this thing, they will say: 'It is because Alexander was unable to hold on to them that he sent them away. He is very poor and needy and is without silver and gold for he has sent his prisoners away for ransom.' And now if it seems right in the eyes of the King, he will surely refuse to send these persons away and will not seek the silver and gold. He will think rather of his honor and the honor of his commanders and men." This advice seemed good in the eyes of Alexander.

Then he ordered that a reply be dispatched to Darius. He sent him a letter, these being its words: "Alexander of Macedonia, son

of Queen Olympias, to King Darius, greetings! Let it be known to you that I have received your letter and have read it in the presence of all my commanders and horsemen. We were surprised at your proposal in which you desire to give us of your treasures in order to redeem your women. What will it avail to propose such things? If you wish to fight with us, then go forth into battle with your soldiers and we shall fight. If, as you believe, you will defeat us, then why do you want to consume your treasures and enrich your poor enemies? Know, therefore, that we shall not send you the women unless you come forth to fight against us. They will remain near me during the battle; and if you prove to be more powerful than I, then you shall take them in peace." Darius' messengers were summoned before Alexander, and he gave them the letter and gifts and sent them away.

The messengers came to Darius and gave him the letter. 69 When Darius read it, he became very incensed because of its contents. He ordered that the troops should be assembled in order to go forth to battle against Alexander.

It came to pass afterwards that Darius sent a letter to Porus, King of India. These were its words: "Darius, King of Persia, to Porus, King of India, my friend and my lord, greetings! Let it be known to you that I have assembled a large army to fight against Alexander. Lo, I implore you to come to my aid once again because this Alexander is but a boy and a fool and is behaving in a mad fashion. All his actions are foolish and his mind is like that of an animal. The sentiments which he harbors against me in his heart are like a raging sea with roaring waves. I wanted to redeem my women from his hands but he has refused. I vowed to give him half of my kingdom but he declined and paid no attention to my words. Of necessity, therefore, I shall have to assemble a large army from many peoples and fight him unto death. For it is better that I should die in battle than live in shame and see the destruction of my kingdom and the exile of my people. Consequently I entreat you to come to my aid. Do not turn me away empty-handed, for I cannot bear the humiliation and the contempt to which a servant has insolently subjected me. When I go forth to fight with him, perhaps I shall be able to overcome and rout him. My sins have caused this and have

brought me to such a pass. Remember, I pray, the covenant which our fathers made and their kindness to one another. Indeed an inscription to this effect is still found on a copper tablet in the palaces of Persia and India. Lo, I make a vow unto each of your men: To every foot soldier twice the share which is due him from the spoils of our enemies, and to every horsemen five times as much. As for your honor and majesty, I vow to give you from the spoils of our enemies 180 girls dressed and adorned in garments of silk, in addition to gold and precious stones. Furthermore, the horse Bucephalus which is pleasing in the eyes of Alexander shall be yours to ride, and all the weapons which are on Alexander's person shall also be yours. After you read the letter, make haste and give me aid and counsel."

70 It came to pass afterwards that one of Darius' commanders ran away. He came before Alexander and divulged secret and confidential information concerning Darius. He said to Alexander: "Lo, Darius is assembling a large army to fight against you. He has also sent a request to Porus, King of India, to come to his aid and has vowed to give him the following from the spoils: 180 girls dressed in silken garments; silver, gold and precious stones whose price is beyond what can be weighed in silver; the horse Bucephalus and all your weapons; and an abundance of silver and gold for all of Porus' men who will come to his aid." He disclosed all that he knew about Darius to Alexander. He did not conceal anything.

58 When Darius' mother heard these things, she was sorely grieved. She sent a letter to her son, Darius, and these were its words: "To Darius, my dear son, from Rodogoni, your mother, greetings! Let it be known to you that I have heard that Alexander has been informed that you have assembled a large army and that you intend to go forth to battle against him. Lo, I am informing you that even if you were to assemble all the peoples of the earth, you could not fight with him because this victory has been vouchsafed to him by the great god in heaven. Therefore, desist from your thoughts and your desires and humble yourself and your majesty. If you will not do this, he will harm both you and us because we are in his hands, as you know, and we shall forfeit our honor for all time. Lo, you won great glory when you fought



against fate and were wounded and fell in the field like one of your mighty warriors. Do not, therefore, continue to cause your mother to sigh. Whatsoever the god of Persia shall cause you to possess, that shall you possess. If you will listen to my words, both you and we will be granted possessions. You will be able to set your mind at ease with respect to whatever you may desire because Alexander is compassionate. When he hears my words, he will listen to my plea. Know my son that your horsemen will betray you." Darius read the letter, wept bitterly and fell to the ground in a stupor. His heart grew faint and he fell asleep; and his spirit revived.

It came to pass after these things that Alexander ordered all his troops not to call him emperor until he reigned over the Persian empire. He set out and arrived with all his troops at the city in which Darius was staying. When the horsemen saw that the mountains surrounding the city were so tall that they reached into the very heavens, they said to Alexander: "Our lord, the King! How will we ascend these tall mountains? Can we fly over them as do the birds?" Whereupon Alexander ordered them to remove the branches from the trees and to cut some grass. Then he had them bind the branches and the grass to the horses' legs. Alexander did all this with cunning so that the horses might stir up a lot of dust. The Persians saw the dust and lo, it covered the face of the earth. As a result they thought that there was a great multitude of people with Alexander. <sup>59</sup>  
(70)

Alexander and all his troops drew near to the city of Persepolis where Darius was sojourning and encamped near the entrance to the city. Alexander remained there for 105 days. 60

It came to pass after these things that Porus, King of India, having read the letter which Darius had sent him, assembled his army, consisting of 30,000 horsemen and 160,000 foot soldiers, and dispatched them to help Darius. Darius gathered all his forces, proceeded to the Tigris River and crossed it. His army was very large and could neither be measured nor numbered for multitude. There came up out of his country 10,000 chariots, 140,000 footsoldiers and 160,000 horsemen, all of them brave fighters and trained in warfare. In addition to these there were also the young attendants of the governors of the provinces and 65

their servants who were without number. On the following day Alexander came on to the field to meet Darius in battle. Alexander rode his horse Bucephalus and kept charging at Darius repeatedly like a mighty and fierce warrior. When the Persians saw Alexander, they mocked him and shouted at him. However, most of them were afraid of him when they remembered his might. The Macedonians rejoiced over their king while the Persians were envious of them, saying: "It is better that we die in battle and take revenge on them." The trumpets were sounded on both sides and they engaged in a violent battle during which the opposing forces crossed lines and merged with each other. As they struck one another, the clash of arms produced a loud din. Their swords glittered like the light of the sun and flashed like lightning. The shouting of the combatants was louder than the sound of the trumpets. The wounded groaned with pain and screamed violently. The archers were shooting from both sides and their arrows hid the light of the sun like clouds on a rainy day. Some fought with swords and others with spears, while Darius' charioteers hurled stones from their bags. The field was filled with the wounded and the slain, and the blood flowed like an overflowing stream. The battle continued without cease from morning until evening. A very large number of men fell among the Persians in that battle.

When Darius saw that his warriors and soldiers were falling in the field, he trembled and feared lest he might fall also. It came to pass in the evening twilight that Darius turned his back and fled. When Darius' men saw that their king had turned his back in flight, they fled also. As they rushed to escape, they drenched their feet in the blood of the slain and fell. The chariots meanwhile ran over them and crushed them to death. The men who escaped succeeded in reaching the river. The river, however, had overflowed its banks. Some of them plunged into the river and perished by drowning. When those who had formed behind them with the intention of crossing saw that their brothers had perished, they were afraid to cross. Meanwhile the Macedonians who had been pursuing them, seized them and smote them mercilessly until there remained none that survived or escaped. The barbarians, however, who escaped from the battle came and

fell down before Alexander and begged him to spare their lives. Alexander acceded to their plea. However, one of the barbarians said: "We have no portion in Alexander and we have no inheritance in the son of Philip." Whereupon one of Alexander's commanders who was jealous for his sake pursued him but could not overtake him. As for the men who had pleaded with Alexander for their lives, they became his subjects and he gave them a plot of land. Alexander and his troops spent thirty-four days in the field stripping the slain. He had engaged in three battles with Darius. The number of those who fell in the field among Darius' men on the day of the aforementioned battle was 50,000. This is exclusive of the losses sustained by the Persians in the war that Alexander had waged against the satraps of Darius in which their slain numbered 70,000 myriads.

Alexander departed thence, crossed the Tigris River and encamped there for several days. Surrounding that river were large palaces which the King of Persia, the father of Darius, had built. Alexander ordered that they should not be destroyed or burned. In that area there was also a large burial field for the kings and princes of Persia. The Macedonians dug in the field and found precious stones, silver and gold. They also found the tomb of the king of Assyria. It was hollowed out of amethyst stone and on it was engraved his likeness. This is a description of the work on the tomb: Palm trees were engraved on it with dates made of precious stones and all manner of wrought jewels. The work of an artist's hands was found on that tomb. The stone was so clear that he who looked at it saw his likeness as in a mirror. 68

In a field nearby there was a high tower where the men who had fled from the battle had gone into hiding. Some of them had suffered the loss of arms or legs. When they heard the beat of the horses' hoofs and the voices of the soldiers and the clatter of their weapons, they cried out and pleaded, saying: "Save us, O King Alexander." When King Alexander heard these men, his compassion was aroused for them and he wept. He ordered that each of them be given a gift of 1500 golden drachmae, ten pounds in weight, and he vowed to restore their possessions to them.

71 Alexander departed thence and came to the edge of the city of Persepolis. The Persians had filled that city with treasures of gold, silver and precious stones.

When Darius fled from the battle, three of his commanders conspired to strike him down. The names of the commanders were as follows: The first was Bisso, the second Ario and the third Barzanes.<sup>37</sup> They seized Darius and bound him with heavy iron chains. Then they said to one another: "When we deliver King Darius into the hands of Alexander, he will give us a handsome reward." Darius, however, recognized the meaning of his commanders' whispering and said to them: "My commanders, heroes and kinsmen! Why should you repay good with evil, and why should you plan to kill me and deliver me into the hands of my enemy? Will not the Macedonians be vexed when they see that you have killed me? Is not the evil which I have suffered at the hands of Alexander and his army sufficient? Therefore, I pray you, do not kill me for if you kill me and Alexander finds me lying in the field, I know that he will wreak vengeance on you as murderers. When a king finds another king slain by his own men, his compassion will be aroused for him and he will wreak vengeance on those who slew him." His commanders, however, paid no attention to his words and struck him. Darius covered himself with his hands against their blows and fell to the ground. His commanders thought that he was dead and they went their way.\*

When Darius arose, he returned to his own land, went up to his palace and fell on his bed.

72 Alexander crossed the river and came into Persia with all his troops.<sup>38</sup> When the Persians beheld Alexander, they opened the gates of the city and received him with great honor. When the commanders who had struck Darius heard that Alexander had come to Persia, they went into hiding in order to learn how the matter would turn out and how Alexander would react to the evil which they had committed. It came to pass afterwards that

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Darius' commanders striking him."

Alexander went up to the palace in which Darius was lying. Alexander walked slowly and was amazed at the workmanship that had gone into the construction of the palace. It was built with turrets from stones of marble as white as snow. The windowsills were of wreathen work overlaid with gold, and precious stones were set in them. The beams of the palace were overlaid with gold while the ceiling was entirely of gold and in it were set precious stones which shone at night without the aid of light and sparkled like stars. The middle pillars upon which the palace rested and their capitals were of gold. When Alexander entered the room where Darius lay smitten, his compassion was aroused for him. He took off his royal robe, covered Darius, embraced and kissed him. Alexander wept bitterly and said: "Arise, King Darius, from your bed. Be strong and rule over your kingdom as you have in the past. Place the royal crown on your head. Lo, I swear unto you that even as the universe exists so shall I leave you your kingdom. I wish to maintain you with honor as befits a great king like you and to be your son and to have you as my father. When one king sees another greater than he murdered, dead or smitten, it is not proper to rejoice over his fall. This applies equally to any adversity that might befall him. Tell me, King Darius, who are the commanders that smote you? What are their names and what is the name of their country? Know that I intend to wreak vengeance on them."

After Alexander had spoken these words, Darius raised his hand and said: "My son, Alexander, do not be boastful or arrogant because you were victorious over me and because my men were routed before you. Very often the man who becomes exalted until his head reaches into the clouds is humbled and lowered into the dust by the wheel of fortune. When you have achieved victory, remember and consider what may happen in the end. Indeed there is no man on earth so mighty that he may not at some time be humbled and lose his life while fighting with a man who is either greater or lesser than he. Take a lesson, I pray, from me who only yesterday was King of kings and ruler over all the nations of the earth. In my days I conquered great and mighty kings. They were unable to stand before me. I cap- 73

tured cities and subdued the nations of the earth. There was not a city under the heavens which was beyond my power and which I did not conquer and subdue. And now, who am I? Have I not been lowered to the very dust? I haven't the strength to take revenge on those who rose up against me. Lo, I implore you to bury me, upon my death, with your own fine hands in the tomb which I hewed out for myself alongside the tombs of my fathers, the kings of Persia. When I die, confer upon me the honor which is fitting and proper for a king. The people of my kingdom shall be committed to your charge. Lo, I command that the kingdoms of Persia and Macedonia shall from this day on be one kingdom and that you shall rule over them. My mother, Rodogoni, my wife and my sister shall be entrusted to your care. My daughter, Roxane, shall become your wife because you are a king and it is fitting for you to take the daughter of a king for a wife. You shall be joined together in a union of the flesh and the child that will be born of your union shall be called by my name."

After he had spoken these words, Darius gathered up his feet into the bed, breathed his last and died in the arms of Alexander. Alexander wept bitterly over him. Then he and the Persian and Macedonian princes bore him on their shoulders and did him great honor. The Persian and Macedonian soldiers clad in coats of mail and bearing weapons, each with sword in hand, wept before Darius' bier. The rest of the people wept bitterly not only over the death of their king but also because they saw Alexander weeping. The bier on which Darius lay was of pure gold and precious stones. The covering of the bier was of silk and purple mixed with gold. The royal robe was over his shoulders and was fastened with a clasp made of gold and set with precious stones. On his head was a large golden diadem and upon it rested the royal crown. The princes who surrounded the bier in the procession were decked with garments of silk and gold which were fastened with clasps of precious stones, and they were armed with weapons of war. The weepers and mourners walked and cried behind them while the rest of the troops, both Persian and Macedonian, marched and wept before the bier.

Darius was buried in his tomb alongside the tombs of his fathers, the kings who had preceded him.\*

It came to pass on the following day that Alexander sat on the royal throne of Persia. A very large multitude of people gathered before him, and he consoled them and spoke comfortingly to them saying: "Lo, Darius is dead, and now I shall carry out all that he commanded me to do before he died. In his charge to me he said: 'Take, I pray, my daughter Roxane for a wife and rule over the kingdom of Persia as I have ruled. From this day on the kingdoms of Persia and Macedonia shall be one.' If you wish to make me king over you as he commanded, that is good; but if you do not wish to do so, then let me know." Whereupon all the people answered: "Everything that our lord Darius has commanded, we shall do." They shouted and clapped hands and said: "Long live the King! Long live the King!" Alexander blessed the people and said to them: "Since you have agreed to make me king, then obey my orders as is proper. Do not rebel against my commands and do not say anything either good or bad about them. Just do as I shall command." Whereupon they all answered and said: "Everything that you will command us, we shall do." And the people returned, every man to his home.\*\*

Afterwards Alexander sent the following letter to all the provinces of the kingdom of Persia: "Alexander, son of the god Ammon and son of Queen Olympias, to all the princes and peoples in all the provinces of the kingdom of Persia . . ."<sup>39</sup>

. . . [And Alexander wrote a letter to his mother Olympias, saying:]<sup>40</sup> "Remember me, I pray, to my teacher Aristotle, the wise and intelligent master. I want you to know of all my experiences in the kingdom of Persia. Blessed be my Creator who has made me ruler over all my enemies and has delivered into my hands all the treasures of Persia and all its hidden hoards. When King Darius was smitten by his commanders and died, the

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Darius in death and of Alexander and all the princes of Persia and Macedonia mourning and weeping over him."

\*\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Alexander consoling the Persians and speaking comfortingly to them."

Persians made me king over them in accordance with Darius' command before his death. I have taken Roxane, the daughter of Darius, for a wife. My commanders and horsemen have become very rich. Therefore rejoice, you and all the people of Macedonia."

77 It came to pass afterwards that Alexander assembled all his troops, the combined forces of Persia and Macedonia, and waged war against the people of Hyrcania and of Milyas.<sup>41</sup> He conquered them and subjected them to forced labor for tribute.

Afterwards he departed thence and came to a land in the east where he found a despised and lowly people who were skilled in the art of magic. They had only one leg, one arm and one eye and they ran like horses. They ate reptiles, horses, swine and all kinds of birds, beasts and unclean swarming and creeping creatures. They did not bury the dead; indeed, they ate them. When Alexander beheld all these abominable practices, he trembled for fear that they might spread into his land. He spoke in the hearing of his officers and horsemen in order to strengthen them. His horsemen, however, were frightened and were afraid to draw near and approach them. Alexander therefore passed in front of them, rushed towards these people and smote many of them. However, they maintained their stand and neither moved nor fled before him. They stood there like animals. When the horsemen saw what Alexander had done, they did the same until they subdued them. Afterwards Alexander ordered these men to assemble with their wives and children. After they had all assembled in accordance with his command, Alexander had them seized and they were led into a valley in the north which lay between two tall mountains whose peaks reached unto the heavens. Alexander constructed a large and strong building between the two mountains and shut them up in it behind bronze gates and iron bars. Inside the building he placed some absinthium which can not be destroyed by either iron or fire, though its property is such that it destroys iron and like water extinguishes fire. The people who were locked in there would not be able to get out nor would others be able to get in.\*

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Alexander fighting with these people."



Alexander departed thence and came to the Caspian Gates with all his troops and encamped there for four days. The city which he found there was large, fortified and situated on high ground. Its walls were high and its towers reached unto the heavens. Alexander besieged the city for many days but was unable to capture and subdue it. In that area there were many fiery serpents, and they bit Alexander's men causing a large number of them to die. Alexander was warned that he and all his troops should beware of the serpents and that unless he left that place not a single member of his entire army would survive or escape.

Thereupon Alexander departed thence and came to the land of Albania. The people of Albania were cruel, fierce and embittered. When they heard that Alexander had come to attack them and their country, they became very angry. They gathered a large number of men and went forth to confront Alexander. They took along with them large and powerful dogs which could overcome any beast. There wasn't a beast that could withstand those dogs. When these people went into battle, it was their practice to take the dogs with them and in this manner they achieved victory over their enemies. When Alexander was informed of their practice, he was distressed and said to his men: "When you enter into battle with these people, you shall bring pigs with you and you shall beat them until they squeal. Then you shall throw them in front of the dogs." The horsemen did as Alexander commanded. When the opposing forces drew near to the battle, Alexander's commanders struck the pigs with their swords and spears until they squealed. When the dogs heard the squealing of the pigs, they rushed upon them and devoured them. Thereupon Alexander and his horsemen engaged in battle with these people and were victorious over them. They subdued them and subjected them to forced labor for tribute. Alexander offered up sacrifices there before the gods. Then he seized one of the dogs and caused it to fight with a lion. The dog overcame the lion and also struck down an elephant and overpowered it.\*

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Alexander fighting with the people of Albania and their powerful dogs and of his defeating them with deceit and wisdom. A picture of the dogs of Albania overcoming the lion and the elephant."

Alexander departed thence with all his troops. They passed through the Caspian Gates and came to the land of India. Then Alexander spoke in the hearing of the people, saying to them: "My commanders and horsemen, fear not and do not be in dread." When they came to the desert region of India, the sun beat down upon the heads of the people causing them to faint from the heat. Their tongues were parched with thirst for they had no water except that which had been heated and boiled by the sun. No one, however, could drink that water.

They continued their march until they came to a region where there were large rivers. They remained there for several days. Departing from there, they made their way across tall mountains and came into a region which was wasteland and desolate wilderness, without inhabitants. Except for a small supply, there was no drinking water for the people. What little water they found, they carried in containers but because of the strength of the sun in that region, the water became hot and boiled. Alexander and all his troops were terrified because they thirsted for water. Alexander's commanders murmured and said: "Is it not enough that we came to Persia, captured it and vanquished many peoples? Must we now die of hunger, of thirst and in complete destitution in the wilderness among the cruel beasts? Must we dwell together with the beasts and eat the dust like serpents and forget our native land? If Alexander wishes to make a great name for himself in the four corners of the earth, let him go and fight for he is a victorious man. Let him go wherever he desires with the Persians, but we shall return to the land of our birth." Then Alexander received the following report: "Lo, your Macedonian commanders and horsemen are complaining and are disturbed. Every man is weeping for his family and wants to return to his country." When Alexander heard this report, he ordered all the people to remain where they were and not to turn back. He went up to a high place overlooking the people and spoke in their hearing, saying to them: "Men of Persia, separate yourselves from the Macedonians and sit to one side." This was also done by the Greek and the Macedonian soldiers. Then Alexander said: "My soldiers and horsemen, Macedonians and Greeks! The report which I have heard concerning you is not a good one. You

have been murmuring in your tents and have said: 'Because of your hatred for us you have brought us forth to die among the cruel beasts in this wilderness where there is no food and no water. We are weary of fighting.' And you declared your intention to return to your country and to leave me with the Persians even though you knew that until now they had been our enemies. When Darius sent his first letter, he terrified you with his words but I gave you courage. Indeed, one day I went alone disguised as a messenger to speak with Darius. In order to defend your honor and to exalt your name, I suffered many adversities. Lo, I implore you not to desert me. Know that the counsel which you have given one another is not good. Let us rather go forth now to fight with the barbarians until we subjugate them. However, if you desire to return to your native land, then turn back. As for me, I do not intend to return so that you may learn that horsemen like yourselves can achieve nothing without your king." When the Macedonians heard these words from the lips of Alexander, they said: "Our lord, Alexander, behold we are in your hands. Do with us as you see fit. We shall follow you wherever you wish and we shall help you until we perish."

It came to pass afterwards that Alexander departed thence with all his troops and proceeded into India. When Porus, King of India, was informed that Alexander had come into his country, he sent him the following letter: "Porus, King of India, to Alexander the thief, greetings! Let it be known to you that I heard that you have come to our country in order to destroy it and to wage war against us. Know that you are deserving of death. Why is your heart so exalted after fighting with men who lacked strength and had never been tested in warfare? It was on account of this that you were victorious and that you subjugated them. As a result it was assumed that you would go on and conquer the entire world. Know that I am a victorious king and that not only do men bow before me and serve and praise me but so do the gods. You know, of course, what happened to Dionysus Bacchus who came to India in order to fight against us. He is a god and yet he fled from us for he was unable to withstand the Indians in battle. Indeed, the pride and the power of the people of India are great and mighty. They are a large nation whose numbers cannot 78

be determined or counted. You know, of course, that before Persia had a king, the people of Macedonia paid me tribute and served me. Now I shall give you some sound advice. Go back to your country lest you fall in battle together with your men who are wicked, stupid and foolish fellows."

- 79 When Alexander saw the letter, he ordered that it be read before the commanders and horsemen. When they heard the words of the letter, they were grieved and very angry. Alexander, however, said to them: "Do not be grieved or angry because of the words of this letter. Indeed, be strong and of good courage. Do you not recall that when Darius sent his letter he also spoke with arrogance, and yet he was lowered to the dust? It is not fitting for a mighty man to trust in his own strength. Do you not know that the barbarians are like animals possessing neither understanding nor intelligence? They put their trust in their strength and shall die like fools because of their folly."

Alexander ordered that a reply be sent to Porus, King of India. These were the words of the letter: "Alexander, son of the god Ammon and son of Queen Olympias, to Porus, King of India, greetings! Let it be known to you that I have received your letter and have read it before all my commanders and horsemen. We were very surprised at your arrogance. Indeed we have been able to test your mind and your intelligence. Since you have informed us that you wish to fight against us and have said that the Macedonians and the Greeks are not a victorious people and do not possess a beautiful royal city, I am anxious to fight with you and to conquer the kingdom of India especially since you have exalted it to the heavens. Moreover, because you said that we are among the small nations of the world, we should like to fight with you and magnify our name. As for your saying that not only men but also gods praise you, I think that such words are sheer folly and I shall feel no distress because of them. Know, indeed, that I am ready to come and fight with you."

- 80 When King Porus read the letter, he became very incensed. He assembled a large army and provided elephants for his troops. In addition to the horsemen he had 14,000 carts equipped with scythes. The elephants carried wooden towers on their backs, each tower holding thirty men. When the Macedonians and

Persians heard the report on Porus, they trembled exceedingly not because of the large army but because of the great number of elephants. The opposing forces drew up in battle array in the field, Porus with his army and Alexander with his, and began to shoot their arrows. Alexander rode his horse Bucephalus and kept on passing in front of all his troops in the face of Porus' horsemen. Alexander ordered all the Persian soldiers to enter the battle first and he remained behind with the Macedonians and the Greeks. The Persians, however, were unable to draw near because of their fear of the elephants. Alexander then took counsel as to how to combat them. As a result, he ordered that hollow bronze statues be made and he had them filled with burning coals. They were then placed on iron carts which he ordered to be brought close to the elephants. Thinking that the statues were real men, the elephants stretched forth their trunks to seize and to devour them. The statues in the meantime had become heated by the fire. Thus when the elephants smelled the fire, they drew back and were unable to approach the Persian forces. It grieved Porus to his heart when he observed Alexander's craftiness. However, he summoned his strength in order to fight with vigor and he also encouraged his soldiers. To his horsemen he said: "Be strong and let us be of good courage because this is the day we longed for. Alexander shall now fall in battle and his army shall bow before us." The Persians and Macedonians fought violently against Porus' army. The battle continued without cease for thirty days. Many fell on both sides. The Macedonians were finally routed before the Indian soldiers. When Alexander saw that his horsemen were routed before Porus, he was very incensed. He encouraged his horsemen and rushed at Porus in great anger and fury with the ferocity of a lion attacking its prey. The Indian soldiers then began to give way before Alexander. When Porus saw that his men were falling in the field and that they were routed before Alexander, he turned his back to flee. After that, Alexander set up camp in the field. He offered up sacrifices there to the gods and ordered that the slain be buried.

It came to pass on the following day that Alexander besieged 81 the city wherein Porus dwelt and captured it. He went up to the palace in the city and was very much amazed at its beauty. There

were four hundred pillars of gold in it with capitals made of pure gold. The pillars were interlaced with a golden grapevine whose branches and clusters were also of gold. Moreover, onyx stones and other precious stones were set in the vine. The Macedonians removed the clusters from the vine and found that the husks of the grapes were thick and that their length was like that of a man's finger. The gates of the palace were of gold and its beams were of gopher wood overlaid with gold. In the courtyard there were statues of gold among which stood trees of gold. The fruits of the trees were in the form of various types of birds, every bird after its own kind. The claws of the birds were of gold, and precious stones were set in their beaks. They also found many vessels in the palace, golden vessels without number.\*

82 It came to pass after these things that Alexander sent a letter to Talistrida, Queen of the Amazons, of the kingdom of the women and to all her female commanders. These were the words of the letter: "Alexander, King of kings, son of the god Ammon and son of Queen Olympias to Talistrida, Queen of the Amazons, of the kingdom of the women and to all the Amazons, greetings! Let it be known to you that I, Alexander, have fought with King Darius, have defeated him, and have conquered and taken away his kingdom. I assume that you have known all this for a long time. After that, I traversed tall mountains, valleys, rivers, seas, deserts and forests until I came to the land of India where Porus, the King of India, came forth to engage in battle with me. I fought with him and defeated him. I pursued him but could not seize him because he fled to a fortified city. On the following day, however, I captured his city. Since he could not save it from my hands, he fled and escaped to another city. I am therefore notifying you to send me the tribute so that I shall refrain from waging war against you. I shall then not find it necessary to harm you or to do evil to you."

83 In reply to Alexander's letter, Talistrida sent him the following letter: "Talistrida, Queen of the Amazons of the kingdom of

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Alexander fighting with Porus, King of India, and how, by his cunning, he caused him to flee. A picture of Alexander and his commanders as they went up to the palace of King Porus."

the women, and all the Amazons, the greatest and mightiest of all the horsemen under the heavens, to Alexander, greetings! Let it be known to you that we have received your letter and have read it. Before you come to wage war against us, you ought surely to consider the effect of your coming. If you come, you may perhaps suffer adversity at our hands and an affront to your honor. If you desire information about the region we inhabit and about our kingdom and our customs, we are making it available to you in this letter. Know that we inhabit an island which is our kingdom. This island is encircled by a large and wide river that has neither beginning nor end and flows round and round continually. The place, however, is much too small because there are among us 40,000 myriads who have not known a man. Our men are encamped on the other side of the river and do not dwell among us. They cross the river once a year and stay with us for two months, namely, the lunar months of Ab and Elul. They cannot come over to us at other times because the river is infested with large dragons and fiery serpents. However, during those two months these creatures move to another region because they cannot bear the cold which issues from the river at that season. Consequently our husbands are able to cross the river during that period. If one of us becomes pregnant and gives birth to a son, she will rear him for seven years. When the seven years have passed, the child is sent to his father before he is able to distinguish good from evil. When a daughter is born, she remains with her mother all the days of her life. When enemies besiege us and we have to fight, we choose from among us 10,000 myriads all of whom know how to ride horses and camels, can bend the bow and are trained in warfare. While some of us stand guard over the island, the others go forth to battle against our enemies; and thus we drive them away to the other side of the river. Our husbands follow after us. When we return from the army and find that one of our women has died in battle, we give her husband another in her stead. Therefore, when you come to wage war against us, you will have to fight with vigor and display your power and might. If you defeat us, you will earn no honor for you will be defeating women; but if we defeat you, you will suffer contempt and disgrace. Therefore, take heed and watch

yourself, O Macedonian, lest you encounter derision and reproach on account of us and become an object of scorn and disdain. Lo, we are informing you of our customs by means of this letter. Take counsel, therefore, with your advisers and decide upon your course of action. Send us a reply as to whether you intend to wage war against us. Know, verily, that we shall go forth to fight against you. We shall cross the mountains and engage in battle with you."

- 84 When Alexander read the letter, he laughed and made jest of it. He ordered that a reply be sent, and these were the words of the letter which he wrote her: "Alexander, King of kings, son of the god Ammon and son of Queen Olympias to Talistrida, Queen of the Amazons of the kingdom of the women and to all the Amazons, greetings! Lo, I am informing you that I have received your letter and have read it. Indeed I was astonished at the arrogant tone of your words. I wish to inform you that we have conquered Asia and Africa and have defeated Porus, King of India. I have subdued them beneath the soles of my feet. I have conquered the peoples of the earth and have taken many nations captive. There was not a city which proved to be beyond our power and which I did not conquer and subdue. Now if we should refuse to fight with you, we would suffer shame and disgrace. Lo, I give you this counsel: if you wish to perish and leave your land to others or if you desire to exalt your name, then come out into the mountains to battle against us as you have suggested. However, if you do not wish to perish, then do not go forth against us. Let each of your women return to her home. Remain within your island and do not venture forth to engage in battle with us. Come across the river now together with your husbands so that you may talk with us. Lo, I swear unto you by the life of my god Ammon and by the life of Olympias, my mother, that I shall do you no evil. It is my desire rather to give you such gifts and prizes as you may suggest. If you wish, I shall send them to you and you will receive them with honor. If you intend to come and talk with us as I have suggested, then the thing to do is to inform me of your intention."

The queen took counsel with her commanders as to how to deal with Alexander, and she said to them: "Come, let us deal



wisely with him lest he cross the river with his army and destroy our kingdom." Whereupon her commanders said to her: "Our Mistress and our sovereign Queen! If what we say seems right in your eyes, then send a message to Alexander suggesting that he cross over unto us to see our country. We shall give him one hundred talents of gold and five hundred beautiful and pleasing young maidens who have not known a man. Riding on five hundred horses, they shall bring the gold to him. We shall also give him ten thousand white cows. If his men take the maidens unto themselves for wives, we shall send him others in their stead." Their advice seemed good in the eyes of the queen and she acted accordingly. She wrote and sent a letter to Alexander informing him of her advisers' counsel. After Alexander had read the letter, he crossed over unto them. The queen and her commanders came forth to receive him with great honor. She gave him the gifts which he accepted respectfully, and he rejoiced there with them for several days.

Alexander departed thence with all his troops and came to 85 the land of Bactria where he offered up sacrifices to the gods. It came to pass at that time that Alexander received the following report: "Lo, Porus and all his forces are encamped near Bactria. He is assembling a large army in that area in order to come forth and fight against you a second time." When Alexander heard these words from the man who brought the report, he assembled all his forces. He chose from among them fifty men who knew the roads of India so that they might show his troops which way they were to go by day and by night. He departed thence with his entire army in the month of Elul. They arrived at a wilderness where there was no water for the people to drink. The heat was intense, the land was arid and the region was infested with fiery serpents, scorpions,<sup>42</sup> bears and leopards. The people were very thirsty and their tongues were parched with thirst. Alexander ordered all his troops to put on their coats of mail and arm themselves with their weapons, and they did so. Their weapons shone very brightly. They marched through the wilderness all of that day but found no water. There was among them a Macedonian named Zephirus who walked to and fro, moving and wandering from one place to another because of his thirst and the

intense heat. He could find no way to escape the heat or quench his thirst. However, as he wandered, he came upon a rock in which he found a little water. He removed his iron helmet, filled it with water and brought it to Alexander. When Alexander saw the water, he ordered it spilled before the commanders and horsemen and refused to drink it. The horseman did as he was ordered and spilled the water on the ground. When the horsemen saw what Alexander had done, they took on strength and said: "Lo, we have found water." Then they went forth with great fervor to meet Porus' army.

- 86 On the following day they came to the bank of a river filled with reeds and rushes. The reeds were thick and were ten cubits long. Alexander issued an order to cut the reeds, to fill them with water from the river and to give drink to the people who had become weary and thirsty in the wilderness. This was done. The people were given drink but they could not drink the water because it was very bitter like wormwood and gall. Alexander trembled and was exceedingly terrified not only because of the people who were thirsty but also because of the horses, the camels and the elephants which were with him and which were as the sand on the seashore for multitude. He had 1000 elephants which bore his gold, 400 chariots equipped with scythes, 1200 other chariots and 140,000 horses. There were mules and camels without number that bore the corn, the food and the other provisions necessary for the expedition; a very large multitude of cows and swine; and, in addition, a great throng of people whose numbers could neither be determined nor counted. The Macedonians were very disheartened because they were exhausted from carrying the abundance of gold which lay heavily upon them. Their animals could not carry it for they could not stand on their feet. Their legs gave way not only because of the burden but because of their thirst. Some of the horsemen were licking the iron because of thirst while others were drinking their urine. Many of the men fainted because their armor became very hot. Alexander also fell to the ground, weary and exhausted. However, he summoned his strength and rose from the place where he fell which was on the bank of the river with the bitter water. He remained there until the day declined. He departed from that place and came to an

island. Adjoining the river which surrounded the island was a city. The river was a mile and one half wide and was marked by an abundance of reeds. Alexander looked down the slope of the hill and saw a few people there. Whereupon he ordered his men to extend greetings to them, to speak to them in the Indian language and to ask them where sweet water might be found. When the people of the city saw the men coming towards them, they went into hiding. Alexander ordered his men to bring forth arrows and to shoot at them. Seeing that the people had hidden and had refused to talk with his men, Alexander ordered some of his horsemen to remove their clothes and swim across the river. He commanded them, saying: "Go up to the city and smite the people. Have no pity on the old, the young, the babes, the sucklings and the women." The men entered the river, thirty-seven of the choicest youthful warriors, each one of them capable of fighting against one hundred men. With swords drawn, they began to swim. When they were a quarter of the way across the river, there came up out of that river wicked and cruel beasts and devoured the horsemen. Alexander mourned and his heart was filled with deep grief over the horsemen whom the beasts had devoured. He marched all of that day with his troops but they found no water. Moreover, the beasts of that river pursued them but Alexander, his troops and their animals changed their course.

It came to pass afterwards that Alexander ordered his men to 87  
examine the woods that surrounded the river whose water was sweet. The woods were found to consist of reeds. Alexander ordered his men to kindle a fire and set fire to the reeds. At night as the moon began to shine, serpents and scorpions came forth to drink the water. Large monsters came down from the hill. The earth trembled at the sound of their voices. When they opened their mouths, their breath was as strong as poison and from their eyes there flowed poison. When Alexander's troops saw these beasts, they trembled exceedingly. Seeing that his troops were terrified because of the beasts, Alexander fortified them by saying: "My mighty warriors and horsemen! Do not be frightened by these beasts. Indeed, as you see me do, so shall you do." Alexander then took his shield in his left hand and his sword in his right and fought with the monsters, the leopards and the fiery

serpents which had come to attack them. His horsemen gained strength when they saw him fighting with the beasts. They took their shields and swords and fought the beasts with violence, killing many of them. Some of the beasts were burned to death by the fire which had spread among the reeds. Twenty of Alexander's horsemen died and thirty were mortally wounded.

It came to pass at midnight that they were attacked by lions that were as white as snow and immense in size. The lions roared, shook their heads and leaped upon Alexander's horsemen. However, they smote them to death with their swords, spears and bows.

Afterwards they were attacked by a multitude of very large boars. Their claws and teeth were a span in length and were sharp. With these boars came wild men and their wives, each one of them possessing six hands. Along with the boars, they advanced on Alexander. His horsemen, however, slew the men and the boars. At that very time the moon darkened and Alexander was grieved over it. He ordered that fires be kindled around his entire camp in order to provide light for his men against the beasts.

Afterwards they were attacked by a beast which was larger and more powerful than the elephant. In appearance it resembled the horse. Its head was black and three horns projected from its forehead. The name of the beast in the Indian language was *odontetiranno* and it was poisonous. Before drinking from the water of the river, it leaped upon the horsemen and killed twenty-seven of them. However, Alexander's horsemen fought until they slew it.

Afterwards there came out of that forest very large rats which would eat the flesh of the dead wherever they were to be found. Furthermore, every person whom they would bite would die instantly because their bite was as poisonous as that of the fiery serpent. Later they were attacked by birds which looked like doves and which were called *spiritili*<sup>43</sup> [bats]. Their teeth were like those of human beings and wherever they would bite, they would remove the flesh. These birds would strike at the faces of Alexander's horsemen, cut off the noses of some, gouge out the

eyes of others and then would fly away. It came to pass in the morning-watch that there came upon them large birds of another kind. Their bodies were red while the color of their beaks and feet was black. They did not, however, harm the soldiers. The multitude of birds was as the sand. They floated on the surface of the water and ate the fish.\*

Alexander departed thence and came to the land of the Bactrians where he found an abundance of gold and great treasures. The people of that country came forth to meet him and received him with great honor. Alexander tarried there with them for twenty days. He set out from there and arrived at a place where he found a people called Seres. The trees in that region had leaves which were like wool. The people would sew the leaves together and cover their nakedness. Alexander's horsemen felt proud because they had smitten the beasts and had saved themselves from them. 88

Alexander set forth from there with all his troops and arrived at the place where Porus, the King of India, and his entire army were stationed. Alexander encamped there with all his forces. On the following day the opposing armies drew up in battle array in the field. Alexander mounted his horse and rode in front of his commanders and horsemen. He ordered that the trumpets be blown and that an alarm be sounded. Porus' troops also blew their trumpets, and the battle was waged with great violence. The troops crossed lines and intermingled, and many fell on both sides. When Porus beheld the slaughter of his choicest warriors, he took his stand in front of all his commanders and called out in a loud voice, saying to Alexander: "It is not fitting or proper for your men and mine to be killed while you stand by mocking and deriding your soldiers as they are slain. If you wish to show your power and might, then let us do this. Let all your troops stand by in one area and mine in another, and the two of us, I and you, shall fight with each other. If you prevail in this contest and defeat me, we shall become your subjects. However, if I prevail 89

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Alexander fighting with the beasts, the monsters, the serpents, the boars, the lions, the leopards, the birds and with the other beasts as is described above."

and smite you, then you will become our subjects and serve us." Porus said all this because Alexander was an object of derision in his eyes. He mocked him because of his small stature. Alexander, to be sure, was only three cubits in height while Porus was five cubits tall. It was not proper, however, for a great and mighty king like Porus to put his trust in his strength because a man's strength is not known until he returns from battle. They both offered to fight with each other and they shook hands. Porus gathered all his troops and ordered them not to cross the line of battle and Alexander issued the same order to his troops. Then the two of them fought, neither one giving way to the other. Meanwhile Porus' horsemen yelled and shouted. When Porus heard their shouting, he turned his head toward them. Seeing that Porus had turned his head and knowing that he was a powerful fighter, Alexander rushed at him craftily, struck him on the neck with his sword and cut off his head. When the Indian soldiers saw what Alexander had done, they were very incensed because he had smitten Porus with cunning and not with might. They therefore fought a violent battle with Alexander for they were sorely vexed, and they said: "Let us die but let us avenge our king and it shall be reckoned to us as heroism." When Alexander beheld the Indian soldiers fighting and saw that they did not turn their backs on their king who lay smitten in the field, he said to them: "Mighty warriors of India, what will it profit you to fight with me? Is not your king lying dead on the ground? Will he return to life to rule over you? Withdraw, I pray you, and cease fighting lest you become a prey. Lo, I vow unto you to lead you with honor. You shall be free and each of you shall rule in his home. You shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree in safety and you shall inherit every man his possession." Thus did Alexander entice the Indians with words for he was unable to subdue them with might. When the Indians heard Alexander's words, they threw away their weapons, swore allegiance to him and submitted to his command. They praised Alexander and blessed him as a god. Alexander and his troops pitched their tents there and he offered up sacrifices to the gods. He ordered that those who were slain in that battle be buried. He also ordered that Porus be buried with great honor.

Then he ordered that a city be built at the site of his tomb, and he named it Alexandria.\*

Alexander departed thence and came to a place where there were two statues which Hercules had made, one of gold and the other of silver.<sup>44</sup> The statues were six cubits in length according to the common cubit and they were two cubits thick. When Alexander saw the statues, he ordered that a hole be bored in them in order to find out whether they were hollow. When he found them to be hollow, he ordered that 1,400 golden drachmae be placed inside of them. Then he departed and came to a rocky region where there were many people in hiding. Alexander advanced upon them for battle. He was sorely vexed and wanted to do harm to those who served Hercules.<sup>45</sup> He besieged the place for many days until he subdued its people and subjected them to forced labor for tribute. 91

He departed thence with all his troops and came to the region of the Chorasmi and the Dachae. The people whom he found there were as untamed as a wild ass' colt. He fought with them, defeated them and subjected them to forced labor for tribute.

He departed thence and came to the land of Persia. He subdued all the peoples in that area.

He set out from there and arrived at a place where he had a chance encounter with 200,000 horsemen. The Persians and Macedonians were tired and weary. They had grown weak. Nevertheless, they fought against them and after great exertion were victorious and subdued them. Alexander tarried there for several days and offered up sacrifices to the gods.

He departed thence and came to the land of the Parimae and the Parameni. He fought with the people who dwelled at the foot of the mountains, subdued them and subjected them to forced labor for tribute.

He set out from there and came to a cold wilderness. It was like evening in that region and one was not able to recognize his fellowman. After marching in that darkness for eight days, they 92

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\* After this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture of Alexander fighting with Porus, King of India, striking him and cutting off his head with cunning. A picture of the people of India throwing away their weapons and submitting to Alexander's command."

found a river with warm water. On the other side of the river there were beautiful and lovely women, dressed in garments of silk and other kinds of raiment. They rode horses after the manner of men. Their weapons of war were of silver; none of them was made of iron. There was not a woman among them who had known a man. Alexander wished to cross the river but could not because it was very wide and had overflowed its banks. Furthermore, the area surrounding the river was infested with large monsters and very wicked and cruel beasts.

Alexander departed thence and arrived in the land of India. In the course of his journey he came upon marshes filled with reeds. He desired to cross the marshes when suddenly there emerged from them a large beast which resembled the hippopotamus. Its head was like that of a crocodile while the rest of its body resembled another beast. Its teeth were powerful and it moved slowly like the crocodile and the tortoise. The beast killed two of Alexander's horsemen. The horsemen could not injure it with their swords and spears. They struck it, however, with iron hammers until they slew it.

93 They departed thence and came into the forests of India. Alexander and all his troops pitched their tents on the bank of the Buemar River. There then came out of that Indian forest many elephants and they advanced upon the men. Alexander and all his troops came forward towards the elephants. The elephants stretched forth their trunks to seize the men, and the men trembled exceedingly and were afraid to approach them. Whereupon Alexander said: "Do not be afraid to approach these elephants. Indeed, fight with them until they perish. Get hold of some pigs and beat them until they squeal." The horsemen did this. They seized the pigs and beat them until they squealed. When the elephants heard the squealing of the pigs, they withdrew and fled. Alexander and all his troops pursued the elephants and killed many of them. They took their tusks and their hides and returned to the field.

94 On the following day he set forth with all his troops and they continued their march into the forests of India. In that region they found women with horns and with beards which reached down to their breasts. Their heads were broad and they were



dressed in skins. They knew how to hunt and raised dogs and animals which they used for hunting. The Macedonians advanced upon them, seized some of them and brought them before Alexander. When Alexander saw them, he ordered that they should be asked in the Indian language how they lived in the forests when they had no houses. They answered and said to them: "We live from the meat of animals which we hunt at all times in this forest. The meat which we obtain from hunting is sufficient unto us for food and we live on it."

Alexander departed thence and came to the bank of a river 95 where they found men and women who were covered with hair like the beasts of the forest. It was the custom of those people to dwell on the river and to go into hiding there.

He departed thence with all his troops and they came into other forests. There they found women whose teeth were as sharp as those of the wolf and as large as those of the wild boars. Their hair reached down to their navels. They were as hairy as camels and had tails like oxen. Their height was five cubits.

They departed thence and came into another of the forests of India. There they found women whose hair came down to their feet and whose feet were like those of the horse. Their height was three and one half cubits. The Macedonians pursued them, seized some of them and brought them before Alexander. When he saw them, he was very much amazed at their beauty for they surpassed all other women in beauty from their head to their navel.

They departed thence and came to a desolate plain where 96 Alexander and all his troops pitched their tents. At midday there arose a great and violent wind which rent the mountains and shattered the rocks. It tore up the tent-pegs and threw the tents to the ground. When the horsemen saw the tents falling, they trembled exceedingly because inside the tents there were torches of fire. The wind blew upon the torches causing them to fly in the faces of the men and strike them. The torches caused fires to break out wherever they fell. The horsemen and the people murmured and said: "What is this that the Lord has done to us and why has this happened to us? Is it not because of our determination to fight against fate?" When Alexander saw that his horsemen were afraid and were murmuring behind his back, he said to

them: "My commanders and horsemen, be not afraid nor dismayed for this tempest did not come from the Lord but came because of our sins."

97 Alexander departed thence with all his troops and they came to a valley where one of the horsemen, overcome by the cold, fell to the ground. This horseman was tall, powerful and mighty. Alexander alighted from his horse and he himself lifted him up. His body became warm and his spirit revived. He recovered soon from the severe cold after having been on the verge of a convulsive seizure. Alexander then ordered his horsemen to kindle fires in many places among the troops because the cold was great and severe. There was also much snow on the ground. Alexander ordered his men to stamp upon the snow with their feet for he was afraid lest the snow pile up too high on the ground. The fires which they kindled in many places helped considerably. However, twenty-seven among Alexander's men perished in that snow, not counting the youthful attendants of the horsemen and a very large number of animals. Alexander ordered that the men be buried. After the snow had fallen on the ground, the Lord caused a violent rain to fall upon the earth. After the rainstorm, clouds formed and thick darkness descended upon the earth. Hail fell from the heavens and fire flashed continually in the midst of the hail. All the troops trembled exceedingly, and Alexander offered up sacrifices to the gods and prayed that they spare them from death.

90 It came to pass afterwards that Alexander departed from there with all his troops and they arrived at the land of the Oxidraces. The Oxidraces were fools, lacked intelligence and had nothing to do with other people. They went about naked, both the men and the women. When their king heard that Alexander had come to their land, he sent him the following letter: "We, the Gymnosophists, who are born of woman, to Alexander, the man, greetings! Let it be known to you that we have heard of your fame. You intend now to come to our country to fight against us. Know in truth that it will not profit you at all for you will find nothing in our possession which you can rob and plunder. That which has been ordained for us by the Creator, no man on earth can take from us. When you come to fight against us, we shall

not abandon our laws and customs. If you desire to cross over to speak with us and to enjoy that which we enjoy, then come, O blessed of the Lord. We know that dominion is fitting unto you as wisdom is unto us." When Alexander read the letter, he answered him, saying: "Lo, I am ready to come to you with love and peace." Afterwards Alexander crossed over to them and saw them and lo, they were naked. They hid themselves in the clefts of the rocks, in holes in the earth and in huts. They roamed about like cattle in the field. They were as black as the raven. Alexander asked them, saying: "Have you no houses in which to dwell?" Whereupon one of them replied and said to him: "We have no houses other than those which you see." Alexander then asked another, saying to him: "Have you no graves?" To which he answered, saying: "My dwelling place is my grave." Alexander asked another, saying: "Of whom are more found, the living or the dead?" And he answered . . .<sup>46</sup>

Alexander departed thence with all his troops and they came 98 to a river<sup>47</sup> the name of which was Pishon. They encamped there for several days. While tarrying in that area, Alexander looked across the river and saw some people there. He ordered his men to greet them, to speak with them in the Indian language and to find out who they were. His men did this, and the people said: "We are Brahmans." When Alexander heard their name, he rejoiced; because having heard of their fame, he had for a long time been desirous of speaking with them. He wanted to cross over to them but was unable to do so because the river was full of marshes and looked like a field full of grass. When he saw that he could not cross over to them, he said to them: "Come across the river to me and I shall speak with you for I have long been yearning to talk with you. If you cross over to me, I shall not deal wickedly with you nor do you any harm. Indeed, I shall give you gifts." The men consented to do this and crossed the river in a small boat. When they came into the presence of Alexander, they fell and bowed down before him. Alexander spoke with them and gave them gifts. He inquired of them concerning the people of their kingdom and asked the name of their king. They answered all his questions. Then Alexander gave them a letter which they were to deliver to their king. These were the words of the letter:

“Alexander, King of kings, son of the god Ammon and of Queen Olympias of the kingdom of Macedonia to Dindimus, King of the Brahmans, greetings! Let it be known to you that we have heard of your fame and the fame of your people. We have also heard that your customs and teachings are blessed and good, surpassing those of the other peoples of the world, and that you do not desire the things of the earth and of the seas. It is difficult for me to believe this and to understand how this is possible. If it be true, I shall not regard you as the sons of woman but as the sons of angels and of gods. I implore you to tell me the truth and to inform me whether you do this because of wisdom and prudence or out of folly and deceit. If you do this because of wisdom, then I wish to walk in your ways and to act and live as you do. From the day that I learned to distinguish good from evil it has been my desire to walk in the ways of the wise, to lick their dust and to learn and understand that which I did not learn from my teachers. I have heard that you walk in the ways of our teachers, scholars and sages who had no desire for the vanities of this perishable world. I have also heard that whatever you learned from the books of our sages you acquired not by means of reason but by means of a faculty beyond reason and that you have also tried to delve in other sciences. Lo, I implore you to tell me the truth without delay. You will lose nothing and perhaps I shall gain by being instructed in your ways and customs. In the case of the intelligent man in whose house a candle was burning, were another man to enjoy its light, the former surely would not withhold the light of the candle and the latter would profit. The foolish man, however, who because of the lack of intelligence withholds the light of the candle from his neighbor will be cursed by the nations. What will he gain by withholding the light of the candle? Will the candle then shed more light?”

- 99 When Dindimus read the letter, he sent a reply to Alexander. These were the words of the letter: “Dindimus, King of the Brahmans, to Alexander, the King, greetings! Let it be known to you that I received your letter and was very happy with its words because I perceived that you pursue wisdom, a virtue than which there is none higher. By this do I know that you are wise, namely, that you love wisdom. For me this is a sign that you preside over

your kingdom with wisdom and are able to rule your people. Indeed the king who is lacking in wisdom, intelligence, knowledge and generosity will not be able to lead the people of his kingdom. His subjects will hate him and will conspire to kill him. His princes will lift up their hands against him. I find it very difficult to believe that you would be able to endure our laws and customs for our practices are different from yours and our wisdom and understanding are not like yours. We do not act as you do nor do we pray to your gods or follow your laws. Therefore I would prefer that you do not pursue this matter any further and that you do not force me to fulfill the request which you sent me. For I know that you would not benefit from the information which I would send you concerning our laws and customs nor from my efforts to familiarize you with the nature of our teachings, judgments and wisdom. Indeed you have no time to learn because of your constant occupation with wars. However, in order that you might not think that I am envious of you and that I do not want you to acquire wisdom, I shall with the aid of the Creator do everything I can to fulfill your request and your desire.

Know, Alexander, that the Brahmans lead a life of privation, are upright and will not commit a sin or a wrong. They do not desire more than necessity requires or fate decrees. They will suffer everything for the sake of righteousness and will not lord it one over the other. They neither plow, harvest nor sow the field. They do not plant orchards, spread the net in the sea to catch fish or hunt for game either animal or fowl. They want nothing else to eat except that which the earth, their mother, gives them. They do not become tired or weary. They do not set the table nor do they fill their stomachs with delicacies and savory foods. For what will it profit them to cause their bellies to swell, to fill their stomachs with food and to go mad from imbibing wine and strong drink? We Brahmans do not eat to satisfy our appetite. We lead a life of privation and eat only to keep the spirit within us alive. Therefore, we do not become sick and we enjoy tranquility and peace all the days of our life because we do not seek to gratify the desires of our stomachs. Each man lives as does the other and the death of one is like the death of the other. All of us alike observe a fixed pattern of living. None of us sits in front

of the fire because of the cold for the cold does not harm us even though we are always as naked as when we were born. We sit constantly in the face of the wind's blasts. We endure everything with love.

As for you, victorious King, by this shall it be known whether you are a great and mighty King, namely, by your ability to conquer your desire for physical and material things and by your capacity to cease craving for them. Then shall you be master and ruler over all your enemies. You shall not have to fight with them any more and you will acknowledge your Creator. However, if you do not subdue your desires, you will have to fight with your enemies for your enemies are your thoughts and desires which seduce you into committing all kinds of evil. We Brahmans are the conquerors and masters of our desires and have slain the enemies which are within us. We are not afraid that other enemies will wage war against us and we do not need to turn to other kings to help us fight our enemies or to send food and provisions to our country. We dwell in safety and without fear at all times for the Lord, the Creator of all, is in our midst and we have no dealings with anyone. We cover our nakedness with the leaves of the trees. The fruit of the trees is our food and our drink consists of milk and of water from the Tababenus River. We constantly sing the song of the Lord and our desire is to do good. We do not speak much because silence is a fence around wisdom. When we speak, we utter those words which are true, just and useful.

We do not desire to become rich because the ambitious soul can never be fully satisfied. Furthermore, when a man loves riches, he will become impoverished in wisdom and his wealth will be stored up for his own hurt. Indeed we find our satisfaction in wisdom which is sweeter than honey. We acknowledge our Creator and seek Him at all times and do not follow the obduracy of our hearts. There is no envy among us nor does one man have more power than another. There is no war among us and we do not gird ourselves with weapons for they have been destroyed in our country. We have broken our swords and our spears to pieces and we do not learn war. There is peace among us at all times. We have no judges nor do we find it necessary to complain to our

king for the man who rules over us is wiser and greater than all of us. He teaches us the way in which we should walk. We never commit crimes and there is therefore no need among us to sentence a man to death or flogging. We do not confess our sins to another man, saying: 'By confessing my sins to this man, the Lord will forgive me my sins.' We do not atone for our sins with our wealth as you do. We do not subject our bodies to fornication nor do we commit adultery and other sins and wrongs that we should have to confess and bring burnt-offerings and sacrifices as you do. You say: 'I shall sin, repent, confess and redeem my soul with my wealth and with burnt-offerings and sacrifices.' Does the Lord take pleasure in the sacrifices of rams and in burnt-offerings? By doing this, has one served his Lord? Is it not rather in this way that man is reconciled unto the Lord: by subduing his desires, by pursuing wisdom, by retiring into solitude in order to achieve union with his Creator and by forsaking the obduracy of his heart. For the imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth and it entices him to commit sin, wrong and injustice. Death does not come suddenly to us, the Brahmans, because the atmosphere has not been polluted by our deeds. We do not clothe ourselves with festal robes. Our women do not wear ornaments nor do they cleanse their faces with soap and ointments so that their beauty might be pleasing in the eyes of other men. They are not troubled with the problem of wearing beautiful garments and are not ashamed to be naked. They do not wish to be beautiful by virtue of baths and ornaments. This then is the nature of our laws and customs which are the opposite of your customs. It is therefore difficult for me to believe that you could remain without sin and transgression in deed, in thought, in imagination, in seeing, in hearing or in anything within the experience of those who are born of woman. From the day that you were born, you have grown up in the midst of wickedness, violence and sin. We, the Brahmans, do not build bathhouses and provide them with warm water for the purpose of washing our bodies. We are not afraid of the dew which descends upon us. No man is allowed to make himself prince over us because man overcome with passion will rule his brothers with rigor, and they in turn will deal treacherously with him. This is wrong because we all have one father and

one God has created us. Why then do we deal treacherously every man against his brother, profaning the covenant of our God?

We do not build houses to dwell in nor do we enter homes of stone and plaster. We dwell in desolate places, in the caverns of the rocks and in the holes of the earth. Rain does not fall upon us for the Lord does not cause rain to descend upon our country. When sleep comes over us, we sleep little. In these dwelling-places we reside all the days of our life. When we die, our dwelling-places are our graves. We do not sail from our island to other islands. We always stand ready to learn but only for the sake of the good. We speak with integrity. We do not attend schools of philosophy in which one finds representations and inscriptions of false teachings. Indeed, we go to our meeting-houses on whose walls our laws are inscribed. We do not curse anyone. We do not indulge in play or frivolity. Should we experience the desire to play as do other men, we place our books in front of us, engage in the study of our laws and teachings and do not contemplate vain things. When laughter is about to overtake us, we weep instead and meditate in solitude on the course of the sun, the revolution of the spheres and the course of the planets. We look out upon a sea which is always calm and tranquil and although its waves may be turbulent at times, it does not cross its bounds and cover the earth. Indeed, both of them remain side by side, like man and wife or brother and sister. Every day we see all kinds of fish dancing and playing. We delight in seeing the flowers of the field and love to spend all our time in the beautiful forests where we listen to the songs of the birds. Such has always been the manner of our living. To conclude, we observe our teachings and laws as our sages and forebears taught us. We shall not turn aside from their words to the right or to the left; rather shall we do as they have commanded us. Now, if you should wish to keep our laws, you should know that it would be a difficult thing for you to do. However, it would be a good thing to test you with them. If you should not wish to keep them, then we shall not be to blame since I have complied with everything which you requested in your letter. Should you desire to keep some of our laws, I shall still fulfil your wish.

I have heard that in a short period of time you conquered Asia



and Africa, humbled the pride of Persia and India and subdued the peoples of the earth, but that because of your wickedness the sun is darkened and the waters which flowed through the desert like a running stream are dried up. You have diminished the waters of the Nile because of your excessive drinking from them. You have taught your men to cross the ocean in ships and to take their lives in their hands. You have sacrificed your sons and daughters to your gods, which is an abomination and a grave sin. You have committed incest with your mothers and also adultery. You have caused dissension among the kings and have taught men to build palaces unto the heavens. Your men commit great evils because of your gods, a fact to which two reliable witnesses, Jove your god and Proserpina your goddess, will testify. She has given her approval to adultery in numerous instances, has instructed many men in her evil ways and has caused them to lie in Gehenna, a place of darkness and gloom, and to inherit the nether-world and destruction. You, foolish men, beseech and pray to Jove, your god, and to Proserpina who lusts after her lovers and with whom many men have lain. You make your men work with rigor and you do not let them go free. This is contrary to what is right. You do not do justice nor do you practise righteousness. The justice which you dispense is nothing but wrong-doing and violence. You train your judges to pervert justice in the case of the poor and the needy by means of the bribes which you give and take. According to your teachings the judges are allowed to show respect for persons. Your gods have not admonished you against such things. You have dressed and adorned your gods with garments of silk and purple in this world which is lowly and perishable. Indeed, how are they dressed in the upper world which is more glorious and precious than the most costly things?

By means of this letter I now say to you: Because of the evils which you persist in committing, you Alexander share the attitude of the gods whom you serve for you allow men to do things which should not be done and do not allow men to do things which should be done. You do not consider a man upright and wise if he does not know how to speak to the people. It would appear from your words that a man's intelligence and wisdom reside only in his tongue and mouth. You are therefore disposed to train your

tongue to talk a great deal and to indulge in lengthy speeches when it would be far better for you to be silent. Gold, silver and wealth are your gods and you worship them. You desire to amass great wealth, to acquire menservants and maidservants and to eat and drink to the full. The accumulation of these vast riches has led you to believe that all this wealth has been acquired by your power and by the might of your hands. You entertain no thought of leaving it behind you, and you do not remember that you came out of your mother's womb naked and that you will return naked unto the earth from which you were taken because you are dust and unto the dust you shall return. When you die, you will leave the silver, the gold, the vessels and all your ornaments behind you. What will it profit you then to amass riches and wealth and to follow the obduracy of your wicked hearts and the lust of your souls when after you die you will leave all this behind you and will go to the place where your abominable gods are found? You shall find your reward in the upper world for it is only in this perishable and lowly world that you have been exalted. This will be your portion after all your toil. You will be able to know that you are wise and that you can distinguish good from evil in this way: by acknowledging that the teachings of the Brahmins are purer than and superior to your teachings in every respect. This is the truth. Because you were born of the earth, you make statues and idols and serve them. You worship the dust of your graves and the wood of the coffins in which you will lie when you are dead. You will not allow your bodies to be received into the earth from which they came. You adorn your tombs and glorify yourselves by putting the tombs in a special place, and they become idols for your people. However, if you were to bury your remains in the ground, would they not return to the earth from which they were taken? Furthermore, you go forth as thieves to take away the inheritance of kings, rulers and princes and to deprive them of their possessions. Woe unto you and unto your souls after death!

We, the Brahmins, do not slaughter sheep and oxen for the glory and honor of the gods. We do not build temples in order to place images and idols of silver and gold in them. We do not do as you do. We do not make altars of gold, silver and precious

stones. You beseech your gods to bestow great riches upon you and to grant you victory. Indeed, the gods use you as an instrument for the performance of wicked deeds. Have you not heard that the Lord, God, living and true, will not forgive your iniquities simply because of the blood of a goat or of a ram? It would be better for man to serve the Lord with his good deeds because the good deeds of man may be likened to the deeds of God. For God is the Word and by the Word was the world created and by His words live all in whose nostrils is the breath of life. And this Word we Brahmans love and to Him we pray because the Lord, the Revered One, is Hope delightful and memorable, and He, blessed be He, loves the pure mention of His name. Therefore is the Lord called the Word. He is also called Light because He illumines the entire universe. The Lord blessed be He Whom we implore and to Whom we pray — Him no one can apprehend as to likeness, comparison, beauty and splendor. He cannot be spoken of nor written about, and even of the beauty of His angels who can tell? However, I shall write you of His likeness in order that you may understand Him and not compare Him to your gods. You, King Alexander, and all your people are fools and lack intelligence. You think that the gods to whom you pray are great gods because you can always find them. You defile your souls with abominations and adulteries and in this manner do your gods become reconciled unto you. You take pleasure in these practices all the days of your lives. You shall therefore not be free from guilt at death. You worship a god who is flesh and blood and you do not serve the Lord, living, true and eternal who reigns in the heavens. Indeed you serve many gods, saying that just as the limbs of man are many so are the gods in heaven many, each god ruling over one limb. To each one you offer a different sacrifice and you give every god a name. You say that Minerva was born from the head of Jove<sup>48</sup>. . . You believe that every one of the gods whom you worship through sacrifices of animals, birds, wheat or other objects exercises power over your being and substance and body. You also believe that the animals which you sacrifice atone for your sins. You, Alexander, and all your people will because of your falsehoods receive recompense for all your deeds after death.”<sup>49</sup>

100 Alexander sent the following letter to Dindimus: "Alexander, King of kings, son of the god Ammon and of Queen Olympias to Dindimus, King of the Brahmanas, greetings! Let it be known to you that I have received your letter and was very much amazed at your saying that you are not allowed to do that which<sup>50</sup> . . . You said that we sin in everything that we do and that all our works represent a grave iniquity. You said that you wish to change our teachings and our laws which have existed from ancient times. It is your wish that we convert to your religion and you have sent me a description of the likeness of your god. You did this because you are envious of our god. You said that I should abandon this perishable world in which we observe our laws with justice. You also said that it is not your custom to plow the field, to sow and to harvest and that you have never planted orchards and trees. Indeed this is true because you have no iron implements with which to till the soil nor do you have any ships with which to cross the seas and the rivers. You therefore find it necessary to eat grass like animals, to lead lives of privation and to act like wolves who, when they find no food, fill themselves with dirt to still their hunger. If you were permitted to come to the land which we inhabit, we would not give you our intelligent daughters for they would die of hunger because of your poverty. If we resided in your land, we too would be poor and miserable like you. One should not praise the man who has lived for many years in poverty above the man who has lived in the midst of riches. If we were to praise you because of your poverty and misery, then there would be greater virtue in poverty than in wealth and in wisdom.

You said that your women do not adorn themselves with beautiful ornaments. This may be because they might find them too burdensome. You said that you do not commit adultery and incest and that you do not chase after women for constant self-indulgence. This is indeed a great achievement and it becomes a man to act this way if he is able to subdue his passion. In your case, however, I believe that the reason you avoid it is that you are weak from self-affliction and are not able physically to indulge yourselves with women. You also said that among your people there are no idols, statues and molten images for them to worship.

In all that we have mentioned there is no difference between your people and the animals which have no feelings, cannot distinguish good from evil and do not enjoy the pleasures of this world" . . .<sup>51</sup>

[Alexander and his troops came to the region in which the widowed Queen Candace of Meroe lived and reigned. The queen had three sons: Candaulus, Marsippus and Carator. Alexander sent a letter to Queen Candace in which he suggested that they should meet and offer up a sacrifice to Ammon. The queen replied to Alexander and sent him many gifts. She also sent an artist along with her envoys to paint a likeness of Alexander unbeknown to him. In the meantime Candaulus and his wife went out riding with some of their horsemen. The king of the Bebrycians, knowing of the beauty of Candaulus' wife, came upon them, seized her and carried her off. Candaulus came to the camp of Alexander and told Ptolemy, the second in command to Alexander, what had happened. When Ptolemy reported it to Alexander, the latter decided upon this ruse: Ptolemy was to pretend that he was Alexander and he was to call in one of his men, Antigonus, to help Candaulus. Alexander was to pretend that he was Antigonus. This was done, and Antigonus (Alexander) rescued Candaulus' wife and returned her to him. Candaulus then asked Antigonus to come to his mother's palace where he would be rewarded with gifts. When they came to the palace of Candace, she immediately recognized Alexander from the likeness which her artist had painted of him. When she told Alexander that she knew who he was, he became frightened; but she assured him that she would not betray him because he had saved her daughter-in-law. However, Candace's daughter-in-law, the wife of her youngest son, Carator, wanted to have Antigonus killed in place of Alexander who had slain her father, King Porus. In a discussion of this matter Carator said: "Alexander] saved my brother and his wife from death. However, my wife wishes to kill him (Antigonus) because Alexander killed her father (Porus). This man would be put to death to redress her father's death. Alexander will be very distressed over this." The queen (Candace) answered, saying: "What will it profit us to kill him who has come to seek protection under our wings? Why should you commit this wicked deed? What will Alexander say to this? Will he not

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be distressed over it and consider us cruel and lacking in respect for justice and law? He might even attack our country and destroy it as he has done to other kingdoms." When Candaulus heard the words of his brother (Carator) he became very angry and said: "Why should this man be put to death? What has he done to deserve the sentence of death? What transgression has he committed that I should requite him in this manner? Far be it from me to repay goodness with evil! I shall not fret myself because of evil-doers and wicked men. Did he not come to my aid against the king of the Bebrycians and save my wife from his hands and then escort me to my home? I became surety for him to King Alexander, pledging that he would return safely and would suffer no adversity." Whereupon Carator answered and said: "My brother, why do you talk to me in such a manner? Do you want us to fight and slay one another?" To which Candaulus replied: "No. However, if you want to fight with me, I am ready." When the queen heard the words of her sons, she was deeply distressed and said to herself: "Now my sons will slay one another." She therefore took hold of Alexander, brought him into her chamber and said to him: "King Alexander, give your advice and counsel here lest my sons quarrel and fight and slay one another because of you. Why should I lose both of them in one day?" Alexander replied and said: "Allow me and I shall go and speak to them." Alexander left the chamber, approached the queen's sons and said to them: "What will you gain if you kill me in your home, Carator? Will it be considered a deed of bravery and honor on your part? Alexander has many officers more distinguished than myself. He will not worry over me when he learns that I have been killed because I am only a servant of the servants of my lord Alexander. Now if you want me to bring Alexander to this palace, to produce the man who killed Porus, the King of India and your father-in-law, then swear to me to fulfill the request which I shall make of you and I shall swear to you to bring him to your palace." When Carator heard his words, he believed him and was very happy. Alexander thus made peace between the brothers and they vowed unto Alexander to fulfill his request.

It is not surprising that Alexander was saved from their hands.

Indeed, it was a turn of events brought about by the Lord that He might make him ruler over the entire world, thus fulfilling the vision of the prophet Daniel. Alexander had vowed to show them Alexander in their palace and they did see him just as he had promised. They talked and dined with him. However, they did not know that he was Alexander and thought that he was Antigonus, the messenger of Alexander, for he had changed his name when he went with Candaulus to the king of the Bebrycians. The queen, however, recognized him but did not reveal the secret to her sons or to anyone else.

Afterwards the queen called Alexander to her chamber and said to him: "Lie with me." She embraced and kissed him and locked the door behind her. Alexander lay with her, and the queen said: "I know that you are a great king and that there is no one as intelligent and wise as you are. It is not surprising that you have vanquished all the peoples of the earth. Indeed, it is by virtue of your wisdom that you overcame them and subdued them beneath the soles of your feet."

It came to pass that after having lain with Alexander, the queen said: "I am fortunate in that I was joined unto a king as great as you. Would that you were with me always as one of my sons." She continued to speak to him in this passionate manner until they left the chamber and sat down to dine. After the meal the queen gave Alexander these gifts: a large golden crown beset with various kinds of precious stones, a royal robe bedecked with gold and precious stones, a coat of mail studded with diamonds and onyx, and a cloak of gold and purple. Then she sent him away in peace.

Alexander went forth from the palace with Candaulus and the choicest of the queen's horsemen. They traveled all of that day until they came to a large, deserted temple and encamped there. Then Candaulus said: "Antigonus, this is the place of the gods and they have feasted here many times." When Alexander heard his words, he offered up sacrifices. As he was standing there, large clouds appeared. Alexander gazed at the clouds and beheld shining stars. He continued to gaze and saw a man whose eyes shone like a burning candle. Upon seeing the man, Alexander was terrified and fell to the ground on his face. The man said to him: 110

"God will save you, Alexander." Whereupon Alexander said: "Who are you, and what does my lord say unto his servant?" To which he replied: "I am Sesonchosis and in my hands are all the kingdoms of the world. Even though I have conquered them all, I do not enjoy your fame for you have built cities to which you have given your name. Now draw near unto me." Alexander approached him and as he drew near he saw a large cloud and in it was a god who was sitting on the royal throne. Alexander said to him: "Who are you?" The god replied: "I am the most ancient of all the gods of this place. I saw you in the land of Lybia and now I am here." Alexander then said: "Let my supplication come before you and tell me, I pray, how long I shall live and in what manner I shall die." To which he replied: "You have already made this request of me on another occasion.<sup>52</sup> You also know what my answer to you was: that it is not fitting or proper for a man to know how long he will live. Indeed if he were to know, he would be seized with anguish and pain and all his days would be filled with suffering and vexation. However, you may know this, that you will be buried and will have your final resting-place in a city which you built and which bears your name. That city will be exalted above all other cities under heaven. Many kings will lay siege to it." It grieved Alexander to his heart when he heard these words and he was sorely vexed. He went forth from the temple and came back to Candaulus and his horsemen who had left him alone as he prayed to the gods and offered up sacrifices before them. Alexander said to Candaulus: "My brother and dear friend, return home with your horsemen and I shall do likewise with mine. Know that I am really Alexander and that I love you as a faithful brother." Then he embraced and kissed him and said: "With respect to the oath that I took, you may tell your brother that he did speak with Alexander in the palace and that Alexander dined and rejoiced with him and with the queen. Remember me to the queen who surpasses all other queens in nobility and loveliness. Should you desire to come with me and go wherever I go, I vow that I shall raise and exalt you above all the kings who are my subjects." Candaulus replied and said: "Acclaim of grace,<sup>53</sup> grace unto you my lord, the King. Now I know that I have found favor in your eyes because



you have revealed your name to me. If in truth you are Alexander, then there is no king as wise as you. It is not surprising that you have vanquished and subdued all the peoples of the earth." As he said these things, Candaulus fell at Alexander's feet. Alexander took hold of his hand and embraced and kissed him. Then Candaulus said: "Were it not for my mother, my dear brothers and my companion, the wife of my youth, I would follow you and lick the dust of your feet. However, I am fearful lest they worry over me all the days of their lives." Whereupon they took leave of Alexander in peace. Candaulus returned to his city, but he did not relate the words of Alexander to his brother and his wife because he was afraid that they might react with disgust and that his younger brother, the son-in-law of Porus, King of India, might quarrel with him. However, he related Alexander's words to his mother, the Queen. When she heard the words of her son, she retired to her chamber and wept. Then she said: "O Cleophil Candace, pre-eminent in beauty and dignity among all the women on earth! You set your desire upon the King of kings and he did your bidding. Why did I allow him to go? Why did I not lock him in the chamber? Indeed I would then have surpassed all the queens in happiness for I could have been with him always, finding joy together with him on the couch of love." She continued to talk in this manner. Her handmaids and maidens could not comfort her. The queen wanted to kill herself but she was afraid lest the affair be disclosed and made known to her sons. However, she was unable to conceal her desire and her love for Alexander.

In the meantime Alexander returned to his troops. When his horsemen saw him, they were very happy and offered praise unto the Lord. Alexander related all that had happened to him.<sup>54</sup>

... It came to pass after these things that Alexander sent a letter to Olympias, his mother, and to Aristotle, his teacher, containing an account of all his experiences. It described his encounter with Porus, King of India, his victory over him and the subjection of the entire kingdom of Porus to his rule. It also described his struggles with the strange beasts, birds and fiery serpents. 123

Aristotle, his teacher, replied to his letter, writing him as

follows: "Aristotle, to the King of kings, Alexander, greetings! Let it be known to you that I received your letter and that we rejoiced very much at your greatness. I was very much amazed at the victories which you achieved in such great battles. Lo, I offer praise with all my might and power to the Creator of all who subdued before you all those who opposed you. Indeed the gods will be my witnesses that you are worthy of praise and greatness. We offer praise unto the gods for all that you have accomplished, for the help they have given you, for having saved you from the beasts and the serpents and for having been with you both summer and winter. Blessed be your commanders and horsemen who listened to your words and helped you throughout the entire course of events."

Aristotle wrote him another letter:<sup>66</sup> "To Alexander, King of kings, from Aristotle, your teacher, greetings! You ought to know that even as it does not become a man morally to be content with the wealth and the servants which he possesses and requires for his needs but that it is his duty rather to acquire the more noble things, so in the realm of knowledge it is similarly not proper for you to be content with that which you require for practical purposes but it is your duty rather to choose the nobler and more respected subjects of learning." Aristotle continued: "When you conquer many lands, rule the people in a kindly manner and you will win their love. It is better to seek their love by dealing kindly with them than to impose a heavy yoke upon them. Know that you will conquer their bodies and hearts only if you act with righteousness and mercy. Know also that the multitude can act as well as talk. See to it that it is not said: 'Be on guard against what they might do.' You are king over all the nobility and to you has been allotted an empire of surpassing eminence. If your kingdom is to grow in worth and win greater favor for you, then endeavor to improve the condition of the people. You will then be the leader of the select among the best and not of the select among the worst. Eliminate the rule of plunder for it is subject to many ugly vices. It must be censured because it diminishes the dignity of the kingdom. The members of a nation whose king is a tyrant are slaves and not free men. It is better for a man to rule over free men than slaves. Whoever

chooses to rule over slaves rather than free men is like unto him who prefers to watch over cattle rather than men and who thinks moreover that in so doing he has achieved greater success. The tyrant invites this comparison because while he may strive after a superior kingdom, there is nothing which is in fact as far removed from such dominion as tyranny. The tyrant is like a master whereas the king is like a father. What causes the dignity of the kingdom to be diminished is what the king of Persia did when he called all his people, including his own son, slaves. Dominion over free and honorable men is better than dominion over slaves even though they be numerous. This is a fitting objective for all men and particularly for men of noble spirit. It is fitting for you to banish the hatred of the king from the hearts of the people by permitting them to experience gentle conduct on your part, by removing the weight of your yoke from them and by dispelling their fear and dread of you. When slaves are sold and their buyers are pointed out to them, the slaves do not inquire concerning the wealth or position of their buyers but rather concerning their behavior toward slaves. Free men will feel impelled to prevent the manifestation of this oppressive attitude in their king and will therefore conspire against him. When you have succeeded in eliminating tyranny from your rule, you should then lighten the burdens of war for your subjects and relieve them of the oppressiveness of your anger. Indeed, you should transform anger into compassion for them. It is fitting for a man to know the measure of his anger. One's anger should not be intense or of long duration nor slight or of short duration. The former trait is characteristic of the wolves of the forest while the latter belongs to boys.

To possess the qualities which mark a noble soul requires of the king that he should feel compassion for his fellowmen. It is through mercy and compassion that the king will prove worthy of achieving fame among his people. I enjoin this precept upon you but I am afraid that you will fail as have many others in your search for advice. For most men, when asked, offer advice which is contrary to the interests of the one who seeks it and serves instead their own interests. They offer no help in the matter which requires it but rather in that which will benefit themselves.

It is my wish that you follow the advice of Asbidri<sup>56</sup> who said that doing good is as a general rule better than doing evil. Indeed, it is possible to conquer evil with good, a conquest that represents the choicest victory. Victory through evil is wickedness while victory through goodness is righteousness. It is possible for you to teach men your virtues as a result of which your fame will spread throughout the world and will remain inscribed on the pages of time. Therefore do that which is good in its proper time. Know also that what men admire is courage and nobility of spirit and that what they love is love, humility and gentleness of speech. Therefore combine both things: Win the complete love of the people and let them benefit from your kindness. None of this however should keep you from saying that which will be of advantage to the multitude, for people are attracted more by speech than by deed. Do not think that this will lower your dignity. On the contrary, it will add to your esteem especially if you present just arguments on the basis of which you are able to convince them. You should also know that when a weak person approaches a group and joins it, it is regarded as deception and flattery; but that when a strong person joins a group, it is regarded as humility, modesty and noble-mindedness. Therefore, do not refrain from approaching and joining with the multitude so that you may win their love and gain their respect. Bear in mind that time causes all things to perish, erases the signs, destroys the forms and effaces memory. However, that which enters the hearts of men will be transmitted by fathers to sons as an inheritance. Therefore, strive to acquire an imperishable memorial by causing the hearts of men to be filled with love for you. Then will the eminence of your virtue and the excellence of your qualities remain with them. It is not right for a leader to regard his people as his wealth and property. He should rather regard them as brothers and friends. He should seek only those honors from his people of which he is deemed to be worthy because of gentleness of character and integrity in conduct. May peace be with you." In his letter to his student, Aristotle concluded with these words: "Peace be with you, not the peace of customary leave-taking but the wish for peace out of good will."

It<sup>57</sup> came to pass afterwards that Alexander ordered his men

to fashion two hollow statues of gold and to inscribe on them the record of all his mighty and valorous deeds as well as an account of all his experiences. He placed one of them in Babylonia and the other in Persia.

It came to pass while Alexander was in Babylonia that a woman bore him a son. After she gave birth, they covered the child with a garment and brought him to Alexander. The appearance of the child from his head to his navel was that of a handsome human being. However, this part of him was dead. His appearance from his navel and below was that of strange beasts. However, this part of him was alive. When he saw him, Alexander was terrified and very much amazed. As his amazement increased, he ordered that his magician be called before him and he showed him the boy. When the magician saw the boy, he wrung his hands, sighed bitterly and wept. Then he said: "My lord, the King, the time is drawing near when you will die." Alexander replied and said: "How can this be?" To which the magician answered: "My lord, the King, you see that the boy is dead in that part of his body which resembles a human being, namely, from his head to his navel. This indicates that the time is approaching when death will remove you from the living. The boy is alive in that part of his body which resembles beasts, namely, from his navel and below. This indicates that the kings who will rule after you will, like animals, amount to nothing." It grieved Alexander to his heart when he heard these words. He sighed and said: "O great God, I know that my deeds are responsible for the fact that I shall die in this place. You are righteous for when I planned to do something because of the evil in my heart, you restrained me. Since you no longer wish me to live,<sup>58</sup> behold I am in your hands for you to do unto your servant as seems proper in your eyes. And now let the supplication<sup>59</sup> of your servant, the son of your handmaid, be acceptable before you so that you may receive me into your hands after my death. I entrust my spirit and my soul unto you."

There was in Macedonia at that time a man called Antipater who sought to attack King Alexander. However, he did not succeed. Many men gathered about him, and he frequently uttered slanderous remarks concerning Alexander in the hope that he

might thereby become king of Macedonia. When the news of Antipater's activities reached Queen Olympias and she learned that he was comforting himself by planning to kill her son, Alexander, she was seized with great anguish and it grieved her to her heart. She summoned Antipater to appear before her and said to him: "Antipater, the report which I have heard concerning you is not a good one. You have been harboring certain ideas in your mind and have as a consequence devised an evil plot. You are planning to kill my son and to take the kingdom of Macedonia from his hands. You have been scheming to your own detriment if you think you are more powerful than he. Do you not know that he has vanquished mighty kings as well as all the peoples of the earth? How do you plan to seize the kingdom of Macedonia and to fight against him? Do you not know that Alexander has thousands upon thousands of subjects who are greater than you? You are as nought before him. Take heed now and beware lest I hear of these things any more. You shall not see my face again for on the day that you do, you shall die. Make sure, therefore, that you do not appear before me again." As the words left the mouth of the queen, Antipater's face was covered with shame.<sup>60</sup> He went forth from the presence of the queen confounded, sullen and angry.

It came to pass afterwards that Antipater planned to kill Alexander by poisoning him. He went to a physician who was loyal to him and was famous for his expert knowledge of drugs. He asked him for some poison but did not tell him what he was going to do with it. The physician did not ask him and gave him a very potent poison, so potent that an iron vessel could not contain it. Antipater therefore took a leaden vessel, poured the poison into it and placed the leaden vessel inside of an iron one. Then he took it and gave it to one of his sons, Cassander, and sent him off to Alexander with the following instructions: "When you come to the place where Alexander is sojourning, you shall give the vessel to your brother Jobas so that he in turn may give Alexander its poison to drink."

It came to pass at that time that Alexander dreamed a dream which he related to his magician. Whereupon the latter said to him: "My lord, the King, Cassander's heart is not faithful to

you." When Cassander arrived in Babylonia, he brought forth the poison and gave it to Jobas, his brother.

Jobas served Alexander as chief of butlers. He was faithful 126 to him and was a pleasant young man. Alexander liked Jobas very much but had become angry with him and had struck him on the head with his staff. Jobas became angry because Alexander had struck him without just cause. It was, however, not proper for him to become angry because his master had struck him. From that day on Jobas planned to raise his hand against King Alexander and kill him.

It came to pass later that Jobas took the golden cups and 127 placed them on Alexander's table as he was about to dine with his commanders and horsemen. Jobas approached the king's table and served him joyfully. When the heart of the king was merry with wine, Jobas took the golden goblet, brought forth the poison from under his garment, mixed it with the wine and gave it to Alexander to drink. Alexander drank with joy. However, after he had drunk the poison, he was seized with severe pains. He cried out loudly and bitterly and fell on the table on his right side. He groaned like a man whose heart had been struck and pierced by an arrow. After resting a little, he rose from the table and said to his commanders and horsemen: "Eat, drink and rejoice and let your hearts be merry." His officers however did not listen to his words for they were appalled. They all rose from the table and carried Alexander into his bed-chamber, and he fell on his bed. He asked for a feather so that he might put it in his mouth and vomit the poison. Whereupon Jobas took a feather, smeared it with poison and gave it to Alexander who put it in his mouth so that he might vomit. Alexander took no precautions against Jobas' treachery because he had found him faithful in the past and therefore did not suspect him of anything. This second act of treachery was worse for Alexander than the first. After Alexander had put the feather in his mouth, he ordered his men to open the gates of the palace from which there was a path leading to the river. He slept and rested until midnight. It came to pass at midnight that Alexander rose from his bed and extinguished the light. Crawling on all four, he set out to throw himself in the river so that he might be carried away by the current and

never be found again. When Queen Roxane, his wife, saw that Alexander was planning to throw himself in the river, she ran after him, took hold of him and embraced him. Then she lifted up her voice and wept and wailed, and she said: "Woe unto me! What can I hope for now, and what can I look forward to? Will you leave me in darkness? Why should you want to kill yourself? God forbid that you should do such a thing! I am an orphan without father or mother and have no one to comfort me. Alas, my lord, where is the love which you have had for me from the day I was joined unto you? If you are to be separated from me, it is better that I die now than live after you." Alexander replied and said: "Roxane, my dear wife, your love for me has been very wonderful, and now listen to me, my sweet desire. Let not my end become known and do not speak of it to anyone." Roxane, however, seized him, embraced him and brought him to his bed. She wrung her hands and wept bitterly and said: "Alas, my lord the King, tell your maidservant who will sit on the throne of my lord, the King, after your death and who will reign after you and with whom you will leave me." Alexander answered, saying: "Summon Jobas before me." The Queen summoned Jobas before the King, and he said to Jobas: "Summon Simeon, the scribe, before me." Jobas went out and called him. When Simeon came, the King said: "Simeon, take the ink-stand and the quill and put down in writing the words which I shall speak." Simeon took the quill and the ink-stand and when Alexander began to dictate his will, Simeon wrote it down. These are the words of the will: "I, Alexander, son of Queen Olympias, am sitting up in my bed and am ill. My mind and my thoughts, however, are as sound as those of a healthy and strong man. I entrust to you, Aristotle my teacher, the task of sending the kingdom's treasures of gold to the princes of Egypt and to the priests of the temple in Egypt. My remains shall be buried there. You shall give one hundred and twenty talents of gold to the temple. Indeed, I had thought that as king of Egypt I would rejoice with them in person. However, since the Lord has decreed that I should die in this place, then let my body be buried in your land as a memorial unto you, O people of Egypt. If Roxane, my wife, should give birth to a son, I hereby order that he shall rule over you in my stead. You may



give him whatever name you desire. If, however, my wife should give birth to a girl, then let the Macedonians select a king of their own choice. Roxane, my wife, shall be in charge of all my precious treasures.

Ptolemy<sup>61</sup> shall be the prince of Egypt, Africa and Arabia and shall rule over all my princes of the Orient as far as Bactria. Cleopatra, whom my father Philip married after he had divorced my mother, shall become his wife. Phiton shall be the prince of Syria Major. Laomedon and Milliternus shall be the princes of Syria Minor. Sironias shall be the prince of Sicily.<sup>62</sup> Philo shall be the prince of Illyria. Acropacus shall be the prince of Media. Sinon shall be the prince of Susiana. Antigonus, the son of Philip, shall be the prince of Phrygia Major. Simeon, the scribe, shall be the prince of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia. Nearchus shall be the prince of Lycia and Pamphylia. Cassander<sup>63</sup> shall be the prince of Caria. Antipater,<sup>64</sup> the father of Cassander, shall be the prince of Cilicia for it is fitting for him to rule over its inhabitants. Meander shall be the prince of Libya.<sup>65</sup> Jobas, the son of Antipater, shall be general of the King's army. The men whom I have appointed shall reign in Bactria and India.<sup>66</sup> Leonnatus shall be the prince of Phrygia Minor. Lisimachus shall be the prince of Thracia. Arrideus shall be the prince of the Peloponnesus. Marapus, the father-in-law of Antipater, shall be the prince of Sepharad. Taxiles shall be the prince of the Seres in whose land there are two rivers. Phiton shall be the prince of the colonies established in India.<sup>67</sup> Oxiarches shall be the prince of the Parapomeni<sup>68</sup> as far as Mount Caucasus and of the Arachosians and the Sighedres. Amonta shall be the prince of the Patracans. Sicheus shall be the prince of the Scodicini. Itacanor shall be the prince of the Parthians. Philip shall be the prince of the Hyrcanians.<sup>69</sup> Pratafarni shall be the prince of Armenia.<sup>70</sup> Ptolemy shall be the prince of Persia. Elitom shall be the prince of Babylonia Major.<sup>71</sup> Archous shall be the prince of the Pelausi. Sirerochas<sup>72</sup> shall be the prince of Sicily. Aprilosiu shall be the prince of Capua. Baloni shall be the prince of Bithynia. Caliolu shall be the prince of Chalcedon. Archelaus<sup>73</sup> shall be the prince of Jerusalem and Caldanía [Chaldaea?]. Palcariu shall be the prince of Antiochia.<sup>74</sup> The Liciote shall be free and shall select

a king and prince according to their own will. All the people who were sold out of their country shall be free and shall return to their country and inherit their possessions. May every man and woman forgive me for raising my voice at them and for dealing unjustly with them."

When Alexander had finished dictating his will, a violent and furious tempest arose which rent the mountains and shattered the rocks. Thunder and lightning filled the heavens and the entire kingdom of Babylonia trembled.

- 128 Then it became known that Alexander was nearing death. The Greek<sup>75</sup> and Macedonian troops, armed with their weapons, rose and came to the royal palace and assembled in the courtyard.<sup>76</sup> They cried out and said to the princes and governors: "If you do not show us our lord, the King, we shall put you all to the sword, the suckling as well as the man of hoary head. We shall show no compassion for the old or for the young." When Alexander heard the shouting of the people, he inquired of the men standing near him: "What is the meaning of the shouting that I hear?" They said to him: "It is the Greek and Macedonian troops who have asked to see you. They have threatened to kill us if we do not show you to them." When Alexander heard their words, he ordered them to carry him in his bed into the hall. Whereupon the princes and governors did so. Afterwards Alexander ordered them to open the gates of the palace, and the Greeks and Macedonians came before him. When Alexander saw them, he groaned and wept bitterly and wrung his hands and said to them: "Be strong, my brothers and comrades. Love one another and live in peace." They lifted up their voices and wept, and they said: "Our lord, the King! If it seems right in your eyes, then tell us who will reign after your death." Alexander answered, saying: "My soldiers and horsemen, men of Macedonia! Call upon whomever you may see fit to have as your king. Let him rule over you and I shall approve." They replied: "Since it is the will of our lord that we should choose our king, then we call upon Perdicas to rule over us after your death." Then Alexander ordered that Perdicas be summoned before him. Perdicas came and bowed before him and Alexander said to him: "Perdicas, be strong and of good courage for you shall rule over

the Macedonians. Roxane, my wife, and all the people of Greece and Macedonia shall be entrusted unto you. Be a man of valor, and may the Lord help you."

Then they all approached, one by one, and kissed his hand. 129 Alexander wept bitterly. Among those present was a Macedonian whose name was Speleucus. He lifted up his voice in soft lamentation and said: "Our lord, our lord! Philip your father ruled over us and maintained our kingdom in peace, security and tranquility. He chastised us with gentle reproof. However, who can describe your wisdom and might? You have set us free and have by virtue of your wisdom, prudence and heroism vanquished all the peoples of the world before us and have made them our subjects." When Alexander heard his words, he beat his forehead, raised himself on his bed and sat up. He wept bitterly and groaned and said in the Macedonian language.<sup>77</sup> "Woe unto you Alexander for you will never return to Macedonia."

When the Macedonians heard Alexander's words, they also wept and said: "Woe unto us, our lord, the King! It were better for us to die now than to live after your death. How will the kingdom of Macedonia ever be comforted? Alas, Alexander, how can you go away without us? With whom will you leave us?" Alexander was weeping and sighing all the while, and he said: "Woe unto you, O Macedonians! Your name will not be mentioned in the future as it was in the past." Then Alexander sent a large golden robe, a cloak of purple and a golden throne to the temple of Apollo. He sent the same to all the temples of Greece and ordered that other gifts be added to these, including frankincense, galbanum and onycha. He also ordered that the physicians should embalm him after his death and that he should be brought to Egypt in a golden coffin. He ordered his brother whose name was Arideus to spend one thousand<sup>78</sup> talents of gold for the construction of his sepulchre in Alexandria. When he had done speaking, he drew up his feet into the bed and breathed his last; and he died and was gathered to his people.

Then Ptolemy and the princes took Alexander's corpse, dressed it in beautifully ornamented garments, set the royal crown on its head just as when Alexander was alive and placed it in a carriage drawn by mules. They brought it to the city of

Alexandria which Alexander had built in Egypt. Ptolemy and all the princes and governors walked before the carriage, every man dressed in his finest garments. They walked and they wept, their feet bare and their heads covered. Each one raised a lamentation over him. Some of his princes scattered myrrh, aloes, cinnamon, musk and other kinds of spices all along the way.

130 The<sup>79</sup> years of his life were thirty-two. When he was eighteen years old, he began to fight with his enemies. He waged war continuously with the peoples of the earth until he was twenty-six. During that time he had vanquished lions, strange beasts and fiery serpents, had subdued twenty-two kings and had conquered all the nations. Then he was at peace for six years until the day of his death.

He was born at sunrise,<sup>80</sup> and he died on the fourth day of the month of Iyar at sunset. The years of his life were thirty-two years, six months and twelve days.

In his life-time Alexander had built thirteen very large cities: the first, Alexandria Improporita (Yprosiritas);<sup>81</sup> the second, Alexandria Impimoru (Jepiporum); the third, Kiphalon (Alexandria Jepybukephalon); the fourth, Alexandria Rikastisi (Ricratisti); [the fifth,] Alexandria Yaranicon (Yaranicon); the sixth, Alexandria Obobiti (Scithia); the seventh, Alexandria which is situated on the Tigris River; the eighth, Alexandria in Babylonia; the ninth, Alexandria in Troas; the tenth, Alexandria Inprosoton (Yprosxanthon); the eleventh, Alexandria Ankoloni; the twelfth, Alexandria in Egypt; the thirteenth, Bucephalus after the name of the horse.

## II

## [APOTHEGMS]

It<sup>1</sup> came to pass that when the coffin was placed before his mother Olympias, she uncovered his face, and said: "Marvel at him whose wisdom reached unto the heavens and whose rule stretched unto the ends of the earth. Kings joined hands with him out of fear and acknowledged his right to their service. Lions were subdued because they were afraid of him. Lo, today he is asleep and shall not awake; he is silent and shall not speak again. He is borne by the hands of men who were never privileged to see him. Who will tell him on my behalf that when he reproved me, I accepted his reproof; when he admonished me, I acknowledged his admonition; when he sought to calm me, I was quieted; when he consoled me, I was comforted; when he reminded me that something was to be done, I did what he reminded me to do; when he restrained me from doing something, I restrained myself; when he taught me, I learned. Were it not for the fact that I shall soon follow him and go where he has gone, I would weep and cry out. Therefore, may peace be with you who are both alive and dead. Indeed, you were the noblest among the living and are the noblest among the dead." All the women who stood about her wept. Then one of the mourning women said: "Alexander has moved us even though he is at rest." Another said: "He has moved our lips in his silence." Another said: "Alexander reprov'd us a great deal yesterday when he was alive, but today he reproves us even more than yesterday."<sup>2</sup> Another said: "Sufficient unto us is our grief, for yesterday your dominion reached to the ends of the earth and today your command is not done."\*

Afterwards his kin gathered about his coffin. Then the most distinguished among the assembled said: "This is the day on which our fears have increased and the secret of the kingdom has been laid bare. Misfortune from which we were

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\* At the head of this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A<sup>3</sup> picture of the men bearing Alexander from Babylonia to Alexandria in a golden coffin, of their placing it before his mother and of her speaking when she saw the coffin."

spared has now befallen us while the good fortune which we enjoyed has left us. Therefore, whoever would weep over a king, let him weep over this one; and whoever would be surprised by novelty, let him be surprised by this." Then he came before the philosophers and said to them: "Let each one of you speak and say that which will serve as a source of comfort to the distinguished among those present and of admonition to the common folk." Whereupon the first one answered, saying: "Alas, what folly this is! Man weeps today over that which he considered a cause for laughter yesterday, and yesterday he laughed at that which was to become a cause for weeping today." Another said: "Death is just to men; only the obtuseness of their minds prevents them from understanding it. How frequent its warnings and admonitions, if only the ears of men were not afflicted with deafness! How obvious its evidence, if only the eyes of men were not afflicted with blindness and their thoughts marred with coarseness!" Another said: "If you weep because you see death striking anew, know that death is not new; and if you weep because it has struck someone whom you loved, surely you know that it has frequently struck those whom you hated." Another said: "Were you lacking in wisdom and shall we therefore vindicate you or were you in possession of wisdom and shall we therefore hold you blameworthy? Were you lacking in wisdom and hence seduced or were you in possession of wisdom and then lost it?"\*

Another said: "This is the nature of death: when its lightnings flash, its clouds do not disappoint, its effects are never false, and its hailstones do not miss their mark. Shall he who beholds it not accept its admonition?" Another said: "Why did you not rise above death even as you rose above every source of harm? How disastrous has your carelessness been! Your virtues mean as little as your faults now, and your strength of yesterday is extreme weakness today in the face of death." Another said: "Your affairs have been removed from you; your devices have come to an end; misfortune has made you its target; and rejoicing

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\* At the head of this paragraph the manuscript has the legend: "A picture<sup>4</sup> of a group of philosophers and men of the government who assembled to say things about Alexander which would be remembered unto the last generation as a source of moral instruction and admonition."

has departed from you. Can you tell us now of your former power and majesty? Can you recover your might after having been reduced to your state of weakness, or can you with your strength parry the sharp thrust of time? How far beyond your power this is! How impossible of achievement in your condition!" Another said: "Those who desired to be in your place yesterday pity you today. You were respected and are now among the lowly. Are you able to remove a little of what has befallen you by applying a little of what you once possessed?" Another said: "Verily, the chain of causes has ceased to affect you and no longer touches you. A misfortune has befallen you for which you cannot atone. Is there any hope that you may escape your fate, or is there any hope or any possibility that we shall be admonished by what has happened to you and thus avoid death?" Another said: "Alas for him who grew so in eminence that he perished and was so short on wisdom that he died. What prevented you while you were alive from procuring an effective preservative of life so that death would not harm a man like you?" Another said: "When we see that you have been relieved of your kingdom, we recall with scorn the attitude of contempt which you displayed toward other kings whenever you contrasted their kingdoms with yours. Whoever among us envied you because of the past will now pity you because of the future. He who glorified you because of your former position now keeps himself at a distance because of your present condition. Indeed there is no good in this world which cannot be improved in the world to come, and there is no good in the world to come which has not been prepared in this world."

Another said: "Alas, and woe unto you Alexander! How similar was your going forth into the world to your going forth from it. You went forth into it naked, bare and empty-handed, and you went forth from it stripped of all goods and empty-handed." Another said: "Tell me, I pray: Were your guards negligent so that you were vanquished, or did your soldiers betray you so that you were captured? How did death get into your palace without your permission, and how did it manage to reach you without an order from you?" Another said: "Alas for him whose terror was dreadful and whose dwelling was fortified! Why was not your anger aroused when death approached you, and

why did you not fortify yourself in order to repel this outrage against you?"<sup>5</sup> Another said: "The death of kings should serve as sufficient comfort for the people, and the death of common folk should serve as sufficient admonition for kings." Another said: "This is the path from which there is no flight, and this is the goblet from whose drinking there is no escape. He who thinks he shall escape it will be merry during his lifetime, but he who realizes that he will be trapped by it will acknowledge his God and confess to Him." Another said: "Let not man place his trust in life for it is as naught, and let no one be deceived by death for it will in truth strike." Another said: "One should not concern himself with the death of the common folk but should weep over the anguish of the noblemen." Another said: "Indeed, we have convincing evidence of the novelties that occur in the affairs of men. Yesterday Alexander treasured up gold and today Alexander is treasured up in gold."<sup>6</sup> Another said: "Gone from Alexander are his desires which prevented him from contemplating his end. Now his end has come and has separated him from his kingdom."

Another said: "The reign of death has begun and the reign of life has ended." Another said: "Formerly, your sharp sword did not yield to anyone, and no man was safe from your vengeance. Your virtues were unattainable by all those who sought after them." Another said: "When you were alive, you were also able to hear; and now you can not even speak." Another said: "Look at the dream of the dreamer which has vanished and at the shadow of the morning cloud which has passed and is gone." Another said: "Look at this one and be admonished by him who reached unto the heavens yesterday and who today is under the earth." Another said: "As for this body which lies before you, inquire about its past and not about its future." Another said: "Alas, Alexander, how much you needed this silence and this humility during your lifetime!" Another said: "This great and spacious empire! How shall four cubits contain it?"<sup>7</sup> Another said: "Even those men who rejected this body in life now give their love to him in this coffin." Another said: "How great was his desire to be exalted and glorified! He did not know that this constitutes the deepest descent into lowliness." Another said: "He served as our spokesman and intercessor and



now he is silent." Another said: "How strong is the desire in some to rest but they cannot, and how deep is the desire in others to move but they cannot!" Another said: "We had already grown indifferent to Alexander's achievements until we were confronted with what has befallen him." Another said: "Alexander never admonished us as strongly nor reproved us as vigorously as has his death." Another said: "Why wasn't that which you did yesterday praiseworthy so that what you did today would be acceptable?"

Another said: "With the dawn of this day for Alexander we find that he who spoke yesterday is today silent, that he who moved about is now at rest, that he who bore others is today being borne, that he who was awake is today asleep, and that he who was alive is today dead." Another said: "He who imprisoned others is now a prisoner himself, and he who vanquished kings is himself vanquished." Another said: "This busy man! If only he had occupied himself with his soul and not with the opportunities to rise to greater heights. If only he had been concerned in his deeds with his end and not with this world." Another said: "This man admonished us vigorously in the past but his admonition was never as effective as is his silence now." Another said: "It is a cause for astonishment that he whom men could not reach yesterday can be approached by everyone today." Another said: "Why do you not move one of your limbs or raise part of your body, you who carried a world empire on your back? How is it that your soul does not loathe this narrow place in view of the fact that in the past you looked with disdain upon vast countries?" Another said: "You have already fallen into the hands of One who will teach you what you did not know." Another said: "Do not esteem that which one teaches other men but that which he teaches himself." Another said: "It is a cause for great astonishment that the strong is overpowered by misfortune even as the weak is seduced by his folly." Another said: "Lo, the King of kings is in the hands of One who rules over him, and he who destroyed many countries is himself destroyed. Therefore, let him who sees this be admonished and let him who hears of this consider his affairs." Another said: "Death has made the noble and the lowly equal in their bed of dust because life had rendered them unequal in authority and power."<sup>8</sup> Another said: "Behold

the favorite of the world! How very lowly is the favorite of the world on the day of death! Behold the king of the world! How very much despised he is in the sight of death!"

His<sup>9</sup> widow, the daughter of Darius, said: "His death is measure for measure. I never thought that he who killed Darius would die." His chief steward said: "You used to order us to store and to hide your treasures, and now into whose hands shall we entrust them? You used to order us to spend money for all your needs, and now for whose needs will it be spent?" The steward of his dinner table said: "He for whom I prepared food has now become food for the dust, and he who dined on the finest of food is now prepared as food for the earth." The keeper of his treasures said: "Here are the keys to your treasures. Would that you would take them from me before I am apprehended for taking that which I did not take and imprisoned for appropriating that which I did not appropriate." His viceroy said: "I used to hide you in your private quarters from the noble and the lowly. I turned away from the gates of your palace those to whom you would not grant permission to enter. Now, however, they can approach you safely, and even the robber can enter from his hiding place." Another viceroy said: "The cord of denial and dispensation has been torn from me, and the prerogative to authorize and to refuse has been taken from me. I now sit when formerly I stood, and am silent when formerly I spoke at length." His gate-keeper said: "Death came upon you in your chamber without permission and struck you in your domain without an order." The captain of the guard said: "Why were the swords of your vengeance returned to their sheaths while the swords of misfortune were drawn against you? Where is your anger which was well known, your will which was acknowledged, and your command which was obeyed? Lo, you are but a corpse cast down in the presence of your comrades, a silent stone among your friends and soldiers. Your command is not obeyed, and no attention is paid to your words." His scribe said: "We come into this world as fools, we dwell in it in despair, and we depart from it against our will."

His<sup>10</sup> mother raised her lament and said: "On this day the emblem of the royal power has been removed from Alexander. He who aspires to take over his kingdom now is one who never

had such aspirations before. How great therefore is the misfortune! There is no consolation." And she said: "Alas, alas!" The women joined her in weeping. And she said: "I derive comfort, my son, from the respect and the honor which you showed me when you informed me that death was drawing near and instructed me to console myself before it struck. I cried unto the Lord and from Him shall I seek consolation. For we are from the Lord and unto Him shall we return tomorrow."

Afterwards<sup>11</sup> the philosophers lifted the coffin and brought it into his mother's chamber. There were seventeen philosophers in the group. One of them said: "Alas you sturdy warrior! What prevented you from showing your might? You amassed wealth. Its burden oppresses you and its guilt cleaves to you. Woe unto your soul as it encounters distress and misery! The waves of death have engulfed you. Your wisdom will not help you nor will your officers save you." Another said: "Today Alexander is silent and does not speak. He cannot distinguish good from evil." Another said: "This was a man whose zeal was extraordinary, whose ambition gained him an empire, who chose this world above the next, whose treacherous desires seduced him even as they did his predecessors, who shed blood, and who indulged himself with women to the point of folly. He lies now dressed in shrouds in the presence of his friends." Another said: "Today the royal power of Alexander has vanished like the morning cloud." Another said: "Take instruction from these admonitions and accept correction from these moral lessons which speak without tongue. Let Alexander's example in life and in death serve to admonish you." Another said: "This transient world with its people is a subject for reflection and a source of wonderment for him who possesses intellect." Another said: "Where is your formidable rule and your mighty strength? Where is the wisdom you acquired from your study of philosophy, and where is your knowledge of logic? Everything has perished. Surplus has given way to scarcity and philosophy has been found wanting." Another said: "Alas for the wandering King! Your emblems were so famous. All your affairs were public knowledge. Now your strength is gone, your pleasures have ended, and there is no more news about you. Your palaces are desolate, and he who rejoiced in your company

is now appalled by you." Another said: "That which was joined to you yesterday is now separated from you, and that which shone brightly yesterday is now extinguished in you. Your troops have wandered away from you, and the dark places have engulfed you. Your life is like unto the departure of the traveler. The chain of causes has come to end for you, and there is no hope for your return. Your wealth has been divided, and your limbs are torn. How long will you be despoiled and your kingdom plundered?" Another said: "How very close descent is to ascent, loss to gain, disaster to happiness! Nothing is left behind after the departure. The action is completed, anguish remains, hope is lost, and the paths are desolate." Another said: "How close the living is to the dead, the one who speaks to the one who is silent! However, the fate of souls depends upon the deeds of men. If they are good, the souls will prosper; and if they are evil, they will suffer from weariness. A corpse is a cause of wonder for the intelligent, of reflection for the discerning and of admonition for those who will accept its lesson." Another said: "You who once spoke are now silent. You who once bestowed favors have now become cruel. Your silence is cause for reflection, and your cruelty is a source of astonishment." Another said: "All kingdoms perish, all loveliness passes, and all campers depart." Another said: "Indeed, the departure is close at hand but the return is far off. Happy is he to whom it is given to lead a pure life, and woe unto him whose life has been foul." Another said: "You are far removed from your children and are cut off from your troops." Another said: "Since you are now in a lowly position after having enjoyed such eminence and might and are all alone after having had such an abundance of helpful friends, it would be well for you to consider how often men closed their eyes out of fear of your majesty and how often their hearts and minds were filled with fright because of your terror." Another said: "You have been cleansed of sin and are now in a state of purity. You have gone from the narrow to the broad places and from a life of toil to an inheritance of peace. Now you will enjoy everlasting life in eternal rest. You are fortunate, therefore, in what you have found."

When<sup>12</sup> the philosophers had finished speaking at Alexander's coffin, his mother ordered that he be buried with great honor.

Whereupon the philosophers bore him on their shoulders while the princes, governors, prefects and the rest of the people, their feet bare and their heads covered, walked before the coffin to the place of his burial. After the physicians had embalmed him, he was placed in the coffin and was buried in Alexandria, Egypt. After his burial most of the philosophers returned to their homes and only five remained behind. They proceeded to his mother's home to express their sympathy and to comfort her. The most distinguished among them approached and stood near the curtain of the room where Alexander's mother was resting. He said: "How can I comfort you after he had comforted you himself? In what manner shall we enhance our words of consolation after he had consoled you so effectively? Indeed he brought you added wisdom so that you were able to wear the mantle of comfort, to bear your pain with patience and to ride in the chariot of despair. You believed in the obvious truth and found support in intelligible moral principles. You have proven to be the foremost among women in your courage and the best among queens in your recognition of the truth. You are honored above all others for your faith and excel them all in composure. You surpass them in intelligence and in generosity of spirit. You have earned a greater reward and a fairer name than all of them. When [Alexander] consoled you, you were comforted; when he admonished you, you acknowledged his admonition; when he sought to calm you, you were quieted; and when he reproved you, you accepted his reproof. May God bless the remaining years of your life and grant you an honored departure." Alexander's mother answered saying: "May God never remove the splendor [of the virtues which you manifested] on this occasion and may He never take from you the gift of sweet speech. You have spoken magnificently and have excelled in your exhortations, admonitions and words of consolation."<sup>13</sup> . . . Another of those present said to Alexander's mother: ". . . May God grant you the finest reward and store up the choicest treasure for you." Alexander's mother replied: "You have spoken excellently. You have proved to be worthy and have done that which is fitting in speech, in deed and in thought. You are qualified for this task and the fulfilment thereof. From the beginning of time you were favored for its performance in the years that were to follow."

This<sup>14</sup> is the letter which Aristotle wrote to Alexander's mother: "Praised be God! O mother of Alexander, the exalted King! We know that the divine law governing all creatures and the divine judgment pronounced on all beings has descended upon your son in the imperial residence, the abode of his strength and the seat of his command. This is a judgment which descends inexorably upon mighty kings, princes, slaves and all other people, great and small, rich and poor. The decree is issued and the command is executed. When the King, may He be praised, decides to subdue and to destroy, He pulls everyone behind Him with double pressure on the reins. No fugitive can escape from Him for his flight must lead to Him. No traveler can take leave of Him for he must return to Him. The living wait for Him and the dead are happy with Him. Those who remain behind are ensnared by Him while those who have passed away are set free. The intelligent man is he who learns this lesson without His admonition. The fortunate one is he who prepares his provision for the journey. The praiseworthy one is he who toils in this world so that his remains may have peace in the next. Therefore compose yourself, O mother of Alexander, for the sake of your son and direct your words to the Great King who permitted him to rule, strengthened him with wisdom, selected the next world as his abode, gave him of His dominion and splendor, and took him from this world, honored and powerful, a brave and mighty king. Turn to the Creator of souls to Whom we aspire and by Whose will we move. Be comforted by him who consoled you before his time had come. Fortify yourself with patience and you will as a result be remembered for good until the end of time. Know that only he is deceived who allows himself to be deceived and that only he is unhappy who succumbs to worry. Peace be with you!"

The<sup>15</sup> following is the reply of Alexander's mother to Aristotle: "I have read your letter [and I think of] you as the wise man who teaches the good and the straight path to prosperity in this world and in the next. God grant that you may never cease to be a teacher of goodness which brings prosperity to him who practices it and a guide to integrity which leads him who lives by it into the proper path for improving his soul, sustains it with life, and provides it with happiness after death. The consolation is

commensurate with the tragedy which befell a great king and so is the fortitude in the face of such tragedy. The tragedy came suddenly but consolation preceded it. The calamity descended unexpectedly but fortitude was there to meet it. How great was the tragedy but how much greater the fortitude? How severe was the blow with which the calamity struck but how much greater was the consolation which sustained me until it passed and vanished, leaving me without fear and anxiety? I have justified God's judgment quietly and peacefully and have found support in the words of consolation. How near the living is to the dead? How close is he who survives to him who has passed on? It is better to engage in preparation for the needs of the journey than to engage in weeping, sighing and prolonged mourning. Acceptance of what has been decreed is better than anger at what has happened. The man who is at peace one day trembles the following day, and he who escapes a great misfortune is destined to experience an even greater one. The tragedy which befell me was preceded by my son's comforting words. Therefore when I was confronted with his death, the words of his instruction encompassed me with strength. I have accepted his death. My spirit is at peace and is composed. I am looking forward to the day when I shall follow him, and because of this I have found composure and strength. O man of great wisdom! For your counsel, your exhortation and your consolation I wish you peace."

These<sup>16</sup> are the words of Alexander's mother after she had read her son's letter: "The decision in the case of death is made according to the will of its Author, and the sentence of death is pronounced upon every living being at the discretion of Him who passes judgment. As for life, if it be long, it will ultimately come to an end; and if it be short, the end will shorten it even more. Even as the world had a beginning so is it destined in the end to perish and become a place of desolation. Its dominion is destined to pass on, its sweetness to turn bitter, its purity to become defiled, its happiness to be converted to mourning, its joy to sorrow and its gladness to anguish. And you, son of man, who dwell in this world, dwell in it only to be removed from it. You who ruled the world, ruled it only to have your kingdom destroyed. You who tarried in it, tarried only to depart from it. You who led its

armies, led them for another man. Alas, alas! Where are the princes and the men of fame? Where are the kings and the leaders of former days? Those men have gone, one after the other, the prosperous as well as the hard-pressed, the good as well as the bad. He who was pure was saved, and he who was vile perished. I see, my son, that you were right. The fresh sprout is destined to dry up, the leaves of the tree to wither, the shining stars to become dim, the flaming fire to be extinguished, and the bright moon to grow dark. He who has given will take; he who has borrowed will repay; he who has deposited a pledge will recover it; and he who has made a loan will secure its return. The last one comes after the man who preceded him while the pursuer follows him who has reached his goal. This is my consolation over your [departure], my son, that I shall follow you in the near future. For I am going where you have gone and my destination is the same as yours. This keeps me from fretting and weeping over you. I keep hoping, morning and evening, that what happened to you should happen to me as quickly as the blink of an eye. If one being could redeem another, then I would want to be your redeemer. However, if this cannot be, then may God grant me for your sake the proper endurance and the perfect consolation, and may He unite me with you."

The<sup>17</sup> following are some [of Alexander's] moral lessons. Alexander had heard from Aristotle, his teacher, that anxiety causes the heart to dissolve and melt away. He wanted to test the truth of this statement. He took an animal of similar physical constitution to that of a human being, had it confined in a dark place for a long period of time, and gave it as much food as it required. Afterwards he slaughtered it, dismembered it, and found that its heart had melted away. He thus realized that the words of Aristotle, his teacher, were true.

Alexander said: "Do not seek the company of the king when his affairs are in a troubled state; for if he who sails the sea is not safe when it is calm, how much less safe is he when it rages and its waves roar."

Alexander said to Aristotle, his teacher: "Give me advice on how to deal with my commanders and princes and how to manage all my affairs." Aristotle answered: "Place the man



whose servants conduct themselves well in charge of troops and the man who operates his field efficiently in charge of their labor."

Alexander was asked: "In your experience as king what proved to be the source of greatest joy to you?" He said: "I was able to repay him who acted kindly toward me in a measure that exceeded his kindness."

Alexander was censured because he personally engaged in battle. To which he said: "It is not right for my brothers to engage in battle for my sake while I myself do not fight."

Alexander said: "The virtuous man is respected even though he be poor just as the lion is feared even when he lies still. However, the man without virtue is despised even though he be rich as is the dog that wears a golden collar around its neck."

Alexander said: "When you speak to a person who has no intelligence, it is as though you were watering a tree that has dried up. Moving rocks from a mountain is a lighter task than speaking to one who lacks intelligence."

Alexander said to those who were sitting before him: "In his home a man should be ashamed to act in a disgraceful manner because of his wife, children and servants; elsewhere because he might offend others who may be friends or acquaintances of his. Where there are neither friends nor acquaintances, he should feel shame because of himself. If he feels no shame because of all these, then let him feel shame before the Creator, may He be exalted."

Alexander was told about two men, one rich and the other poor, both of whom loved the daughter of Rominus and wished to marry her. [The father] gave her in marriage to the poor man and refused to give her to the rich man. Alexander asked him about this, and he said: "My lord, the King! I did this because the rich man is a fool and lacks the training necessary to take care of his wealth. The poor man, however, is virtuous and intelligent, and there is thus reason to hope that he will become wealthy. Therefore, I preferred him to the rich man."

Alion, the prince, said to Alexander: "My lord, the King! We have many captives who were your enemies. Since the Lord has made you their ruler, why do you not make them your slaves?" He answered: "I do not want to rule over slaves for I am the King of free men."

He said concerning the pen: "Were it not for the pen, the world would not endure nor would the affairs of the kingdom be administered effectively. While everything is subject to the control of the mind and the tongue by means of which judgment is passed and information is imparted on all matters, it is the pen nevertheless that serves as their instrument of expression and communication." He also said: "The pen is the messenger of the mind. When you consider the results it may lead to, you must seek to remove the possibilities of error on its part. For a messenger who happens to slip or who tells a lie will cause his master to be despised. Therefore the ancient proverb says: 'When the messenger lies, the counsel is ruined.' "

Alexander asked Plato [*sic*]: "What cause is most deserving of a king's constant occupation?" He answered: "At night he should think about plans for improving the welfare of his people, and during the day he should strive to put them into effect."

Once Alexander heard two of his men quarreling. They despised each other even though they had been dear friends previously. Alexander said: "When one chooses a friend, one should not become too close to him nor seek his company too often nor visit him on doubtful matters."

There once came before Alexander a man who was dressed in clothes that were threadbare and who spoke to him in an impressive manner. He was asked questions and his answers were fitting and proper. Alexander said: "Your dress is not in keeping with your speech. For were it so, then you would have bestowed on your body that degree of adornment which is commensurate with the degree of knowledge with which you have invested your soul." Whereupon he replied: "My lord, the King! Speech is within my power whereas dress is within yours." Then Alexander ordered that he be given a bath as well as fine garments.

Two men who were among the members of the royal court petitioned Alexander to serve as judge in a dispute between them. Whereupon he said: "The judgment will satisfy one of you and arouse the other's anger. Therefore, make peace between you and you will both be satisfied."

It is told that Alexander removed an officer from a good

office and appointed him to a lower one. When the officer came before him, the king said: "How do you like your office?" He answered: "My lord, the King! It is not the higher office which improves the man. It is rather the intelligent man who, through good administration and righteous conduct, improves the office even though it be a lower one." Alexander was pleased with his words and as a result appointed him to a greater and better office.

Alexander ordered the commander of his army to be considerate in his treatment of the enemy who had been tested in battle. The commander replied: "I shall do so." Alexander said: "How will you do this?" He answered: "As long as they persevere in battle, I shall fight them with the utmost violence; but if they flee before me, I shall not pursue them."

Alexander said to his attendant when some worthless fellows met him and sang his praises: "Look and see, perhaps I have done evil and am therefore deserving of the praise of such men."

Alexander said: "He can destroy the world who understands its operations, but the world destroys those who are ignorant of its operations."

Alexander went to a land where kings had once ruled but whose successors had died out. He asked if any, even one, of the royal line of that land had survived. He was told: "Yes, one man has survived." And he said: "Show him to me." And they replied: "Lo, he dwells among the graves." Alexander sent for him. When he came before him, Alexander said: "Why do you dwell among the graves?" He answered: "I wanted to see if there was any difference between the bones of the slaves and those of the kings. I found that they were all alike." Alexander then said to him: "Is it in your heart to follow me? If so and if you are ambitious, then I shall revive your greatness and through you the greatness of your ancestors and your family." He replied: "I am ambitious and I desire something worthy." And Alexander asked: "What do you desire?" He answered: "Life without death, youth without old age, riches without poverty, joy without anxiety, and health without illness." To which Alexander replied: "I have never seen such an intelligent man." Afterwards the man left him, and he did not move from the graves until the day of his death.

## III

## [CHRONICLE]

After<sup>1</sup> Alexander died, his widow Roxane gave birth to a son. The Macedonians named him Alexander after his father. And Antipater went to Hellas, the land of Greece, and became its ruler; and Patras was named after him. Ptolemy became the ruler of Egypt while Seleucus Nicator reigned in Syria, his rule reaching as far as Babylonia. When Ptolemy died, Demetrius Poliorcetes ruled in his place. When Demetrius died, he was buried in Demetrias, the city which he had built. Thereafter, Ptolemy who was called Philadelphus, the son of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, reigned in his place for thirty-eight years. He built the tower of Pharos in the harbor of Alexandria. It was during his reign that Eleazar, the brother of Simeon, became the High Priest and the Jews who were captive in Egypt went free. This king summoned and brought over Eleazar, the High Priest, in order to interpret and expound all the books of the Jews in the Greek language. In the 127th Olympiad the Romans conquered Calabria and captured the city of Messana. This was the fourth exile for Messana. In that year Hieron, the Sicilian prince, arose and seized Syracuse. It was at that time that the Consul Valerius<sup>2</sup> brought Sicily under the rule of the Romans. Aratus, the sage, lived in those days, and it was then that the Romans began to make silver coins in Rome. In the 129th Olympiad the Romans fought at Syracuse, and the Carthaginians attacked the Romans in Sicily. Ptolemy Evergetes was ruler in Egypt and reigned for twenty-seven years. It was then that Nicomedes, the King of Bithynia, restored the city and called it Nicomedia. At that time the Romans fought at Syracuse, were victorious over Carthage and captured one hundred cities. It was then that Antigonus gave the Athenians their freedom. He built the city of Kalmiganos<sup>3</sup> which is on the river Orontes. In the 134th Olympiad Joseph, son of Gorion, the Jew, lived and wrote his books. It was at that time that the Romans killed 40,000 among the Galatians. In the 134th

Olympiad Joshua, son of Sirach, was a prince and a great man among the Jews. In the 140th Olympiad, Ptolemy Philopator became King of Egypt and reigned for seventeen years. In the 141st Olympiad Marcellus, King of the Romans, reigned, and he captured Syracuse and the great city of Capua; and they subjected Sicily beneath them. Antiochus the Great, King of Syria, was victorious over Philopator and captured him. In the 144th Olympiad Antiochus Epiphanes became King and reigned for thirty-six years.<sup>4</sup> He incited the Jews in an effort to tear them away from their religion and to cause them to adopt the religion of the Greeks. The Jews, however, would not listen to him. As a result Antiochus' anger was aroused and he dispatched a large army against them. He killed many Jews and devastated Jerusalem. This was the third exile for Jerusalem. Antiochus took the riches of the Temple, but the Jews were victorious and killed 84,000 of Antiochus' men.<sup>5</sup> Thereupon Antiochus proceeded to Palestine<sup>6</sup> in order to subjugate its people. In the 150th Olympiad the slaves made war in Sicily. The Romans dispatched Lucullus, commander of the army, and he defeated and subjugated them, and the fighting came to an end. In that year Hyrcanus, the High Priest, engaged in battle against the city of Samaria which is called Sebaste in Greek, and he razed it to its foundations. Afterwards the city was rebuilt by Herod and was given the name of Sebaste. It was at that time that the Capitoline in Rome was burned. It was then that Tigranes, King of Armenia, married the daughter of Mithridates. He mobilized a very large army and vanquished Antiochus the Great,<sup>7</sup> the King of Syria. He removed him from his kingdom and conquered the entire land as far as Palestine.<sup>8</sup> From that year on the Armenians began to pay tribute to the Romans. In the 177th Olympiad the city of Pompeii<sup>9</sup> was built by Pompey. In that year the Romans subjugated Albania, Iberia, Colchis<sup>10</sup> and the people of Arabia. The Romans under Pompey, their King, captured Jerusalem without fighting because Pompey had compassion for the Jews.<sup>11</sup> He took Aristobulus, the King, captive. This was the fourth exile for Jerusalem.

## [COLOPHON]

May the Lord gather our dispersed and may He have mercy upon our remnant; and may we be worthy of beholding the coming of our Messiah speedily in our own day. Amen.

My grandson Ḥabib<sup>12</sup> Ḥayyim, all strength to him, copied *Mishle Shu'alim* and part of the *Alexander [Story]* also. The copying of the remainder of the *Alexander [Story]* was executed by me, Joseph Katab — may I behold offspring and enjoy length of days — a disciple of scribes, son of the illustrious master and teacher, Daniel — may his memory be for a blessing in the life of the world to come — a member of the Mioniki family, may the Lord watch over them, Amen — the work having been brought to completion in the month of Elul in the year 5188 [1428]. May the Lord deem me worthy to be among those who are recorded for life in Jerusalem — so may it be willed, Amen and Amen, Selah. Let the scribe be strong and whoever reads it be vigorous, Amen. I wait for Thy salvation, O Lord. Blessed be Thou, O Lord; mayest Thou instruct me in Thy statutes. Thine is the glory, Amen and Shalom.

## Abbreviations

- Ant.* = *The Jewish Antiquities*, Josephus.  
*B* = Yosippon (Berditschev, 1896-1913).  
*DKAW* = *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.  
*EJ* = *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.  
*Fest.* = *Festschrift zum achzigsten Geburtstage Moritz Steinschneiders* (Leipzig, 1896).  
*H* = Alfons Hilka, *Der Altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman* (Halle, 1920).  
*HB* = *Hebräische Bibliographie*, Moritz Steinschneider.  
*HUM* = *Die Hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters*, Moritz Steinschneider (Berlin, 1893).  
*JE* = *Jewish Encyclopedia*.  
*JQR* = *Jewish Quarterly Review*.  
*JRAS* = *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*.  
*MGWJ* = *Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*.  
*Ms. L* = Ms. 145, Jews' College, London.  
*Ms. P* = Ms. Cod. Heb. 671(5), Bibl. Natl., Paris.  
*Musere* = *Sefer Musere ha-Pilosofim*, ed. A. Loewenthal (Frankfurt a.M., 1896).  
*MWJ* = *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*.  
*NGWG* = *Nachrichten von der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*.  
*OFr* = *The Old French Prose Alexander Romance as found in Hilka*; see *H* above.  
*PAAJR* = *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*.  
*Ps.-Call.* = *Pseudo-Callisthenes*.  
*REJ* = *Revue des Études Juives*.  
*S* = *Codex Seitenstettensis* (now Harvard University Ms. Lat. 121).

*SHAW* = *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*.

*SKBH* = *Sammelband Kleiner Beiträge aus Handschriften*.

*V* = *Yosippon* (Venice, 1544).

*Yos. B* = *Yosippon* (Berditschev, 1896–1913).

*Yos. V* = *Yosippon* (Venice, 1544).

*Z* = O. Zingerle, *Die Quellen zum Alexander des Rudolf von Ems*, in *Germanistische Abhandlungen*, IV (Breslau, 1885).





## Notes

# Notes to Introduction

## I. ALEXANDER IN JEWISH SOURCES FROM ANTIQUITY

<sup>1</sup> For a comprehensive survey see: F. P. Magoun, *The Gestes of King Alexander of Macedon* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), pp. 15-62; G. Cary, *The Medieval Alexander* (Cambridge, England, 1956), pp. 9-79.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in E. H. Haight, *The Life of Alexander of Macedon by Pseudo-Callisthenes* (New York, 1955), p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> For date and authorship see A. Ausfeld, *Der Griechische Alexanderroman*, ed. W. Kroll (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 251-252; Magoun, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23; L. Wallach, "Alexander the Great and the Indian Gymnosophists in Hebrew Tradition," in *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, XI (New York, 1941), pp. 48-49; Haight, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3; Cary, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> For a selected bibliography on Alexander and the Jews in Talmudic and Hellenistic Jewish literature see R. Marcus, *Josephus*, Appendix C to Vol. VI, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1937), pp. 512-513. See also M. Steinschneider, "Zur Alexandersage," in *Hebräische Bibliographie*, 49 (1869), 13-19; L. Donath, *Die Alexandersage in Talmud und Midrasch* (Fulda, 1873); A. Wünsche, "Die Alexandersage nach jüdischen Quellen," in *Die Grenzenboten*, no. 33, August 1879 (Leipzig), pp. 269-280; I. Friedlaender, *Die Chadhirlegende und der Alexanderroman* (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 20-50; V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1959), pp. 40-48 and notes.

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of the several recensions see J. Zacher, *Pseudocallisthenes* (Halle, 1867), pp. 5-14; Ausfeld, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-23; Magoun, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 ff., who refers to  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$  as designating the four main groups into which the textual tradition of *Ps.-Call.* is classified; Cary, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-16. For an analysis of the sources of *Pseudo-Callisthenes* see R. Merkelbach, *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans* (Munich, 1954).

<sup>6</sup> C. Müller, "Pseudo-Callisthenes," in *Arriani Anabasis et Indica* (Paris, 1877), pp. 82-85.

<sup>7</sup> Ausfeld, p. 17.

<sup>8</sup> H. Vogelstein — P. Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, I (Berlin, 1896), 189.

<sup>9</sup> Donath, *op. cit.*, pp. 13 ff.; F. Pfister, "Eine jüdische Gründungsgeschichte Alexandrias," in *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, V (1914), 11. Abh., pp. 17-19, 30-32.

<sup>10</sup> See the literature on this subject in Marcus' survey, *op. cit.*, pp. 512-13.

<sup>11</sup> The story of the bones of Jeremiah is also found in the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor and in other medieval writings; see Cary, p. 132.

<sup>12</sup> The accounts of the life of Alexander by Greek and Roman historians contain no reference to his visit to Jerusalem which most scholars arguing from silence take as evidence of its unhistorical character. For a discussion of the question of the historicity of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem see Marcus, pp. 525-529; Wünsche, Donath and Pfister in *op. cit.*; I. Spak, *Der Bericht des Josephus über Alexander den Grossen* (Köngisberg, 1911); Tcherikover, pp. 44-49, holds that the accounts of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem are unhistorical but believes that, although the place and time are not known, a meeting of Alexander with representatives of the Jews of Palestine did occur.

<sup>13</sup> For the English translation of passages from the Babylonian Talmud and from *Midrash Rabbah* the Soncino translation of these works was used.

<sup>14</sup> See Marcus, *Josephus*, Loeb ed., Appendix C to Vol. VI and Appendix B to Vol. VII; H. Graetz, *History of the Jews* (Philadelphia, 1891), I, 413; S. Krauss, "Jaddua," in *JE*, VII, 51; and S. Ochser, "Simeon the Just," in *JE*, XI, 352-353.

<sup>15</sup> See Marcus' notes to pp. 472-473 of *Josephus*, Vol. VI, Loeb ed., and Tcherikover, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>16</sup> In the parallel source, the scholium to *Megillat Ta'anit* ch. 3, his name is Gebiha, the son of Pesisa. Kosem and Pesisa are interchangeable since both words derive from roots meaning "to cut."

<sup>17</sup> Donath, p. 12.

<sup>18</sup> *Ant.*, XI, viii, 3-5.

<sup>19</sup> Daniel 8:21. Cf. *Ant.*, X, x, 4.

<sup>20</sup> *Ant.*, II, xvi, 5. This story occurs in mediaeval sources such as the *Pantheon* of Godfrey of Viterbo. See Cary, pp. 126-127.

<sup>21</sup> Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-85; for a discussion of the nature of *Ps.-Call.*, Codex C, see Müller's Introduction, pp. x, xvi ff.; Pfister, pp. 30-32, offers his theory of the Jewish authorship of chs. 24-28. See also Zacher, *op. cit.*, pp. 10 ff. and pp. 134-135, and Magoun, p. 37.

<sup>22</sup> Translation by Marcus in Appendix C to Vol. VI, *Josephus*, Loeb ed., p. 515.

<sup>23</sup> Pfister, p. 29.

<sup>24</sup> Also in II, 43, Codex C.

<sup>25</sup> II, 25-27.

<sup>26</sup> Donath, pp. 13 ff.; Pfister, pp. 17-19, 22-23, 30-32; Ausfeld, p. 17, also holds that the author of Codex C was Jewish. Rieger holds that the authors of Codex C and Codex B were Jewish, Vogelstein-Rieger, *op. cit.*, I, 189. See also F. Pfister, *Alexander der Grosse in der Offenbarungen der Griechen, Juden, Mohammedaner und Christen* (Berlin, 1956), pp. 24-35.

<sup>27</sup> Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, III, note 3.

<sup>28</sup> S. Krauss, "Josephus, Flavius," in *JE*, VII, 276.

<sup>29</sup> The passage in *Yoma* 69a is a Baraita and thus cannot be later than the beginning of the third century C. E.

<sup>30</sup> Donath, pp. 24 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Pfister, *Gründungsgeschichte*, pp. 23-25.

<sup>32</sup> In *Sanhedrin* 91a, the litigants are called Africans, not Canaanites as in the other two sources. According to Talmudic tradition, when the Canaanites heard that the Israelites were about to enter the land, they migrated to Africa and settled there. See *Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael*, ed. Horowitz-Rabin in *Corpus Tannaiticum* (Frankfurt, a. M., 1928), Abt. 3, Bo, 18, p. 69 and the notes for parallels. See also S. Rapaport, 'Erech Millin (Warsaw, 1914), pp. 360-362.

<sup>33</sup> Philo, *De Vita Mosis*, I, 25, 140-142.

<sup>34</sup> Ex. 12:35.

<sup>35</sup> Lévi believes that the Talmudic source goes back to a Hellenistic Jewish source which was part of the apologetic literature of Alexandrian Jewry. See Lévi, "La Dispute entre les Egyptiens et les Juifs devant Alexandre," in *REJ*, LXIII (1912), 210-215, and Lévi, "Alexandre et les Juifs" in *Gedenkenbuch zur Erinnerung an David Kaufmann* (Breslau, 1900), pp. 346-354. Tertullian also used the same argument, *Adversus Marcionem*, II, ch. 20.

<sup>36</sup> From this they deduce that the sun is nearer.

<sup>37</sup> Ps. 103:11-12.

<sup>38</sup> Gen. 1:1. The School of Shammai held that the heavens were created first while the School of Hillel held that the earth was created first, *Hagigah* 12a. Donath, pp. 26 ff. suggests that the author of the answer of the elders of the south was a Shammaite who attributed the answer to them in order to enhance the authority of the School of Shammai.

<sup>39</sup> See *Hagigah*, 11b, where such speculation is forbidden.

<sup>40</sup> See *Abot* IV, 1. Identifying the elders of the south with the Indian Gymnosophists, Rapaport, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-127, holds that Ben Zoma's aphorisms were borrowed from them and that Ben Zoma's answer to the first question indicates that he thought it permissible to quote gentiles. Donath, pp. 26 ff., argues that Ben Zoma was the original author of these aphorisms and that these as well as R. Simeon's criterion of wisdom, *Abot* II, 13, were later attributed to the elders of the south in order to endow them with greater authority. Lévi, *REJ*, VII, 78 ff., holds that they were taken from *Abot* and that the redactor most likely quoted by heart and hence used R. Simeon's instead of Ben Zoma's criterion of wisdom.

<sup>41</sup> Literally the text reads: "Let him kill himself," i. e., with study and hard work. Cf. *Shabbat* 83b: "The words of the Torah do not endure except through him who kills himself (in the study) of it." See Rashi on this passage.

<sup>42</sup> Indulge himself in high-living and luxury. See Rashi on this passage.

<sup>43</sup> Donath, pp. 26 ff., sees in this a reflection of the hatred of Roman despotism.

<sup>44</sup> Donath, *ibid.*, suggests that this reflects the view of those Jews who sought peace with Rome.

<sup>45</sup> Rapaport, p. 126 and Lévi, *REJ*, VII, 78 ff. interpret this to mean: "Why did you rebel against me?" Rapaport uses this to support his contention that the elders of the south were not Jews because there is no record of Jews rebelling against Alexander, but that they were the Indian Gymnosophists who persuaded Sabbas to rebel. See Plutarch, *Lives*, "Alexander," ed. A. H. Clough,

IV, 241. Lévi argues that Plutarch serves as background to explain the account in *Tamid*, for one is unprepared for the question asked by Alexander in the account in *Tamid*: "Why did you rebel against me?" In Plutarch the question is motivated by the sedition of Sabbas incited by the Gymnosophists. Rashi's interpretation is quite different. He takes it to mean: Why do you resist me in refusing to accept our religion? Do you not know that we are in the majority and you are subject to us?

<sup>46</sup> Rashi: The fact that you are the majority and we are subject to you is no argument, for do you not see every day that Satan is victorious and leads men astray.

<sup>47</sup> Lévi, *REJ*, VII, 78 ff., argues that this presupposes the threat in Plutarch that Alexander would put to death those whose answers were not pertinent. To avoid this the sages said that they were all agreed on the answers.

<sup>48</sup> See Rapaport, pp. 125-127; Donath, pp. 26 ff.; Lévi, *REJ*, VII, 78 ff. and II, 293; Wünsche, pp. 272-274; Wallach, *PAAJR*, XI, 47-83. Azariah Dei Rossi however held that the elders of the south were Jewish, *Me'or 'Enayim* (Vilna, 1863), X, 69a.

<sup>49</sup> Wallach, *PAAJR*, XI, 56-63.

<sup>50</sup> Plutarch, *Lives*, IV, 241-242.

<sup>51</sup> Wünsche, p. 274.

<sup>52</sup> Lévi, *REJ*, II, 293; VII, 78.

<sup>53</sup> Wallach, *PAAJR*, XI, 48-52.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50. Lévi feels that the dialogue in the Talmud, if we remove the glosses and interpolations from it, is part of a work on Alexander written in old Aramaic, *REJ*, III, 293. Rapaport, p. 125, also believes that this is taken from an independent literary work.

<sup>56</sup> The legend of the Amazons is found elsewhere in Talmudic literature with modifications: *Leviticus Rabbah*, XXVII, 1; *Midrash Tanhuma*, ed. S. Buber (Vilna, 1885), Vayikra, Emor, 9; *Pesiḳta d'Rab Kahana*, ed. S. Buber (Lyck, 1868), Piska, IX, 24. In these sources Carthage is given as the name of the place inhabited by the women. The legend may also be found in *Hibbur Ma'asiyot* (Verona, 1647), p. 7a in which account the trial is held before the women and not before King Kaḏia.

<sup>57</sup> See Zacher, *Pseudocallisthenes* (Halle, 1867), pp. 140-141.

<sup>58</sup> See *Ps.-Call.*, II, 41.

<sup>59</sup> See Wünsche, "Die Alexandersage nach jüdischen Quellen," in *Die Grenzboten*, no. 33 (Leipzig, 1879), pp. 275-280; F. Spiegel, *Die Alexandersage bei Orientalen* (Leipzig, 1851), p. 29, for the account found in the *Schāhnāme* of Firdosi. The moral lesson in the story of the eyeball is found in the *Iskender-nāme* of Nisāmi in a different form. In place of the eyeball a stone is given to Alexander by Serosch which is outweighed by a handful of dust. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>60</sup> See Magoun, p. 29, note 6; Cary, pp. 19-21.

<sup>61</sup> Donath, pp. 36 ff.

<sup>62</sup> Wünsche, pp. 276-280.

<sup>63</sup> Lévi, *REJ*, VII, 82-84.

<sup>64</sup> Lévi, *REJ*, II, 298-300, and VII, 84.

<sup>65</sup> Lévi, *REJ*, VII, 83.

<sup>66</sup> Wallach, *PAAJR*, XI, 56-63, 81-82.

<sup>67</sup> For the English translation of passages from *Midrash Rabbah* and from the Babylonian Talmud the Soncino translation of these works was used.

<sup>68</sup> The text reads *tade kilusin*, a scribal error which, at the suggestion of Prof. H. A. Wolfson of Harvard University, I emended to read *zayyade uynosin*. J. D. Eisenstein in his interpretation of the word *kilusin* confuses sport, in the sense of making sport or fun, with sport as it refers to the sport of hunting, see his *Ozar Midrashim*, II, 604.

<sup>69</sup> The text reads *k'bgd*, a scribal error which I have emended to read *ad*.

<sup>70</sup> *Pr.-Call.*, Book II, ch. 41. See Lévi, *REJ*, VII, 93.

<sup>71</sup> Buber, ed. Vilna (1891), pp. 415-416.

<sup>72</sup> Lewin-Epstein ed. (Jerusalem, 1952), p. 946.

<sup>73</sup> The English translation is that of W. G. Braude, *The Midrash on Psalms* (New Haven, 1959), II, 127-128.

<sup>74</sup> The text reads *Adrias*, the Adriatic. However, the text in *Yalkuṭ Shim'oni* reads *Oḳionos*, "Great Sea", and according to Buber other manuscripts also read *Oḳionos*; see his edition of *Midrash Tehullim*, p. 415, note 32. See also Braude, *op. cit.*, p. 499, note 9, who feels that the alternate reading, *Oḳionos*, is preferable.

<sup>75</sup> *Oḳionos* here is further reason for preferring it to the Adriatic Sea in the beginning of this episode.

<sup>76</sup> See I. Lévi, "Alexander the Great," in *JE*, I, 343.

<sup>77</sup> Lévi, *REJ*, VII, 93.

<sup>78</sup> In the opinion of Zunz, see S. Oscher, *Yalkuṭ*, *JE*, XII, 585-586.

<sup>79</sup> Wallach, *PAAJR*, XI, 66 ff. Wallach also indicates other sources in which this theme is found, *ibid.*, p. 66, n. 42 and p. 67, n. 43.

<sup>80</sup> Plutarch, *Morals*, ed. W. H. Goodwin (Boston, 1870), I, 382-383.

<sup>81</sup> Lévi, *REJ*, VII, 84.

<sup>82</sup> J. Klausner, *Yeshu ha-Nozri* (Jerusalem, 1922).

<sup>83</sup> Wallach, *ibid.*, pp. 63-75.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75. See also *Midrash Rabbah*, Soncino ed., Eng. transl., p. 258, n. 3.

<sup>86</sup> See comment in *Pene Mosheh to Baba Mezia*, II, 5, 8c.

<sup>87</sup> The text reads *htmmu hayyim*, obviously a corruption. The suggested emendation, *vehataninim*, meets the requirements of the context.

<sup>88</sup> See *Vitae Prophetarum* in E. Nestle, *Marginalien und Materialien* (Tübingen, 1893), pp. 16 ff.; O. Zingerle, "Die Quellen zum Alexander des Rudolf von Ems," in *Germanistische Abhandlungen*, IV (Breslau, 1895), p. 55; Pfister, *Gründungsgeschichte*, pp. 20-22. The story of the bones of Jeremiah is also found in the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor and in other mediaeval writings, see Cary, p. 132.

<sup>89</sup> Pfister, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

<sup>90</sup> *Targum Sheni*, in *Mikra'ot Gedolot*, II, Shulsinger ed., (New York, 1950), I, 2, pp. 689–690. For a discussion of Solomon's throne and the royal thrones in other civilizations, see P. Cassel, *Kaiser und Königsthron* (Berlin, 1874).

<sup>91</sup> *Targum Sheni*, I, 2, p. 691. This source misplaces Alexander chronologically in its listing of the emperors who came into possession of Solomon's throne, giving the order of the emperors as follows: Nebuchadnezzar; Alexander; Shishak, King of Egypt; Antiochus Epiphanes; and Cyrus, Emperor of Persia.

<sup>92</sup> See Azariah Dei Rossi, *Me'or 'Enayim* (Vilna, 1863). III, 12, pp. 83b–88a.

<sup>93</sup> Josephus, *The Jewish War*, ed. Loeb (London, 1927), II, xviii, 7–8; S. Krauss, "Alexander, Tiberius Julius," in *JE*, I, 357–358.

## II. ALEXANDER IN MEDIAEVAL JEWISH SOURCES

<sup>1</sup> For a survey of the mediaeval versions of the Alexander Romance see Magoun, *op. cit.*, Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> See Part I of our Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> Magoun, pp. 22–42; Cary, pp. 9–11.

<sup>4</sup> Ausfeld, pp. 8–23.

<sup>5</sup> There is a difference of opinion as to the date of the Syriac version. Zacher, p. 192, places it in the fifth century; E. A. W. Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great*, Syriac version (Cambridge, England, 1889), p. lx, places it between the seventh and ninth centuries; T. Nöldeke argues for the seventh century, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans," in *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Philos.-Hist., Klasse, 38 (1890), Vienna, pp. 13, 17; Ausfeld follows Nöldeke. Budge, p. lxii, inclines to Wright's opinion that the Syriac was made from an Arabic translation of the Greek *Ps.-Call.*, while Nöldeke, pp. 11–17, holds that the Syriac was made from a Persian (Pehlewî) version of the Greek *Ps.-Call.*

<sup>6</sup> Ausfeld, pp. 21–23.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>8</sup> Magoun, p. 23.

<sup>9</sup> Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 32; E. A. W. Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, Ethiopic version (London, 1896), p. xxi; K. F. Weymann, *Die Aethiopische und Arabische Uebersetzung des Pseudocallisthenes* (Kirchhain N. L., 1901), pp. 4, 64 ff.; Ausfeld, p. 21; Magoun, p. 39.

<sup>10</sup> Weymann, *op. cit.*, p. 79; Ausfeld, p. 21; Magoun, p. 39.

<sup>11</sup> Specifically its title is *Nativitas et Victoria Alexandri Magni*.

<sup>12</sup> See Magoun, pp. 50 ff. for a comprehensive treatment of the nature of these recensions, their various redactions and their use as sources for vernacular translations. See also Cary, pp. 38–58.

<sup>13</sup> *The Dicta of the Philosophers*, see Cary, pp. 22–23.

<sup>14</sup> *Secret of Secrets*, see Cary, pp. 21–22.

<sup>15</sup> See K. Trieber, "Zur Kritik des Gorionides," in *Nachrichten von der*



*Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Philo.-Hist. Klasse, Heft 4 (1895), pp. 381–409.

<sup>16</sup> D. Flusser, "Meḥaber Sefer Yosippon, Demuto Uteḳufato," in *Ẓion* (Jerusalem, 1953), pp. 109–126; U. Cassuto, "Josippon," in *EJ*, IX, 420–425.

<sup>17</sup> Kahana maintains that the Mantua edition was followed by only one other edition, namely, the Basle edition of Sebastian Munster, 1541, which is a very corrupt text. See Introduction to Günzburg-Kahana edition of *Yos.* (Berditschev, 1896–1913), p. 10. Ausfeld, p. 25, holds that the Basle edition is based on the Constantinople edition of 1490. Ausfeld's view appears more plausible because the Alexander Romance interpolations in *Yosippon* are missing in both the Constantinople edition of 1490 and in the Basle edition of 1541. They are found, however, in the Mantua edition. Flusser, *Ẓion*, p. 110, maintains that there are three recensions of *Yosippon*: The first is found only in manuscripts; the second which is an elaboration of the first is found in the Mantua edition; and the third which is an expansion of the second is found in the Constantinople edition.

<sup>18</sup> Trieber, p. 409, places the date in the fourth century; S. Zeitlin, *Josephus on Jesus* (Philadelphia, 1931), p. 53, in the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century; M. Gaster, "An Old Hebrew Romance of Alexander," in *JRAS*, 1897, p. 491, or in *Studies and Texts*, II, 820, holds that the Alexander Romance in *Yosippon* is a translation from an Arabic text of the seventh or eighth century; Scaliger, in the ninth century, see M. Schloessinger, "Joseph Ben Gorion," in *JE*, VII, 259–260; Zunz, *ibid.*, placed it in the ninth century but later changed it to the tenth century. The following place it in the tenth century: Steinschneider, *HUM*, p. 898; Lévi, *REJ*, III (1881), 246; Vogelstein-Rieger, pp. 193–194; Cassuto, *EJ*, IX, 424; Flusser, *Ẓion*, p. 114, in the year 953.

<sup>19</sup> That *Yosippon* contains interpolations was known as early as the fourteenth century by Judah Leon ben Moses Mosconi who wrote in his introduction to a manuscript of *Yosippon* that he had before him five different versions of *Yosippon*. See his "Haḳdamah le-Yosippon in Oẓar Tob," *MWJ* (1877–1878), p. 23. The recension found in the Constantinople edition (1510) is one-third longer than that found in the Mantua edition (1476–1479) because of the many interpolations. Furthermore, there are manuscripts that do not contain the Alexander Romance, see D. Flusser, "Ma'aseh Alexandros Lefi Ketab-Yad Parma," in *Tarbiz*, XXVI, 2 (Dec. 1956), p. 166.

<sup>20</sup> This account is found in *Yos.* B, 60–65 and *Yos.* V, 17a–18a.

<sup>21</sup> See Part I of our Introduction.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* XI, viii, 2–6, 306–340.

<sup>23</sup> *Yos.* B, 63 and *Yos.* V, 17d.

<sup>24</sup> *Yos.* B, 61 and *Yos.* V, 17b–c.

<sup>25</sup> *Ant.* XI, viii, 5, 333–335.

<sup>26</sup> *Megillat Ta'anit*, ch. 9, in which an implied reference to it is found.

<sup>27</sup> According to the Talmudic tradition the Samaritan Temple was destroyed in the time of Alexander, see *Megillat Ta'anit*, ch. 9. Actually it was not destroyed until two hundred years later in the reign of John Hyrcanus I who accord-

ing to Josephus "captured the city" of Samaria and "effaced it entirely", *Ant.* XIII, x, 3, 281. *Yosippon* follows *Josephus* and reports that Hyrcanus destroyed the Samaritan Temple, *Yos.* B, 64 and *Yos.* V, 18a. See Tcherikover, pp. 46-8.

<sup>28</sup> Azariah Dei Rossi, sixteenth century, describes the interpolatory character of the Alexander Romance in *Yosippon* in his *Me'or 'Enayim*, XIX, 112b-113a. J. F. Breithaupt in his edition of *Josephus Gorionides* (Gotha, 1707), holds that the story of Alexander appears to have been inserted by a Jewish interpolator, quoted by Wallach, *MGWJ*, 82, pp. 197-198. The view that the Alexander Romance is an interpolation is held of course by modern scholars: Steinschneider, Rieger, Lévi, Trieber, Gaster, Wallach and Flusser. See references in note 18. See also Ausfeld, p. 25 and Wallach *JQR*, XXXVII, 407-422, and his article in *MGWJ* (82).

<sup>29</sup> *Yos.* B, 65-111 and *Yos.* V, 18b-29a.

<sup>30</sup> Reference to Alexander's flight in the air and his descent into the sea in *Yos.* V, 28c is not found in *Yos.* B, 110; the letter of Nectanebor in *Yos.* V, 29a is not found in *Yos.* B, 111; reference to books of Nicolaus, Titus and Strabo in *Yos.* V, 18b and 29a is not found in *Yos.* B, 65 or 111. In Alexander's dialogue with the Gymnosophists there are differences in the two accounts, cf. *Yos.* V, 25a with *Yos.* B, 99. They differ on the duration of the battle with Porus, cf. *Yos.* V, 24d with *Yos.* B, 98. There are differences in names, e. g. the land of the Gymnosophists, cf. *Yos.* V, 24c with *Yos.* B, 98; Candabiles, cf. *Yos.* V, 26b with *Yos.* B, 104.

<sup>31</sup> The account in *Yos.* V is more elaborate than that in *Yos.* B, for example, Alexander's escape from the palace of Darius, cf. V, 23c with B, 91; Candace's order to draw Alexander's likeness on a tablet, cf. V, 26b with B, 104; Alexander's saving of Candabiles' wife, cf. V, 26c with B, 104; the legend concerning the ancient king in V, 25b is not found in B, 100. Reasons for various events are offered in *Yos.* V and not found in *Yos.* B, for example, Olympias gives a reason for her thinking that Philip will divorce her in V, 19c but not in B, 70; Nectanebor induced by means of magic various portents and omens in order to frighten Philip into caring for the boy in V, 20b, not found in B, 75; a reason is offered for Alexander's putting vessels in his bosom at the table of Darius in V, 23b but not in B, 91.

<sup>32</sup> Part A: in *Yos.* B, 65, 4-87, 1; in *Yos.* V, 18b, 4-22b, 32. Part B: in *Yos.* B, 87, 2-111, 24; in *Yos.* V, 22b, 33-29a, 18.

<sup>33</sup> Vogelstein-Rieger, p. 189; Wallach, *MGWJ*, 82, pp. 190-191, and *JQR*, 37, pp. 410-411. The Codex Seitenstettensis is now known as Harvard University, Ms. Lat. 121. See Magoun, p. 63. For a description of it see O. Zingerle, "Die Quellen zum Alexander des Rudolph von Ems," in *Germanistische Abhandlungen*, IV (Breslau, 1885), p. 20, note 4. For a description of the Leyden manuscript see Zacher, p. 14-16.

<sup>34</sup> See Ausfeld, pp. 25-26 for an account of the relationship between *Yosippon*, *Ps.-Call.* and the *Historia de Preliis*. Rieger, p. 483, also points out parallels between *Yosippon* and Codex C of *Ps.-Call.* which represents the  $\gamma$  recension.

<sup>35</sup> Flusser, *Tarbiz*, pp. 176-178.

<sup>36</sup> Ausfeld, p. 26; Steinschneider, *HUM*, p. 898; Gaster, *JRAS* (1897), p. 491.

<sup>37</sup> Wallach, *JQR*, XXXVII, 414-416.

<sup>38</sup> Flusser, *Tarbiz*, pp. 165 ff.

<sup>39</sup> *SKBH*, pp. xii-xiii.

<sup>40</sup> Flusser, *Tarbiz*, pp. 167-168.

<sup>41</sup> Wallach *MGWJ*, LXXXII, 195-196, and *JQR*, XXXVII, 416-418.

<sup>42</sup> Flusser, *Tarbiz*, pp. 165-166.

<sup>43</sup> Paris, Cod. Heb. 671.5.

<sup>44</sup> Jews' College, London, Cod. Heb. 145.

<sup>45</sup> Lévi published the text of Ms. P, "Sefer Toledot Alexander" in *Sammelband kleiner Beiträge aus Handschriften*, Berlin II (1886). It has been published separately as *Le Roman D'Alexandre* (Paris, 1887).

<sup>46</sup> Lévi at first attributed the authorship of Ms. P to Samuel Ibn Tibbon, *REJ*, III, 258 ff., but later changed his opinion and regarded it as anonymous, see *SKBH*, p. v.

<sup>47</sup> *SKBH*, p. x.

<sup>48</sup> Ausfeld, p. 26.

<sup>49</sup> Steinschneider, *HUM*, p. 899.

<sup>50</sup> Flusser, *Tarbiz*, p. 168.

<sup>51</sup> Lévi, *SKBH*, pp. x-xi and *REJ*, III, 259.

<sup>52</sup> Ausfeld, p. 26.

<sup>53</sup> Lévi, *SKBH*, p. xi.

<sup>54</sup> Steinschneider, *HUM*, p. 904.

<sup>55</sup> As found in Lévi's notes to the text of Ms. P up to p. 8 note 4. See *SKBH*, p. 57, note 4 to p. 8. The corresponding part in *Yosippon* is in B, 65-87, 21 and in V, 18b-22c, 19.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. *SKBH*, p. 1 note 7 and *Yos.* B, 67, 2-9; p. 4 note 6 and *Yos.* B, 76, 25-77, 1; p. 6 note 6 and *Yos.* B, 80, 20-24; p. 6 note 7 and *Yos.* B, 81, 9; p. 7 note 5 and *Yos.* B, 85, 1-13.

<sup>57</sup> In *Yos.* V, 22c, 15.

<sup>58</sup> See *SKBH*, p. 57, 8, note 10; p. 77, 45, notes 1, 5, 7, 9; p. 78, 46, notes 6, 8. The questions which Alexander put to the Gymnosophists are found with variations in both Ms. L and *Yosippon*, cf. p. 34 with *Yos.* B, 99. See Wallach, *JQR*, XXXVII, 412-444.

<sup>59</sup> *SKBH*, pp. xii-xiii.

<sup>60</sup> Steinschneider, *HUM*, pp. 903-904.

<sup>61</sup> Wallach, *JQR*, XXXVII, 414-415.

<sup>62</sup> Flusser, *Tarbiz*, pp. 167-168.

<sup>63</sup> A. Hilka, *Der altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman* (Halle, 1920).

<sup>64</sup> In comparing Ms. L and Ms. P with the Latin, I have found at least twenty-five passages in which Ms. L is closer to the Latin than Ms. P. The following are a few such passages: Ms. L55, 4, 5 and H (Hilka) 30, 8; L55, 6, 7 and H39, 5-7; L60, 18, 7 and H90, 18; L63, 22, 8 and H113, 26-27; L78, 46, 8 and H219, 29-220, 6.

<sup>65</sup> The number of such passages is much smaller than in Ms. L. Cf. L53, 1, 5 and H8, 1-11, 11 (Nectanebus enters palace twice to perform incantations); L57, 9, 9 and H61, 29-62, 7 (Jeremiah's bones); L60, 17, 12 and H88, 32-89, 4; L60, 18, 1 and H89, 24; L60, 18, 8 and H90, 36-37; L63, 22, 2 and H106, 7-8.

<sup>66</sup> Passages in Ms. P clarified by text of Ms. L. Cf. L54, 3, 3 and H25, 29-26, 1-2; L56, 7, 5 and H53, 1-7; L57, 8, 6 and H57, 9-10. Passages in Ms. L clarified by text of Ms. P. Cf. L58, 13, 4 and H71 and 72, 9. See also L60, 17, 8.

<sup>67</sup> Elements in L not found in Latin: L57, 8, 10; L70, 34, 14; L74, 40, 4; L76, 42, 1. Elements in P not found in Latin: L57, 8, 9; L61, 19, 10.

<sup>68</sup> Elements in L not found in P: p. 61, 19, 5; p. 70, 34, 14; p. 74, 40, 4; p. 76, 42, 1. Elements in P not found in L: p. 57, 9, 9; p. 61, 19, 10; p. 64, 23, 5.

<sup>69</sup> The Modena Ms. is *Bibl. Estense no. LIII*. It was published by I. Lévi: "Sefer Alexandrus Moqdon" in *Festschrift zum achzigsten Geburtstage Moritz Steinschneiders* (Leipzig, 1896), pp. 142-163, hereafter referred to as *Fest*. See also his discussion of this manuscript in same volume, pp. 235-237.

<sup>70</sup> The Bodleian manuscript is Ms. Cod. Heb. 2797.10, Bodleian, Oxford. Gaster entitled his translation: *An Old Hebrew Romance of Alexander*. The translation occupies pp. 499-549 in *JRAS* (1897) and is preceded by an introduction by Gaster, pp. 485-498. The introduction and translation have also been published in Gaster's *Studies and Texts*, II, 814-878.

<sup>71</sup> A. Y. Harkavy, *Neizdannaya Versiya romana obŭ Alexandrē* (St. Petersburg, 1892).

<sup>72</sup> Steinschneider, *HUM*, pp. 904-905.

<sup>73</sup> *Fest.*, p. 236.

<sup>74</sup> Ausfeld, p. 27.

<sup>75</sup> *Fest.*, p. 235.

<sup>76</sup> Ausfeld, p. 26.

<sup>77</sup> *Fest.*, p. 235.

<sup>78</sup> Gaster, *JRAS* (1897), p. 490.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 498.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 491-498.

<sup>81</sup> *Fest.*, pp. 235-236.

<sup>82</sup> Gaster, *JRAS* (1897), pp. 488-489.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 524.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 532 and 546.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 489.

<sup>86</sup> *Fest.*, p. 237.

<sup>87</sup> Steinschneider, *HUM*, pp. 904-905.

<sup>88</sup> Gaster, *JRAS* (1897), pp. 490-491.

<sup>89</sup> See I. B. de-Rossi, *MSS. Codices Hebr. Bibl.*, pp. 55-56; Flusser, *Tarbiz*, pp. 165-184 and p. v of the Summaries in *Tarbiz*.

<sup>90</sup> Steinschneider, *HUM*, 490-491.

<sup>91</sup> Flusser, *Tarbiz*, pp. 166, 172.

<sup>92</sup> Eusebius (264–340), Bishop of Caesarea. See his *Chronicon*, II, Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XIX (1857).

<sup>93</sup> Flusser, *Tarbiz*, pp. 178–184.

<sup>94</sup> See critical apparatus to the chronicle.

<sup>95</sup> I. Lévi, “Les traductions hebraïques de l’histoire d’Alexandre”, *REJ* III, p. 255.

<sup>96</sup> Flusser, *Tarbiz*, pp. 169–170.

<sup>97</sup> Flusser, *ibid.*, and p. v of the Summaries in *Tarbiz*. See Cary, p. 12.

<sup>98</sup> *Tamid*, p. 32b; Steinschneider, *HUM*, pp. 898–899; Flusser, *Tarbiz*, p. 169.

<sup>99</sup> See *Sefer Musere ha-Pilosofim*, ed. A. Loewenthal (Frankfurt a.M., 1896), hereafter referred to as *Musere*. For a description of this work see Steinschneider, *HUM*, pp. 248–253; Lévi, *REJ*, III, pp. 242–244; Zacher, pp. 177–193; and Cary, pp. 22–23.

<sup>100</sup> Johann Hispalensis translated part of it in the twelfth century. Philippus, called Clericus, translated all of it at the beginning of the thirteenth century. See Steinschneider, *HUM*, pp. 249–250; Cary, pp. 21–22.

<sup>101</sup> For a discussion of the problem and the different views see Steinschneider, *HUM*, pp. 248–249.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 246.

<sup>103</sup> *The Hebrew Version of the Secretum Secretorum*. The Hebrew text was published in *JRAS* (1907), pp. 879–912, and also in Gaster’s *Studies and Texts*, III, 246–278. The English translation was published in *JRAS* (1908), I, 111–162. The Introduction was published in *JRAS* (1908), II, 1065–1084. The Introduction and English translation were also published in Gaster’s *Studies and Texts*, II, 742–813. See Gaster’s Introduction for a description of this work, and also Steinschneider, *HUM*, pp. 245–259 and Lévi, *REJ*, III, 241–242.

<sup>104</sup> For Hebrew see *JRAS* (1907), 910–911; for English see *JRAS* (1908), I, 113–114.

<sup>105</sup> Steinschneider, *HUM*, p. 251; Lévi, *REJ*, III, 241.

<sup>106</sup> *JRAS* (1908), II, 1071–73.

<sup>107</sup> Steinschneider, *HUM*, p. 251; Gaster, *JRAS* (1908), II, 1071.

### III. A STUDY OF THE TEXT OF THE MANUSCRIPT PUBLISHED HERE

<sup>1</sup> See *Catalogues des manuscrits hébreux*, Bibliothèque Imperiale (Nationale de Paris), 1866, pp. 121–122.

<sup>2</sup> See Bernardinus Peyron, *Codices Hebraici Regiae Bibliothecae* (Turin, 1880), p. 234. The manuscript is listed as Codex CCXVIII.A.VII.6.

<sup>3</sup> *SKBH*, II (1886), xiii–xiv.

<sup>4</sup> This work was translated into Latin in 1406; see *JE*, III, 306.

<sup>5</sup> Lévi, *REJ*, III, 245–246.

<sup>6</sup> See Steinschneider, *HB*, XV (1875), 26, 39–40, and *HUM*, p. 904; Lévi, *REJ*, III, 245–246.

<sup>7</sup> There are two more legends listed in our manuscript in folio 74<sup>r</sup> and 74<sup>v</sup> which as Lévi pointed out were incorrectly designated as legends by our author. They are rather the headings to chs. 4 and 5 of Book III of *Musere* which chapters along with others were incorporated, as we shall see presently, in the manuscript by our author. See Lévi, *REJ*, III, 251.

<sup>8</sup> Lévi has compared the legends in our manuscript with those found in two Latin manuscripts: no. 8501 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, which contains both the drawings and the legends, and the Cologne edition of the *Historia de Preliis* which contains the legends only. In his study Lévi indicates which of the legends follow the former and which the latter. See Lévi, *REJ*, III, 249-251.

<sup>9</sup> See Alfons Hilka, *Der alifranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman* (Halle, 1920). The legends found in the following pages of this volume correspond to legends in our Ms.: 24, 27, 32, 40, 44, 49, 53, 54, 71, 114, 130, 133, 150, 165-167, 170-171.

<sup>10</sup> See Haight, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> See F. Pfister, "Die Historia de Preliis und das Alexanderepos des Quilichinus," in *Münchener Museum für Philologie des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Munich, 1912), I, 3, pp. 271 ff.; Lévi, *REJ*, III, 254.

<sup>12</sup> See Pfister, *Historia*, p. 272, where he quotes the apothegms of the philosophers from the Strassburg edition of the *Historia de Preliis* which represents the I<sup>a</sup> recension. Our Hebrew manuscript contains apothegms similar to the first and second apothegms of the Latin.

<sup>13</sup> A. Hilka und W. Söderhjelm, "Die Disciplina Clericalis des Petrus Alfonsi" in *Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte* (Heidelberg, 1911), II, 48-50.

<sup>14</sup> Pfister, *Historia*, p. 278.

<sup>15</sup> See Budge, Ethiopic version, pp. 432-435.

<sup>16</sup> Pfister, *Historia*, p. 278.

<sup>17</sup> See Budge, Ethiopic version, pp. 432-434. Our Hebrew apothegms show similarity to apothegms V, VII, XII, XIII, XVI, and XVII. The words of Roxane, Alexander's widow, which follow the apothegms of the philosophers are also similar in the Ethiopic and the Hebrew.

<sup>18</sup> Pfister, *Historia*, p. 279.

<sup>19</sup> In *Yos.* B, 111-115; in *Yos.* V, 29b-30a.

<sup>20</sup> See section on the Parma Ms. in Part II of the Introduction, and Flusser, *Tarbiz*, pp. 178-184, for a discussion of the chronicle.

<sup>21</sup> Since we refer to these two works frequently, we use the letter Z to represent Zingerle's volume and the letter H to represent Hilka's volume.

<sup>22</sup> The paragraph numbering was established by Zingerle and followed by Hilka. See F. P. Magoun, "The Harvard Epitome of the *Historia De Preliis*," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, XIV (Cambridge, Mass., 1932).

<sup>23</sup> The eleven paragraphs are: 8, 9, 10, 17, 18, 20, 23, 27, 29, 30 and 39.

<sup>24</sup> See the Hebrew Text and the Translation from paragraph 48 to paragraph 76.

<sup>25</sup> The eighteen paragraphs are: 48, 60, 63, 50, 57, 47, 49, 66, 52, 70, 58, 59, 60, 65, 68, 71, 73 and 76.

<sup>26</sup> The sixteen paragraphs are: 77, 82, 84, 86, 89, 91, 94, 95, 96, 97, 123, 124, 125, 127, 128 and 129.

<sup>27</sup> A. Hilka, *Der altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman* (Halle, 1920). We are using the abbreviation, *OFr*, to refer to the *Old French Prose Alexander Romance*.

<sup>28</sup> Joshua 1:18. See par. 21.

<sup>29</sup> Gen. 50:5. See par. 73.

<sup>30</sup> Esther 6:9. See par. 40.

<sup>31</sup> Gen. 49:33. See par. 129.

<sup>32</sup> Micah 4:4. See par. 89.

<sup>33</sup> Isaiah 2:4. See par. 99.

<sup>34</sup> Gen. 8:21. See par. 99.

<sup>35</sup> Mal. 2:10. See par. 99.

<sup>36</sup> 2 Sam. 20:1. See par. 65.

<sup>37</sup> Esther 1:10. See par. 127.

<sup>38</sup> Esther 7:8. See par. 125.

<sup>39</sup> Ex. 9:24. See par. 97.

<sup>40</sup> Gen. 37:3. See par. 32.

<sup>41</sup> Lev. 16:8, 10. See par. 3.

<sup>42</sup> Gen. 40:2. See par. 62.

<sup>43</sup> See section in our Introduction on: Additional material in the Hebrew text.

<sup>44</sup> The texts published by Zingerle and by Hilka.

<sup>45</sup> Lévi, in *REJ*, III, 245, states that Ḥayyim copied as far as f. 39 verso. Apparently he overlooked the marginal note on f. 38 verso which reads: "Up to this point the copying was done by my grandson Ḥayyim, may the Lord watch over him and keep him in life." Lévi's view is based on the fact that Yehosef, the second copyist, indicates his name for the first time on f. 40 recto by singling out for adornment the letters of his name from five words, four of which are the first words in lines 2, 4, 6 and 19 while the fifth is at the bottom of the leaf. The name is constructed by reading the letters from the bottom of the leaf upwards.

<sup>46</sup> E. g., f. 88<sup>r</sup>, l. 17; f. 33<sup>r</sup>, l. 3; f. 38<sup>r</sup>, l. 13.

<sup>47</sup> E. g., f. 28<sup>v</sup>, lines 1, 2, 5, 7; f. 32<sup>v</sup>, l. 16; f. 34<sup>v</sup>, lines 16, 19.

<sup>48</sup> E. g., f. 45<sup>r</sup>, lines 2, 3, 4, 9, 12; f. 44<sup>v</sup>, the letters in the third and fourth words of the quotation from Psalms at the bottom of the leaf; f. 40<sup>r</sup> as described above in note 45; and f. 41<sup>v</sup>, lines 4, 7, 8, 9, 20.

<sup>49</sup> See note 55 to Part I of the text.

<sup>50</sup> See in Part III of our Introduction the section on: Analysis of Part One in its Relation to *Historia de Preliis*.

# Notes to the Text

## I. THE ALEXANDER ROMANCE

<sup>1</sup> The heading, The Alexander Romance, does not appear in the text of the manuscript. As indicated in the Introduction, we have introduced this heading and two others, namely, Apothegms and Chronicle in order to designate the three elements of which the text of the manuscript is composed. The first folio of our manuscript is missing. Thus the narrative in the first 38 lines of the first paragraph in the Latin, Z (Zingerle) 129, 1-131, 1, is missing in the Hebrew. The Hebrew text begins with the words: "... on behalf of anyone who approached him," representing the translation of "... omnibus qui pergebant ad eum," Z, 131, 1. In order to help orient the reader into the text of the narrative, we have inserted at the beginning of our Hebrew text and of the English translation a translation of the key sentences of the Latin representing the material missing in the Hebrew. The insertion is set off by brackets. In our translation from the Latin to the Hebrew we have made use of some corresponding passages in *Yosippon* and in Ms. P for stylistic purposes. See *Yos.* V 18 and Ms. P in *SKBH*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> As indicated in the Introduction the author has recorded throughout the text of the manuscript the legends to the illuminations which were found in the Latin manuscript which he translated.

<sup>3</sup> The mythical biblical figure who dwelt in the wilderness, Lev. 16:10. Latin: *cornua arietina*, Z133, 21.

<sup>4</sup> Latin: *ariolum*, Z135, 19. Our author treated *ariolus* as a proper name here and elsewhere in the text.

<sup>5</sup> Follows H (Hilka) 29, 5-7 and S (Codex Seitenstettensis) in Z137.

<sup>6</sup> The phrase *separando . . . suum*, Z138, 20-21 is not found in the Hebrew. Magoun, p. 230, believes that this phrase is corrupt and that "the point of the Greek original seems to have been that the sun stood in opposition to Venus and quenched Philip's love for women." The Hebrew seems to be closer to the Greek original than is the Latin in this instance.

<sup>7</sup> Z138, 22 does not have father. Hebrew follows H31, 16.

<sup>8</sup> Hebrew has *side of the wall*, a Biblical allusion, Josh. 2:15. I have translated it *city wall* on basis of the Latin: *murum civitatis*, Z139, 10.

<sup>9</sup> The phrase *which was in his hand* is missing in Z143, 17 but is found in H42, 25 and in S in Z143.

<sup>10</sup> This sentence differs from Latin, Z143, 21-22.

<sup>11</sup> Z145, 2 has *Macedonia*. Hebrew follows H47, 1 and S in Z145.

<sup>12</sup> Missing in Z145, 14; H49, 10-11 and S in Z145 have *civitatem lon*. OFr has *la chité de Loni*, H49, 25.



<sup>13</sup> Cf. H59, 3.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. H59, 23-34.

<sup>15</sup> A large lacuna here: Z148, 9-149, 11. This represents the greater part of par. 24, the whole of par. 25 and the first part of par. 26. The interesting interpolation dealing with Jeremiah's bones in par. 24 as found in H61, 29-62, 7 is also missing in the Hebrew. See section in Introduction on Alexander and the bones of Jeremiah.

<sup>16</sup> In the story of Alexander and the High Priest in Jerusalem, the Latin follows the version found in Josephus. Our Hebrew combines this version with that found in *Yosippon*. In the first part of the story which deals with the correspondence between Alexander and the High Priest and the former's consternation at the latter's refusal to do his bidding, the Latin in Z149, 15-150, 8 follows Josephus, *Ant.* XI, viii, 3, 317-320, and the Hebrew follows the Latin with some elaboration. The Latin in Z150, 8-151, 2 continues with Alexander's dream of the grapes and his capture of Tyre and Gaza, and the Hebrew follows the Latin. *Josephus* does not have this dream but mentions the capture of Tyre and Gaza, *Ant.* XI, viii, 3-4, 320, 325. The Latin returns to *Josephus* and follows the remainder of the account of Alexander's encounter with the High Priest and his entry into Jerusalem, cf. Z151, 3-153, 1 and *Ant.* XI, viii, 4-5, 325-339. The Hebrew follows the first three lines of the Latin and then interpolates a passage from *Yosippon* containing Alexander's dream of the man who helps him achieve victories and who orders him to bow before the man in Jerusalem who resembles him, see *Yos.* B, 61, 5-28. Although the account of this dream is not given in *Josephus* or in the Latin, it is referred to in both sources later on when Alexander explains to his officers why he bowed before the High Priest, see Z152, 5-15 and *Ant.* XI, viii, 5, 333-335. The Hebrew then returns to the Latin and follows it from Z151, 6-152, 15. After that, the Hebrew goes back to *Yosippon* and follows its version of Alexander and the High Priest in the Temple, *Yos.* B, 62, 15-63, 19. Then the Hebrew returns once again to the Latin and follows it with some variations, see Z152, 20-25.

<sup>17</sup> In the Latin Z149, 16, Iaddus is the name of the High Priest as in *Josephus*. In rabbinic tradition his name is Simon the Just, see section on *Alexander's Visit to Jerusalem* in our Introduction. In *Yos.* B, 63, 27 the name of the High Priest is not given in this connection. His name, Addus (Iaddus), is mentioned later on in connection with his brother Manasses whom his father-in-law Sanballates, the Samaritan, had appointed High Priest. In *Yos.* V, 17c, 8 the name of the High Priest is Hananiah (Onias), which version our Hebrew follows. This name in somewhat altered form, Anani, is also found in the *Old Hebrew Romance of Alexander* published by Gaster; see *JRAS*, 1897, p. 494.

<sup>18</sup> At this point the pagination of our manuscript goes from 90<sup>v</sup> to 24<sup>r</sup>. The narrative, however, is unaffected by it and continues in sequence without interruption.

<sup>19</sup> Hebrew reads *Scopulu*. In *Josephus* the place is called Saphein or Sapha. According to Schürer, Saphein is the Aramaic form of the Hebrew *Zofim* and he identifies it with the hill called Scopos which is the modern Mount

Scopus about a mile north of Jerusalem. See Marcus' notes in *Josephus*, Loeb ed., Vol. VI, to pp. 472-473.

<sup>20</sup> *Yosippon* has "the treasures" which we have substituted for the word *ha-bayit* found in our manuscript.

<sup>21</sup> Differs from Latin, Z152, 23 which follows *Josephus* where the priests request tax-exemption only in the seventh year, *Ant. XI*, loc. cit.

<sup>22</sup> Hebrew follows H70, 15 and S in Z153.

<sup>23</sup> Hebrew follows H73, 20-23 and S in Z154.

<sup>24</sup> *Ps.-Call.* has: "... the Pierian city of Bebyrcia where there was... a statue of Orpheus and standing near him the nine Pierian Muses...", Haight transl., p. 52. See also the Syriac version, Budge transl., p. 54. Hebrew follows Z160, 8 but misreads the Latin word for Muses.

<sup>25</sup> Paragraphs 41-45 are missing in the Hebrew.

<sup>26</sup> Beginning with this paragraph the Hebrew follows in the main the I<sup>a</sup> recension of the Latin as indicated in the Introduction, see H91, 35. Par. 47 follows later on after par. 57 as in I<sup>a</sup>, see H109, 1.

<sup>27</sup> The first two sentences of par. 60 are based on H126, 9-12.

<sup>28</sup> From here to the end of par. 60 the Hebrew is based on H94, 18-96, 11.

<sup>29</sup> Biblical allusion, Num. 4:7. I have translated this passage freely as required by the context.

<sup>30</sup> From here to the end of the par., the Hebrew follows I<sup>a</sup>, par. 49<sup>(1)</sup>, Z177, 14-22 and elaborates upon it.

<sup>31</sup> The Hebrew goes back again to I<sup>a</sup>, H103, 1.

<sup>32</sup> Hebrew: *Migo*, cf. H110, 2.

<sup>33</sup> In this par. the Hebrew follows I<sup>a</sup>, par. 49, H113-115, while in par. 49<sup>(1)</sup> the Hebrew follows I<sup>a</sup>, Z177, 14-22.

<sup>34</sup> Hebrew stops in the middle of par. 66, H117, 20 and goes on to par. 51, H93, 10. It continues with par.'s 52, 53, 54 and 56 and then returns to conclude par. 66, H117, 21.

<sup>35</sup> Differs from Latin, H93, 31-32.

<sup>36</sup> Hebrew continues with second part of par. 66, H117, 21.

<sup>37</sup> Hebrew made three names out of the two given in Latin, H130, 16-17.

<sup>38</sup> Hebrew follows I<sup>a</sup> in this paragraph, cf. Z194, 16-195, 18.

<sup>39</sup> A hiatus in the Hebrew manuscript. The material found in H134, 23-139, 19 is missing. The passage in the Latin contains the following: Alexander's letter to all the provinces in the kingdom of Persia in which he gives thanks to God for his victory and proclaims the restoration of orderly and peaceful government; the apprehension and execution of Darius' assassins; Alexander's marriage to Roxane; and Alexander's admonition to the Persians not to honor him as a god.

<sup>40</sup> Hebrew resumes the narrative in the middle of par. 76 with Alexander's letter to his mother, H139, 19.

<sup>41</sup> Hebrew has *Mylia*. This may be either *Milyas* which was in Lycia, a country in Asia Minor, or *Mylasa* which was in Caria, a province in Asia Minor, south of Lydia. H140, 5 has *Manglos* while S has *anglos*, see Z199.

<sup>42</sup> Biblical allusion, Deut. 8:15. In translating I rearranged order of words for sake of more readable text.

<sup>43</sup> Hebrew has *spiritili*, a corrupt transliteration of *vespertilionēs*, H168, 1.

<sup>44</sup> As in Z216, 4-5.

<sup>45</sup> Quite different from Latin, H174, 7-15.

<sup>46</sup> The latter half of par. 90 and the whole of par. 105, H184, 17-186, 3 is missing in the Hebrew. The Hebrew continues with paragraphs 109 and 110 of the Latin and then returns to par. 98, which is most likely due to a transposition of the folios. To preserve the continuity of the narrative, we have in our transcription of the manuscript rearranged the order of the folios to correspond to the sequence of events in the Latin H upon which the Hebrew is based. At this point therefore we omit folios 58 and 59 of the Hebrew manuscript, to which we shall return later, and begin with folio 60, l. 9, which corresponds to the beginning of par. 98 of the Latin, H186, 3.

<sup>47</sup> The Hebrew had the following words here: *And that river was in the land of Sacrapilus*. This is a corruption of *sacra scriptura*, H186, 5. We have deleted these words in the interest of a readable text.

<sup>48</sup> H194, 18-195, 12 is missing in the Hebrew.

<sup>49</sup> H195, 18-196, 17 is missing in the Hebrew.

<sup>50</sup> H196, 22-26 is missing in the Hebrew.

<sup>51</sup> At this point there is a large lacuna in the Hebrew. The material found in the Latin from the middle of par. 100, H197, 23 to the middle of par. 109, H218, 10 is missing in the Hebrew. At this point also, we return to folios 58 and 59 of the Hebrew Manuscript, the beginning of folio 58 corresponding to H218, 11. These two folios contain the concluding part of the story of Alexander and Candace. In order to introduce the reader to the first part of this story, we have included a condensed paraphrase of it in brackets in the Hebrew text and in the text of our translation. The paraphrase represents the narrative as found in the Latin from par. 107, H207, 18 to par. 109, H218, 10.

<sup>52</sup> Reference to Serapis in par. 24. Episode is missing in the Hebrew.

<sup>53</sup> In this Biblical quotation, Zech. 4:7, the first word *teshu'ot* meaning *amid shouts* has been rendered as *acclaim* to meet the requirements of the context of this episode.

<sup>54</sup> At this point there is a lacuna in the Hebrew manuscript corresponding to paragraphs 111-123 in the Latin. In order to preserve the continuity of the narrative as found in the Latin we have rearranged the order of the folios in the Hebrew manuscript by picking up the thread of the story in folio 65<sup>v</sup> l. 7 which corresponds to H242, middle of par. 123.

<sup>55</sup> This letter is an addition of the Hebrew and is taken from *Sefer Musere ha-Pilosofim*, ed. A. Loewenthal, II, 4, pp. 27-29, hereafter referred to as *Musere*. Loewenthal translated this work into German under the title of: *Honein Ibn Ishāk, Simmsprüche der Philosophen* (Berlin, 1896). It was of much help to me in obscure passages.

<sup>56</sup> See Loewenthal, *Simmsprüche*, p. 115 and reference in note 1.

<sup>57</sup> Hebrew resumes the narrative, cf. H244, 1-7.

<sup>58</sup> The words *me to live* are missing in the Hebrew. We added them as required by context.

<sup>59</sup> The word *supplication* is missing in the Hebrew. We added it as required by context.

<sup>60</sup> Literally, *they covered Antipater's face*. Biblical allusion, Esther 7:8.

<sup>61</sup> The proper names in the Hebrew are often corrupt. In most instances the Hebrew follows H and in some the OFr, S and Z, see H253-255 and Z261-262. In the English translation I have followed the Latin or Old French except for those names which occur only in the Hebrew. Such names have been transliterated. See Appendix IV which contains the list of names of persons and places for a comparison of the Hebrew and the Latin.

<sup>62</sup> Sicily is not found in the Latin. The Hebrew follows the OFr, H254, 17-18, which has *Sesile*.

<sup>63</sup> The Hebrew name for Cassander is followed by another name containing these letters: *mitigtur*. This is a corruption deriving perhaps from (*fluvius*)*m*, (*qu*)*i* *dicitur* in Z262, 4-5, which the Hebrew author apparently read as a proper name.

<sup>64</sup> Hebrew used both I<sup>1</sup> (Z) and I<sup>2</sup> (H) for Alexander's will. Antipater as prince of Cilicia is found only in I<sup>1</sup>, Z262, 5. The Hebrew *Pulia* is apparently a corruption of *Cilicia*.

<sup>65</sup> Hebrew follows S, see Z261. I<sup>2</sup> has Lydia, H254, 18.

<sup>66</sup> The Hebrew names for Bactria and India are corrupt: *Natrida* and *Poeloniga*. We emended them on basis of Latin, H254, 29-30.

<sup>67</sup> Hebrew has *coloniah*, apparently mistaking the Latin *colonias* for place-name. The Hebrew does not have *established in India*, which we added on basis of Latin, H254, 37.

<sup>68</sup> Hebrew is corrupt. It has the following three words in place of the Latin *Parapomenos*: *Para*, *Paniniah*, and *Sina*. We emended the corrupt reading on basis of Latin, H255, 2.

<sup>69</sup> We take the Hebrew *Ravi* to be a corruption of Hyrcanos; see S in Z262 and the OFr, H255, 12.

<sup>70</sup> This sentence is not found in the Latin. It is found in the Stockholm manuscript of the OFr version, see H280, note to p. 255, l. 11. See also *Ps.-Call.*, Haight transl., p. 133, where the name is *Phratafernes*.

<sup>71</sup> *Elitom* in OFr H255, 12. This sentence is not found in the Latin.

<sup>72</sup> The Hebrew *Arakui* may refer to the OFr *Sirerochas*, H254, 17. In the Hebrew passage equivalent to H254, 17, the Hebrew has *Sironias*. The Hebrew thus mentions Sicily twice with the names of the princes differing in each.

<sup>73</sup> Hebrew has *Ariolus*, *the magician*, a misreading of the text which we emended on basis of Latin, H255, 12-13.

<sup>74</sup> *Palcariu* may be a corruption of *Chelaris*, S in Z262. There is no equivalent in the Latin for the Hebrew *Antikia*, which I have rendered as *Antiochia*.

<sup>75</sup> Hebrew had *Persian*, which we emended on basis of Latin, H256, 6.

<sup>76</sup> Hebrew had *court of the guard*, which we emended as required by context, cf. H256, 7.

<sup>77</sup> Hebrew had *Indian*, which we emended on basis of Latin, H258, 1.

<sup>78</sup> Latin, 10,200, H259, 9-10.

<sup>79</sup> Lacuna, the material in Latin H259, 32-260, 2 is missing in Hebrew.

<sup>80</sup> The parallel passage in *Yosippon* has: *He was born on the fourth day of the month of Iyar at sunrise.*

<sup>81</sup> The Latin names have been placed in parentheses after the Hebrew names. The Hebrew follows both I<sup>1</sup> and I<sup>2</sup> for the names; see Z265, 7-16 and H260, 16-25.

## II. APOTHEGMS

<sup>1</sup> The collection of apothegms that follows constitutes the second element in the Hebrew manuscript, beginning at the bottom of folio 71<sup>r</sup> and ending in the middle of folio 78<sup>v</sup>. This moralistic material represents an addition by the Hebrew author and was taken by him from the following sections of *Musere*: Book III, chapters 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 3 and Book II, ch. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Budge, Ethiopic version, 433, xii.

<sup>3</sup> The OFr which preserved the legends to the illuminations does not have this legend. Our author apparently added this legend, and its wording is taken from the first sentence of ch. 4, Book III of *Musere*, p. 54. See also the variant reading for this sentence in the footnote there.

<sup>4</sup> This legend like the preceding one is an addition by the Hebrew author and its wording is taken from the beginning of ch. 5, Book III of *Musere*. Our manuscript then continues with the rest of ch. 5.

<sup>5</sup> For this statement and for the next one cf. Budge, Ethiopic version, 434, xviii, xiii and xvii.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 433, vii.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 434, xvi.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 434, xvii.

<sup>9</sup> The following is found in *Musere*, Book III, ch. 6, pp. 57-58.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Book III, ch. 7, p. 58.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Book III, ch. 8, pp. 58-59. The first sentence however is found at the beginning of ch. 9.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Book III, ch. 10, pp. 60-61.

<sup>13</sup> Our manuscript omits pp. 60, 25-61, 20 of ch. 10 and resumes at p. 61, 21 at which point one of the speakers is concluding his words of comfort to Olympias.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Book III, ch. 11, pp. 61-62.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Book III, ch. 12, p. 62.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Book III, ch. 3, pp. 53-54. In *Musere* this chapter is found in the regular order of the chapters. Our author however placed this chapter here.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Book II, ch. 5, p. 29.

## III. CHRONICLE

<sup>1</sup> The short chronicle which follows is the third and final element in our manuscript. It has been described and analyzed in our Introduction, Part II, section on the Parma manuscript and Part III, section on the chronicle. In addition to our manuscript, this chronicle is also found in the Parma manuscript and in *Yosippon* and is based ultimately on the *Chronicon* of Eusebius. The text of the chronicle in our manuscript is corrupt in a number of places which we have emended on the basis of variant readings in the Parma manuscript and in *Yosippon* (B, 111–115 V, 29a–30a) and in some instances on the basis of Eusebius (*Chronicon*, II, *Patrologia Graeca*, XIX (1857), 493–494 ff. in the pertinent Olympiads.) The variant readings are recorded in the apparatus to the Hebrew text. In those passages where the several Hebrew sources agree, we have so indicated in the apparatus. In those instances where they differ, we have selected the reading which is least corrupt or which is closest to that in Eusebius or which best meets the requirements of the context.

<sup>2</sup> The Hebrew has *Ipiados*. Parma manuscript and *Yos.* B and V have *Ipatos* which we have taken to represent Hipatos: the Consul. The Consul referred to is Marcus Valerius Messalla to whom Sicily was assigned as his province. In a successful campaign he drove back Hieron and brought some sixty Sicilian towns under the supremacy of Rome. See *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, ed. W. Smith (London 1846), pp. 1049–50.

<sup>3</sup> *Kalmiganos* also occurs in the Parma manuscript while *Yos.* V has *Kartagina*. *Kalmiganos* may represent a combination of *Kartagina* and *Antigonia*. The building of Antigonia cannot refer to Antigonus II Gonatas (320–239) but rather to Antigonus I (382–301) who founded Antigonia on the Orontes in 307. See Eusebius, *Chronicon*, II, 115th Olympiad.

<sup>4</sup> Eusebius has the 151st Olympiad. Antiochus Epiphanes began his reign in the 151st Olympiad and ruled for eleven years. Our manuscript has the 144th Olympiad and a reign of thirty-six years. Historically this describes the time and reign of Antiochus the Great and not Antiochus Epiphanes. See Eusebius, *Chronicon*, II, Olympiads 140–148 and 151–154.

<sup>5</sup> *Yos.* B: 80,000; *Yos.* V: 88,000. Parma Ms., 88,000.

<sup>6</sup> Hebrew has *Erez Pelishtim*. For the history of the Greek form *Palaistine* which is based on the Biblical *Peleshet* see I. Benzinger, "Palestine," in *JE*, IX, 479–480.

<sup>7</sup> Antiochus the Great, by which title Antiochus III was referred to, is obviously an error since he reigned from 223–187 while Tigranes lived in the first half of the first century B. C. E. The reference is most likely to Antiochus Pius who was Antiochus X. See Flusser, *Tarbiz*, p. 180.

<sup>8</sup> See Flusser, *ibid.*, and Benzinger, *JE*, IX, 480.

<sup>9</sup> Pompeii refers apparently to Pompeiopolis, a name which was borne by several towns in ancient times; see *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, ed. William Smith (Boston, 1857), II, 654. In this case it refers most likely to

Soli, a town on the coast of Cilicia. Tigranes had destroyed it during the Mithridatic War, and Pompey revived it and gave it the name of Pompeiopolis, *ibid.*, p. 1019. Flusser points out that this happened about 67 or 66 B. C. E., that is in the 176th Olympiad. See *Tarbiṣ*, p. 180.

<sup>10</sup> Eusebius mentions only Iberia. However, Flusser points out that the Byzantine author of our chronicle may have used another source in addition to Eusebius, namely Eutropius, where we find that Pompey subjugated Albania, Iberia, and Colchis. See *Tarbiṣ*, p. 181. While our text has Colisis and might refer to Colossae in Great Phrygia, it would appear more feasible to read it as Colchis in view of the passage in Eutropius and in view of the fact that Colchis, Iberia, and Albania were adjacent to one another. We have therefore rendered Colisis as Colchis in the English translation.

<sup>11</sup> Our manuscript agrees with the Parma manuscript; see *Tarbiṣ*, pp. 181–182. In *Yosippon*, however, Pompey captured Jerusalem “without mercy because he had no compassion for the Jews,” *Yos.* B, 115, 8–9. According to Josephus, Jerusalem fell without bloodshed. See the discussion in Flusser’s article on this point, *Tarbiṣ*, pp. 181–182.

<sup>12</sup> While the two names Ḥabib Ḥayyim occur here, the copyist refers to himself as Ḥayyim as is seen from the fact that he singles out for adornment the letters of his name, Ḥayyim, from various words in the text. (See notes 45–48 in Part III of the Introduction). The presence of Ḥabib before Ḥayyim may be explained in one of three ways: the copyist may have begun to write Ḥayyim and wrote Ḥabib and forgot to cross it out. Ḥabib may have been an additional name, not generally used. It may be an abbreviation of Ḥabibi, meaning “my beloved.”





# Appendix I

## MATERIAL FROM OTHER SOURCES

### 1. *Yosippon*

Par. 28. Alexander's dream while on his way to Jerusalem and his visit to the Temple follow the account in *Yosippon* almost verbatim.

Par. 84. In the account of the gift of the Amazons to Alexander our Hebrew text follows *Yosippon* with variations. This common version is based upon the account in *Ps.-Call*.

Par. 90. While the Hebrew corresponds in content to the Latin in the account of the letter of the King of the Gymnosophists to Alexander, it adopts some of the phraseology found in *Yosippon* and also adds a sentence from *Yosippon*. Similar partial use of *Yosippon's* phraseology is found in the description of the manner in which the Gymnosophists lived. The answer to Alexander's question concerning the graves follows *Yosippon* verbatim while the question concerning the numbers of the living and the dead which does not occur in the Latin is found in *Yosippon*.

Par. 109. While the Hebrew corresponds in content to the Latin in the Candace story, it follows the phraseology of *Yosippon* in these passages: Candace's appeal to Alexander for advice in dealing with her sons; Antigonus' (Alexander's) statement to Carator that Alexander has many officers more distinguished than he and that his death would therefore not cause Alexander to worry; Candace's gifts to Alexander.

Par. 110. At the conclusion of the Candace episode, the Hebrew has farewell speeches by Alexander and Candaulus which do not occur in the Latin. *Yosippon* has a short farewell speech by Alexander in which he indicates that his vow to present Alexander at the palace of Candace had been fulfilled. This thought is also found in our text. While our author may have

referred to the passage in *Yosippon* and elaborated upon it, it would seem that the account in our text bears a greater resemblance to that in the *OFr* which we shall discuss presently.

Par. 130. In the short biographical account of Alexander, the Hebrew follows *Yosippon* with variations.

## 2. *The Old French Prose Alexander Romance*

Par. 18. In describing Philip's attack upon Alexander, the Hebrew has "and his sword fell from his hand." This passage does not occur in the Latin but is found in the *OFr*.

Par. 20. When Pausanias planned to abduct Olympias, the Hebrew like the *OFr* has her seek safety in a tower.

Par. 55. In Alexander's letter to the provinces of his kingdom, the Latin lists Cilicia among others. The Hebrew and the *OFr* have Sicily.

Par. 47. Latin has Parmenius. Hebrew follows *OFr* which has Paremenon.

Par. 65. The Hebrew states that Porus sent Darius 30,000 horsemen and 160,000 footsoldiers in order to help him in his war with Alexander. This is not found in the Latin, in *Ps.-Call.* or in its Syriac or Ethiopic versions. However, in the *OFr* Porus promises to send Darius 10,000 horsemen. Thus the Hebrew, albeit with exaggerated figures, may have based this statement on the *OFr*.

Par. 71. Latin has "compedibus aureis." Hebrew has "iron chains" and hence is closer to the *OFr* which has "en fers."

Par. 85. According to the Latin, Alexander selected 150 men who knew the terrain in order to guide his army. The Hebrew and the *OFr* have 50 men.

Par. 94. Latin has "corpora magna." Hebrew has "horns" and follows *OFr* which has "cornes."

Par. 110. Hebrew has "terradelibia," treating the Latin "terra Libie" as one word. Hebrew is obviously based on the *OFr* "terre de Libe."

In the Latin Alexander says farewell to Candaulus and they part. The *OFr* adds farewell speeches by each of them and so does the Hebrew. *Yosippon* has a short farewell speech by Alex-

ander alone. Our Hebrew text with variations and elaborations is closer to the *OFr* than to *Yosippon*.

Par. 127. The Hebrew follows the *OFr*, albeit with corruptions in the transliteration, in the names of some of the princes and territories designated by Alexander in his last testament. The *OFr* has *Milliternus* as prince of Syria Minor; the Hebrew has *Militiniah*. The *OFr* has *Sirerochas* as prince of Sicily; the Hebrew mentions Sicily twice, with *Sironias* as the prince in one instance and *Arakiu* in the other. It is possible that these two names represent a splitting up of the name *Sirerochas* in the process of the copying of the text. The Latin has *Arrideus* as prince of the Peloponnesus while the Hebrew has *Afridai* which is closer to the *OFr* which has *Afridiens*. The Hebrew and the *OFr* contain the designation of a prince for Armenia while the Latin doesn't. The Latin has *Niciote* while the Hebrew has the people of *Liotis* which is closer to the *OFr* which has *Liciote*.

### 3. *Sefer Musere ha-Pilosofim*

Par. 123. Our author inserted in this paragraph a long passage which represents verbatim the fourth chapter of Book II of this work. This chapter consists of a letter from Aristotle to Alexander. The reason for the inclusion of this letter may be the following: Paragraph 123 in the Latin contains a letter from Aristotle to Alexander in which he congratulates and praises him for his victories. This letter is found in the Hebrew text. Our author may have therefore felt it appropriate to add another letter from Aristotle to Alexander at this point. In this letter Aristotle offers Alexander advice on how to govern his people. He cautions him against tyrannical rule and urges him to cultivate compassion for his subjects and to regard them as brothers and friends. In this way he will win their love and avoid the dangers of conspiracy against him.

## Appendix II

### EXPANSIONS AND ELABORATIONS IN THE HEBREW TEXT

The following characteristics are revealed in the Hebrew elaboration and expansion of elements found in the Latin text:

#### 1. *Material Embellishment*

Par. 61. The Hebrew adds that Darius showed Alexander his treasure-house, the silver, the gold and the vessels. This elaboration is based upon the passage in 2 Kings 20:13 in which King Hezekiah shows his treasures to the envoys of the King of Babylon.

Par. 67. The Hebrew adds an argument by an officer advising Alexander to keep the captured women of Darius' family. This view is added as a counter-argument to the advice of another officer to return them to Darius.

Par. 65. The Hebrew adds that the Persians who fled from the battle begged Alexander to spare their lives. He granted their request and also conferred an inheritance upon them.

Par. 73. The Hebrew adds a description of the bier of Darius, his burial garments and the participants in the funeral procession.

Par. 74. When Alexander ascended Darius' throne, the Hebrew has him deliver a long speech to the assembled multitude in which he reminds them of the provisions of Darius' last testament and asks whether they agree to accept him as their ruler.

Par. 109. When Candace invited Alexander into her chamber, the Hebrew adds that she asked him to lie with her and that she sang his praises as a man of great wisdom.

Par. 110. The Hebrew adds a soliloquy by Candace in which she expresses deep grief for not having kept Alexander with her so that she might have continued to rejoice with him. Her grief was so great that she even contemplated suicide.

Par. 125. The Hebrew adds that Olympias called in Antipater and rebuked him for plotting to kill Alexander.

Par. 127. The Hebrew expands on Roxane's plea to Alexander not to drown himself and on Alexander's response to her.

## 2. *Rhetorical Embellishment*

We have noted elsewhere in the Introduction the extent to which the author made use of Biblical expressions and allusions for rhetorical effect. His elaborations reveal the employment of other literary devices for the same purpose.

### a. The use of similes.

Par. 49<sup>1</sup>. While the Latin speaks of a multitude, the Hebrew adds "as great in number as the sand on the shore of the sea." The Latin mentions that many soldiers fell in battle and the Hebrew adds that "they fell in the field like sheaves before the reaper."

### b. Hyperbolism.

Par. 58. The Latin reads: "Darius . . . wept and was very disturbed . . ." The Hebrew elaborates: "Darius . . . wept bitterly, fell to the ground in a state of bewilderment, and his heart grew faint . . ."

Par. 65. In describing the aftermath of a battle, the Latin relates that "the field was full of the dead, the half-dead and the wounded." The Hebrew adds: "and the stream of blood was like an overflowing river."

Par. 77. The Hebrew enlarges upon the formidable nature of the people described in this paragraph and adds that they ran as fast as horses.

### c. Change from indirect to direct discourse.

Par. 26. The Latin states that Alexander wrote to the High Priest in Jerusalem asking him for the support and the tribute which he had been rendering to Darius. The High Priest replied that he could not violate his allegiance to Darius. The Hebrew elaborates by using direct discourse and by presenting the texts of the letters.

Par. 28. In the Latin, the High Priest orders his people to fast, pray and offer sacrifices for three days. In the Hebrew his order is presented in direct discourse in the form of an address to the people.

Par. 35. In the Latin, Alexander received a message that his mother was ill. In the Hebrew the message is in direct discourse, and to this the author adds, also in direct discourse, an appeal by Olympias to Alexander to visit her at once.

Par. 70. In the Latin, Persian informers report to Alexander that Darius is preparing for battle and that he has turned to Porus for help. In the Hebrew the report is expanded and presented in direct discourse.

Par. 74. In the Latin, Alexander ascends the Persian throne in the presence of the people. In the Hebrew the author has Alexander deliver an address to the people.

Par. 76. The Latin describes the content of Alexander's letter to his mother and to Aristotle. The Hebrew presents the text of the letter.

### 3. *Reiteration*

Sometimes the author expands the material on the basis on what has preceded in the narrative.

Par. 70. The Hebrew elaborates upon the report which the Persian informers gave to Alexander by incorporating material from the preceding paragraph.

Par. 58. In the Latin, Darius' mother writes him a letter in which she begs him to desist from fighting against Alexander. The Hebrew adds a warning from his mother: "Know, my son, that your horsemen will betray you." This addition was evidently prompted by the preceding paragraph which relates that some of Darius' men deserted him and brought military information to Alexander.

Par. 74. The Hebrew adds an address to the people by Alexander upon his ascending the Persian throne in which he tells them that Darius had promised him Roxane, his daughter, in marriage as well as his empire. This addition was also prompted by what is found in the preceding paragraph.

#### 4. *Anticipation*

Sometimes the author expands the material in anticipation of what is to follow in the narrative.

Par. 38. In anticipation of what follows in the Latin, the Hebrew has Alexander offer the people of Abdira peace before taking retaliatory measures against them.

Par. 67. Hebrew elaborates, adding five sentences in which one of Alexander's generals advises him not to return Darius' captured womenfolk. This elaboration reflects Alexander's remarks and decision in the passage which follows in the Latin.

Par. 99. In anticipation of what follows in Latin, the Hebrew expands on the theme of washing and bathing.

#### 5. *Explication*

The Hebrew fills in where the Latin leaves room for the imagination.

Par. 49<sup>2</sup>. Out of respect for his bravery, Alexander frees a Persian soldier who at the bidding of Darius had made an attempt on his life. It is not difficult to imagine first, that some of Alexander's men would demand the Persian's death and secondly, that Alexander would urge his own men to emulate the Persian's loyalty to his king. Whereas the Latin leaves it to the imagination of the readers, the Hebrew is explicit on both of these points.

Par. 77. The Latin speaks of the deformities of the people. The Hebrew however describes the nature of the deformities: "They had but one leg, one arm and one eye . . ."

Par. 77. In the Latin Alexander is warned to protect his soldiers against the serpents in the area of the Caspian Gates. The Hebrew is more specific, elaborates on the danger and has the serpents bite Alexander's men causing a great many of them to die.

#### 6. *Judaization*

The author elaborates sometimes in order to give expression to his religious views.

Par. 30. In the Latin, Alexander orders his soldiers to crucify

the messengers of Darius. In the Hebrew, Alexander orders that they be hanged on the gallows. Judaism was opposed to crucifixion and the Jewish penal code did not permit it as a mode of execution.

Par. 99. In the Latin, Dindimus points out to Alexander the need to conquer one's internal enemies, the physical and material desires. The Hebrew adds that such conquest leaves man free to acknowledge his Creator since it removes the cause of evil-doing from his heart.

The Hebrew elaborates on Dindimus' views on sin as follows: "We do not confess our sins to another man, saying, 'By confessing my sins to this man, the Lord will forgive me my sins.'" The author is evidently taking this opportunity to give expression to the Jewish views on confession as opposed to the Christian.

Par. 109. After Alexander, disguised as Antigonus, placated Carator and saved himself from death, the Hebrew adds that this favorable turn of events was "brought about by the Lord that He might make him ruler over the entire world thus fulfilling the vision of Daniel, the prophet." In this manner the author inserts into the narrative his belief in Divine Providence and in the fulfilment of Hebrew prophecy.



## Appendix III

### DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE HEBREW AND THE LATIN VERSIONS

#### 1. *Differences in Numbers*

- Par. 22, Z147,12-13: Coronas aureas novem milia centum.  
Hebrew: 6000 golden crowns.
- Par. 37, Z160, 5: decem et septem milia homines. Hebrew: 15000.  
Z160, 12: latitudo ipsius fluvii cubita quinque. Hebrew: fifteen cubits in depth.
- Par. 39, Z163, 5: duo milia milites. Hebrew: 1000 horsemen.
- Par. 50, H103, 6: sexaginta milia hominum. Hebrew: 260,000.  
H103, 9: equitum quatuor milia. Hebrew: 13,600.  
H104, 20-21: novem tantum pedites. Hebrew: 800 foot-soldiers.
- Par. 49, H114, 15-16: pedites centum triginta. Hebrew: 150, following the variant reading as found in S, see Z177.
- Par. 69, H120, 34-121, 2: pedestribus hominibus per singulos aureos solidos tres, equitibus vero per singulos solidos aureos quinque. Hebrew: to every foot-soldier twice as much as will fall to his portion from the spoils of our enemies, and to every horseman five times as much.
- Par. 60, H126, 11-12: itinere dierum quinque castra metatus est ibi. Hebrew: and he tarried there for 105 days.
- Par. 65, H126, 20-22: pedites quadraginta quatuor milia, equites centum milia. Hebrew: 140,000 foot soldiers and 160,000 horsemen.
- H128, 28-37: Denique in his tribus preliis . . . interfecti sunt, quindecies centena milia absque eis qui interfecti sunt in ipsis preliis que cum eius satrapis gessit, qui fuerunt numero decies nonies centena

milia. The Hebrew does not give a total figure of the slain in the three battles but only the number of the slain in the battle under discussion. The figure given is 50,000. As for the battle with the satraps the Hebrew has 70,000 myriads. The use of myriad is obviously figurative here and elsewhere in this appendix.

- Par. 68, H130, 4-6: dragmas mille id est libras decem et dragmas quinque. Hebrew: 1500 golden drachmae whose weight was ten pounds.
- Par. 80, H152, 1-2: viginti dies pugnatum est. Hebrew: the battle continued for thirty days.
- Par. 83, H155, 25-26: ducenta quatuordecim milia. Hebrew: 40,000 myriads.  
H156, 10-11: decies centena milia. Hebrew: 10,000 myriads.
- Par. 85, H160, 9: centum quinquaginta. Hebrew: 50, agrees with OFr, H160, 31.
- Par. 86, H162, 4-5: pedes sexaginta. Hebrew: 10 cubits.  
H162, 17-18: equites vero centum milia. Hebrew: 140,000 horses.  
H163, 17: medium miliarium. Hebrew: a mile and one-half.
- Par. 87, H166, 12-13: dentes per longum cubitum unum. Hebrew: a span in length.  
H167, 15: viginti sex. Hebrew: 27.
- Par. 89, H169, 32-34: cubita tria for Alexander's height; cubita quinque for Porus' height. Hebrew: one and one-half cubits for Alexander's height; two and one-half cubits for Porus' height.
- Par. 91, H173, 13-14: cubita duodecim. Hebrew: six cubits.  
H174, 2-3: mille quingentos. Hebrew 1400.
- Par. 92, H175, 6: dierum septem. Hebrew: eight days.
- Par. 95, H179, 8: pedes duodecim. Hebrew: five cubits.  
H179, 16: pedibus septem. Hebrew: three and one-half cubits.
- Par. 97, H181, 27: quingenti milites. Hebrew: 27, not counting the grooms of the horsemen.

- Par. 127, H253, 7-8: auri talenta mille, id est libras centum viginti milia. Hebrew: 120 talents of gold.
- Par. 130, H260, 3-4: Fuerunt anni vite illius triginta tres. Hebrew: 32; agrees with *Yosippon*.
- H260, 6-8: Septem annis pugnavit et octo annis quievit. Hebrew: Alexander began to fight when he was eighteen and did not cease fighting until he was twenty-six. He rested for six years. Cf. *Yosippon*.
- H260, 9-11: Subiugavit . . . gentes . . . viginti septem. Hebrew: He subdued 22 kings; agrees with *Yosippon*.
- H260, 12-15: Natus est quinto die stante mensis decembris et defunctus est secunda die stante mensis Martii. Hebrew: He was born at sunrise, and he died on the fourth day of the month of Iyar at sunset; agrees with *Yosippon*.
- H260, 16: civitates duodecim. Hebrew states that Alexander built thirteen cities. Although it enumerates 13, the list actually contains only 12 inasmuch as one of the Alexandrias, that named after Bucephalus, occurs twice. Codex A of *Ps.-Call.* and the Syriac version of *Ps.-Call.* say that Alexander built thirteen cities.

## 2. Differences in Elements of Episodes

- Par. 1, Z131, 6: propter Artaxersen regem Persarum. Hebrew: from before the people of Aram. Aram is the biblical name for Syria. The Syrians are mentioned in the Latin as one of the peoples from whom Artaxerxes recruited his soldiers. See Z130, 3.
- Par. 3, Z133, 12: et non in paucis diebus. Hebrew omits the words *et non* and agrees with S. See Z133, note to line 12.
- Par. 4, Z135, 9: avem marinam. Hebrew: sea-calf.
- Par. 5, Z135, 15: os vulve. Hebrew: bosom of the queen.
- Par. 8, Z136, 23-24: antequam . . . mortuus est. Hebrew: the serpent died after it put its head inside the egg. The

Hebrew agrees with the Syriac version. See Budge, *History of Alexander the Great, Syriac Version of Ps.-Call.*, p. 11.

Z136, 26-137, 3: *nascetur . . . moriatur*. Hebrew: a son will be born to you who will rule after your death and before he returns to the land of his birth, he will travel around the entire world.

Par. 10, Z137, 21-23: *ac si . . . uxore*. Hebrew: I shall love him like my own son.

Par. 11, Z138, 4: *glaucus*. Hebrew: red.

Z138, 4: *impetus*. Hebrew: breast, the word *impetus* is rendered in the Hebrew as if it were *pectus*.

Par. 12, Z138, 20-21: *separando . . . suum*. The rendition of this phrase is not found in our Ms. Magoun believes that this phrase is corrupt. The Hebrew in this instance seems to be closer to the Greek original than is the Latin. See p. 194, note 6.

Par. 13, Z139, 12: *stellam Mercurii, quomodo letatur*. Hebrew: Mercury is shining.

Par. 14, Z140, 8: *torvitatem*. Hebrew: its head was round. Hebrew apparently follows S which has *tornitate*, note to Z140, 8.

Z140, 10: *corniculorum*. Hebrew: precious stones.

Z140, 16-17: *et propterea . . . equi*. Hebrew: therefore he sat on his throne securely, thinking that the man who would reign after him would be wise and strong.

Par. 16, Z141, 17: *solidos*. Hebrew: talents.

Par. 22, Z147, 12: *talenta auri*. Hebrew: dishes made of gold, Biblical allusion, Ex. 25:29.

Par. 23, Z148, 1: *Ab . . . Sagittarius*. Hebrew: And from that day on the horsemen began to bend their bows and shoot their arrows, and thus were they trained.

Par. 26-Par. 28, Z140-152. In the episode dealing with Alexander's meeting with the High Priest and his visit to Jerusalem, the Latin follows the version found in Josephus. The Hebrew combines this version with the one found in *Yosippon*. For a detailed account of

- the differences between the Latin and the Hebrew see our notes to paragraphs 26, 27, and 28.
- Par. 30, Z154, 20: *cruci eos figerent*. Hebrew: to be hanged on the gallows.
- Par. 37, Z160, 13-14: *qui . . . Homeri*. Hebrew: who enjoy the blessing of the Lord.
- Par. 39, Z162, 17: *milites*. Hebrew: horses.
- Par. 60, H126, 9-12. The Hebrew has the following two sentences which are not found in the Latin: He (Alexander) besieged the city (Persepolis) for many days until he conquered it, and he subjected it to forced labor for tribute. Thus [he did] to every city which had a covenant with Darius.
- Par. 49, H114, 21-22: *sorores due seu et due filie Darii*. Hebrew: sister . . . daughter.
- Par. 66, H118, 11-13: *matrem nostram et sorores, uxorem et filias*. Hebrew: my mother, my wife and my sister.
- Par. 65. At the beginning of this par. Hebrew states that Porus sent Darius 30,000 horsemen and 160,000 foot-soldiers to help him. This is not found in the Latin or in *Ps.-Call.* or in its Syriac or Ethiopic versions. In the OFr, Porus promises to send Darius 10,000 troops, see H123, 21-23.
- H127, 15-23. In describing the weapons, the Hebrew adds: Darius' charioteers were hurling stones.
- Par. 83, 30-35: *et per . . . diebus*. In the Hebrew it is the men who cross the river to be with the women. The Hebrew adds that the men can cross over only during two months of the year when the river is free of the dragons and serpents which infest it the rest of the year.
- Par. 84, H158, 19: At this point the Hebrew adds a paragraph in which the Queen of the Amazons invites Alexander to visit her and gives him these gifts: 100 talents of gold, 500 beautiful virgins mounted on horses and 10,000 white cows. The Hebrew follows with some variations the Greek and the Syriac versions of *Ps.-Call.* See *Ps.-Call.*, III, ch. 26, Haight

transl., p. 119, and Budge, *Alexander the Great*, Syriac version, p. 130.

Par. 86, H162, 15: aurum. Hebrew: the wagons.

Par. 127, H254, 24. The Hebrew adds: Marapus, the father-in-law of Antipater, shall be the prince of Sepharad.

H255, 4: The Hebrew adds: Phratafarni shall be the prince of Armenia; Elitom shall be the prince of Babylonia Maior; Aprilosiu shall be the prince of Capua; Baloni shall be the prince of Bithynia; Caliolu shall be the prince of Chalcedonia. Instead of Mesopotamia in the Latin, the Hebrew has Jerusalem and Calдания. See our notes to par. 127.

Par. 130, H260, 32-34: undecima Alexandria que dicitur Yprosxanthon. In the Hebrew the tenth Alexandria corresponds to this. The Hebrew for the eleventh, Alexandria Ankoloni, bears no correspondence to any Alexandria listed in the Latin.

# Appendix IV

## NAMES AND TERMS WITH COMMENTS ON THE TRANSLITERATION

### 1. *Names and Terms*

The following list contains the Hebrew transliteration of foreign names and terms as they occur in the Hebrew text together with the names and terms to which they correspond in the Latin text. We have also included some names from the Old French version in those cases where the Hebrew is closer to the French than to the Latin and from the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, *Musere* and *Ps.-Call.* in those instances where the Hebrew is based on these sources. The names and terms are arranged in alphabetical order according to the Hebrew.

א	
אאוריאלו, ariolus	ארמניה, ארם, Armenia
אבדרא, Abdira	איקולי, אירקולי, Hercules,
אגריפטור, Acropacus	Ercules (OFr)
אדריגיא, Andriaci	אירקניאה, Hyrcania, Ircaine (OFr)
אוליפיאדס, אוליפידיס, Olympiadis	אירובאזאנעס, Ariobarzanes
אוקסארקיא, Oxiarches	אליון, Alion
אופאטני, Patriani	אליסנדריא, אלכסנדריא, Alexan-
אוקסידראס, Oxidraes	dria
אוקיינוס, Oceanus	אליסנדריא, אובוביטי, Alexandria
אורנטין, Orontes	Scythia
איטליה, Italia	אליסנדריא, אימפיומור, Alexandria
אילרא, אלאריאה, Illiria	Jepiporum
אינדיאה, הודיאה, India	אליסנדריא, אימפרוסטין, Alexandria
טולומיאוס, see אימפאמולי	Yprosxanthon
	אליסנדריא, אנקולוני, no Latin equiv-
	alent

- אליסנדריא, אליסנדריא בוציפיליס  
 קיפאלון, Alexandria Jepybukephalon  
 אליסנדריא יארניקון, Alexandria Yaranicon  
 אליסנדריא מבבל, Alexandria Babilonia  
 אליסנדריא מטרואה, Alexandria apud Trodam  
 אליסנדריא ממצרים, Alexandria Egiptus  
 אליסנדריא על נהר טירוס, Alexandria Tigris  
 אלכסנדרוס, אלכסנדרוס, אלכסנדר  
 אלכסנדריא אינפרופריטא, Alexandria Yprosiritas  
 אלכסנדריא ריקסטיס, Alexandria Ricratisti  
 אליפוטמו, ypotamo  
 אלפניא, Albania  
 אמון, Ammon  
 סניאנו, Amonta; סניאנו, Amonta, Cantamus (OFr)  
 אמטיסטוס, ametistus  
 אמטריצי, see בטרידיא  
 אמנצוני, Amazones  
 אמפוליס, Anepolis, Amepolis (OFr)  
 אנדידימוס, Dindimus  
 אנטוכיא, Antiochia  
 אנטוניקוס, asinthico  
 אנטיגונוס, Antigonus  
 אנטיוכוס, Antiochus (1)  
 אנטיוכוס, Antiochus (Chronicon) (2)  
 אנטיפטר, Antipater  
 אסיה, Asia  
 אפולוני, Apollo, Apolin (OFr)  
 אפלטון, Plato (Musere)  
 אפרידיא, Arrideus, Afridiens (OFr)
- Africa, אפריקה  
 Tracia, אראציאה  
 Arachi, אראקי  
 Arabia, ארביאה  
 Archous, אריקוביאה  
 אירמניאה, see ארם  
 ארקיוס, see סירוניאס  
 Assirii, אשור (1)  
 Siria, Surie (OFr), אשור (2)
- ב**
- בדרא, see אבדרא  
 Buemar, בואמר  
 בוציפילס, בוציפיליס, בוציפולס, Bucefalas, Bucifalus  
 Bactria, אמטריצי, בירטניאה, בטרידיא  
 פיריקוניאה, see ביאיפוניאה  
 Bisso, ביסו  
 Sodicos, ביצוקטיאניס  
 בירטניאה, see בטרידיא  
 Bebrici, בידיאקוני  
 Bithinia, ביטונין, ביתניאה  
 Bactriani, בקאריאני  
 barbari, ברברי  
 Bragmani, ברנאמני
- ד**
- דורונס, see רוננס  
 Dionisius Bachus, דיואנציו באקוס  
 Damascus, דמשק
- ה**
- הנדיאה, see אינדיאה
- ט**
- טאבנוס, Tababenus  
 טאורוס, Taurus



טאליסיה, Taxiles  
 טאטאקרוני, Itacanor  
 טולומיאוס, טולומאלי, Ptolomeus, Ptolemaeus (Chronicon)  
 טולומיאוס איברמיטס, Ptolemaeus Evergetes (Chronicon)  
 טולומיאוס פילופטור, Ptolemaeus Philopator (Chronicon)  
 טיבא, Thebas  
 טיריאה, see פריניאה  
 טירוס, Tigris  
 טלישטרידא, Talistrida  
 טרויה, Troia

י

יובאס, Jobas  
 יוביס, Jovis  
 יוניס, Greci  
 ייסמיניאה, Hismenia  
 יינוסופתאיי, Gimnosophiste, Ginosofisien (OFr)

ל

לאביאה, Lidia  
 לוקקלוס, Lucullus  
 לוקרוס, Lucrus  
 לטירוס, Tyrus  
 לטירוס, see טירוס  
 ליאומטס, Niciote, Liciote (OFr)  
 ליאונדרוס, Leonnatus  
 ליארטי, Nearchus  
 ליסיאה, Lisias  
 ליסימאכוס, Lisimachus  
 ליציאה, Licia

מ

מינו, Cidnus

מידאה, Media  
 מייליאה, Mangli  
 מילו, Eumilo  
 מיליטיניאה, Milliternus (OFr)  
 מינדרו, Meander, Menador (OFr)  
 מיניביאה, Minerva  
 מקדוניה, Macedonia  
 מרקוליאוס, Mercurius  
 מרקילוס, Marcellus

נ

נטאניפו, נטניפו, נטאניפו, נטאניפו  
 נטאניפו, Nectanebus  
 נוסטדי, Nostadi  
 ניקולאוס, Nikolaus

ס

סובסביאה, Susannia, Sabienne (OFr)  
 סוריה, Isauria  
 סטיצקורוס, Stisichorus  
 סידיריא, Sighedres  
 סידוניה, Sidon  
 סיקוסיס, Sesonchosis  
 סיקיאוס, Sicheus  
 סקיליאה, Sicilia  
 סיררוכאס, Sirerochas (OFr)  
 סידים, Seres  
 סני, Xenis  
 סניאנו, see אמונטא  
 ספירוס, Zephirus  
 סקמאנדרו, Scamandro  
 סקופולוס, Scopulum  
 סירוסא, Syracusae (Chronicon)

ע

ארביאה, see ערב

## פ

פאוסניא, Pausania  
 פאפאורו, פאפאורו, Pappaeus  
 פול, see פוליס  
 פורוס, Porus  
 פיטון, Phiton  
 פייטי, Parthi  
 פילאנסי, Pelausi  
 פילוסיא, Philo  
 פילוקו, Spelucus  
 פולופניס, Peloponensis  
 פאמפיליא, Pamphilia, Panfile (Ofr)  
 פירדיקא, Perdicas  
 פירסיפוליס, Persipolis; פולי, Persopolis  
 פירסידא, Persidas  
 פייפאגאניא, Pephlagonia  
 פישון, Phison  
 פריגיא, Frigia  
 פליפוס, Philippus  
 פראטאפארני, Prataferne (Ofr),  
 Phrataferne (Ps.-Call.)  
 פרופאס, Parameni  
 פרימא, Parimae  
 פרוסרפינא, Proserpina  
 פרמיניאני, Parmenion, Parmenius  
 פרסיס, Persis

## צ

סזיליא, Sesile (Ofr)

## ק

קאוסוס, Caucasus  
 קולאטרא, see קליאופטרא  
 קוקודרילו, cocodrillus

קולוניא, coloniae  
 קונסאריא, Coxari  
 קורניטו, Corinthus  
 קולאטרא, Caliopatra,  
 Cleopatra  
 קוצינו, Sinon  
 קלדאניא, (Chaldaea?), Mesopotamia  
 קליטומיקו, see קליטומיקו  
 קליאופילי קנאקי, Cleophilis Candacis  
 קלידאפוליס, Chaldeopolis  
 קליטומיקו, קליטומאכוס, Clitomachus, Clitomedus  
 קלמנטוס, Antigonias (Chronicon)  
 קלצידאניא, Calcedonia  
 קנדיאולו, Candaulus  
 קסאנדרו, Cassander  
 קפואה, Capua  
 קפאדאציה, Capadocia  
 קפיטוליאון, Kapitoleon (Chronicon)  
 קראטור, Carator  
 קריא, Caria

## ר

ראגאכאנטס, Tragachantes  
 רודאגאני, Rodogoni  
 רומא, Roma  
 רומאני, Romani  
 רומיניוס, Rominus (Musere)  
 רוקאנה, Roxane

## ש

שמעון, Simeon  
 שרף, Serapis

## ת

תפוסירי, Taphosiri

## 2. COMMENTS ON THE TRANSLITERATION

An examination of the transliteration of the names reveals the following characteristics:

## 1. Rendition of final "s"

In some instances the transliteration indicates that the "s" remained silent as in the rendition of Nectanebus, Porus, Clitomachus, etc. In other instances the "s" was pronounced as in the rendition of Philippus, Antigonus, Dindimus, etc.

## 2. Pronunciation of the letter "c"

The letter "c" appearing before "e" or "i" is rendered as "ts" in some instances such as Calcedonia, Capadocia and as "k" in others such as Macedonia, Sicilia.

## 3. Pronunciation of the letter "x"

The letter "x" is rendered variously, as "ks" in Alexander, as "s" in Alexandria and as "ts" in Roxane.

## 4. Pronunciation of the letter "z"

The letter "z" is rendered as "ts" in Zacora and as "s" in Zephirus.

## 5. Interchange of letters

In some instances "b" is rendered as "p" as in Albania, "d" as "t" as in Capadocia, "ph" as "b" as in Taphosiri, "n" as "l" as in Nearchus, "r" as "l" as in Stisichorus.

## 6. Syncope

The "c" in Nectanebus and the "m" in Olympias have been dropped.

7. Names in the plural represented by the ending "i" in the Hebrew.

In the various instances where this occurs in the text we find that the ending "i" is used in the Hebrew regardless of the case endings in the Latin, for example: Amazonum, Bactriani, Bebricorum, Parthos.

## 8. The dropping of the "h" at the beginning of some words.

In two instances, Hercules and Hyrcania, the "h" has been dropped. This may be due to the influence of the *OFr* which has *Ercules* and *Ircaine*.

### 9. Inconsistencies

One finds different renditions for the same name as in the case of Armenia and Bactria. This may be due to the fact that the copying of our manuscript was done by two scribes, to corruptions in the Latin manuscript or to scribal errors. In some cases names are rendered in their accepted Hebrew form: Arabia by 'Arab, Babilonia by Babel. In other cases, the names are transliterated in their Latin form: India, Media.

### 10. Rendition of common nouns in transliterated form.

In the case of some common nouns the Hebrew transliterates the Latin instead of translating it and sometimes the Hebrew transliteration is incorrect. Examples are to be found in Part One of Appendix IV.

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ואאביריאה וקוליסיס ובני ערב תחתייהם. וילכדו רומיים את ירושלם  
 על יד פומפיוס מלכם בלא מלחמה כי חמל על היהודים, ויקח את  
 המלך אריסטובלוס. וזה גלות ירושלם הרביעי.

## נקולופון

ה' יקבץ נפוצותינו וירחם על שאריתנו ונוכה לראות בביאת  
 5 משיחנו במהרה בימינו אמן. נכתב משלי שועלים ע"י חביב חיים  
 נכדי י"כ (י"שר כח) וקצת מאלכסנדרוס על ידו גם כן. והמותר  
 מלאכסנדרו' נשלם ע"י הצעי' יהוסף קתב יו"י (יראה זרע יאריך  
 ימים) תלמיד מן הסופרים בכאמ"ר (בן כבוד אדונו מורנו ורבנו)  
 דניאל זלה"ה (זכרנו לברכה לחיי העולם הבא) ממשפחת המיוניקי  
 10 יצ"א (ישמרם צורם אמן) בחדש אלול לפרט קפ"ח. ה' יזכני  
 להיות מן הנכתבים בירושלם כירא'ו (כן יהי רצון אמן ואמן)  
 סלה. חזק הכותב ואמין כל הקורא בו אמן. לקיא'ו (לישועתך  
 קויתי ה' אמן ואמן). ברוך אתה ה', למדני חוקיך. כבודך ה',  
 אמן ושלוש.

את שמה נוקמדיה. ואז נלחמו רומיים בסרקוסא וינצחו את עיר קרטגינה וישבו מאה ערים. ואז הניח אנטיגנוס את בני איחני חפשים, ויבנה את עיר קלמגנוס אשר בנהר אורנטין. ובקליד לאולימפדוס היה יוסף בן גוריון היהודי וכתב הספרים. ואז הרגו רומיים 5 ארבע ריבוא מן נלציאה. ובקליד לאולימפדוס היה יהושע בן סרך שר וגדול ביהודים. ובקמ' לאולימפדוס מלך טולימיאוס הנקרא פילופטור במצרים י"ז שנה. ובקמ' לאולימפדוס מלך מרקילוס מלך רומיים וילכוד את סרקוסא ואת קפואה עיר הגדולה, ויכניעו את סקליאה תחתם. ואנטיוכס הגדול מלך ארם נצח פילופטור וילכדו. ובקמ' 10 לאולימפדוס מלך אנטיוכס איפופנוס ל"ז שנה. והוא שיסה את היהודים להוציאם מאמנותם ולהאמין באמונת היונים ולא אבו היהודים שמוע לו. ויקצוף עליהם אנטיוכס ויוציא עליהם חיל גדול. וימת יהודים רבים והחריב את ירושלים, וזהו גלות ירושלים שלישי. ויקח את עושר ההיכל, וינצחו היהודים וימיתו מאנשיו שמונים וארבע 15 אלף. וילך משם אל ארץ פלשתים להעבידם תחתיו. ובקמ' לאולימפדוס נעשתה מלחמה בצייליאה על ידי עבדיהם, וישלחו שם רומיים את לוקקלוס שר הצבא וינצח ויעבידם ותשבת המלחמה. ובשנה ההיא הורקנוס כהן גדול נלחם את עיר שומרון הנקרא בלשון יון סיביסטין, ויתצה עד יסודותיה. ואחר כן נבנתה עיר על ידי 20 הירדוס ונקרא סביסטין. ואז נשרף קפוטוליאון ברומא. ואז לקח תיגרניס מלך ארמיניאה את בת מתרידאטוס לו לאשה. ויוציא צבא גדול וחיל כבד וינצח את אנטיוכס הגדול, מלך ארם, ויעבירהו ממלכותו, ויכנע כל הארץ עד ארץ פלשתים. ומן השנה ההיא התחילו ארמיני לתת מס לרומנים. ובקמ' לאולימפדוס נבנתה עיר 25 פומפיא על ידי פומפיוס. ובשנה ההיא העבירו רומיים את אלבניא

1 נוקמדיה ג] נוקדומיאה פ. ניקודימאה ר. נקדומיאה ס] בסרקוסא ר. ג] בסרקוסא פ. בסרקוסטה ס  
2 קרטגינה א] מיקילוני פ. מקירוני ר. ברקירוני ג. קרקברוניאה ס | ואו ר. ג. ס] אשר פ  
4 הרנו ר. ג. ס] נהרו פ || 5 ארבע ר. ג] ארבעים פ. ארבעה ס || 6-8 שר וגדול ס  
היהודי פ. ר. שר ג || 6 ובקמ' ר. ג. ס] ובקל'ט פ || 8 סרקוסא ר] סרקוסא פ. סרקוסה ג.  
סרקוסטה ס || 9 פילופטור ר. ג] פילופטוס פ. פילאפטורי ס || 12 לו ר. ג. ס] להן פ ||  
19 'סיביסטין' ס] פ. סיבסטין ג. סיבטין ר || 20 הירדוס ר] היהודים פ. אורדוס ג. ס |  
סיבסטין ג] שיסטון פ. סיבטין ר. סיבסטיא ס || 23 פלשתים נהקרא בלשון ערבי פלסטין ג. נהקרא  
בלשון ערב פלסטין ס

## III

## וכרוניקה

ויהי אחרי מות אלכסנדרוס ותלד רוצאנה אשתו בן ויקראו  
המקדונים שמו אלכסנדרוס על שם אביו. וילך אנטיפטר באילדא  
בארץ יון ויהי עליהם לשר, ועל שמו נקרא פטרס. וטולימאוס היה  
שר במצרים, וסיליקוס ניקטור מלך בארם עד בבל. וימת טולומיאוס  
5 וימלוך תחתיו דימיטריאוס פוליאוקריטוס. וימת דימיטריאוס  
ויקבר בעירו בדימיטריאה אשר בנה. וימלוך תחתיו איפטולימיוס  
הנקרא פיליארדלפוס בן טולומיאוס אולגוס שלשים ושמונה שנה.  
ויבנה את מגדל פארו אשר בנמל אליסנדריה. ואז נעשה כהן  
גדול אלעזר אחי שמעון, ואז יצאו חופשים היהודים אשר היו  
שבויים בארץ מצרים. ואז שלח זה המלך בירושלים ויקח את  
אלעזר הכהן לפשר ולפתור כל ספרי היהודים בלשון יון. ובמאה  
ועשרים ושבעה שנים לאולימפדוס הכניעו רומנים את קלבריה ויאחזו  
את עיר מסיני, וזה גלות רביעי של מסיני. ובשנה ההיא קם  
איארון השר אשר בסיקיליאה ויאחזו את סרקוסה. ובעת ההיא עשה  
15 אליריאנוס איפטוס להיות סיקיליאה תחת רומנים. ובימים ההם היה  
אראטוס החכם, ואז נעשו זחי כסף מתחילה ברומי. ובקכ"ט  
לאולימפדוס נלחמו רומיים בסרקוסה, וקרכידונין באו על רומיים  
בסיקיליאה. וימלוך טולומיאוס הנקרא איבריגיטיס במצרים עשרים  
ושבע שנה. ואז בנה המלך ניקומידים עיר ביטונין לכתחילה ויקרא

4 ניקטור אדיקטור פ. ג. אוליקטור ר. ס | (מלך ס) פ. ר. ג | בארם ר. ג. ס | באדוס פ ||  
5 דימיטריאוס ר | דימיטריאוס פ. דימטריאוס ג. דימטריאוס ס | (פוליאוקריטוס ר) פ.  
פוליאוקריטוס ג. פוליאוקריטוס ס | (וימת דימטריאוס ר) פ. וימת דימטריאוס ג. ס ||  
6 בדימיטריאה ר | בדימיטריאה פ. ברמטריאה ג. בעיר דימטריאה ס | איפטולימיוס ס |  
איפטולי פ. איפטולי ר. איפטולימיוס ג || 7 פיליארדלפוס ס | פוליאדיפלס פ. פיליאדיפלס ר.  
פילארדלפוס ג | (אולגוס ר) פ. אולגוס ג. אולגוס ס || 8 (מגדל ס) פ. ר. ג |  
(בנמל ס) פ. ר. ג | אליסנדריה | באליסנדריה פ || 9-10 היו שבויים ג | היושבים פ. השבואים  
אשר ר || 11 ובמאה א) פ. ר. ג. ס || 14 סרקוסה ר | סרקוסה פ. סרקוסה ג |  
עשה ר. ג | עשה [נת] פ || 15 אליריאנוס איפטוס ר | אליריאנוס איפטוס פ. אליריאנוס  
איפטוס ג. אילראנוס אפטוס ס || 16 אראטוס ר. א) אראכוס פ. ארסטוטילס ג. אריסטוטילס ס ||  
17 בסרקוסה ר | בסרקוסה פ. בסרקוסה ג. בסרקוסה ס | וקרכידונין ובקרכידונין פ.  
ובקרכידונין ר || 18 איבריגיטיס א | איבריגיטיס פ. איבריגיטיס ר. ג. אמבריס ס ||  
19 ניקומידים א | ניקודימן פ. ר. ג. ס

ואחייה גדולתך וגדלות אבותיך ומשפחתך כך אם בעל נפש אתה.  
 אמר: יש לי נפשי ומתאוה דבר נכבד. אמר: ומה היא תאוותך?  
 אמר: חיים בלי מות ובחרות בלי זקן ועושר בלי רש ושמחה בלי  
 דאגה ובריאות בלי חולי. אמר: לא ראיתי משכיל כזה. אחר כן  
 5 יצא מאתו ולא זו מן הקברים עד יום מותו.

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1 ומשפחתך כך נ] ומשפטיך בה פ || 2-1 . . . נכבד נ] פ || 3 (אמר מ) פ

לדבר. ושאלו אותו וענם כהונן וכדת. אמר אלכסנדרוס: לא היתה כסותך כתיקון אמריך, או היית נותן לגופך חוק מן הקישוט אשר נתתה לנפשך חוקה מן הדעת. ואמר: אדוני המלך, המאמר יכולתי עליו, אמנם הכסות אתה תוכל עליה. או ציוה המלך להטבילו ולהלבישו מחלצות. 5

ושאלו שני אנשים שהיו מרואי פני המלך וישפוט בינם. ואמר: הדין ירצה אחד מכם ויקציף האחד, אבל השלימו ביניכם והתרכזו שניכם.

ואמר, הסיר אלכסנדרוס פקיד מפקידות טובה והשליטו על פקידות פחותה ממנה. ולשעה נכנס ואמר לו המלך: איך ראית פקידותך? אמר: אדוני המלך, אין הפקידות הטובה מתקנת את האדם אבל האדם המשכיל יתקן הפקידות, אע"פ שהפקידות גרועה, בטוב המנהג והצדק. וישרו בעיני אלכסנדר דבריו והשליטו על פקידות גדולה וטובה.

וצווה אלכסנדרוס שר צבאו לייפות לאויבו המנוסה במלחמה. ואמר לו: כן. אמר אליו אלכסנדרוס: ואיך תעשה? אמר: כשיעמדו במלחמה אלחם עמם בחזק אמיץ, ואם ינוסו מלפני לא ארדוף אחריהם. 15

אמר אלכסנדרוס לנערו כשפגעו בו בני בליעל והיו משבחים אותו: הביטו וראו, אולי הריעותי ועל כן הייתי ראוי לשבח אלה. ואמר: המית הארץ מבין מעשיה, והארץ תמית סכליה. 20

והלך אלכסנדרוס למדינה אשר מלכו שם מלכים ואבדו, ושאל אם נשארו מורע המלכים אשר מלכו במדינה ההיא אפילו אחד. אמרו לו: כן, נשאר איש אחד. ואמר: הראוני אותו. אמרו לו: הנה הוא שוכן בקברים. ושלח אחריו ובא אליו. אמר: מדוע שכנת בקברים? אמר: רצוני להפריש בין עצמות העבדים ובין עצמות המלכים, ומצאתי הכל בשוה. אמר לו: לבך ללכת אחריי? 25

7 ויקציף מן ויקצוף פ || 10 (לו המלך מ) פ | איך מן אין פ || 12-14 וישרו . . .  
וטובה מ) פ || 15 לאויבו מן לאוייבו פ || 21 הארץ נ. מן בארץ פ | תמית נ. מן  
תמיד פ || 22 (אשר מ) פ | מלכו מן הלכו פ | ושאל מן ושאלו פ ||  
24 (ואמר מ) פ

ואמר: כשתדבר למי שאין לו דיעה דומה למי שישקה אילן  
 יבש, והסעת אבנים מן ההר יותר נקל מדבר למי שאין לו דעת.<sup>6</sup>  
 ואמר אלכסנדרוס ליושבים לפניו: יאות לאיש שיתבייש לעשות  
 דבר מגונה בביתו מאשתו ומבניו ומעבדיו, במקום אחר משאר בני  
 8 אדם שיפניע בם או יודעיו ומכיריו. ובעת שאין שם לא יודעו ולא  
 מכירו, יבוש מנפשו; ואם מכל אלה לא יבוש, יבוש מהבורא יתעלה.<sup>7</sup>  
 וזכרו לפני אלכסנדרוס שני אנשים, האחד עשיר והאחר רש אשר  
 אהבו בת רומינוס לקחת אותה לאשה. ואירש אותה לרש ולא  
 רצה לארסה לעשיר. ושאלו אותו על זה ואמר לו: אדוני המלך,  
 עשיתי זה בעבור כי זה העשיר היה שוטה ולא היה לו מוסר לשמור  
 10 העושר, והרש הוא בעל מוסר וחכם ויש תקוה שיתעשר ועל כן  
 הוקרתי על העשיר.<sup>8</sup>

ואמר אליו הרון לאלכסנדר: אדוני המלך, יש לנו אסירים  
 רבים והיו שונאין. וה' המשילך בם ולמה לא תעבוד בהם?<sup>9</sup>  
 15 אמר: אין רצוני למלוך על העבדים ואני מלך על בני חורין.<sup>10</sup>  
 ואמר על העט: לולי העט לא היה העולם מתקיים ולא  
 תתישר המלוכה, כי כל דבר תחת הדעת והלשון כי הם השופטים  
 על כל דבר והמודיעים כל דבר והעט ימציאם ויראה אותם.<sup>11</sup>  
 ואמר גם כן: העט שליח הדעת, על כן הרימו מכשוליו והתבוננו  
 20 תוצאותיו; כי השליח אם מעדה רגלו או יכזב, יבוז בעליו. ועל  
 כן יאמר משל הקדמוני: כשיכזב השליח תשחת העיצה.<sup>12</sup>

ושאל אלכסנדרוס לאפלטון: מה הדבר אשר ראוי למלך להתמיד  
 בו נפשו?<sup>13</sup> אמר: לחשוב בלילה בתיקון עמו ויפקוד אותם ביום.<sup>14</sup>  
 ושמע אלכסנדר שני אנשים מאנשיו ניצים זה את זה, וכל אחד  
 25 יבוז את חברו והיו קודם חבירים ואוהבים זה את זה. ואמר  
 אלכסנדרוס: יאות לאיש בעת שיבחר חבר שימעיט קרבתו ויזהר  
 מרוב חברתו ולא יהיה רגיל עמו במה שיהיה ספק.<sup>15</sup>  
 ונכנס אדם לפני אלכסנדרוס, שמלותיו בלות, ודבר לפניו והיטיב

6-8 ובעת . . . מכירו מ' פ' || 7 ושני אנשים מ' פ' || 8 רומינוס מ' רומנים פ' || 10 והעשיר מ' פ' ||  
 12 העשיר מ' העושר פ' || 13 והרון מ' פ' | אסירים מ' אדירים פ' || 16 ועל מ' פ' ||  
 17 תתישר נ' תישר פ' || 18 ימציאם מ' ימצאם פ' | ויראה נ' וירא פ' || 19 הרימו נ' הקישו פ' ||  
 20 אם מ' הם פ' || 26 שיבחר מ' שיבחר פ' | קרבתו מ' קרבתו פ'

מנוס לאש היוקדת מהכבות ואין מנוס ללבנה המאירה מן הלכות. ומי שנתן יקח ומי שילוח יפרע ומי שיפקיד יקח פקדונו ומי שהשאיל יקח מה שהשאיל. והאחרון הולך אחרי הראשון והרודף אחרי המשיג. זאת נחמתי ממך בני כי אני רודפת אחריך בקרוב, כי אני הולכת אל המקום אשר הלכת ומגמת פני מגמת פניך. וימנעני מהיות חרדה עליך ולבכות עליך. תקוותי שחרי וערבי, לרגעים וכהרף עין ימצאיני מה שמצאך. ואם יהיה חי כופר חי אני אהיה כופרך. ואם לא יועיל זה יתן לי בערך האל הסבל הטוב והניחומים השלימים ויחברני עמך.

10 מקצת מוסריו. שמע אלכסנדרוס מרבו אריסטוטולים כי הדאנה תתיך הלב ותמס אותו, ורצה אלכסנדרוס לנסות אמיתת הדבר. ולקח חיה אחת דומה לבני אדם בטבעו ועצר אותה ימים רבים במקום חושך והיה נותן לה מחייתה די ספקה. ואחר כן שחט אותה ושיסעה ומצא את לבה נמס, והכיר כי דברי אריסטוטולים רבו אמיתיים. 15

ואמר: „אל תתחבר למלך בשעת השתכשות העיניינים עליו כי הים לא ינצל רוכבו כשהוא שותק, וכשהוא סוער ויהמו גליו לא כל שכן.“

אמר אלכסנדרוס אל רבו אריסטוטולים: „חן לי עיצה איך אתנהג עם פקידי ונגידי ותן לי עצה בכל עסקי.“ אמר לו: „מי שיהיו לו עבדים וייטב מנהגם הפקידהו על החילים, ומי שיהיה לו שדה וייטב בעבודתו הפקידהו על עבודתם.“

ושאלו לאלכסנדרוס: „איזה דבר מצאת במלכותך שאתה שמח בו יותר?“ אמר: „יכולתי להשיב גמול למי שהטיב לי יותר ממה שהטיב.“ והאשימו אלכסנדרוס בצאתו הוא במלחמה ואמר: „אין מידת 25 היושר לצאת אחיי למלחמה בעבורי ואני לא אלחם נפשי.“

ואמר: „בעל המוסר יכובד ואם רש הוא כמו אריה שיראו ממנו והוא רובץ, וחסר המוסר יקל ואם הוא עשיר ככלב אשר יושם רביד הזהב על צווארו.“

2 שילוח מן שלוה פ || 6 וימנעני מ || פ || 8 הטוב ט והטוב פ || 21 החילים מ החולים פ || 23 לאלכסנדרוס מ אלכסנדרוס פ || 28 וחסר מ והסר פ | (עשיר ט) פ



ולשמחה אחרי מותה. הניחומים כפי התלאה במלך הגדול והסבל הטוב על התלאה, כי התלאה באה פתע והניחומים קודם לה והשבר ירד פתאום והסבל לפניו. ומה גדלה התלאה וגדול ממנה הסבל? ומה גדול השבר ירד ברדתו, הניחום עד אשר עבר וחלף בלי חרדה 5 ודאגה? הצדקתי הדין בשלוה ובהשקט ונשענתי על הניחום. ומה קרוב החי מן המת, ומה דבק הנשאר בחולף! ולהתעסק בהכנת צרכי הנסיעה טוב מלהתעסק בבכי ואנחה ואבל הארוך, ולרצות מה שגנור טוב מן הקצף על מה שבא. כל אדם שוקט ביומו חרד במחרתו ומי שנמלט מצער גדול הוא מזומן לצער גדול ממנו. באתני התלאה 10 וקידמו הניחומים ומצאני שברו והקיפוני מוסריו. וידעתי מיתחתי, ולבי שלוה ומתאפק עליו. ואני ליומו צופיה ואחריו הולכת, ועל זה התאפקתי ובו התאזרתי. ולך החכם הגדול, על עצתך והזכרתך וניחומך שלום.

דברי אם אלכסנדר אחרי אשר קראה אגרת בנה: הגור דין 15 במיתה נוהג ברצון מנהיגו ומשפט המות הולך על כל חי כאשר יוליכוהו השופט בו. והחיים, ואם יאריכו הקץ ישיגם ואם קצרו התכלה תמעיטם. וחדוש העולם סופו לכלות וישבו לחרבה, ומלכותו לסור ונעמו להמיר זכותו להיות עכור ושמתו לאבל וששנו ליגון וגילו לדאבה. ואתה בן אדם השוכן בעולם, להעתיק ממנו 20 שכנת בו. ואתה המולך עליו, להכרת מלכותך מלכת בו. ואתה היושב בתוכו, לנסוע ממנו ישבת בו. ואתה הנוהג צבאותיו, לאיש אחר נהגת אותם. הוי הוי, אנה השרים ובעלי השם? ואנה המלכים ואיה הראשונים? חלפו האנשים והלכו קצתם אחרי קצתם, מצליח ונקשה וטוב ורע. ומי שיהיה זך נמלט ומי שהיה עכור אבד. וראיתי 25 בני כי צדקת, כי אין מפלט לסעיף רענן ומהיותו יבש ואין מנוס לעלי האילן מהיותם נובלים ואין מנוס לכוכבים המאירים מאופל ואין

1 הניחומים מן הניחומים פ | התלאה מן שהתלאה פ || 2 והשבר מן והסבל פ ||  
 3 והסבל לפניו מן פ || 4 הניחום מן הנחם פ || 5 דבק מן דבר פ | בחולף מן בחילוף פ |  
 בהכנת מן בהכנת פ || 7 הארוך מן האורך פ || 8 ומי מן ומה פ || 10 והקיפוני  
 מוסריו מן וקיפונוני מוסרו פ | ולבי מן ולבו פ || 12 והזכרתך מן והזכרך פ ||  
 16 יוליכוהו מן יוליכוהו פ | יאריכו מן ארכו פ || 18 לאבל מן לאבלו פ || 20 שכנת מן שכעת פ ||  
 21 צבאותיו מן לצבאותיו פ

השם הדרת זה המעמד ואל ימניעך י"י נועם הדברים, כי הפלגת לדבר והיטבת במליצותיך ותוכחותיך וניחומיך" . . . אמר אחר: . . . ועל כן יחתום לך האל במיטב השכר ויצפון לך מבחר המצפון". ותען אם אלכסנדר ותאמר: "אמרת הטוב, ואתה הראוי לו ועשית הראוי במבטא ובמפעל ובמחשב. ואתה מוזמן לזאת והממלא מקומה, ולך החסד תחילה ותכלה וחולף ועתיד".

וזאת האגרת כתב אריסטוטולים אל אם אלכסנדרוס: "אולם אחרי תהילות השם, את אם אלכסנדרוס המלך העליון! מן הידוע כי דין י"י הנוהג בברואיו ומשפטו העובר על יצוריו היורד על בנך במושב מלכותו ונוה עזו ומקום מצותו, מה שלא סר לירד על המלכים העצומים והשרים והעבדים ושאר בני אדם מגדול ועד קטן ועשיר ורש. הגזרה נזרת ומצוה עשויה. התייחד בו המלך המהולל להכניע ולהכרית ואחריו כל אדם ימשוך בכפל רסנו. ולא ינוס ממנו נס אבל מנוסתו אליו, ולא יסע ממנו נוסע כי אם אליו תשובתו. החי מצפה אליו והמת שמח בו, והנשאר נוקש בו והחולף נמלט. והמשכיל מי שיוסר בזולתו, והמאושר מי שיכין צידתו, והמשובח המיינע נפשו במנוחת גוויתו. את, אם אלכסנדר, תתאפקי בעבור בנך והסיבי הדברים למלך הגדול אשר נתנו למלוך ויאשרהו לחכמה ובירר לו העולם הבא לנוה ומלכותו למלכותו ויקר ליקרו והוציאו מן העולם הזה נכבד ויכול ומלך גיבור וחזק. ושובי אל בורא הנפשות אשר אליו מגמתינו וברצונו נסוב. והתנחמי במי שניחם אותך בנפשו טרם בוא עתו ושימי בנפשך מן הסבל מה שיהיה בו לך זיכרון טוב עד סוף העולם. ודעי כי הנפתה מי שנפתה והאומלל מי שידאג. ושלום".

תשובת אם אלכסנדר את אריסטוטולים: "קראתי כתבך, אתה החכם המורה על הטוב והמישור אל ההצלחה בזה ובבא. ואל יסירך האל מהיות מורה על הטוב שיצליח בו עושהו ומאשר על היושר אשר יורה לאורח מישור המתעסק בו להטיב בנפשו ולהחיותה

1 (הדרת מ) פ || 2 (אמר אחר מ) פ || 3 (ועל . . . במיטב מ) פ | המצפון מ] הצפון פ ||  
 9 (היורד מ] הורד פ || 18 (למלוך מ] המלך פ || 19 (למלכות מ] למלכות פ || 22 (בו מ) פ ||  
 27 ומאשר מ] ומאושר פ

ייעו. והגויות תמה למבינים והתבוננות למתבוננים ומוסר למתווסרים.<sup>1</sup>  
 אמר אחר: „שתקת אחרי דבורך, ונהפכת לאכזר אחרי חנינותך;  
 שתיקותך התבוננך, ואכזריותך תמה.“ אמר אחר: „כל מלכות אובדת  
 וכל נועם חולף וכל חונה נוסע.“ אמר אחר: „אמנם הנסיעה היא  
 קרובה והתשובה רחוקה. ואשרי מי שזכה והתברר ואוי למי שנעכר.“<sup>2</sup>  
 אמר אחר: „רחקת מן הבנים והילדים ונפסקת מן הגדודים והחיילים.“  
 אמר אחר: „אם אתה שפל אחרי הגדולה והגבורה ויחיד אחרי רב  
 העוזרים, כמה פעמים נסגרו העינים לאימת הדרתך וחרדו הלבבות  
 והרעיונים מפחדך?“ אמר אחר: „התבררת מן העבירות אל הזכות ומן  
 המיצר אל המרחב ומן היגיעה אל הנחלה. ועתה חייך תמידים  
 ושלוותך קיימת, ועל כן אשריך במה שמצאת.“<sup>3</sup>

ויהי כאשר כלו הפילוסופים לדבר על ארונו ציוותה אמו לקוברו  
 בכבוד גדול. וישאוהו הפילוסופים על שכמם והשרים והסגנים והפחות  
 ושאר העמים הולכים לפני הארון יחיפים וחפויי ראש עד מקום  
 קברו. ויקברו אותו אחרי אשר חנטוהו הרופאים וישם בארון<sup>4</sup>  
 באלכסנדריאה של מצרים. ויהי אחרי קוברו שבו רוב הפילוסופים  
 לביתם ונשאר מהם חמשה. ויבואו אל אמו הביתה לנוד לה ולנחמה  
 ולדבר על לבה. ויגש ראש הקרואים ויעמד אצל מסך החדר  
 אשר היתה שם אם אלכסנדרוס ויאמר: „איך אנחמך במי שניחמך  
 בנפשו, או גייפה לך הניחומים במי שייפה אותם לעיניך? והביא  
 לך טוב השכל בנפשך עד אשר לבשת מעטה הניחומים ושקדת  
 על הסבל ורכבת על מרכבת היאוש. והאמנת באמת הגלוי ונסמכת  
 על המוסר המבואר. ותהיי מבחר הנשים באומץ לבך ובמיטב  
 המלכות בהכירך האמת, ונכבדת מכולם באמונתך ומכרעת אותם  
 במשקלך. וגברת עליהן בשכלך ורחבת הלב מכולן, ורבית שכר  
 מכולן וטובת השם מכולן. נחמך ואלכסנדרוס! והתנחמת ייסרך  
 ונוסרת והשלך ושלות הוכיחך ונוכחת. ועתה יתן לך השם אחרית  
 טובה ונסיעה נכבדת.“ ותען אם אלכסנדרוס ותאמר: „אל יסיר ממך

1 למתווסרים מן המוסרים פ || 5 שזכה מן שזכה פ || 7 אחרי הגדולה מן מן הגדולה פ ||  
 20 אותם מן אותך פ || 21 טוב השכל מן הטוב שכל פ | מעטה מן מעטה פ || 22 ועל נ פ |  
 מרכבת מן מרכבות פ || 24 ונכבדת מן ונכבד פ || 25 בשכלך מן בהיכלך פ |  
 ורבית נ ורבת פ || 26 והתנחמת מן ונחמת פ || 27 והשלך מן פ

אחר כן נשאו הפילוסופים הארון והכניסוהו בתוך חדר הורתו, והיו שבעה עשר פילוסופים. ויען אחד מהן ויאמר: .הוי הגיבור הניצב! מה זה מנעך להראות גבורתך? צברת העושר, ומעמסו עליך ואשמיו דבקים בך. ואוי לנפשך מכל צד בבואה בין המצרים. 5 צפו עליך גלי המות, ולא תעורך חכמתך ולא יפדוך פקידיך. אמר אחר: .כי היום אלכסנדרס שותק ולא ידבר ולא יכיר בין טוב ובין רע. אמר אחר: .זה אשר רבה זריותו והגיע בנפשו אל המלכות ובחר העולם הזה על הבא והישיאוהו התאוות הבוגדות כאשר השיאו למי שהיה לפניו ושפך הדמים והתיר לנפשו הנשים ונואל. 10 ועתה הוא בין חבריו בתכריכו כרוך. אמר אחר: .היום נעדרה מלכות אלכסנדר ודמתה לענן בקר. אמר אחר: .התוכחו באלה התוכחות והוסרו באלה המוסרות המדברות בלי לשון, אשר יסרו בכם אלכסנדר בחיותו ובמותו. אמר אחר: .כי העולם הזה החולף באנשיו יש בו התבוננות ותמה למי שיש בו שכל. אמר אחר: 15 .איה שלטונך האיום ועוץ העצום? ואיה חכמתך בפילוסופיאה ודעתך בהגיון? אבד הכל, ושב היתרון חסרון ותשב הפילוסופיאה נעדרת. אמר אחר: .הוי המלך המשוטט! מה מאד נודעו אותותיך ונגלו כל עינייך. פסקו ממך עתה הכוחות ונעדרו ממך השמחות והשמועות, ושאו ממך הארמונים והשתומם בך השמח בחברתך. אמר 20 אחר: .נפרד ממך מה שהיה נחבר עמך אתמול ונדעך ממך מה שהיה אתמול מזהיר. נדרו ממך הגדורים והחילים ואספוף האשמנים. חייך נסיעת נוסע. ופסקו ממך הסיבות ואין תקוה לתשובתך. ונחלקו ממנויך והתפרקו איבריך. ועד מתי תהיה שולל או עד מתי תהיה מלכותך גזולה? אמר אחר: .מה מאד קרובה הירידה מן העלייה, הנוק מן התועלת, הנגע מן העונג! ולא נשאר עסק אחרי הפרידה. נגמר המעשה ונשארה הדאגה ואבדה התקוה ושאו הנתיבות. 25 אמר אחר: .מה קרוב החי מן המת והדובר מן השותק! אולם הנשמות תלויים במעשים, אם יהיו טובים יצליחו ואם יהיו רעים

4 בין מן פ || 6 גלי מן גס פ | תעורך חכמתך נן תעריך קרבתיך פ | יפדוך נן יפקיד פ ||  
 6 (אחר מ) פ || 7 בנפשו מן נפשו פ || 9 הדמים מן דמיהם פ | וזהו לנפשו מן פ ||  
 12 באלה מן בזה פ | (המוסרות מ) פ || 13 בכס נן בה פ || 14 שכל נן סכל פ ||  
 16 בפילוסופיאה מן כפילוסופים פ || 21 והחילים מן והחיים פ || 24 מה מן זה פ

יקר העולם ביום המות! ואל מלך העולם! מה מאד נבוה בעין המות!

אמרה אלמנתו בת דריוש: "זה המות מידה כנגד מידה. לא עלתה על לבי כי מי שהרג דריוש ימות." אמר בעל הוצאותיו: "היית מצוה אותנו לטמון ולצפון, עתה ביד מי נפקיד מצפוניך? והיית מצוה אותנו להוציא הממון בכל צרכיך ועתה בצורך מי תהיה הוצאתך?" אמר פקיד שולחנו: "מי שהייתי מתקן לו המאכל נעשה מאכל לעפר, ומי שהיה ניזון במיטב המאכלים הוא מזומן לארץ מזון." אמר בעל אוצרותיו: "הנה מפתחות אוצרותיך. מי יתן ותקחם ממני בטרם שאלקח על מה שלא לקחתי ואתפש במה שלא תפשתי." 10  
אמר משנהו: "כבר הייתי מסתירך מן הנכבד והנקלה ביחידותך ואשיב משערי ביתך מי שלא תתן לו רשות לבוא. ועתה יבאו אליך ממקום הבטחה ונכנס עליך השודד ממקום נעלם." אמר משנהו השיני: "נפסק ממני חבל המניעות והמתנה וסר ממני כבוד הציווי והמניעות. והנני יושב אחר עומדי ודומם אחרי רב דברי." 15  
אמר שוערו: "בא אליך בחדר המות בלא רשות והגיע אליך במגרשך ולא צווה לבוא." אמר שר הטבחים: "מדוע חרבות נקמותיך הובאו בתעריהן וחרבות האסון נשלפו עליך? ואיה קצפך אשר היה נודע או רצונך אשר היה ניכר או מצותך אשר היתה נשמעת? 20  
והנך גיו מושלך בין חביריך ואבן דומם בין אוהביך וחייליך. ומצוותך בלי נשמעת וניבך בלי מקובל." אמר סופרו: "באנו בעולם סכלים וישבנו אותו מתרשלים ונפרדנו ממנו מוכרחים."

ואמו נשאה קינתה ותאמר: "אך זה היום שנמחקו אותות המלוכה מאלכסנדר. וקוה להשיג מלכותו מי שלא היה לו בה תקוה. על כן מה גדלה התלאה ונעדרו הניחומים." ותאמר: "הוי הוי." 25  
ותוספנה לבכות הנשים גם הן. ותאמר: "יש לי ניחומים עליך, בני: כבוד וגדולה בשרתני במיתתך טרם היותה וצויתני לקבל תנחומים טרם בוא עתה. ולפני ה' צעקתי וממנו אשאל ניחומים. ואנו מהשם ואנו שבים אליו למחר."

4 הוצאותיו מ] סצאתיו פ || 12 תתן מ] יתן פ || 16 יושב מ] שם פ || 24 ולו מ] פ ||  
28 בוא עתה נ] באתם פ

הגוף הוא החושק בזה הארון. אמר אחר: כמה היתה תאוותו להתרומם ולהתגדל ולא ידע כי היא תכלית השפלות והירידה. אמר אחר: נעשה דובר עלינו ומליץ בעדינו והוא שותק. אמר אחר: כמה חרוץ יתאוה הנוח ולא ינוח וכמה יתאוה הנוע ולא ינוע? אמר אחר: כבר היינו מתרשלים ממעשה אלכסנדר עד שהגיע לנו מה שמצאנו. אמר אחר: לא הוכיחנו אלכסנדר בתוכחה רבה ולא יסרנו מוסר נמרץ כמו מיתתו. אמר אחר: מדוע לא היה מה שעשית אתמול משובח כדי שיהיה מה שעשית היום מקובל?

10 אמר אחר: השכים היום אלכסנדר והוא שותק אחרי היותו אתמול מדבר ונח אחרי היותו מתנענע ונשא אחרי שהיה נושא וישן אחרי שהיה ער ומת אחרי היותו חי. אמר האחר: אוסר האסורים הנו נאסר וכובש המלכים הנו נכבש. אמר אחר: זה המתעסק, אילו היה עסקו לנפשו אלא עליה ומעשיו לאחריתו לא לעולמו. אמר אחר: 15 היה מקדם זה האיש מוכיח נמרץ ולא הוכיחנו בתוכחה כמו שתיקתו עתה. אמר אחר: יש לתמוה ממי שלא היו משיגים בני אדם אליו אתמול, והיום יגש אליו כל אדם. אמר אחר: מדוע לא תניד אבר אחד מאיבריך ולא תסבול נתח מנתחיק והיית סובל מלכות העולם על גביך? אבל מה לך לא 20 תקוץ נפשך במקום צר והיית קץ במרחבי הארצות? אמר אחר: כבר נפלת ביד מי שילמדך מה שלא היית יודע. אמר אחר: אל יקר בעיניכם מה שילמד בני אדם אלא מה שילמד נפשו. אמר אחר: מן התימה הגדולה כי החזק גברו התלאות עליו וכי החלש נפתה בסכלו. אמר אחר: הנה זה מלך מלכים ביד המולך עליו, ומחריב הארצות הנה נחרב. ועל כן יוסר בו מי שיראהו 25 ויחשוב בעניניו מי שישמעהו. אמר אחר: המות השווה בין הנכבד והנקלה במשכב העפר מפני שלא השווה בחיים ביניהם במלכות וביכולת. אמר אחר: הבט ליקר העולם! מה מאד הוא שפל

2 (היא מ) פ || 4 (ינוח ... ולא נ) פ || 5-6 (עד ... הוכיחנו מ) פ || 6 (רבה נ) פ ||  
 7-8 (מדוע לא היה נ) פ || 18 (אבר נ) פ || 22 (בני ... שילמד מ) פ || 23 (התלאות נ) פ ||  
 26 (בעניניו מ) פ || 27 (בחיים מ) פ

8 (LTL PN 4. Q) G || 9 L1 [1] C. G || 11 C. Q] a. G || 81 (M2, M.N Q) G || 91 (M2Q14 T) G ||

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QGL HLLLU XZCQZLLQ UQZLL.

לולי עכירות דעתם מהבין. וזה כמה קראם והזהירם לולי חרשות  
 אוניהם, ומה גלויות הראיות להם לולי עיורון עיניהם וגסות רעיוניהם.<sup>5</sup>  
 אמר האחר: „אם תבכה למה שתראה מחידוש המות, המות איננו חדש;  
 ואם מפני שבא למי שהיית אוהב, התוכח כי כמה פעמים בא למי  
 שהיית שונא.“ אמר האחר: „הסכל אתה ונקבל התנצלותך או חכם  
 היית ונאשימך? הסכל היית ונפתית או חכם היית ואבדת חכמתך?“  
 אמר האחר: „זה המות כשיבריקו ברקיו לא יכזבו עניו, ומעלליו  
 מעללים לא ישקרו, ואבני אלגביש לא יחטאו. והרואה לא יוסר?“  
 אמר האחר: „מדוע לא נשגבת מזה המות כי היית נשגב מכל היוק?  
 ומה מאד רעה התרשלותך! ויתרונך כמו חסרונך וגבורתך אתמול  
 על תכלית חולשתך היום לפני המות.“ אמר האחר: „נעתקו העיניינים  
 ממך ופסקו תחבולותיך ושמו התלאות מגמתם אליך וחלפו השמחות  
 ממך. התוכל להודיעני על העוז והגדולה אשר היית בה, או שתשוב  
 לגבורתך אחרי חולשתך או שתשיב צור חרבות הימים בכחך? מה  
 מאד רחוק זה! אבל איך יתכן לך זה?“ אמר אחר: „אשר תמול  
 חמדוך היום ירחמוך, והיית נכבד והנך שפל. ועתה התוכל להרחיק  
 קצת מה שבא עליך בקצת מה שהיה לך?“ אמר אחר: „באמת  
 נפסקו בך הסיבות ואינם מתחברות לך. ומצאתך תלאה לא תוכל  
 כפרה. ועתה היש תקוה שתימלט או היש תקוה או יכולת שלא  
 נתווכח בך ולא נמות?“ אמר האחר: „הוי מי שגדלה מעלתו עד  
 אשר אבד וקצר בחכמה עד שמת. מה מנעך לקנות לך המחיה  
 הטובה בחיותך שלא יזיק לך המות כמותך?“ אמר אחר: „כי  
 אנחנו מואסים מה שהיית מבוזה המלכים לגדל מלכותך בראותינו כי  
 סרה ממך המלכות. ומי שהיה ממנו חומדך במה שעבר החומל עליך  
 בעתיד, ומי שהיה מרומם מה שהיית בו הנה היום מתרחק ממה שאתה  
 בו. על כן אין טוב בעולם הזה שלא יתקן לעולם הבא, ואין טוב  
 בעולם הבא שלא יתוקן בעולם הזה.“  
 אמר אחר: „אוי ואבוי עליך, אלכסנדרוס! איך נמשלה יציאתך

2 הראיות מ] הראיות פ || 6 נפתית מ] נתפסקת פ || 9 (מדוע נ] פ || 12 (אליך נ] פ ||  
 15 (תמול מ] פ || 16 והנך מ] בתוך פ || 24 ומי מ] ומה פ || 26 ומי מ] ומה פ ||  
 26 שלא יתקן לעולם נ] בשלא תיקון העולם פ || 27 שלא מ] בשלא פ





גדולה ואדרת ארגמן וכסא אחד זהב, וכה שלח אל כל היכלי  
 יון. ויצו להוסיף אליהם מתנות אחרות ולבונה וחלבנה ושחלת. ויצו  
 אשר יחנטוהו הרופאים אחרי מותו ויוליכוהו בארון זהב במצרים.  
 ויצו אל אחיו אפרידא שמו אשר יתן אלף כיכרי זהב למלאכת  
 קבורתו באליסנדריא. ויהי כאשר כלה לדבר ויאסוף רגליו אל  
 המיטה ויגווע וימת ויאסף אל עמיו.

ויקח טולימאוס והשרים את פגר אלכסנדרוס וילבישוהו בגדי עדיי  
 תפארתו וישימו כתר מלכות בראשו כבהיותו בחיים וישימוהו בעגלות  
 ובפרדים, ויוליכוהו בעיר אליסנדריא אשר בנה במצרים. וטולימאוס  
 וכל השרים והסגנים הולכים לפני המרכבה, איש עדייו עליו, הולכים  
 ובוכים יחיפים וחפויי ראש, ונושא כל אחד קינתו עליו. ומקצת  
 משריו היו מפזרים בכל הדרך מור ואהלים וקנמון ומוסקו ומיני  
 בשמים.

ושני חייו היו שלשים ושתים שנה. ובהיותו בן שמונה עשרה  
 החל להלחם עם אויביו ועד בן עשרים ושש שנה לא שקט להלחם  
 עם עממי הארץ עד אשר הכניע תחת ידו ארמים וחיות משונות  
 ונחשים ושרפים ועשרים ושנים מלכים, הכניע כל הגויים. וששה שנים  
 שקט עד יום מותו.

ויום מולדו היה כזרוח השמש, וימת בחודש אייר ביום רביעי  
 בצאת השמש. ויהי שני חייו שלשים ושתים שנה וששה חודשים  
 וי"ב ימים. ובימיו בנה שלש עשרה ערים גדולים מאד: האחת  
 אלכסנדריא אינפרופריטא; השנית אליסנדריא אימפימורו;  
 ואלכסנדריא יפיבוקסיפאלון השלשית; אלכסנדר' ריקסטיסי  
 הרביעית; אליסנדר' יארניקון נהחמשת; הששית אליסנדר'  
 אובוביטי; אליסנדריא היושבת על נהר טירו השביעית; השמינית  
 אליסנדר' מבבל; התשיעית אליסנדריא מטרוייה; העשירית  
 אליסנדריא אינפרוסטון; האחת עשר אליסנדריא אנקולוני; השנים  
 עשר אליסנדריא ממצרים; השלשה עשר בוציפילס על שם הסוס.

אותך אליהם". כשמוע אלכסנדרוס את דבריהם ציווה אשר ישאוהו עם המטה באולם, ויעשו השרים והסננים כן. ויהי אחרי כן ויצו אלכסנדרוס לפתוח את שערי ההיכל, ויבואו לפניו כל אנשי יון ומקדוניה. ויהי כראות אלכסנדרוס אותם ויאנח ויבך במר נפש ויספוק את כפיו ויאמר אליהם: חזקו אחיי וריעיי ואהבו זה את זה וחיו בשלום". וישאו קולם ויבכו ויאמרו: אדונינו המלך, אם יישר בעיניך הודיעני מי ימלוך עלינו אחרי מותך". ויען אלכסנדרוס ויאמר: אנשיי ופרשיי אנשי מקדוניה, כטוב בעיניכם להמליך עליכם קראוהו וימלוך עליכם ואני מסכים". ויענו ויאמרו: אחרי אשר נפש אדונינו אשר נמליך עלינו מלך, אנחנו קוראים עלינו פירטיקא למלך אשר ימלוך עלינו אחרי מותך". ויצו אלכסנדרוס לקרוא לפניו פירטיקא. ויבוא פירטיקא ויכרע לפניו. ויאמר אליו: פירטיקא, חזק ואמץ כי אתה תמלוך על אנשי מקדוניה. ותהיה מופקדת אליך רוצאנה אשתי וכל אנשי יון ומקדוניה. והיה לאיש חיל וי"י יהיה בעזרתך". 15

129 ויגשו כולם אחד אחד וינשקו ידו. ויבך אלכסנדרוס בכי גדול. ושם היה איש אחד ממקדוניה ושמו פילוקן, וישא את קולו בנועם קינה ויאמר: אדונינו אדונינו, פליפוס אביך מלך עלינו והחזיק את מלכותינו בשלום ובשלחה ובהשקט, ויסר אותנו ייסורים נעימים. אמנם חכמתך וגבורתך מי יוכל לספר, אשר שלחתנו חופשים והכנעת לפנינו ותחתינו כל עממי הארץ בחכמתך ובערמתך ובגבורתך". ויהי כשמוע אלכסנדרוס את דבריו ויך את ידו במצחו ויקם על מטתו וישב. ויבך במר נפש ויאנח ויאמר בלשון מקדוניה: אוי לך אלכסנדרוס כי לא תשוב לעולם במקדוניה".

25 ואנשי מקדוניה בשומעם את דברי אלכסנדר' בכו גם הם ויאמרו: אוי נא לנו אדונינו המלך, טוב מותינו עתה מחיות אחרי מותך. ואיך ינחם לעולם מלכות מקדוניה? אוי נא אלכסנדר', איך תלך בלעדנו, ועם מי תניחנו? ואלכסנדרוס היה בוכה ומתאנח ואומר: אוי לכם אנשי מקדוניה! לא יזכר שמכם כאשר נזכר תמול שלשום". אז שלח אלכסנדרוס אל היכל אפולוניה מעפורת זהב

קסאנדרו מיטיגטור יהיה נגיד קרייאה. אנטיפטר אבי קסאנדרו יהיה  
 נגיד פוליאה כי יאות לו למלוך עליהם. מינדרו יהיה נגיד לאביאה.  
 יובאס בן אנטיפטר יהיה שר צבא המלך. ובבקטריאה ובאינדיאה  
 ימשלו האנשים אשר המשלתי. וליאונדרוס יהיה נגיד פיריגיאה הקטנה.  
 5 ליסינאמוס יהיה נגיד אראציאה. אפרידאי יהיה נגיד פולופניס.  
 מאראפו חותן אנטיפטר יהיה נגיד ספרד. טאליסיאה יהיה נגיד  
 סוסיני אשר שם שתי נהרים. פיטונוסיאה יהיה נגיד קולוניאה  
 ו-מושבם שנסדו באינדיאה. אוסוארקיה יהיה נגיד פאראפומנוס  
 ועד קצות הר קאוסוס ואראקי וסיגריאי. סניאנו יהיה נגיד אופאטני.  
 10 סיקיאו יהיה נגיד ביצוקטיאניס. וטאנאקרוני יהיה נגיד פייטי. פליפוס  
 יהיה נגיד ראוי. ופראטפארני יהיה נגיד לארמיניאה. טולימיאוס יהיה  
 נגיד פרס. פיאוצטיה יהיה נגיד בבל הגדולה. אריקוביאה יהיה נגיד  
 פילאנסי. ארקיו יהיה נגיד ציציליאה. אפרילוסיו יהיה נגיד  
 קפואה. באלוני יהיה נגיד ביטיניאה. כליאולו יהיה נגיד קלצידוניאה.  
 15 ארכיליאוס יהיה נגיד ירושלם וקלדאניאה. פאלקאריאו יהיה נגיד  
 אנטיקיה. אנשי ליאומים יהיו חופשים ויקראו מלך ונגיד כרצונם.  
 וכל האנשים המכורים מארצם יהיו חופשים וישבו לארצם וירשו את  
 נחלתם. וכל איש ואשה ימחול אלי אם שאנתי אליהם ואם עול  
 פעלתי לנגדם.

20 ויהי כאשר כלה אלכסנדרוס לצוות את הדברים האלה והנה  
 רוח סערה גדולה וחזק מפרק הרים ומשבר סלעים ורעמים וברקים,  
 ויחרד כל מלכות בבל.

128 אז נודע מיתת אלכסנדרוס, ויקומו כל גדודי יון ומקדוניאה  
 חגורים כלי מלחמה ויבואו אל היכל המלך בתוך החצר. ויצעקו  
 25 ויאמרו אל השרים ואל הסגנים: אם לא תראונו אדונינו המלך נשים  
 כולכם לפי חרב יונק עם איש שיבה, ולא נחמול על זקן ובחור. ויהי  
 כשמוע אלכסנדרוס את צעקת העם וישאל ויאמר אל האנשים העומדים  
 עליו: מה קול האנשים הזה באוזניי? ויענהו ויאמרו: הם גדודי  
 יון ומקדוניאה אשר שאלוך לראותך, ואמרו להורגנו אם לא נראה

8 ובבקטריאה ובאינדיאה ה' תטרידא ופואילתינא פ || 8 ושנסדו באינדיאה ה' פ |  
 פאראפומנוס ה' פארא ופאניניאה וסינא פ || 15 ארכיליאוס ה' אאוריאלו הקוסס פ ||  
 23 יון ה' פרס פ || 24 החצר בכת"י: חצר המטרה

מחיות אחרי הפרדך ממני. ויען אלכסנדרו' ויאמר: רוציאנה, אשתי הנעימה, נפלאה אהבתך לי מאד ועתה שמעי לי, תשוקתי הנעימה. אל יודע אחריתי ואל תנידי הדבר לאיש. ותתפשהו רוציאנה ותחבקהו ותביאהו אל המיטה, ותספוק את כפיה ותבך במר נפש ותאמר: <sup>5</sup> אהה אדוני המלך, הודע לאמתך מי ישב על כסא אדוני המלך אחרי מותך ומי ימלוך אחריך ועם מי תניחני. ויאמר אלכסנדרוס: קרא אלי את יובאס. ותקרא המלכה את יובאס לפני המלך. ויאמר המלך ליובאס: קרא נא לפני את שמעון הסופר. וילך ויקראהו. ויהי בבוא שמעון ויאמר אליו המלך: שמעון, קח נא את <sup>10</sup> הקסת ואת הקולמוס וכתוב על ספר ובדיו את דברי אשר אדבר. ויקח שמעון את הקולמוס והקסת ואלכסנדרוס החל לצוות ושמעון כותב. ואלה דברי הצוואה: אני אלכסנדרוס בן המלכה אוליפיארס יושב על מיטתי חולה, אמנם דעתי ורעיוני לבבי נכונים כאיש בריא וחזק. אצוה אליך, אריסטוטוליס רבי, אשר תשלח אוצרות זהב <sup>15</sup> אשר למלכות אל שרי מצרים ואל כהני ההיכל אשר במצרים ושמה יקבר גופי, ואל ההיכל תתן מאה ועשרים כיכרי זהב. וחשבתי על גופי היותו מלך במצרים ולשמוח עמהם; ואחרי אשר גזר יי אשר אמות במקום הזה, גופי יקבר שם אחרי מותי להיות לזיכרון אליכם אנשי מצרים. אצוה אם רוצאנה אשתי תלד בן <sup>20</sup> ימלוך עליכם תחתי, וקראו שמו כאשר תחפוצו; ואם נקבה תלד, אנשי מקדוניאה יקראו עליהם מלך כרצונם. ורוצאנה אשתי תשלוט על כל אוצרותי ומחמדתי.

וטולומיאוס יהיה נגיד מצרים ואפריקה וארביאה וימשול על כל נגידיו אוריאנטא עד בירטניא. וקליאופטרה אשר היתה אשת פליפוס אבי בגרשו את אמי תהיה לו לאשה. ופיטון יהיה נגיד <sup>25</sup> אשור הגדולה. לאומידון ומיליטיניאה יהיו נגידים על אשור הקטנה. וסירוניאס יהיה נגיד צייליאה. פילוסיאה יהיה נגיד אלאריאה. אנריפאטור יהיה נגיד מדיאה. קוצינו יהיה נגיד על סובסביאה. אנטיגנוס בן פליפוס יהיה נגיד טיריאה הגדולה. שמעון הסופר יהיה <sup>30</sup> נגיד קפוטריאה וביאפנוניא. ליארטי יהיה נגיד ליציאה ופינפיליאה.

לאלכסנדרוס ויך את יובאס במקלו אשר בידו בראשו. ויחר ליובאס על אשר הכהו אלכסנדרוס בלא דין ומשפט, ולא היה ראוי לו לכעוס בעבור אשר הכהו אדונו. ומהיום ההוא ומעלה חשב יובאס להרים ידו במלך אלכסנדרוס ולהמיתו.

- 5 ויהי אחרי כן ויקח יובאס את כוסות הזהב ויבא אותם על 127 שולחן אלכסנדרוס בעומדו לאכול ולשתות עם שריו ופרשיו. ויגש יובאס אל שולחן המלך וישרת אותו בשמחה. ויהי כטוב לב המלך ביין ויקח יובאס את גביע הזהב ויוצא את הסם מתחת מדרו ויערב הסם עם היין ויתנהו לאלכסנדרוס לשתות, וייתה אלכסנדרוס בשמחה. ויהי אחרי שתותו את הסם וצירים וחבלים אחוזהו ויצעק 10 צעקה גדולה ומרה ויפול במסיבו על צידו הימנית, ויאנח כאיש המגיע אליו החצי בלבו ועובר אותו. וינח מעט ויקם מעל השולחן ויאמר לשריו ולפרשיו: „אכלו ושתו ושמחו וייטב לבבכם.“ ולא הקשיבו שריו לדבריו כי נשתוממו, ויקומו כולם מעל השולחן 15 וישאו את אלכסנדרוס בחדר משכבו ויפול על המטה. ויבקש נוצה אחת לשים אותה בפיו למען הקיא הסם. ויקח יובאס את הנוצה וימשח אותו בסם ויתנה אל אלכסנדרוס וישם אותה בפיו להקיא, כי לא נשמר ממרמת יובאס כי מצאו נאמן אליו מתמול שלשום ולא ידע אתו מאומה. ורעה לאלכסנדרוס הרע האחרון מן 20 הראשון. ואחרי אשר שם אלכסנדר' את הנוצה בפיו ציוה לפתוח את שערי ההיכל היורד אל הנהר. ויישן וינח עד חצות הלילה. ויהי בחצות הלילה ויעל אלכסנדרוס מעל משכבו ויכבה את הנר וילך בידיו וברגליו להשליך נפשו אל הנהר למען לא ימצא לעולם ויוליכהו מרוצת המים. ויהי כראות רוציאנה המלכה אשתו 25 אשר עשה אלכסנדרוס וכי הולך הוא להשליך את נפשו בנהר ותרץ אחריו ותתפשהו ותחבקהו ותשא את קולה בבכי ונהי ותאמר: „אויה לי, איה תקוותי ותוחלתי? התניחני במקום חושך ואפילה? ומה זה אשר תחפוץ לעשות להמית את נפשך? חלילה לך מעשות כדבר הזה! ואני יתומה ואין לי אב ואם ומנחם אותי. אהה אדוני, 30 איה אהבתך אשר אהבתני מיום התחברי עמך? ועתה טוב מותי

אנשים רבים, ופעמים רבות הוציא דיבה על אלכסנדרוס כדי למלוך במקדוניאה; והשמועה באה אל המלכה אוליפיאדס. והיה כשמוע אוליפיאדס כי אנטיפטר מתנחם להרוג את אלכסנדרוס בנה ותחלחל המלכה מאד ותתעצב אל לבה. ותשלח לקרוא לפניה אנטיפטר ויאמר אליו: אנטיפטר, לא טובה השמועה אשר אנכי שומעת ממך כי עלו דברים על לבבך וחשבת מחשבה רעה, ומבקש אתה להרוג את בני ולקחת מלכות מקדוניאה מידו. לרעתך זממת אם סברתך להיות יותר חזק ממנו. הלא ידעת כי הכניע מלכים אדירים וכל עממי הארץ? ואיך תחשוב להחזיק מלכות מקדוניאה ולהלחם עמו? הלא ידעת כי אלף אלפים עבדים לאלכסנדרוס גדולים יותר ממך? הלא אתה כאין נגדו. ועתה השמר לך ושמור נפשך אשר לא אשמע יותר הדברים האלה ואל תוסף ראות פניי כי ביום ראותך פניי תמות, ולא תתראה אלי עוד. הדבר יצא מפי המלכה ופני אנטיפטר חפז. ויצא מאת פני המלכה נכלם וסר וזעף. אחר הדברים האלה חשב אנטיפטר להמית אלכסנדרוס ולהשקותו סם. וילך אל רופא אחד נאמן אליו ומומחה ובקי ברפואות ויבקש ממנו מן הסם ולא הודה לו מה שיעשה ממנו. והרופא לא שאלהו, ויתן הרופא אליו סם חזק מאד אשר לא יכילהו כלי ברזל ועמו ולא יסבלהו מפני זעמו וחזקו. ויקח אנטיפטר כלי עופרת אחת וישם בתוכו סם והכלי עופרת שם בתוך כלי ברזל אחד. ויקח את הכלי ויתן ביד בנו האחד, קסנדרו, וישלחהו אל אלכסנדרוס ויצו אליו לאמר: בבואך אל מקום אלכסנדרוס ונתת את הכלי ביד אחיך יובאס למען ישקה את אלכסנדרוס הסם אשר בתוכו.

ויהי בימים ההם ויחלום אלכסנדרוס חלום ויספר אותו לאאוריאולו. ויען אאוריאולו ויאמר: אדוני המלך, לב קסנדרו איננו נכון עמך. והיה בבוא קסנדרו בבבל ויבא הסם ויתנהו אל יובאס אחיו.

ויובאס היה שר המשקה לאלכסנדרוס ונאמן אליו והיה בחור נחמד, ואלכסנדרוס היה אוהב אותו מאד. והיה בימים ההם ויחר

בלבות בני אדם ינחילוהו האבות לבניהם. ועל כן השתדל לקנות הזיכרון אשר לא ימות בהכניסך בלבות בני אדם אהבתך, שתשאר בם יתרון מעלתך ויתרון מדותיך. ולא יתכן למנהיג לחשוב עמו ממון וקניין, אבל יחשבם אחים ריעים. ואל יתאוה הכבוד ישיגיהו מעמו אלא בכבוד הראוי לו בנועם המידות ויושר המנהג. ושלוש עליך. וכתב לתלמידו ספר ואמר בסופו: שלום עליך, לא שלום מנהג כי אם שלום ורצון.

ויהי אחרי כן ויצו אלכסנדר' לעשות שתי מצבות זהב חלולות ולכתוב עליהן כל מעשה תוקפו וגבורתו וקורותיו. וישם אחת מהם בבבל והאחת בפרס.

ויהי בהיות אלכסנדרוס בבבל ותלד אשה אחת ממנו בן. ויהי בלדתו ויכסוהו בשמלה ויביאוהו אל אלכסנדרוס. והנער ההוא היה מראשו ועד טיבורו דמות אדם נחמד והיה מת, ומטיבורו ולמטה היה דמות חיות משונות והיה חי. ויתבהל אלכסנדרוס בראותו ויתמה מאד. ויגדל הפלא ויצו אלכסנדרוס לקרוא לפניו אאוריאלו הקוסם ויראהו את הנער. ויהי כראות אאוריאלו את הנער ויספוק כפיו ויאנח במר נפש ויבך. ויאמר: אדוני המלך, הן קרבו ימיך למות. ויען אלכסנדרוס ויאמר: ואיך איפשר להיות? ויען אאוריאלו ויאמר: אדוני המלך, ראה כי הנער מראשו ועד טיבורו הוא מת ודמות אדם לו, וזה יורה כי קרבו ימיך ומת אתה ולא תחיה. ומטיבורו ולמטה הוא דמות חיות והוא חי, וזה יורה כי המלכים אשר ימלכו אחריך יהיו כאיין וכבהמות. ויהי כשמוע אלכסנדרוס את דבריו ויתעצב אל לבו ויאנח ויאמר: האל הגדול, יודע אני כי מעשי גרמו לי למות במקום הזה. ואתה צדיק, וכרוע לבבי חשבתי לעשות דבר ואתה מנעתני. ואחרי אשר לא תחפוץ וכי אחיהו הנני בידיך, כטוב בעיניך לעשות לעבדך עשה. ועתה תיפול נא ותחנתו עבדך בן אמתך לפניך שתקבליני בין ידיך אחרי מותי, ורוחי ונשמתי אפקיד אליך.

בימים ההם היה איש אחד במקדוניה ושמו אנטיפטר, ויבקש אנטיפטר לשלוח יד במלך אלכסנדרוס ולא יכול. ויתלקטו אליו



על קוניהם לא ישאלו אותם על עושרם ועל כבודם אמנם ישאלו אותם על מידותיהם. על כן החפשים צריכים לברוח מזאת המדה כשתהיה מצויה במלך, על כן יקשרו עליו. וכשתשיג זה הדבר, הקל מהם ממעמסות המלחמה ומעמסות הכעס ותחליף להם מן הכעס חמלה. 5 ויאות לאדם לדעת שיעור הכעס, ואל יהי כעסו חזק וארוך ולא חלש וקצר כי האחת ממדות זאיבי הייערים והשינית ממידות הנערים.

ואין ממידות הנפש הנדיבה אלא שיהיה המלך חומל על בני אדם כי בחנינה ובחמלה יזכה המלך ויצא שמו בעמו. והנני מצוין בזאת המצווה אבל אפחד פן תיכשל במה שנכשלו רבים 10 בבקשת העיצה. כי רוב בני אדם יחנו עיצה למי שישאלם הפך במה שיאות ליועץ אלא במה שיאות להם. לא יועילו בו לעניין הצריך אבל מה שתהיה תועלת בנפשותם. ואני רוצה שתתנהג בעיצת אוסתריוס באומרו כי עשיית הטוב על דרך כלל טוב מעשות רע; 15 כי אפשר שיגברו על הרע בטוב והוא מבחר התגברות, כי ההתגברות ברע רשע והתגברות בטוב צדק. כי איפשר לך ללמד בני אדם ממידותיך ממה שיצא שמעך בכל העולם וישאר חקוק על פני הזמן, ועל כן עשה הדבר הטוב בעתו. ודע כי מה שיתמחו בני אדם ממנו אומץ הלב ויקר הרוח ומה שיאהבוה היא האהבה 20 והצניעות וחלק המאמר. ועל כן קבץ שני הדברים, תכלול אהבת בני אדם וייטב להם ממך; מה שלא ימנעך לדבר מה שיועיל להמון כי בני אדם נמשכים אחר המאמר יותר מן המעשה. ואל תחשוב כי זה ישפיל מעלתך, אבל יוסיף על כבודך כי תדבר בטענת צדק כי אתה יכול להכניעם. ודע כי קרבת החלש והתחברותו 25 יחשב רמאות וחונף וקרבת החזק והתחברותו תחשב צניעות וענוה ונפש יקרה, על כן אל תמנע מלהתקרב ומהתחבר להמון למען תקנה אהבתם ותשיג הכבוד מהם. ודע כי הימים יאבדו כל דבר וימחקו האותות וימחו הצורות ויאבידו הזיכרון, אלא מה שיכנס

4 להם מן מנהם פ || 9 בחנינה מן בבחינה פ || 12 שיאות ליועץ נ) פ || 15-16 וכי ההתגברות נ) פ || 17 שמעך נ, ב, ט שומעו פ || 19 ויקר מן ויקח פ | ומה מן ומי פ || 20 והדברים נ) פ || 25 יחשב . . . והתחברותו מ) פ || 26 אל . . . ומהתחבר מן תכניעם מתחבר ומהתקרב פ

ופרשיך אשר הקשיבו לדבריך ועזרו אותך בכל הקורות אשר מצאוך.

ויכתוב אריסטוטולים איגרת אחרת: „אלכסנדרוס מלך מלכים מאריסטוטולים רבך, שלום. ידוע יהיה לך כי כאשר אין המוסר להסתפק מן הממון ומן העבדים על מה שיש בידי אדם ויצריך אליו הצורך אבל שיקח הדברים הנכבדים, כן בחכמות כי אין מן המוסר שתסתפק אליהם במה שתצטרך אליהם לשום תועלת אלא תבחר היקר והנכבד בהם.“ וכתב אליו אריסטוטולים: „כשתכבוש ארצות רבות משול על העם בהטיבך אליהם ותכבוש אהבתם, כי בקשתך אהבתם בהטיבך אליהם יותר טוב משתכביד עליהם עולך. ודע כי לא תכבוש הגופות והלכבות כי אם במעשה הישר והחסד. ודע כי ההמון כשיוכלו לדבר יוכלו לעשות והשתדל שלא יאמרו: תמלט ממה שיעשו“. והנך מלך על כל בעלי היחס ונחלק לך יתרון המלכות. וממה שיוקיר מלכותך ויוסיף לך שכל לתקן העם כדי שתהיה ראש למבחר הטובים ולא למבחר הרעים. ומלכות הגזילה הרחיקינה כי היא מגונה למדות רבות, וממה שצריך לגנות בו מפני שתשפיל מעלת המלכות. כי העם עם מלך גזול בעבדים לא לחופשים. כשימשול אדם על חופשים טוב משימשול על העבדים, וכל הבוחר בממשלת העבדים על ממשלת בני חורין כבוחר שמירת הבהמות על שמירת בני אדם והוא חושב כי השיגה ידו. ודמיון הגזול במה שגזל כמו זה הדמיון מפני שהוא מבקש יתרון המלכות ואין דבר רחוק מהמלכות כמו הגזילה. כי הגזול הוא כמו אדון והמלך הוא כמו אב. ומאשר ישפיל מעלת המלכות מה שהיה עושה מלך פרס כי הוא קורא שם בנו ולכל עמו עבדים. והממשלה על בני חורין והנכבדים טוב מממשלת העבדים ואם רבו. והוא ראוי לכל בני אדם וכל שכן לבעלי הנפש הנדיבה. ואתה ראוי להסיר משטמת העם מן המלך במה שיטעמו ממתק הנהגתך ותסיר מהם כובד עולך ואימתך ופחדך. כי העבדים הנמכרים כשיראו אותם

6 הממון נ. ב. ט] המוסר פ || 6 כן בחכמות נ] מן החכמות פ | כי נ] אבל פ | [מן נ] פ || 9-8 וכתב . . . העם נ] פ || 10-9 וכתבוש . . . אליהם מ] פ || 16 והרחיקינה מ] פ | [בו ב. ט] פ || 24 כי . . . בנו מ] כי היה לבנו פ || 26 לכל בני אדם נ. ב. ט] על אדם פ || 27-26 ואתה . . . משטמת מ] פ || 27 ממתק נ] מן פ

באמת אתה אלכסנדרוס אין מלך חכם כמוך ואין לתמוה אם נצחת וכבשת כל עממי הארץ. ויהי בדברו כדברים האלה ויפול קנדיאולו לפני רגלי אלכסנדרוס. ויתפשהו אלכסנדר' בידו ויתבקהו וינשקהו. ויאמר קנדיאולו: „לולי אמי ואחיי הנעימים וחברתי ואשת 5 נעוריי הייתי בא אחרריך ללחוך עפר רגליך, והנני חרד פן ידאנו עלי כל ימי חייהם. וילכו מאתו בשלום. וישב קנדיאולו אל עירו, ואל אחיו ואל אשתו לא הגיד את דברי אלכסנדרוס וירגו פן יתקוטטו ויריב עמו אחיו הקטן חתן פורו מלך אינדיאה; אמנם אל אמו המלכה הגיד את דבריו. ויהי כשמוע המלכה את 10 דברי בנה ותבוא החדרה ותבך ותאמר: „אי קליאופילי קנדאקי, עליונה ביופי ובהדר על כל בנות הארץ, ושמת חשקך על מלך מלכים ועשה מצוותך. ומדוע הנחתיו ללכת ולא סגרתיו בחדר? כי אז הייתי עליונה ועליוה על כל המלכות בהיותי תמיד עמו ולשמוח עמו בערש אהבים. ותדבר עוד כדברים האלה ואמהותיה 15 ונערותיה לא תוכלנה לנחמה. ותחפוץ המלכה להרוג את עצמה אבל היתה יריאה פן יתגלה ויוודע הדבר אל בניה. אמנם לא היתה יכולה להצפין חשקה ואהבת אלכסנדרו' אשר אהבתהו. ואלכסנדרוס שב אל חילו. ויהי כראות פרשיו את אלכסנדרוס וישמחו מאד ויהללו את יי. ויספר אלכסנדרוס את כל אשר קרהו. 123 ... ויהי אחרי הדברים האלה וישלח אלכסנדרוס איגרת אל אוליפיאדס אמו ואל אריסטוטוליס רבו על כל המוצאות אותו עם פורו מלך אינדיאה, וינצחנהו והכניע כל מלכותו תחת ממשלתו ואשר נלחם עם החיות ועופות משונות ונחשים ושרפים. וישיבהו אריסטוטולו' רבו על דברי האיגרת ויכתוב הוא איגרת 25 אליו ואלה דברי האיגרת: „אריסטוטוליס אל מלך מלכים אלכסנדרוס, שלום. ידוע יהיה אליך כי קבלתי איגרתך ושמתנו מאד על גדולתך ותמתי מאד מן הניצחון אשר היה לך במלחמות גדולות. והנני נותן שבח בכל כוחי ויכולתי לבורא הכל אשר הכניע לפניך כל העומדים לגדך. והנה האלוהיים יעידו עלי ולך ראוי שבח וגדולה. 30 ונהלל אל האלוהיים על כל אשר עשית ואשר עזרוך ואשר הצילוך מיד החיות והנחשים ונלוו עמך בקיץ ובחורף. אשרי שריך

ויהי בעמדו שם והנה עננים גדולים. ויבט אלכסנדרוס בתוך הענן  
 והנה כוכבים מאירים, ויבט עוד וירא איש אחד ועיניו מאירות  
 כנר דולק. ויהי כראות אלכסנדרוס האיש ההוא ויתבהל ויפל  
 לארץ על פניו ויאמר אליו האיש ההוא: „האל יושיעך אלכסנדרוס.“  
 5 ויאמר אליו אלכסנדרוס: „מי אתה ומה אדוני מדבר אל עבדו?“  
 ויאמר: „אני סיקוסיסי ובידי כל ממלכות העולם. ונצחתי כל ממלכות  
 העולם ואין לי שם כמוך אשר בנית ערים על שמך וקראת שמם  
 כשמך. ועתה גשה נא אלי.“ ויגש אלכסנדרוס אליו ויהי בהתקרבו  
 וירא ענן אחד גדול ובתוך הענן היה אלוה אחד יושב על כסא  
 המלוכה. ויאמר אליו אלכסנדרוס: „מי אתה?“ ויאמר האלוה ההוא:  
 10 „אני קדמון מכל אלהי המקום הזה, ואני ראיתי אותך בטרדילביאה  
 1 = ארץ ליביאה ועתה הנני הנה.“ ויען אלכסנדרוס ויאמר: „תפול  
 נא תחינתי לפניך והגד נא לי ימי חיי שנתיי ומאיזה מות אמות.“ ויען  
 ויאמר: „פעם אחרת שאלתני ופנעתני על דבר זה. וכבר ידעת כי  
 15 השבתי אליך כי אין דבר הגון וראוי אשר ידע האדם ימי שני חייו  
 כי אם ידעם יאחזוהו צירים וחבלים ויהיו כל ימיו מכאובים וכעס.  
 ודע כי עיר אחת בנית ונקראת על שמך ושמה תיקבר ושמה תנוח  
 אחרי מותך. והעיר ההיא תתגדל על כל הערים אשר תחת כל  
 השמים, ומלכים רבים יצורו על העיר ההיא.“ ויהי כשמוע אלכסנדרוס  
 20 את הדברים האלה ויתעצב אל לבו ויחר אליו מאד. ויצא מן  
 ההיכל ההוא ויבוא אל קנדיאולו ואל פרשיו כי קנדיאולו ופרשיו  
 הניחוהו יחיד בהתפללו אל האלוהיים ובזובחו זבח לפניהם. ויאמר  
 אלכסנדרוס אל קנדיאולו: „אחי וחברי הנעים, שוב לך עם פרשיך  
 ואני אשוב עם פרשיי, ודע כי אני אלכסנדרוס באמת ואני אוהב אותך  
 25 כאח נאמן.“ ויחבקוהו וינשקוהו ויאמר אליו: „אמור אל אחיך כי  
 השבועה אשר נשבעתי כי הוא דיבר עם אלכסנדרוס בהיכלם ואכל  
 ושמח עמו ועם המלכה. ואל המלכה הגבירה והנעימה על כל  
 המלכות תפקדיני. ואם יש את נפשך לבוא עמי בכל מקום אשר  
 אלך הנני נודר אליך כי אנשאך ואגדלך על כל המלכים עבדיי.“  
 30 ויען קנדיאולו ויאמר אליו: „תשואות חן חן לך אדוני המלך.  
 בזאת ידעתי כי מצאתי חן בעיניך בגלותך אלי את שמך. ואם

קראטורי? היחשב אליך לנבורה ולכבוד? כי יש לאלכסנדרוס שרים רבים ונכבדים ממני ולא ידאג עלי בשומעו כי נהרגתי כי אני עבד עבדי אדוני אלכסנדר'. ועתה אם תחפוץ אשר אביא אלכסנדרוס אל ההיכל הזה, הוא אשר הרג את פורו מלך אינדיאה חמיק, השבעה נא לי למלאת שאילתי אשר אשאל מעמך ואני אשבע אליך 5 אשר אביאנו בהיכלך". ויהי כשמוע קראטורי את דבריו ויאמן וישמח מאד. וישם אלכסנדרוס שלום בין האחים ההם וידרו לאלכסנדרוס למלאת את שאילתו.

ואין לתמוה אם נוצל מידם כי מימי היתה סיבה להמליכו על כל העולם לקיים חזון דניאל הנביא. ואלכסנדרוס נדר אליהם 10 להראות אליהם אלכסנדרוס בהיכלם, ומה שנדר אליהם והם ראוהו ודברו עמו ואכלו יחד. אמנם לא הכירוהו היותו אלכסנדרוס כי אם אנטיגנוס שליח אלכסנדרוס כי כן הסב שמו בלכתו עם קנדיאולו אל מלך בריאיקוני. אמנם המלכה הכירתהו ולא גילתה 15 הסוד לבניה ולא לאדם אחר.

ויהי אחרי כן ותקרא המלכה את אלכסנדר' בחדר ותאמר אליו: שכב עמי". ותחבקהו ותנשקהו ותסנור הדלת בעדה אחריה. וישכב אלכסנדרוס עמה ותאמר המלכה: ידעתי כי מלך גדול אתה ואין נבון וחכם כמוך ואין לתמוה אם הכנעת את כל עממי הארץ 20 כי בחכמה נצחתם והכנעתם תחת כפות רגליך". ויהי אחרי המשכב ותאמר המלכה: באשרי כי נתחברתי למלך גדול כמוך, ומי יתן היותך לפניי תמיד כאחד מבניי". ותדבר עוד עמו בדברי חשק ויצאו מן החדר וישבו לאכול. ויהי אחרי האוכל ותתן המלכה אל אלכסנדרוס מתנות: עטרת זהב גדולה קבועות בה מיני אבני יקרה 25 ואדרת מלכות אחת מוזהבת ונקשרים ונקבעים בה אבני יקרה ושיריון קשקשים מן יהלום ואונך ומעיל זהב וארגמן. ותשלחהו בשלום. ויירדו מן ההיכל וקנדיאולו ומבחר פרשי המלכה, ויבואו כל היום 110 ההוא וימצאו שם היכל גדול וחרוב ויחנו שם. ויאמר קנדיאולו: אנטיגנוס, זה המקום הוא מקום האלוהיים והנה אכלו האלוהיים פעמים רבות". ויהי כשמוע אלכסנדרוס את דבריו ויזבח שם זבחים. 30

את אשת קנדיאולו והשיב אותה לבעלה. ויומין קנדיאולו את  
 אנטיגנוס להיכל אמו בעבור שינמלנו טובה על החסד שעשה עמו  
 ויחננו מתנות. ויהי בבואם אל היכל קנדאקי ותכיר המלכה את  
 אלכסנדרוס מן הצורה אשר עשה הצייר שלה. כאשר הגידה  
 5 לאלכסנדרוס שהיא הכירה אותו נבהל אלכסנדרוס. ותבטיח לו שהיא  
 לא תגלה הסוד כי הוא הציל את כלתה. אבל כלתה השניה, אשת  
 בנה הצעיר, קראטורי, דרשה את מיתת אנטיגנוס במקום אלכסנדרוס  
 שהרג את אביה, פורוס מלך אינדיאה. ובהיות הם מתווכחים בנדון  
 זה ויאמר קראטורי: „אלכסנדרוס! פדה את אחי ואת אשתו ממות,  
 10 אמנם אשתי חפצה להורגו בעבור אלכסנדרוס הרג את אביה ותחת  
 אביה יומת זה. ועל זה ידאג אלכסנדרוס מאד.“ ותען המלכה  
 ותאמר: „מה בצע כי נהרגו אשר בא לחסות תחת כנפיו? ועתה  
 מדוע תעשו את הנבלה הזאת? ומה יאמר אלכסנדרוס ממנו? הלא  
 ידאג עליו ויחשבנו לאכזרים בלי משפט ודין? ואולי יבוא על  
 15 ארצינו להשחיתה כאשר עשה למלכויות אחרות.“ ויהי כשמוע  
 קנדיאולו את דברי אחיו ויחר אליו מאד ויאמר: „למה יומת זה  
 האיש? מה עשה אשר יהיה משפט מות? ומה פשע ומה פעל  
 וגמול כזאת אנמלנו? חלילה לי לשלם אליו רעה תחת טובה ולא  
 אתחר במרעים ולעושי עוולה. הלא הוא עורני ממלך בריאיקוני  
 20 ופדה את אשתי מידו ונלווה עמי עד ביתי? ואני ערבתי אותו  
 ממלך אלכסנדרוס להשיבו אליו בשלום ולא יקבל דבר נגדית.“  
 ויען קראטורי ויאמר: „אחי, למה תדבר עמי כדברים האלה? התחפוז  
 אשר נלחם יחד ונהרגו איש אחיו?“ ויאמר קנדיאולו: „לא, אמנם  
 אם תחפוז להלחם עמי הנני מוכן.“ ויהי כשמוע המלכה את דברי  
 25 בניה ותתחלחל המלכה מאד ותאמר בליבה: „עתה ימיתו בניי אחד  
 את אחד.“ ותתפוש המלכה את אלכסנדרוס ותביאהו החדרה ותאמר  
 אליו: „מלך אלכסנדרוס, הבה לך דבר ועיצה הלום אשר בניי לא  
 ינצו ולא יריבו יחד ולא יהרגו אחד את אחד בעבורך. למה  
 אשכול גם שניהם יום אחד?“ ויען אלכסנדרוס ויאמר: „הניחה לי  
 30 ואלכה אליהם ואדברה באזניהם.“ ויצא אלכסנדרוס מן החדר אל  
 בני המלכה ויאמר אליהם: „מה בצע יהיה לך אם תהרגיני בביתך,

ימצאו צידה ישבעו נפשם מן העפר בעבור רעבון נפשם. ואם הייתם  
 רשאים לבוא במקומינו ובארצותינו לא היינו נותנים אליכם בנותינו  
 וחכמותינו בעבור עניויותכם כי היו מתים ברעב. ואם היינו דרים  
 ויושבים במקומכם היינו עניים ומרודים כמכם. ואין לשבח האדם  
 5 אם יחיה בעוניו שנים רבים מן האדם אשר יחיה בעושרו, ואם  
 היינו משבחים אותך בעבור ענייך ומרודך אז היה בעוני מעלה  
 גדולה יותר מן העושר והחכמה. ואמרת כי נשותיכם לא תתעטנה  
 בעדיי תפארתיהן ואולי כי יהיו עליהם למשא. ואמרת כי לא  
 תעשו ניאופים חזימה ולא תלכו אחרי הנשים להתמיד המעשה ההוא,  
 10 וזה דבר גדול הוא ויאות לאדם לעשות כן אם יוכל לכבוש  
 את יצרו. ואני סבור אשר לא תעשו זה כי אם בעבור אשר תתענו  
 ואתם חלשים ואין בכם יכולת להתמיד הדבר ההוא. גם אמרת כי  
 אין אליכם אלילים ופסל ומסכה להשתחוות להם. וכל דבר אשר  
 הזכרנו אין הפרש ביניכם לבין הבהמות אשר לא ירגישו ולא יבחינו  
 15 בין טוב לרע ולא יתענו מתענוי העולם. ... הנה חסר הרבה ...  
 107-109 נוסע אלכסנדרוס וחילו ויבואו במקום אשר שם משלה  
 המלכה קנדאקי והיא אשה אלמנה. למלכה היו שלשה בנים:  
 קנדיאולו, מרסיפוס, וקראטורי. וישלח אלכסנדרוס איגרת אל קנדאקי  
 ובאיגרת ההיא הזמין אותה אלכסנדרוס להפגש עמו כדי לזבח ובחים  
 20 לאמון. ותשב המלכה על דברי האיגרת של אלכסנדרוס ותשלח  
 לו מתנות רבות. ותשלח גם צייר עם מלאכיה כדי לצייר את  
 דמותו של אלכסנדרוס מבלי שהוא ידע. ויהי היום ויצאו קנדיאולו  
 ואשתו מן העיר וירכבו על סוסיהם ביחד עם פרשיהם. ויבוא עליהם  
 המלך של הבריקי אשר חמד את אשת קנדיאולו כי יפת תאר היא,  
 25 ויתפשה ויקח אותה עמו. וקנדיאולו בעלה בא אל מחנה אלכסנדרוס  
 וינד לטולומיאוס, שר צבאו של אלכסנדרוס, את אשר קרה. כאשר  
 הגיד טולומיאוס לאלכסנדרוס את אשר קרה עם אשת קנדיאולו,  
 אחו אלכסנדרוס בתחבולה זו: טולומיאוס יתחפש בתור אלכסנדרוס  
 ויקרא לאחד מאנשיו הנקרא אנטיגנוס לעזור לקנדיאולו, ואלכסנדרוס  
 30 יתחפש בתור אנטיגנוס. ויעשו ככה. ואנטיגנוס (אלכסנדרוס) הציל

1 העפר צ', ה' הרוח פ || 16 השורות מכאן ועד שורה 9, עמוד פ"א, חסרות בכתי'.

וזכירה והוא ית' אוהב הזכירה הנקייה, ולכן יקרא יי' דיבור.  
 ויקרא אור כי יאיר כל העולם, ויי' ית' אשר נתחנן ונתפלל  
 אליו אין מי אשר יוכל להשיגו בדמות וערך וביופי והדר. ואין  
 להספר ולהכתב, וגם יופי מלאכיו מי יוכל להגיד? אמנם אכתוב  
 5 לך מדמותו למען תראהו ולא תדמהו לאלהיכם. ואתה מלך  
 אלכסנדרוס וכל אנשיך פתאים בלי דעת, אשר תחשבו אלהיכם  
 אשר תתפללו לפניהם יהיו אלהים גדולים בעבור כי תמצאום תמיד.  
 ותנעלו את נפשותיכם בזימות ובניאופים ובוה יתרצו אלוהיכם עמכם.  
 ותאהבו המעשים האלה כל ימי חייכם ולא תהיו נקיים במותכם.  
 ותלכו לעבוד האל בשר ודם ולא תעבדו את יי' חי ואמת וקדמון  
 10 ומולך בשמים. אמנם תעבדו אלהים רבים ותאמרו כי כאשר איברי  
 האדם רבים כן הם אלוהיים רבים אשר בשמים וכל אחד שולט על  
 אבר אחד. ולכל אחד תעשו זבח משונה זה מזה ולכולם שמות תקראו.  
 ותאמרו מניביאה נולדה מראש יובים... הנה חסר... וכל אחד מן  
 15 האלוהיים אשר תעבדו ותזבחו לפניהם חיה או עוף או חטים או כל  
 דבר שיהיה בעבור זה יש להם יכולת על עצמיכם וגופותיכם וגשמיכם,  
 או החיות אשר תזבחו יכפרו עוונותיכם. ואתה אלכסנדרוס וכל אנשיך  
 עוד תקבלו גמול על כל אשר תעשו אחרי מותכם בעבור כזביכם.  
 100 וישלח אלכסנדרוס איגרת אל אנדידימוס ואלה דברי האיגרת:  
 20 „אלכסנדרוס מלך מלכים בן האלוה אמון ובן המלכה אוליפיאדס אל  
 אנדידימוס מלך הברנאמנים, שלום. ידוע יהיה אליך כי קבלתי  
 איגרתך ותמהתי מאד על אשר אמרת כי אינך רשאי לעשות את  
 אשר... חסר הנה... כי תאמר כי נחטא בכל אשר נעשה ובכל  
 מלאכתינו, הוא עון פלילי. ותאמר כי תחפוץ להמיר תורתנו  
 25 וחוקותינו אשר היו מימי קדם, וחפצך אשר נשוב לדתך ושלחת  
 אלי דמות אלהיך מצויר. וזה עשית כי קנאת מאלהינו ואמרת אשר  
 אניח זה העולם הכלה על אשר נעשה חוקותינו במשפט. ואמרת  
 כי אין מנהגכם לחרוש שדה ולזרוע ולקצור וכרם ואילנות לא  
 נטעתם מעודכם. וזה דבר אמיתי כי אין אליכם כלי ברזל לעבוד  
 30 את האדמה ואין לכם אנייות לעבור ימים ונהרות, ולכן תצטרכו  
 לאכול עשב כבהמות ולחיות חיי צער ותעשו כמו הזאבים אם לא



אלהיכם ותעבדו אותם ותחמדו לאסוף הון הרבה ועבדים ושפחות ולאכול ולשתות לשבעה. וכל זה גורם לכם ההון רב אשר תאספו ותאמרו כי בכוחכם ועוצם ידיכם נעשה אליכם את החיל הזה, ואינכם סבורים להניחו ולא תזכרו כי ערומים יצאתם מבטן אמכם וערומים תשובו אל האדמה אשר לוקחתם משם כי עפר אתם ואל עפר תשובו. ותניחו אחרי מותכם הכסף והזהב ואת הכלים ואת כלי עדייכם. והנה מה בצע יהיה אליכם לאסוף עושר והון וללכת אחרי שרירות לבבכם הרע ואחרי תאות נפשכם ואחרי מותכם תניחו כל זאת ותלכו במקום אלהיכם אשר הם נתעבים? כי שכרכם תמצאו בעולם עליון כי העולם הזה הכלה והשפל נתגדלתם וזה חלקכם מכל עמלכם. ובוה תוכל לדעת כי אתה חכם ותבחין בין טוב ורע כי תורת הברנאמנים היא נקייה ומעולה על תורתכם על כל עניין, וזה האמת. כי נולדתם מן האדמה תעשו מצבות ואילילים ותעבדו אותם. והנה אתם עובדים את עפר קבריהם ואת עצי תיבתכם אשר תשכבו בהם במותכם, ולא תניחו עצמיכם לקבלם אל האדמה אשר נולדו ממנה. ותעשו קבריהם מעוטרים ותעשו אליכם כבוד ותשימו אותם במקום מיוחד והם אליכם לעצבים. ועתה אם תקברום באדמה הלא ישובו אדמה כי ממנה לוקחו. ועוד תלכו לגנוב ולקחת נחלת מלכים וסגנים והשרים ולהסיג את נחלתם.

20 אוי לכם ולנפשכם אחרי מותכם!

ואנחנו הברנמאנים לא נשחוט צאן ובקר לתפארת האלוהיים ולכבודם, ולא נבנה היכלות לשום בתוכם עצבים ואילילים מכסף וזהב. כאשר אתם עושים לא נעשה. גם לא נעשה מזבחות זהב וכסף ואבני יקרה. אמנם אתם מתחננים לפני אלהיכם אשר ירבה אליכם עושר וניצחון והם גורמים לעשות על ידיכם הרעות אשר תעשו. הלא שמעתם כי יי אלהים חי ואמת לא יכפר עוונותיכם בדם שעיר או בדם איל? והיה טוב לאדם לעבוד את יי במעשיו הטובים כי מעשי האדם הטובות יתדמו למעשי האלהים, כי האל הוא הדיבור ובדיבור נברא העולם ובדבריו יחיו כל אשר נשמת רוח חיים באפיו. וזה הדיבור אנחנו ברנמאנים נאהב ונתפלל בעבור כי יי הנכבד הוא תוחלת נעימה

30

ועתה אם יש את נפשך להחזיק את תורותינו דע כי קשה עליך הדבר לעשות, אמנם טוב הדבר לנסותך בהם; ואם אין נפשך להחזיקה לא יהיה עלינו עון ואשמה, כי כל אשר שאלתני בדברי אנרותיך עשיתי. ואם יש את נפשך להחזיק מקצת תורותינו עדיין אמלא חפצך.

5 ושמעתי כי במעט זמן נצחת ארץ איסיאה ואפריקא והכנעת גאון פרס ואינדיאה וכבשת עממי הארץ. ובעבור רעתך קדר השמש ומי המדבר החרבו אשר היתה מרוצתם כנחל שוטף, והמעטות את מי נהר נילוס מרוב שתייתך מהם. ולמדת את אנשיך אשר יעברו באוניות בים אוקיינוס ולשום את נפשם בכפם. 10 ותזבחו את בניכם ואת בנותיכם לאלוהיכם וזה תועבה ועון פלילי. ותעשו זימה וניאוף עם אמכם, ותשימו הפלגה בין המלכים, ותלמדו את האנשים לבנות היכלות עד לשמים. ובעבור אלוהיכם תעשו רעות גדולות, וזה יעידו עליכם עדים נאמנים יובים אלהיכם ופריסינפינאה האלוהית אשר הסכימה ניאופים רבים והדריכה אנשים רבים ברעותיה 15 והשכיבם בגיהנם מקום חושך וצלמות והנחילם שאול ואבדון. ואתם הסכלים תתחננו ותתפללו לפני יובים אלהיכם ולפני פריסינפינה על אשר ענבה אחרי מאהביה ואנשים רבים שכבוה. וגם תעבירו האנשים בפרך ולא תשלחם חפשית. וזה דבר נגדית ולא תעשו משפט וצדקה, אמנם תשפטו עוול וחמס ולשופטיכם תלמדו להטות משפט ודין עני ודל בשוחד אשר תתנו ותקחו. והדיינים נושאים 20 פניכם בתורתכם ואלוהיכם לא הזהירכם. ותלבשו ותעדו את אלהיכם בבגדי מישי וארגמן בעולם הזה השפל והכלה. אמנם בעולם העליון והנחמד ויקר מכל מחמד איך הם מלובשים?

על דברי האגרת הזאת אניד לך: ואתה אלכסנדרוס המלך בעבור רעותיך אשר תחמיד בהם תהיה בחלק אלהיך אשר אתה עובד ותאמר 25 כי יעשה אדם דבר אשר אין ראוי לעשות ודבר אשר ראוי לעשות לא יעשה. ואתם לא תחזיקו אדם ישר וחכם אשר איננו יודע לדבר לפני העם, ויראה מדבריכם כי אין לאדם השכל וחכמה כי אם בלשון ובפה. ואתם רשאים ללמד לשוניכם לדבר הרבה ולהאריך 30 בדבריכם ויותר טוב היה אליכם לשתוק. וזהב וכסף והון הם

ללבוש בגדי תפארתיהן ולא תתבוששנה בהיותם ערומות, ואין חפציהן להיות נאות בכח רחיצתן ועדייהן. וככה חוקינו ומשפטנו והם נגדייות למשפטיכם. ועל כן קשה עלי אם היית יכול לעמוד בלי חטא ועון או במעשה או במחשבה או בהרהור או בראות או בשמיעה 5 או בכל דבר אשר יקרה אל הנולדים מאשה, כי מיום אשר נבראתם נתגדלתם בעוולה ובחמס ועוון. ואנחנו הברגאמנים לא נעשה מרחצאות ממים חיים וחמים לרחוץ את בשרינו ולא נחוש מן הטל אשר ירד עלינו. ולא ישתרר עלינו אדם כי האדם יצרו תוקפו עליו וירדה את אחיו בפרך ויבגדו בו, והוא דבר נגדית 10 כי אב אחד לכולנו ואל אחד בראנו ומדוע נבנוד איש באחיו ולחלל ברית אלהינו.

גם לא נבנה בתים לשבת ולא נכנס באבנים ובסיד, אמנם נדור במקום חרבה ובנקרות הצורים ובמחילות עפר. ולא ירד גשם ומטר עלינו כי לא ימטיר יי על ארצנו. ונישן מעט 15 כאשר יגיע אלינו השינה. ובבתים האלה נשב כל ימי חיינו, וכאשר נמות משכנינו קברינו. ולא נעבור את הים בספינות ממקומינו אל אי אחרת. ותמיד נעמוד ללמוד ורק לטובה ונדבר דברינו בתמימות ולא נלך בכנסת הפילוסופיאה המצויירת והכתובה בדברי הטעאה, אמנם נלך בכנסתינו הכתובה בקירותיה חוקותינו. ולא נקלל 20 אדם. ואין בינינו שחוק וקלות ואם נחפוץ לשחוק כשאר אנשים, נשים ספרינו לפנינו ונלמוד חוקותינו ותורתנו ולא נעיין בדברי הבלים. וכאשר יגיע אלינו השחוק אז נבכה ואז נתבודד במהלך השמש וסיבוב הגלגל ומהלך כוכבי לכת. ותמיד אנחנו רואים את הים בנחת ובהשקט; ולפעמים כאשר יהמו גליו ולא יעבור הגבול 25 ולא יכסה את הארץ, אמנם יעמדו שניהם יחד כאיש ואשה וכאח עם אחותו. ובכל יום אנחנו רואים מכל מיני דגי הים מרקדים ומשחקים. ונחפוץ לראות פרחי השדה ונחמוד לעמוד תמיד ביערים נאים ושם נשמע את שירי העופות אשר מזמרות וכה משפטנו תמיד. סוף דבר, אנחנו משמרים תורותינו וחוקותינו כאשר הורנו חכמינו 30 וקדמונינו ולא נפנה על דבריהם ימין ושמאל כי אם כאשר ציוונו.

ונמשול על יצרניו ואת אויבינו אשר בקרבינו הרגנו. ולא נירא מאויב אחר בהלחמו עמנו ולא נצטרך לעזר מלך אחר אשר יעזרנו להלחם עם אויבינו או אשר ישלח בארצינו בר ומזון. ותמיד אנחנו יושבים בטח בלי יראה כי האל בורא הכל בקרבינו ודבר אין לנו עם אדם. גם נכסה ערוותינו מעלי אילנות, ופרי האילנות נאכל וחלב נשתה ומים מנהר טאבוס. ותמיד נשיר את שיר יי' ונחמוד לעשות טובה ולא נדבר הרבה כי השתיקה היא סייג לחכמה, וכשנדבר לא נדבר כי אם דבר אמת וצדק ותועלת.

ולא נתאוה להעשיר כי לא תמלא הנפש לעולם, ובאהוב האדם העושר יורש וידל מן החכמה והוא עושר שמור לרעתו; ואמנם אנחנו נשבע מן החכמה כי היא מתוקה מדבש. ונכיר את בוראינו ונרדוף אחריו תמיד ולא נלך אחרי שרירות לבינו. ואין בינינו קנאה ואין אחד יותר חזק מאחר ואין מלחמה בינינו ולא נחנור כלי מלחמה כי מארצינו נשחתו, וכיתתנו חרבותינו וחניתנו ולא נלמד מלחמה ושלוש בינינו תמיד. ואין לנו שופטים ודיינים ולא נצטרך לקבול לפני מלכינו כי האיש המולך עלינו הוא חכם וגדול על כולנו ויורינו הדרך אשר נלך בה. ולא נעשה לעולם דבר נגדית אשר נוכל לדון אדם ויהיה חייב מיתה או מלקות. ולא נודה לאדם אחר חטאתינו לאמר: בהתוודי וידוי לפני האיש חטאתי, יי' ימחול אלי עוונותיי'. ולא נפדה חטאתינו בעושרינו כאשר אתם עושים. ולא נכריח גופינו לזנות ולא נעשה ניאוף וחטא ואשמה אשר נצטרך להתוודות ולעשות עולה או זבח כאשר אתם עושים. ותאמרו: אחטא ואשוב ואתודה ואפדה את נפשי בעושרי ובעולות ובזבחים. הירצה יי' באילים לזבוח ובעולות? אם בעשותו זה עבד את אדוניו? הלא בזה יתרצה: להיות האיש גיבור על יצרו ולרדוף אחרי החכמה ולהתבודד ולהשיג את בוראו, ולא ילך אחרי שרירות לבו כי יצר לב האדם רע מנעוריו והוא מסיתהו לעשות חטא ואשמה ועוול. ואלינו הברגאמנים לא יניע אלינו מות פתאומית כי לא תתקלקל האויר במעשינו. ולא נלבש בגדי מחלצות ואת נשותינו לא תלבשנה עדיהן ומכבסות פניהם בבורית ובתמרוקי נשים למען תכשר יופיה בעיני אחר. ואינן חוששות

וחכמתנו ובינתנו אינם כחכמתכם וכבינתכם, כי לא נעשה כמעשיכם  
 ולא נתחנן לאלהיכם ולא נלך אחרי חוקיכם. ולכן הייתי חפץ שלא  
 תהיה משתדל בזה העניין ולא היית מכריח אותי לעשות את אשר תשלח  
 לומר אלי; כי יודע אני כי לא יהיה לך תועלת בשולחי לומר אליך  
 5 דתינו ומשפטינו וללמוד אליך תורתנו ומשפטינו וחכמתנו, כי אין לך  
 פנאי ללמוד בעבור טרדות מלחמותיך אשר תתמיד בהם. אמנם בעבור  
 אשר לא תאמין כי אני מקנא עליך ואיניני חפץ אשר תלמוד חכמה,  
 בכל אשר אוכל למלאות את שאילתך וחפצך אעשה בעזר יוצרי.  
 דע לך אלכסנדרוס כי הברגאמנים יש להם חיי צער והם  
 10 תמימים ולא יעשו חטא ואשמה ולא יחמודו יותר ממה שיספיקו  
 אליהם או כאשר המזל גורם, והכל יסבלו לצדקה ולא ישתררו  
 זה על זה. ולא יחרושו ולא יקצורו ולא יורעו השרה ולא  
 יטעו כרמים ולא יפרשו רשת על הים לתפוש דגים ולא יצודו  
 ציד חיה ועוף. ולא יחפצו דבר אחר לאכול כי אם מה  
 15 שתתן להם האדמה אשר אמם, ולא ייעפו ולא יגעו. ולא יערכו  
 שולחן ולא ימלאו כריסם ובטנם ממעדנים ומטעמים. כי מה בצע  
 לצבות בטנן ולמלאות כריסן מן המאכלים ולהתהלל לשחות יין ושכר?  
 ואנחנו הברגאמנים לא נאכל לתיאבון ונחיה בחיי צער ונאכל רק  
 לקיים רוחינו בקרבנו, ולכן לא נחלה וכל ימי חיינו אנחנו שלווים  
 20 ושקטים ולא נמצא חפץ בטנינו. ויחיה האדם כאשר יחיה האחר  
 וכמות זה כן מות זה והחיים קצובים בשוה לכולנו. ואין אחד ממנו  
 אשר ישב נגד האש בעבור הקרירות ולא יזיק אלינו הקרירות ותמיד  
 נפשותינו ערומים כאשר נולדנו. ותמיד נשב נגד הרוח כאשר יפח  
 וכל דבר נסבול באהבה ובחיבה.

25 ואתה, מלך נצחי, בזאת יוודע כי אתה מלך גדול וגיבור  
 בכובשך את יצרך ממחמדות גופניים וגשמיים ולא תתאוה בהם.  
 אז תהיה שולט ומולך על כל אויביך ולא תצטרך להלחם  
 יותר עמם כי תכיר את בוראך. ובעבור אשר לא תכבוש  
 את יצרך תצטרך להלחם עם אויביך כי אויביך הם רעיוני  
 30 יצרך והם יסיתוך לעשות כל רע. ואנחנו הברגאמנים נשלוט

ובן המלכה אוליפיאדס ממלכות מקדוניה אל אנדידימוס מלך  
ברגאמנים, שלום. ידוע יהיה אליך כי שמענו שמעך ושמע עמך  
כי משפטיכם ותורתכם הם מאושרים וטובים על כל משפטי עממי  
הארץ אשר לא תחמדו דברי ארץ וימים. וקשה עלי להאמין הדבר  
5 הוזה ואיך איפשר. ואם הדבר אמת לא אחשוב אתכם בני אשה כי  
אם בני מלאכים ובני אלהיים.

והנני מתחנן לפניך אשר תודיעני הנכון ואם תעשו זה בחכמה  
ובערמה או בסכלות ובמרמה. ואם תעשו זה בחכמה הנני חפץ  
ללכת בדרכיכם ולעשות מעשיכם ולנהוג חייכם, ומיום אשר הבחנתי  
והכרתי בין טוב לרע חמדתי ללכת בדרכי החכמים וללחוץ עפרם  
10 וללמוד ולהשכיל את אשר לא למדתי מרבתיי. ושמעתי כי אתם  
הולכים בדרכי רבותינו חכמינו ונבוינו אשר לא חמדו הבלי העולם  
הזה הכלה. ושמעתי כי כל אשר למדתם מספרי חכמינו לא  
למדתם בשכל כי אם חוץ מן השכל ובחכמות אחרות השתדלתם  
15 זולתם. אחלה לפניך אשר תודיעני הנכון בלי איחור. ואליך לא  
יזיק דבר ואולי אלי יהיה תועלת בהדרכי אחר דרכיך ומשפטיך;  
כי האדם המשכיל אשר יהיה לו נר דולק בביתו אם יהיה אדם אחר  
נהנה מאור הנר לא ימנע הנר אורו ולאיש ההוא יהיה תועלת,  
והסכל אשר אין לו דעת אשר ימנע מאור הנר מן האיש ההוא יקבוהו  
20 לאומים. ומה בצע אליו בהמנע מאור הנר? אם יאיר הנר יותר?

ויהי כקראות אנדידימוס את האיגרת ויכתוב הוא אגרת אל  
99 אלכסנדרוס וישלחה אליו ואלה דברי האיגרת: אנדידימוס מלך  
ברגאמנים אל אלכסנדרוס המלך, שלום. ידוע יהיה לך כי קבלתי  
אגרתך ושמחתי מאד עליה ועל דבריה בראותי כי תרדוף אחרי  
החכמה ואין מעלה מעולה עליה. ובזאת ידעתי כי אתה חכם כי  
25 אתה תאהבנה, וזה אלי האות כי תנהוג את מלכותך בחכמה ותוכל  
למשול על עמך. והמלך אשר אינינו חכם ובעל שכל ומדע ורחב  
ידים לא יוכל להנהיג אנשי מלכותו, אמנם ישנאוהו משרתיו ויקשרו  
עליו קשר להורגו וירימו שריו ידיהם בו. ועתה קשה עלי מאד  
30 אם תוכל לסבול דתינו ומשפטינו כי מעשינו משונים ממעשיכם

לשלול ולבז. ומה שנזר אלינו מאת הבורא אין אדם בעולם אשר יוכל לקחת ממנו. ובבואך להלחם בנו לא נניח תורתנו ומשפטינו. ואם תחפוץ לעבור אלינו לדבר עמנו ולהנות ממה שאנחנו נהנים, בוא ברוך יי. ואנחנו יודעים כי לך נאה המלוכה ואלינו 5 החכמה. ויהי כקראות אלכסנדרוס את האיגרת וישב אותו דבר: ,הנני מוכן לבוא אליכם באהבה ובשלום. ויהי אחרי כן ויעבור אליהם אלכסנדרוס ויראם והנה ערומים הם והיו מתחבאים בנקיקי הסלעים ובמחילות עפר ובסוכות, והיו הולכים כצאן על פני השדה והיו שחורים כעורב. וישאלם אלכסנדרוס ויאמר אליהם: ,אין לכם 10 בתים לשבת? ויען אחד מהם ויאמר אליו: ,אין לנו בתים אחרים כי אם את אשר תראה. וישאל אחר ויאמר אליו: ,אין לכם קבר? ויען ויאמר: ,משכני הוא קברי. וישאל אחר ויאמר: ,ממי ימצאו יותר מן החיים או מן המתים? ויען . . .

98 ויסע משם אלכסנדרוס עם כל חילו ויבואו אל נהר אחד ושם 15 הנהר ההוא פישון, ויאהלו שם ימים אחדים. ויהי בעומדו שם ויבט מעבר לנהר וירא שם אנשים. ויצו אלכסנדרו' לשאול להם לשלום ולדבר עמם בלשון אינדיאה ומי הם, ויעשו כן. ויענו האנשים ההם ויאמרו: ,אנחנו ברנאמנים. ויהי כשמוע אלכסנדרוס את שמם שמח מאד כי ימים רבים חמד לדבר עמם כי שמע את שמעם. ויחפוץ 20 לעבור אצלם אמנם לא היה יכול לעבור אליהם כי הנהר ההוא מלא עשב והיה נראה כשדה אחד מלא עשב. ויהי כראות אלכסנדרוס כי לא יכול לעבור אליהם ויאמר אליהם: ,עברו אלי את הנהר ואדברה עמכם כי ימים רבים נכסוף נכספתי לדבר עמכם. ואם תעברו אלי לא ארשיע אליכם ולא אעשה עמכם רעה 25 אמנם אחן אליכם מתנות. וישמעו האנשים בקול אלכסנדרו' ויביאו ספינה אחת קטנה ויעברו את הנהר ויבואו לפני אלכסנדרוס ויפלו לפניו וישתחוו לו. וידבר אלכסנדרוס עמם ויתן אליהם מתנות וישאלם על אודות אנשי מלכותם ועל שם מלכם. ויענהו על דבריו כל אשר שאלם. ויתן אלכסנדרוס אליהם איגרת למען יוליכוהו אל 30 מלכם ואלה דברי האיגרת: ,אלכסנדרוס מלך מלכים בן האלוהא אמן

נופלים ויחרדו חרדה גדולה עד מאד כי היו בתוך האוהלים לפידי אש. והרוח היה משיב על הלפידים ומשליכם בפני האנשים ומכים בהם ושורפים ומכים בכל מקום אשר יגעו. וירגנו הפרשים והעם ויאמרו: מה זאת עשה יי לנו ומה המעשה הזה אשר קרה אלינו? 5 אין כי רצונינו וחפצנו להלחם נגד המול? ויהי כראות אלכסנדרוס כי פרשיו היו חרדים ומרגנים אחריו ויאמר אליהם: שריי ופרשיי, אל תיראו ואל תערצו כי זאת הרוח סערה לא באה מאת יי כי אם בעבור חטאתינו.

ויסע משם אלכסנדרוס עם כל מחנהו ויבואו בבקעה אחת 97 וימצאו שם אחד מן הפרשים נופל לארץ מפני הקרירות אשר שלט עליו. והפרש היה גדול קומה ועז וגיבור. וירד אלכסנדרוס מעל הסוס הוא בעצמו ויקימהו. ותחם בשרו ותשב רוחו אליו ויתרפא מן הקור החזק כי כמעט אחזתהו השבץ. אז צוה אלכסנדרוס לפרשיו להצית אש במקומות רבות סביב החיל כי היה הקרירות גדול וחזק. ויהי השלג גדול על הארץ, ויצו אלכסנדרוס לדחק 15 השלג ברגליהם כי היה ירא פן יגבה על הארץ מאד. והאש אשר הציתו במקומות רבים הועיל אליהם מאד, אמנם מתו מאנשי אלכסנדרוס שבעה ועשרים איש בשלג ההוא לבד נערי הפרשים ובהמות הרבה מאד. ויצו אלכסנדרוס לקבור את האנשים. ויהי אחרי אשר ירד השלג על הארץ ויי המטיר על הארץ מטר 20 וגשם חזק, ויהי אחרי הגשם והנה ענן וערפל וברד ואש מתלקחת בתוך הברד. ויחרד כל החיל מאד ויזבח שם אלכסנדרוס זבחים אל האלהים ויפגעם במקום ההוא אשר יסירו מעליהם את המות ההוא.

ויהי אחרי כן ויסע משם עם כל מחנהו ויבואו אל ארץ 98 אוצידינטי. ואנשי אוצידינטי היו אנשים פתאים בלי דעת ודבר אין להם עם אדם, והיו הולכים ערומים אנשים וגשמים. ויהי כשמוע מלכם כי בא אלכסנדרוס על ארצם וישלח אליו איגרת: אנחנו ינוסופתאיי הנולדים מאשה אל אלכסנדרוס האיש, שלום. ידוע יהיה לך כי שמענו שמעך, ושמת מגמת פניך לבוא אל ארצנו להלחם בנו. 30 ידוע תדע כי לא יועיל אליך כלום כי לא תמצא עמנו מה שתוכל



ויאריכו הפילים את אפיהם לתפוש האנשים ויחרדו האנשים מאד וייראו מגשת אליהם. ויאמר אלכסנדרוס: „אל תחתו מגשת אל הפילים האלה, אמנם הלחמו עמם עד כלותם. ועתה תפשו החזירים והכום עד יצעקו.“ ויעשו הפרשים כן, ויתפשו החזירים ויכום ויצעקו. ויהי כשמוע הפילים את צעקת החזירים ויסוגו אחור וינוסו. וירדוף אליהם וכל חילו אחרי הפילים ויהרגו מהם רבים, ויקחו שיניהם ואת עורותיהם וישובו אל השדה.

94 ויהי למחרת ויסע משם עם כל מחנהו ויבואו ביערי הינדיאה. וימצאו שם נשים בעלות קרנים וקנם עד השדים וראשם רחב, ומלובשות עורות ויודעות לצוד ציד. ותהינה מגדלות כלבים וחיות לצוד עמהם. ויבואו עליהם אנשי מקדוניאה ויתפשום מהם ויביאום לפני אלכסנדרוס. ויהי כראותם ויצו אשר ישאלום בלשון אינדיאה היאך יחיו בתוך היערים כי לא היה אליהם בית. ותענינה ותאמרנה אליהם: „אנחנו נחיה מצידת חיות אשר נצוד בכל עת ביער הזה, ודיי לנו צידתנו אשר נצוד למאכל ונחיה בהם.“

95 ויסעו משם אלכסנדרוס ויבואו על שפת נהר אחת וימצאו שם אנשים וגושים והיו בעלי שיער כחיות יער. וכה משפט האנשים ההם אשר ידורו בתוך הנהר ויתחבאו שם.

משם נסעו עם כל חילו ויבואו ביערים אחרים. וימצאו שם נשים אשר שניהם חדים כשני הזאב וגדולים כחזירי יער. ושערות ראשיהם עד טיבורם ובעלות שיער כנמלים חנב אליהם כמו השוורים, וקומותם חמש אמות.

משם נסעו ויבואו בתוך יער אחר מאינדיאה. וימצאו שם נשים אשר שערותיהן עד רגליהם ורגליהם כרגלי הסוסים, וקומתם שלש אמות וחצי. וירצו אחריהם אנשי מקדוניאה ויתפשו מהם ויביאום לפני אלכסנדרוס. ויהי כראותם ויתמה מאד על יופיים כי היו נאות על כל הנשים מראשם עד טיבורם.

96 משם נסעו ויבואו בשדה שמם ויאהל שם עם כל מחנהו. ויהי בחצות היום והנה רוח חזק גדולה מפרק הרים ומשבר סלעים, ויסע את ידיו האהלים ויפילם לארץ. ויהי כראות הפרשים את האוהלים

ויסע משם עם כל מחנהו ויבא במקום קורסמוס ודקס וימצא עם אחד כעיר פרא בלתי מורגל. וילחם עמהם וינצחם וישימם תחתיו למס עובר.

ויסע משם ויבא בארץ פירסיאה ויכנע את כל עממי המקום

5 ההוא.

משם נסע ויבא במקום אחד ויקר מקרהו לקראת מאתיים אלף פרשים. ואנשי פרס ומקדוניאה היו עייפים ויגיעים ותשש כוחם, וילחמו עמהם וינצחום ביגיעה גדולה ויכניעם תחתיהם. ויותר שם אלכסנדרוס ימים אחדים ויזבח שם זבחים לפני האלוהיים.

10 משם נסע ויבוא בארץ ויעבור פרימס ופרמנס. וילחם עם האנשים אשר היו דרים בתחתיות ההרים ויכניעם וישימם למס עובר.

92 משם נסע ויבא במדבר קור, ויהי כערב ואין מכיר איש את רעהו. ויבואו בחושך ההוא מהלך שמונה ימים וימצאו נהר אחד ומי הנהר היו חמים. ומעבר לנהר היו נשים יפות ונאות ומלובשות בנדי מישי ומחלצות אחרות ורוכבות על הסוסים כמשפט האנשים. וכלי 15 מלחמתם היו מכסף ולא היה אליהם כלי מלחמה מברזל, ואין בהם אשה יודעת איש. ויחפוץ אלכסנדרוס לעבור את הנהר ההוא ולא יכול כי היה הנהר רחב מאד ומלא על כל גדותיו, והיו סביב הנהר ההוא תנינים גדולים וחיות רעות ואכזריות מאד.

20 ויסע משם אלכסנדרוס ויבוא משם לארץ אינדיאה ויבוא על סוף אחד מלא מקנים. ויחפוץ אלכסנדרוס לעבור את הסוף, ויצא מן הסוף ההוא בפתע פתאום חיה אחת גדולה דומה לאליפוטמו; וראשה כמו קולקודרילו -תמסחו- וכל שאר גופה היתה כמו חיה אחרת ושיניה חזקות, ותהלוך אט כמו קולקודרילו וכמו צב. ותהרגו שני 25 פרשי אלכסנדרוס, והפרשים לא יוכלו להזיק אליה בחרבות וברמחים; אמנם הכוה בפטישי הברזל עד אשר הרגוה.

93 ומשם נסעו ויבואו ביערי הינדיאה ויאהל שם עם כל חילו על שפת נהר בואימר. ויצאו מן היער ההוא מאינדיאה פילין רבים ויבואו עליהם. ויבואו אלכסנדרוס וכל חילו לקראת הפילים.

1 קורסמוס ודקס ה' מדיאנצי פ' || 10 פרימס ופרמנס ה' פרימה פרופואס פ' || 24 צב צ. ה' טרמרוקא פ' || 29 ויבואו] בכת"י: ויבוא

כי פנה פורו את ראשו וכי גיבור הוא וירץ אליו במרמה ויכהו  
 בחרבו על צוארו ויתזז את ראשו. והי כראות אנשי אינדיאה את  
 אשר עשה אלכסנדרוס ויחר אליהם מאד כי במרמה הכהו ולא  
 בגבורה. וילחמו עם אלכסנדרוס מלחמה חזקה ויחר להם מאד  
 5 ויאמרו: נמותה וננקמה את מלכנו ותחשב אלינו לגבורה. וירא  
 אלכסנדרוס כי אנשי אינדיאה נלחמים עמו ולא פנו את ערפם על  
 מלכם אשר הוכה והוצע בשדה ויאמר אליהם: גיבורי הנדיאה, מה  
 בצע בהלחמכם עמי? הלא מת מלככם והוצע ארצה? היחיה אחרי  
 מותו למלוך עליכם? סורו נא ואל תלחמו עמי פן תהיו לבו. והנני  
 10 נודר אליכם להנהיגכם בכבוד. ותהיו חופשים וכל איש יהיה שורר  
 בביתו וישבו איש תחת גפנו ותחת תאנתו לבטח וירשתם איש נחלתו.  
 אז הסית אלכסנדרוס את אנשי הינדיאה בדבריו כי בגבורה לא  
 היה יכול להכניעם. והי כשמוע אנשי הינדיאה את דברי אלכסנדרוס  
 וישליכו איש את כלי מלחמתו וישבעו אליו ויעשו מצוותו, וישבחו  
 15 את אלכסנדרוס ויברכוהו כמו אלוה. ויאהל שם אלכסנדרוס עם כל  
 מחנהו ויזבח שם זבחים אל האלהיים. ויצו לקבור את החללים אשר  
 נהרגו בקרב ההוא. ויצו גם כן לקבור את פורו בכבוד גדול,  
 ויצו לבנות עליו עיר ויקרא את שמה אלכסנדרדיאה.

91 ויסע משם אלכסנדרוס ויבוא במקום אחד אשר היו שם שתי  
 20 מצבות אשר עשאם איקולי האחת מזהב והשנית כסף, והיו אורך  
 המצבות ששה אמות באמת איש ועוביים שתי אמות. והי כראות  
 אלכסנדרוס את המצבות ויצו ליקוב בהם חור ולראות אם היו  
 נבובות וחלולות. והי כאשר מצאם נבובות וחלולות ויצו לשים בתוכם  
 אלף וארבע מאות דרהם זהב.

25 ויסע ויבא במקום סלעים ושם היו נחבאים עממים רבים, ויבא  
 אלכסנדרוס עליהם למלחמה. ויחר לאלכסנדרוס מאד ויחפוץ להרע  
 למשרתי אירקולי. ויצר על המקום ימים רבים עד אשר הכניע  
 אנשיו ושימם תחתיו למס עובר.

18 בכת"י אחר הפסקה הזאת באות הכתובות: צורת אלכסנדרוס בהלחמו עם פורו מלך  
 אינדיאה ויכהו ויתח את ראשו בערמה; צורת אנשי אינדיאה אשר השליכו כלי מלחמתם ויעשו  
 מצות אלכסנדרוס.

- 88 ויסע משם אלכסנדרוס ויבא בארץ בקאריאני. וימצא במקום  
ההוא זהב לרוב ואוצרות גדולות. ויצאו אנשי הארץ ההיא לקראתו  
ויקבלוהו בכבוד גדול. ויותר שם אלכסנדרוס עמהם עשרים יום  
ויסע משם ויבוא במקום אחד וימצא עם אחד ושמו סירים. והיו  
5 להם אילנות ועלי האילנות היו כמו צמר והאנשים היו תופרים  
את העלים ומכסים את ערוותם. ויתגאו פרשי אלכסנדרוס על אשר  
הכו את החיות ונוצלו מידם.
- 89 ויסע משם אלכסנדרוס עם כל מחנהו ויבא במקום אשר היה  
שם פורו מלך אינדיאה עם כל חילו, ויחן שם אלכסנדרוס עם כל  
10 מחנהו. ויהי למחרת ויערכו מלחמה אלה נכח אלה בשדה. וירכב  
אלכסנדרוס על סוסו וירץ לפני כל שריו ופרשיו, ויצו לתקוע  
ולהריע בחצוצרות. ויתקעו גם חיל פורו בחצוצרותיהם ותתגר  
המלחמה חזקה ועצומה ביניהם, ויתערבו יחד ויפלו מאלה ומאלה  
רבים. וירא פורו את הריגת בחוריו וגיבוריו ויעמד הוא לפני  
15 כל שריו ויקרא בקול גדול ויאמר אל אלכסנדרוס: „אין דבר  
ראוי והגון אשר יהרגו אנשיך ואנשיי יחד ואתה תעמד מגד ותשחק  
ותלעג על אנשיך אשר יהרגו. ועתה התראה כחך וגבורתך וזאת  
נעשה. יעמדו נא כל חילך במקום אחד וכל חילי במקום אחד  
וגלחמה יחד שנינו אני ואתה. ואם תוכל להלחם בי ונצחתי והיינו  
20 לך לעבדים, ואם אני אוכל לך והכיתך והייתם לנו לעבדים  
ועבדתם אותנו.“ וכל זה דיבר פורו כי היה אלכסנדרוס ללעג  
בעיניו והיה מלעיג על קטנות צורתו כי היה קומת אלכסנדרוס  
שלש אמות וקומת פורו חמש אמות. ולא היה נאה למלך גדול  
וגיבור כמוהו לבטוח על גבורתו כי לא יודע גבורת האדם כי  
25 אם בשובו מן המלחמה. ויתנדבו שניהם יחד ויתנו יד איש אל רעהו  
להלחם יחד. ויאסוף פורו כל חילו ויצו אליהם לבלתי יעברו  
את המערכה, ואלכסנדרוס ציוה לכל חילו גם כן. וילחמו שניהם  
יחד ואין איש נותן מקום לאחר. ויצעקו פרשי פורו ויריעו וישמע  
פורו את צעקת פרשיו ויפן את ראשו אליהם. וירא אלכסנדרוס

6 ועלי צ. ה' וענפי פ || 6 העלים צ. ה' הענפים פ || 23 שלש אמות צ. ה' אמה וחצי פ |  
חמש אמות צ. ה' אמתים וחצי פ || 26 בשובו] בכתי: בשוב

למלחמה. ויתחזקו פרשיו בראותם אותו נלחם עמהם ויקחו מגניהם וחרבותיהם וילחמו בחזקה עם החיות ויהרגו מן החיות רבים, ומקצתם מתו מן האש אשר הציתו בקנים. וימותו מפרשי אלכסנדרוס עשרים איש, ושלשים פרשים הוכו עד המות.

5 ויהי בחצי הלילה ותבאנה עליהם אריות לבנים כשלג גדולות עד מאד ותשאנה האריות ותניענה ראשם ותדלגנה על פרשי אלכסנדרוס. ופרשי אלכסנדרוס הכו בחרבות וברמחים ובקשתות עד המות. ויהי אחרי כן ויבואו עליהם חזירי יער רבים עד מאד וגדולים עד מאד וצפרניהם ושיניהם גדולים כמו זרת וחדים. ויהי 10 עם החזירים האלה אנשי יער ונשיהם ולכל אחד מהם היו ששה ידים, ויבואו על אלכסנדרוס עם החזירים האלה. ויהרגו פרשי אלכסנדרוס את האנשים ואת החזירים. ותקדר הלבנה ויתעצב אלכסנדרוס כי קדרה הלבנה ויצו להצית אש סביב לכל מחנהו להאיר להם מפני החיות. ויהי אחרי כן ותבא עליהם חיה אחת 15 גדולה וחזקה יותר מן הפיל, והיתה דמותה כסוס וראשה שחור ובמצחה היו שלשה קרנים. ושם החיה בלשון אינדיאה אדונטירנו והיתה בעלת סם. ויהי קודם שתותה את מי הנהר ותדלג על הפרשים ותהרוג מפרשי אלכסנדרוס עשרים ושבעה אנשים. אמנם נלחמו פרשי אלכסנדרוס עד אשר הרגוה. ויהי אחרי כן ויצאו מן היער ההוא 20 עכברים גדולים עד מאד והיו אוכלים בשר האנשים המתים באשר ימצאו, וכל איש אשר היו נושכים מיד היו מתים כי נשיכתם נשיכת שרף. ויהי אחרי כן ויבוא עליהם עופות כיונות ושמים ספיריטילי ו-עטלפים ושיניהם כשיני אדם ובכל מקום אשר היו נושכים היו מסירים את הבשר. ויכו העופות האלה בפני פרשי אלכסנדרוס 25 ויחתכו למקצתם החטמים ולמקצתם היו מנקרים עיניהם והולכים להם. ויהי באשמורת הבקר ויבואו עליהם מין אחר מעופות גדולות והיו אדומות ואפיהן ורגליהן היו שחורים ולא הריעו לאנשי החיל. ותהיינה ריבוי העופות כחול והיו שטות על פני המים ותאכלנה הדגים.

28 בכת"י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: ,צורת אלכסנדרוס בהלחמו עם החיות והתנינים והשרפים והחזירים והאריות והגמרים והעופות ועם החיות האחרות כאשר כתוב למעלה.

ע"ף ויגע. ויתחזק ויקם ממקומו על שפת הנהר אשר היו מימיו מרים ויעמוד שם עד נטות היום. ויסע משם אלכסנדרוס ויבוא אל אי אחד, ושם היה עיר אחת סמוך אל הנהר הסובב את האי ההוא. ורחב הנהר ההוא היה מיל אחד וחצי ושם היו קנים רבים. ויבט אלכסנדרוס במורד ההר ההוא וירא שם אנשים מתי מעט. ויצו אלכסנדרוס לשאול אליהם לשלום ולדבר אליהם בלשון אינדיאה ולשאלם באיזה מקום ימצאו מים מתוקים. ויהי כראות אנשי העיר את האנשים הבאים לגדם ויתחבאו. ויצו אלכסנדרוס להביא חצים ולירות אליהם. וירא אלכסנדרוס כי האנשים נתחבאו ומיאנו לדבר עמם ויצו למקצת מפרשיו אשר יפשטו בגדיהם וישוחו על המים ויעברו. ויצו אליהם לאמר: לכו ועלו אל העיר והכיתם את האנשים, ולא תחמלו על זקן ובחור ועולל ויונק ואשה". ויבואו האנשים בתוך הנהר, שבע ושלישים בחורי חמד מלומדי מלחמה אחד למאה, והתחילו לשחות וחרבותיהם שלופות בידם. ויהי בעוברם את רביע הנהר ויצאו מן הנהר ההוא חיות רעות ואכזריות ויאכלו את הפרשים. ויתאבל אלכסנדרוס ויתעצב אל לבו מאד על פרשיו אשר אכלום החיות. וילך אלכסנדרוס הוא וכל מחנהו כל אותו היום ולא מצאו מים. וחיות הנהר ההוא רדפו אחריהם, ויסוב אלכסנדרוס וכל חילו וכל בהמתם.

- 20 ויהי אחרי כן ויצו אלכסנדרוס לחקור את עצי היער אשר 87  
היו סביבות הנהר ההוא וסביב המים המתוקים, ועצי היער היו קנים. ויצו אלכסנדרוס להצית אש ולהבעיר את הקנים. ויהי בלילה כזרוח הלבנה ויצאו נחשים ועקרבים ויבואו לשחות מן המים ההם. וירדו מן ההרים תנינים גדולים, ותרעש הארץ מקולם; ויפקעו את פיהם ורוח אפיהם היה חזק כסם ומעיניהם יורד סם. ויהי כראות 25  
חיל אלכסנדרוס את החיות ההם ויחרדו חרדה גדולה. ויהי כראות אלכסנדרוס כי נבהל כל חילו מפני יראת החיות ויחזיקם ויאמר אליהם: "גיבוריי ופרשיי, אל תתבהלו מפני החיות האלה, אמנם ממני תראו וכן תעשו". ויקח אלכסנדרוס את מגינו משמאלו וחרבו ביד ימינו 30  
וילחם עם התנינים והנמרים והנחשים והשרפים הבאות עליהם

שרף ועקרב וצמאון ודובים ונמרים. ויצמא שם העם עד מאד ולשונם בצמא נשתה. ויצו אלכסנדרוס לכל חילו אשר ילבשו כולם שיריונות ויחגרו כלי מלחמתם, ויעשו כן. ויזרחו הכלי זיין אשר עליהן לרוב. ויבואו במדבר כל היום ההוא ולא מצאו מים. ושם נמצא איש אחד ממקדוניאה ושמו ספירו וילך הנה והנה נע ונד 5 בעבור הצמא והחום החזק כי לא היה לו מקום לנוס מפני הצמא והחום החזק. ויהי בבואו וימצא מעט מים בתוך אבן אחת, ויסר את כובע הברזל אשר על ראשו וימלאהו מים ויביאהו אל אלכסנדרוס. ויהי כראות אלכסנדרוס המים ויצו להשליך את המים לפני השרים והפרשים ולא אבה לשתותם. ויעש הפרש כן וישפוך את המים לארץ. ויהי כראות הפרשים את אשר עשה אלכסנדרוס ויתחזקו ויאמרו: הנה מצאנו מים! ויבואו בחשק גדול לקראת צבא פורו. 86 ויהי למחרת ויבואו על שפת נהר אחד וימצאו על שפת הנהר קנה וסוף, והקנים היו עבים וארוכים עשרה אמה. ויצו אלכסנדרוס 15 לחתוך את הקנים ולמלאותם מימי הנהר ולהשקות את העם היעף והצמא במדבר, ויעשו כן. ויתנו אל העם לשתות ולא יכלו לשתות מן המים ההוא כי מרים הם מאד כלענה ורוש. ויחרד אלכסנדרוס ויתבהל עד מאד ולא בעבור העם אשר היה צמא לבד כי אם בעבור הסוסים והגמלים והפילים אשר היו עמו כי היו כחול אשר על שפת הים לרוב כי היו אליו אלף פילים נושאים את הזהב. 20 והעגלות היו ארבע מאות עם מגליהם ואלף ומאתים עגלות אחרות וסוסים מאה וארבעים אלף; ופרדות וגמלים בלי מספר נושאים בר ומזון וצידה לעם לדרך ופרות וחזירים לרוב מאד, ועם רב אשר לא ימד ולא יספר מרוב. ואנשי מקדוניאה נתיאשו עד מאד כי 25 עיפיים הם ובעבור רוב הזהב אשר היה עליהם כי כבד עליהם. ובהמתם לא יוכלו שאתו והבהמות לא תוכלנה לעמוד על רגליהן לא בעבור המשא בלבד כי אם בעבור הצמא היו כורעות רגליהן. ומקצת מן הפרשים היו מלקקים ומלחכים את הברזל בעבור הצמא ומקצתם היו שותים את מימי רגליהם, ויתעלפו האנשים מאד כי 30 הזינות היו מתחממות מאד עליהם. ויפול אלכסנדרוס לארץ גם הוא

ארצכם או להגדיל את שמיכן ובאתם עד ההרים אשר אמרתן לקראתנו למלחמה. אך אם אין נפשכן למות אל תצאנה לקראתנו, אמנם שבנה אשה לביתה ותדורו בתוך האי ולא תצאנה להלחם בנו. ועתה עברנה את הנהר עם בעליכן לדבר עמנו. והנני משביע אליכן בחי אלהי אמן ובחיי אוליפיאדס אמי אשר לא ארשיע לעשות עמכם רעה, אמנם אחפוץ לתת אליכם מתנות ופרס כאשר תאמרנה אלי. ואם תאבו אשלחם אליכם ותקבלום בכבוד. ואם יש את נפשכם לבוא לדבר עמנו את אשר כתבתי אליכן הדבר לעשות להגיד אלי אשר תחפוץ. ותוועץ המלכה עם שרותיה מה לעשות לאלכסנדרוס ותאמר אליהן: הבה נתחכמה לו פן יעבור את הנהר עם חילו וישחית את מלכותנו. ותאמרנה שרותיה אליה: אדונתינו ונבירתנו המלכה, אם יכשרו בעיניך דברינו שלחי לומר אל אלכסנדרוס אשר יעבור אלינו לראות את ארצנו. וניתן אליו מאה כיכרי זהב וחמש מאות נערות בתולות יפות ונעימות אשר לא ידעו איש אשר מוליכות הזהב ורכבות על חמש מאות סוסים, וניתן אליו עשרת אלפים פרות לבנות. ואם יקחו אנשיו את הנערות להם לנשים נשלח אליו אחרות תחתיהן. וייטב הדבר בעיני המלכה ותעש כן. ותכתוב איגרת אל אלכסנדרוס ותשלח לומר אליו את אשר יעצוה יועצותיה. ויהי כקראות אלכסנדרוס את האיגרת ויעבור אליהן. ותצא המלכה עם שרותיה לקראתו בכבוד גדול. ותתן אליו את המתנות ויקבלם בכבוד. וישמח שם עמהם ימים אחדים.

85 ויסע משם אלכסנדרוס עם כל מחנהו ויבואו בארץ אמטריצי ויזבח שם זבחים אל האלוהיים.

ויהי בימים ההם ויוגד לאלכסנדרוס: הנה פורו וכל חילו חונים על עיר אמטריצי ואוסף שם חיל לרוב לבוא להלחם אתך פעם שנית. ויהי כשמוע אלכסנדרוס את דברי המגיד ויאסוף את כל חילו ויבחר מהם חמשים איש אשר היו יודעים אורחות אינדיאה להורות לכל חילו את הדרך אשר ילכו בה יומם ולילה. ויסע משם עם כל חילו בחודש אלול. ויבואו במדבר אשר לא היה שם מים לעם לשתות. והחום היה חזק והמקום ההוא היה מקום נחש



יוכלו לעבור אלינו בעבור כי הנהר ההוא יש בתוכו תנינים גדולים  
 ושרפים ונחשים, והולכים להם מן הנהר הזה במקום אחר כי לא  
 יוכלו לסבול הקרירות אשר יצא מן הנהר ההוא באילו שני חדשים.  
 ולכן יוכלו לעבור בעלינו בימים ההם. ואם אחת ממנו תתעבר,  
 5 אם בן תלד תגדלהו עמה שבע שנים. ואחרי אשר יעברו אילו  
 השבע שנים ישלחוהו אל אביו בטרם ידע הנער בין טוב ובין רע.  
 ואם בת היא, תעמד עם אמה כל ימי חייה. וכאשר נצטרך להלחם  
 עם אויבינו הצרים עלינו נבחרה ממנו עשרת אלפים ריבוא רוכבות  
 סוסים וגמלים וכולהן דורכות קשת ומלומדות מלחמה. ומקצת ממנו  
 10 תעמודנה לשמור האי והאחרות הולכות למלחמה עם אויבינו ונגרשם  
 מעלינו עד לעבר הנהר. ובעלינו יבואו אחרינו גם כן. ואחר אשר  
 נשוב מן החיל, אם תמות אחת ממנו במלחמה נתן אחרת תחתיה  
 לבעלה. ולכן בבואך להלחם בנו תצטרך להלחם בחזקה ולהראות  
 אלינו כוחך וגבורתך. ואם תנצחנו לא יהיה לך כבוד כי תנצח  
 15 נשים, ואם ננצחך יהיה לך בוז וחרפה. ולכן השמר ושמור את  
 נפשך גוי מקדון פן יקרך ממנו ביזיון וחרפה ופן תהיה ללעג  
 וקלס. והגנו מודיעים אליך את משפטינו על דברי האיגרת הזאת.  
 לכן התועץ עם יועציו והכן מה יש לך לעשות, והשיבנו דבר אם יש  
 את נפשך להלחם בנו. ידוע תדע כי נצא למלחמה כנגדך ונעבור  
 20 את ההרים ונלחמה עמך.

84 ויהי כקראות אלכסנדרוס את האיגרת וישחק וילעג עליה. ויצו  
 להשיבה דבר ויכתוב אליה איגרת ואלה דברי האיגרת: „אלכסנדרוס  
 מלך מלכים בן האלוה אמון ובן המלכה אוליפיאדס אל טלישטרידה  
 מלכת אמנצוני ממלכות הנשים ולכל האמנצוני, שלום. והגני מודיעך  
 25 כי קבלתי אגרתך וקריתי אותה, אמנם תמהתי על דבריך אשר  
 דברתם בגאווה. והגני מודיעך כי נצחנו אסיאה ופזרו מלך אינדיאה  
 ואפריקה והכנעתי אותם תחת כפות רגלי, וכבשתי עממי הארץ ולכדתי  
 עמים רבים ולא היתה קריה אשר שנבה ממנו אשר לא נצחתיה  
 וכבשתי. ועתה אם מאן נמאן להלחם עמכם יהיה לנו בושה  
 30 וחרפה. והגני מיעץ אליכן, אם יש את נפשכן למות ולהניח את

למינהו; וצפירני העופות היו מזהב, ובאפיהם היו אבני יקרה מוקבעים בהם. וכלים רבים מצאו בהיכל, כלי זהב בלי מספר.

- 82 ויהי אחרי הדברים האלה וישלח אלכסנדרוס איגרת אל טלישטרידא מלכת אמנצוני ממלכות הנשים וכל שרותיה, ואלה דברי האיגרת: 5  
אלכסנדרוס מלך מלכים בן האלוה אמון ובן המלכה אוליפיאדס אל טלישטרידא מלכת אמנצוני ממלכות הנשים ולכל אמנצוני, שלום. ידוע יהיה אליכם כי אני אלכסנדרוס נלחמתי עם המלך דריוש ונצחתיו ולקחתי ולכדתי מלכותו. ואני סבור כי כל זה ידעתם הרי זמן רב. ואחרי כן עברתי הרים גבוהים ונבעות ונהרים 10 וימים ומדברות ויערים ובאתי אל ארץ אינדיאה ופזרו מלך אינדיאה יצא לקראתי למלחמה. ונלחמתי עמו ונצחתיו, ורדפתי אחריו ולא השגתיו כי ברח בעיר מצור. ולמחרת לכדתי עירו ולא יכול להצילה מידי ויברח לו אל עיר אחרת וימלט שם. ולכן הנני מודיע אליכם אשר תשלחו אלי המס למען אחדל לבוא עליכם למלחמה ולא אצטרך להזיק אתכן ולהרע אליכם. 15

- 83 ותשיבהו טלישטרידא על דברי האיגרת אשר שלח אלכסנדרוס ותשלח גם היא איגרת אליו ואלה דברי האיגרת: טלישטרידא מלכת אמנצוני ממלכות הנשים וכל האמנצוני הגדולים והגיבורים מכל הפרשים אשר תחת כל השמים אל אלכסנדרוס, שלום. ידוע יהיה אליך כי קבלנו כתבך וקרינו אותה. ידוע תדע קודם בואך אלינו 20 להלחם בנו, תחשוב היאך תבוא. אולי בבואך תוכל לקבל ממנו דבר נגדית וקלקול על כבודך. ואם יש את נפשך לדעת מקום מושבינו ומלכותינו ומשפטינו הננו מודיעים אליך על דברי האגרת הזאת. ידוע תדע כי מקום מושבינו ומלכותינו על אחת מאיי הים, ונהר גדול ורחב סובב את האי ואין לנהר הזה ראש וזנב כי הוא הולך וסובב. והמקום צר לנו מאד כי יש בינינו ארבעים אלף ריבוא נשים אשר לא ידעו איש. ואנשינו יושבים וחונים מעבר לנהר הזה ולא ישבו עמנו; אמנם עוברים אלינו את הנהר פעם אחת בשנה ויבואו אלינו שני חדשים בשנה, הם חדשי הלבנה אב ואלול. ולא

2 בכת"י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באות הכתובות: צורת אלכסנדרוס בהלחמו עם פזרו מלך אינדיאה ויבירהו בערמה; צורת אלכסנדרוס ושריו בעלותם בהיכל פזרו המלך.

ואלכסנדרוס עם חילו, ויחלו לירות בחצים אילו ואילו. וירכב אלכסנדרוס על הסוס בוציפלס וירץ ויעבור לפני כל חילו לקראת פרשי פורו הולך ובא. ויצו אלכסנדרוס לכל אנשי פרס אשר ילחמו הם בראשונה וישאר אחריהם, הוא עם אנשי מקדוניה והיוונים. ולא יכלו אנשי פרס לגשת מפני יראת הפילים. ויוועץ אלכסנדרוס איך יוכל להלחם עמהם. ויצו לעשות מצבות נחושת חלולות ומלאם נחלי אש וישימו אותם על עגלות ברזל ויצו להנישם אל הפילים. ויחשבו הפילים את המצבות היותם אנשים ויאריכו אפיהם לתפוש המצבות לאכלם. ויתחממו המצבות מן האש. ויהי כהריח הפילים את האש וישבו אחור ולא יכלו לגשת אל חיל פרס. ויהי כראות פורו את ערמת אלכסנדרוס ויתעצב אל לבו, אמנם התחזק להלחם בחזק ויחזק גם את אנשיו. ויאמר אל פרשיו: חזקו ונתחזקה כי זה היום שקוינו. עתה יפול אלכסנדרוס במלחמה וחילו יכוף לפנינו. וילחמו בחזקה אנשי פרס ומקדוניה עם חיל פורו ולא שקעה המלחמה שלשים יום במספר. ויפלו מאלה ומאלה רבים. ויגפו אנשי מקדוניה לפני אנשי אינדיאה. וירא אלכסנדרוס כי גפפו פרשיו לפני פורו ויחר אליו מאד. ויחזק את פרשיו ויבא וירץ לקראת פורו בחימה ובוועף גדול ובגבורה כאריה על טרפו. אז התחילו אנשי אינדיאה להנגף לפני אלכסנדרוס. ויהי כראות פורו את אנשיו נופלים בשדה וכי גפפו לפני אלכסנדרוס ויפן ערפו לנוס. ואלכסנדרו' החזיק מעמד בשדה. ויזבח שם זבחים אל האלהיים ויצו לקבור את החללים.

81 ויהי ממחרת ויצר על עיר פורו וילכדה. ויעל על היכל העיר ויתמה מאד על יופיו כי היו בו ארבע מאות עמודי זהב ואת וויהם זהב טהור. וגפן זהב מסוכך מעמוד לעמוד וענפיה ואשכולותיה מזהב. ו25 ואבני שהם ואבני יקרה היו מוקבעים בגפן ההוא. ויבצרו אנשי מקדוניה את אשכולות הגפן ההוא וימצאו זני הגפן ההוא עבים ואורך הזנב כאצבע איש. ושערי ההיכל זהב וקורות ההיכל עצי גופר ומצופים זהב, ובחצר ההיכל היו מצבות זהב ובין המצבות היו עומדים אילנות זהב. ופירות האילנות היו מכל מיני עופות, כל עוף

28 ההיכל צ. ה' המטרה פ | ובין צ. ה' וסן פ || 29 עומדים אילנות זהב צ. ה' יוצאים נטעי אילנות פ

עיצה נכונה, שוב אחריך אל ארצך פן תפול במלחמה עם אנשיך בני עולה וכסילים ואוילים.

79 ויהי כראות אלכסנדרוס את האיגרת ויצו לקרותה לפני השרים והפרשים. ויהי כשמוע השרים והפרשים את דברי האיגרת ויתעצבו ויחר להם מאד. ויאמר להם אלכסנדרוס: „אל תעצבו ואל יחר בעיניכם על דברי האיגרת הזאת, אמנם חזקו ואמצו. הלא ידעתם בשלח דריוש את האיגרת והיה מדבר בגאווה ואיך הושפל עד עפר? כי אין ראוי לאיש גיבור לבטוח בגבורתו. הלא ידעתם כי אנשי ברברי הם כבהמות ואין להם בינה והשכל ויבטחו על גבורתם והם ימותו כסכלים על כסלותם.”

ויצו אלכסנדרוס להשיב דבר אל פורו מלך אינדיאה. ואלה דברי האיגרת: „אלכסנדרוס בן האלוה אמון ובן המלכה אוליפיאדס אל פורו מלך אינדיאה, שלום. ידוע יהיה לך כי קבלתי איגרתך וקריתי אותה לפני כל שריי ופרשיי ותמהנו מאד על גבהות לבבך והגה ניסינו דעתך ובינתך. ואשר הודעתני אשר חפצך להלחם בנו ואמרת כי אנשי מקדוניאה והיוונים אינם נצחיים ואין להם עיר מלוכה ונעימה והגני חפץ להלחם עמך ולנצח מלכות אינדיאה אחרי אשר הגדלת אותה עד לשמים. ואשר אמרת כי אנחנו מקטני אומות העולם נחפוץ להלחם עמך ולהגדיל את שמינו. ועל אשר אמרת כי לא לבד האנשים מאשרים אותך כי אם האלוהיים גם כן וחשבת כי דברייך דברי סכלות ולא אתעצב עליהם. וידוע תדע כי הגני מוכן לבוא להלחם אתך.”

80 ויהי כקראות המלך פורו את האגרת ויחר לו מאד, ויאסוף חיל גדול ופילים אשר היו עליהם חיל פורו. והיו אליו ארבעה עשר אלף עגלות עם מגליהם בלתי הפרשים. ועל הפילים היו מגדלי עץ אשר על כל מגדל ומגדל היו שלשים איש. ויהי כשמוע אנשי מקדוניאה ואנשי פרס את שמע פורו ויחרדו חרדה גדולה עד מאד ולא בעבור החיל הגדול כי אם בעבור הפילים אשר היו רבים. ויערכו מלחמה בשדה אלה נוכח אלה, פורו עם חילו

8 לקרותה] בכת"י: לקרותה || 24 ארבעה עשר צ. ה] ארבע מאות פ || 25 מגליהם צ. ה] אויפניהם פ || 26 שלשים צ. ה] שלשים אלף פ

שומע מכם, ותרננו באהליכם ותאמרו: בשנאת אליכם אותנו הוציאנו למות במדבר הזה בין חיות אכזריות ואין לחם ואין מים ונפשנו קצה להלחם יותר'. ותאמרו לשוב אל ארצכם ולעזובני עם אנשי פרס. הלא ידעתם כי עד הנה אנשי פרס היו שונאינו? ובשלוח דריוש את האגרת הראשונה הבהיל אתכם בדבריו ואני החזקתי אתכם. ויום אחד הלכתי יחיד לדבר עם דריוש כמו שליח ובעבור כבודכם ולהגדיל את שמיכם סבלתי על עצמי דברים נגדיים. והנני מתחנן אליכם אשר לא תעזובני ודעו כי לא עצה טובה יעצתם יחד איש את רעהו. ועתה נלכה נא להלחם עם אנשי ברברי עד אשר נכניעם תחתינו. ואם יש את נפשכם לשוב אל ארץ מולדתכם שובו אחרינו כי אין בנפשי לשוב למען חדעו כי פרשים כמותכם לא יועילו דבר בלתי מלככם'. ויהי כשמוע אנשי מקדוניה את הדברים מפי אלכסנדר' ויאמרו: 'אדונינו אלכסנדרוס, הננו בידך; כטוב בעיניך לעשות לנו, עשה. ונבוא אחריך בכל מקום אשר תחפוץ ונהיה בעזרתך עד תומינו.' 15

78 ויהי אחרי כן ויסע משם אלכסנדרוס עם כל מחנהו ויבוא בארץ אינדיאה. ויוגד לפורו מלך אינדיאה כי בא אלכסנדרוס אל ארצו, וישלח איגרת אל אלכסנדרוס ואלה דברי האיגרת: 'פורו מלך אינדיאה אל אלכסנדרוס הנגב, שלום. ידוע יהיה לך כי שמעתי כי באת אל ארצנו להשחיתה ולהלחם בנו. דע כי איש מות אתה. מדוע גבה רום לבבך על הלחמך עם האנשים בלי כח אשר לא נוסו להלחם מעודם? על כן נצחתם ולכן הכנעתם תחתך ויחשבו היותך מנצח כל העולם. ודע כי אני מלך נצחי, ולא לבד האנשים כורעים לפני ועובדים ומאשרים אותי כי אם האלוהיים. הלא ידעת את אשר קרה אל דיואנציאו באקו אשר בא בארץ אינדיאה להלחם בנו? והוא אלוה ויברח ממנו ולא יכול לעמוד לנגד אנשי אינדיאה למלחמה כי נאון אנשי אינדיאה וכוחם גדול וחזק, והוא עם רב אשר לא יסד ולא יספר. הלא ידעת כי קודם היות מלך לפרס היו נותנים אלי מס אנשי מקדוניה ועובדים אותי? ועתה איעצך

ויאכלום. ויגש אלכסנדרוס עם פרשיו למלחמה עם האנשים האלה וינצחם ויכניעם וישימם למס עובד. ויזבח אלכסנדרוס זבחים שם לפני האלהים. ויתפוש אלכסנדרוס אחד מן הכלבים ההם וישם את הכלב עם האריה, וינצח הכלב את האריה וגם את הפיל הכה וינצחהו. ויסע משם אלכסנדרוס עם כל מחנהו ויבואו בשערי קספיאה<sup>5</sup> ויבואו בארץ אינדיאה. וידבר אלכסנדרוס באוני העם ויאמר אליהם: שריי ופרשיי, אל תיראו ואל תערצו. ויהי בבואם במדבר בארץ אינדיאה ותך השמש בראש העם ויתעלפו מחום השמש. ולשונם בצמא נשתה כי אין מים לעם כי אם מים חמין ורותחין מכח השמש, ולא היה איש יכול לשתות מהם. ויסעו ויבואו במקום אשר היו שם נהרות גדולות ויעמדו שם ימים אחדים. ויסעו משם ויעברו הרים גבוהים ויבואו במקום חרבה ומדבר שממה מאין יושב. ולא היה שם מים לעם לשתות כי אם מעט מים, והמים אשר מצאו היו נושאים אותם בכליהם והיו מתחממים ונרתחים בעבור כח השמש השולט במקום ההוא. ויתבהל אלכסנדרוס וכל מחנהו ויצמא למים. וירגו שרי אלכסנדרוס ויאמרו: לא די לנו אשר באנו אל ארץ פרס עד אשר כבשנוה ונצחנו עמים רבים, ובאנו למות במדבר ברעב ובצמא ובחוסר כל בין חיות אכזריות, ונשכון עמהן ונאכל את העפר כאשר הנחשים ונשכח את ארץ מולדתנו. ואם יחפוץ אלכסנדרוס להגדיל לו שם בארבע פינות העולם ילך להלחם עמהם כי איש נצחי הוא, וילך עם אנשי פרס בכל מקום אשר יחפוץ ואנחנו נשוב אל ארץ מולדתנו. ויוגד לאלכסנדרוס: הנה שריך ופרשיך ממקדוניה מתאוננים ומתרעמים וכל איש בוכה למשפחותיו וחפצם לשוב אל ארצם. ויהי כשמוע אלכסנדרוס את הדברים האלה ויצו לכל העם אשר יחזיקו שם מעמד ולא ישובו אחור. ויעל על מקום גבוה ממעל לעם<sup>25</sup> וידבר באזניהם ויאמר אליהם: אנשי פרס, סורו נא מעל המקדונים ושבו בצד אחד. וכך עשו המקדונים והייוונים. ויאמר אלכסנדרוס: אנשיי ופרשיי אנשי מקדוניה והייוונים, לא טובה השמועה אשר אני

4 בכת"י אחר הפסקה הזאת באות הכתובות: צורת אלכסנדרוס בהלחמו עם אנשי אלפניאה ועם כלביהם החזקים ונצחם בסרמה וחכמה; צורת כלבי אלפניאה נוצחים את הארי ואת הפיל.

ויעשו גם הם כמוהו עד אשר הכניעום. ויהי אחרי כן ויצו אלכסנדרוס לאנשים האלה אשר יקבצו עם נשיהם וטפם. ויאספו כולם יחד במצות אלכסנדרוס ויתפשם אלכסנדרוס וינהגם כולם בבקעת אקווילוני (בצפון). ושם היו שני הרים גדולים סמוכים זה לזה והיו גבוהים עד לשמים. ויעש אלכסנדרוס בין שני ההרים האלה בנין גדול וחזק ויסגרם שם בדלתי נחושת ובבריחי ברזל וישם בתוך הבניין אנטוניקו ו-אפסינתיון אשר לא ישחת מברזל ומאש. כן סגולת האנטוניקו אשר ישחית הברזל והאש יכבה כמו מים. ועם אשר סוגרו שם לא יוכלו לצאת משם וגם האנשים לא יוכלו לעבור אליהם. ויסע משם אלכסנדרוס ויבא עד שערי קספיאה עם כל מחנהו ויאהל שם ארבעה ימים. והעיר היתה גדולה וגבוהה וחזקה כי חומותיה היו גבוהין ומגדלותיה עד לשמים. ויצר עליה ימים רבים ולא יכול לכובשה ולהכניעה. ויהי במקום ההוא נחשים שרפים רבים וינשכו את אנשי אלכסנדרוס וימותו עם רב מאנשי אלכסנדרוס. ויוגד לאלכסנדרוס אשר ישמר הוא וכל חילו מן השרפים ההם כי אם לא יסע מן המקום לא ישאר מכל חילו שריד ופליט.

ויסע משם אלכסנדרוס ויבא בארץ אלפניאה. ואנשי אלפניאה היו אכזרים ועזים ומרי נפש. ויהי כשמוע אנשי אלפניאה כי בא אלכסנדרוס עליהם ועל ארצם ויחר להם מאד ויאספו עם רב ויצאו לקראת אלכסנדרוס. וינהגו עמהם כלבים גדולים וחזקים אשר ינצחו כל חיה ואין אחת אשר תוכל לעמוד לפני הכלבים ההם. וכה משפט האנשים ההם, בבואם להלחם עם אויביהם ינהגו עמהם את הכלבים וינצחו את אויביהם. ויוגד לאלכסנדרוס את משפט האנשים ויצר לאלכסנדרוס ויאמר אליהם: בבואכם להלחם עם האנשים האלה תקחו אתכם חזירים והכיתם את החזירים עדי יזעקו והשליכום לפני הכלבים. ויעשו הפרשים כן כאשר צוום. ויהי כאשר קרבו למלחמה אלה נוכח אלה ויכו שרי אלכסנדרוס את החזירים בחרבות וברמחים ויצעקו החזירים. וישמעו הכלבים את צעקת החזירים וירוצו עליהם

9 בכת'י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: צורת אלכסנדרוס נלחם עם אילו האנשים.

נכון ואל תמרו אמרי פי לדבר מטוב עד רע כי אם כאשר אצוה אתכם. ויענו כולם ויאמרו: כל אשר תצוה עלינו נעשה. וישבו העם איש לביתו.

ויהי אחרי כן וישלח אלכסנדרוס אגרת בכל מדינות מלכות פרס ואלה דברי האיגרת: אלכסנדרוס בן האלוה אמן ובן המלכה 5 אוליפאדס לכל השרים ולכל העמים אשר בכל מדינות מלכות פרס ...

76 ... וישלח אלכסנדרוס איגרת אל אוליפיאדס אמו וואלה דברי האיגרת: תפקידיני נא אל מורי הרב החכם והנבון אריסטוטוליס. ידוע יהיה אליכם את כל המוצאות אותי במלכות פרס. וברוך 10 בוראי אשר המשילני על כל אויביי וימסור בידי את כל אוצרות פרס ואת כל מסתריו. ודריוש המלך הוכה משריו ומת ואנשי פרס המליכוני עליהם כאשר ציוה דריוש קודם מותו. ולקחתי את רוצאנה בת דריוש לי לאשה. ושריי ופרשיי נתעשרו הרבה, לכן שמחו אתם 15 וכל אנשי מקדוניאה.

77 ויהי אחרי כן ויאסוף אלכסנדרוס את כל חילו, חיל פרס ומקדוניאה, ונלחם עם אנשי אירקניאה ועם אנשי מייליאה, וינצחם ויכניעם וישימם למס עובד.

ויהי אחרי כן ויסע משם ויבא בארץ מזרח וימצא שם עם נבזה 20 ושפל והיו בקיאים במלאכת הכשפים. ולא היה להם כי אם רגל אחת ויד אחת ועין אחת לכולם; והיו רצים כמרוצת הסוסים והיו אוכלים שרצים וסוסים וחזירים וכל מיני עופות וחיות וכל שרץ ורמש טמא, והמתים לא היו קוברים אמנם היו אוכלים אותם. ויהי כראות אלכסנדרוס את כל המעשים כי מכוערים הם ויחרד פן יעברו 25 אל ארצו, וידבר באזני שריו ופרשיו ויחזקם. וייראו פרשי אלכסנדרוס כי יראו ליקרב ולגשת אליהם. ויעבור לפניהם וירץ לקראת האנשים האלה ויך מהם רבים. והם החזיקו מעמד ולא זזו ולא נסו מפניו, כבהמות היו עומדים. ויראו הפרשים את אשר עשה אלכסנדרוס

8 בכת"י אחר הפסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: צורת אלכסנדרוס מנחם אנשי פרס ומדבר על ליבם.



מלכות אחת ואתה תמלוך עליהם. ותהיינה מופקדות אליך רוננוס  
אמי ואשתי ואחותי, ורוצאנה בתי תהיה לך לאשה כי מלך אתה  
ונאה לך לקחת בת מלך לאשה ותתקרבו יחד בקרוב בשר והוולד  
אשר יולד מכם יקרא על שמי. ויהי בדברו הדברים האלה ויאסוף  
5 דריוש את רגליו אל המיטה ויגווע וימת בין ידי אלכסנדרוס. ויבך  
אלכסנדרוס עליו בכי גדול. וישאוהו אלכסנדרוס וכל שרי פרס  
ומקדוניאה על שכמם ויעשו אליו כבוד גדול. ואנשי פרס ומקדוניאה  
מלובשים שיריונות וכלי זיין ואיש שלחו בידו ובוכים לפני מיטת  
דריוש, ושאר העמים היו בוכים בכי גדול ולא לבד על מיתת מלכם  
10 כי אם בראותם את בכי אלכסנדרוס. ותהי המיטה אשר היה שוכב  
דריוש המלך וזה טהור ואבני יקרה וכסות המיטה היה משי וארגמן  
מעורב בזהב. ואדרת מלכות על שכמו ונקשר ומוקע בעגול זהב  
ובאבני יקרה ועטרת זהב גדולה על ראשו וכתר מלכות עליה.  
והשרים אשר הלכו סביב למטתו הם יעדו בגדי משי וזהב מוקעים  
15 ונקשרים באבני יקרה, וחגורים כלי מלחמה. והבוכים והמתאבלים היו  
הולכים ובוכים מנגד לבד שאר הגדודים, גדודי פרס ומקדוניאה, אשר  
היו הולכים ובוכים לפני המיטה. ויקבר דריוש בקבורתו אצל קברות  
אבותיו המלכים אשר היו לפניו.

74 ויהי למחרת ישב אלכסנדרוס על כסא המלכות אשר לפרס.  
20 ויאספו לפניו עם רב מאד וינחם אותם וידבר על ליבם ויאמר  
אליהם: הנה דריוש מת ועתה כל אשר ציוה עלי קודם מותו  
אמלא מצוותו. והוא ציוה לי ויאמר אלי: קח נא את רוצאנה  
בתי לך לאשה ומלוך על מלכות פרס כאשר מלכתי ויהיו מהיום  
מלכות פרס ומלכות מקדוניאה לאחד. ועתה אם יש את נפשכם  
25 להמליכני עליכם כאשר ציוה טוב הדבר, ואם אין נפשכם הודיעוני.  
ויענו כל העם: כל אשר אדונינו דריוש ציוה נעשה. ויריעו וימחאו  
כף ויאמרו: יחי המלך! יחי המלך! ויברך אלכסנדרוס את העם  
ויאמר אליהם: אחרי אשר הסכמתם להמליכני שמרו מצוותי כאשר

18 בכח"י אחר הפסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: צורת דריוש מת ואלכסנדרוס וכל שרי פרס ומקדוניאה מתאבלים ובוכים עליו.

לבנות כשלג ואדני החלונות מעשה עבות מחופים זהב ואבני יקרה קבועים בהם. וקורות ההיכל מצופים זהב ורקיע ההיכל זהב כולו ואבנים טובות קבועות בו והיו מאירות בלילה בלא נר חוורחים ככוכבים. ועמודי התווך אשר ההיכל נכון עליהם היה מזהב, וויהם זהב. ויבא אלכסנדרוס בחדר אשר היה שם דריוש שוכב ומוכה. ויכמרו רחמי אלכסנדרוס עליו ויפשט את אדרת מלכותו מעליו ויכסה את דריוש ויחבקו וינשקו. ויבך אלכסנדרוס בכי גדול ויאמר: קום דריוש המלך ממטת משכבך וחזק ומלוך על מלכותך כאשר מלכת ושים כתר מלכות בראשך. והנני אשבע אליך, כחי העולם, כי אניח לך המלכות כי הנני חפץ להחזיקך בכבוד כאשר הגון למלך גדול כמוך ולהיות אליך לכן ואתה תהיה לי לאב. ואין ראוי למלך אחד בראותו מלך אחר גדול ממנו הרוג או מת או מוכה לשמוח על מפלתו, גם בראותו אשר יקרה אליו דבר נגדית. ועתה אמור אלי מלך דריוש, מי הם השרים אשר היכוך ומה שמם ומה שם ארצם כי תדע כי אני חפץ לעשות מהם נקמה.<sup>5</sup>

ויהי כדבר אלכסנדרוס הדברים האלה וירם דריוש את ידו ויאמר: בני אלכסנדרוס, אל תתנאה ואל יעלה שררה בלבך על אשר נצחתני ונינפו אנשיי לפניך. זה פעמים רבות כי האדם אשר יתגדל וראשו לעב יגיע לפעמים הגלגל יורידהו וישפילהו עד עפר. ותזכור כאשר היה לך הניצחון, חשוב מה יוכל להיות באחריתו כי אין אדם גיבור בארץ אשר לפעמים לא יושפל ולא ימות במלחמתו בהלחמו עם איש אשר הוא יותר גדול ממנו או פחות ממנו. ועתה למוד נא ממני אשר הייתי תמול שלשום מלך מלכים ומולך על כל עממי הארץ. ובימיי נצחתי מלכים גדולים ואדירים ולא יכלו לקום מפני וכבשתי ערים ועממי הארץ, ולא היתה קריה תחת השמים אשר שגבה ממני ואשר לא נצחתיה וכבשתי. ועתה מי אני? הלא הושפלתי עד עפר? ואין בי כח להנקם מן הקמים. והנני מתחנן לפניך אשר ידיך הנאות יקברוני אחרי מותי בקברי אשר כריתי לי אצל קברות אבותיי מלכי פרס. ועשה אלי כבוד במותי כאשר נאה והגון למלך. ויהיו מופקדים אליך אנשי מלכותי. והנני מצוה אשר מלכות פרס ומלכות מקדוניהא מהיום הוזה יהיו<sup>73</sup>

הושיענו, המלך אלכסנדרוס." ויהי כשמוע המלך אלכסנדרוס את האנשים האלה ויכמרו רחמיו עליהם ויבך. ויצו לתת אליהם מתנות, לכל אחד מהם אלף וחמש מאות דרהם מזהב אשר היה משקלם עשרה ליט'. וידור לתת להם את נחלתם.

71 ויסע משם אלכסנדרוס ויבוא בקצה עיר פירסיפולי. והיה העיר ההיא מליאה אוצרות זהב וכסף ואבני יקרה מאנשי פרס.

ויהי בברוח דריוש מן המלחמה ויוועצו יחד שלשה שרי דריוש לשלוח יד בדריוש המלך. ושם השרים, האחד ביסו והשני אלואי והשלישי ברנצי. ויתפשו את דריוש ויאסרוהו בכבלי ברזל חזקים. 10 ויאמר איש אל רעהו: בחתנו את דריוש המלך ביד אלכסנדרוס יגמלנו אלכסנדרוס גמול טוב. ויכר דריוש את לחישת שריו ויאמר אליהם: שריי וגיבוריי וקרוביי, מדוע תגמלוני רעה תחת טובה ותחשבו להורגני ולתת אותי בידי אויבי? הלא יתעצבו אנשי מקדוניה בראותם כי הרגתם אותי? הלא דיי לי הרעה אשר סבלתי 15 מאלכסנדרוס ומחילו? לכן בבקשה מכם אל תהרגוני כי אם תהרגוני ואלכסנדרוס ימצאני מת מושכב בשדה יודע אני כי יעשה מכם נקמה כאנשי רצח, כי מלך אחד אשר ימצא מלך אחר הרג מאנשיו יכמרו רחמיו עליו ויעשה נקמה מן הממיתים אותו. ולא הקשיבו שריו לדבריו ויכוהו. ויתכסה דריוש בידו מן המכות אשר 20 היכוהו ויפול לארץ ויחשבו שריו כי מת וילכו לדרכם.

ויקם דריוש וילך אל ארצו ויעל על היכלו ויפול למשכב.

72 ויעבור את הנהר ויבוא בארץ פרס הוא וכל חילו. ויהי כראות אנשי פרס את אלכסנדרוס ויפתחו את שערי העיר ויקבלוהו בכבוד גדול. ויהי כשמוע השרים אשר הכו את דריוש כי בא אלכסנדרוס אל ארץ פרס ויתחבאו לדעת איך יפול הדבר ולדעת 25 את רצון אלכסנדרוס על אשר הרשיעו לעשות. ויהי אחרי כן ויעל אלכסנדרוס אל היכל אשר היה שוכב שם דריוש. ויהלוך אט ויתמה על מלאכת ההיכל כי היה בנוי לתלפיות מאבני שיש

20 בכת"י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: צורת שרי דריוש המכים אותו.

בנוסם וידחפו וידוחו רגלי האנשים בדם החללים ויפלו והמרכבות  
היו עוברים עליהם והורגים אותם. והאנשים אשר נסו באו עד  
הנהר והנהר היה מלא על כל גדותיו. ויבואו בתוך הנהר מקצת  
מן העם ויבערו כלם ויטבעו בתוך הנהר. והעם אשר באו אחריהם  
לעבור ראו כי מתו אחיהם וייראו מעבור. ואנשי מקדוניאה אשר  
5 רדפו אחריהם והשיגום ויכום עד בלי חמלה ולא השאיר אליהם  
שריד ופליט. ואנשי ברברי אשר נסו מן המלחמה באו ונפלו לפני  
אלכסנדרוס ויתחננו אליו להחיותם. וישמע אליהם אלכסנדרוס.  
ויען אחד מאנשי ברברי: „אין לנו חלק באלכסנדרוס ולא נחלה  
10 בבן פליפוס.“ ויקנא אחד משרי אלכסנדרוס וירדוף אחריו ולא  
השיגהו. והאנשים אשר התחננו לפני אלכסנדרוס עבדו את אלכסנדרוס  
ויתן להם נחלה. ואלכסנדרוס וכל חילו עמדו בשדה לפשט החללים  
ארבעה ושלשים יום במספר. ושלשה פעמים נלחם אלכסנדרוס עם  
דריוש ויהי מספר החללים אשר נפלו בשדה מאנשי דריוש חמשים  
15 אלף איש ביום ההוא, בלתי המלחמה אשר נלחם עם שרי דריוש  
אשר היו שבעים אלף ריבוא.

ויסע משם אלכסנדרוס ויעבור את הנהר טירו ויאהל שם ימים  
68 אחדים. ויהיו סביב הנהר ההוא היכלות גדולות אשר בנם מלך  
פרס אבי דריוש. ויצו אלכסנדרוס לבלתי יהרסו ולא ישרפו באש.  
ויהי במקום ההוא שדה גדול לקבורת מלכים ושרי פרס. ויחפרו  
20 אנשי מקדוניאה בשדה וימצאו שם אבנים טובות וכסף זהב. וימצאו  
את קבר מלך אשור באבן אמטישטו וחקוק באבן צורתו. וזה מעשה  
הקבר: חקוק בו עצי תמר והתמרים היו אבנים טובות וכל כלי  
מעשה. מעשה ידי אומן היה על הקבר ההוא. חכות האבן היה  
25 מאד והיה המביט באבן היה רואה בה צורתו כמו המראה. ויהי  
בשדה מגדל גבוה והיו שם אנשים נחבאים, מקצתם היו חתוכי ידים  
ורגלים אשר נסו מן המלחמה. ויהי בשומעם קול פעמי הסוסים  
והאנשים והכלי הזיין אשר היו מריעות ויזעקו ויתחננו ויאמרו:

16 בכת"י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: „צורת אלכסנדרוס רודף את דריוש.“

וכל זה הערים אלכסנדרוס לעשות למען יעפרו סוסים בעפר ויעשו עפר גדול. ויראו אנשי פרס את העפר והנה כסה את עין הארץ ויחשבו כי עם רב היה עם אלכסנדרוס.

60 ויגש אלכסנדרוס עם כל מחנהו אצל עיר פירסיפולי אשר היה

5 שם דריוש ויחן את פני העיר, ויותר שם מאה וחמשה ימים במספר.

65 ויהי אחרי הדברים האלה ופזרו מלך אינדיאה קרא את האיגרת

אשר שלח אליו דריוש ויאסוף חילו, שלשים אלף פרשים ומאה וששים אלף רגלי, וישלחם אל דריוש לעזרתו. ויאסוף את כל חילו ויבוא עד הנהר טירו ויעבור את הנהר, והחיל היה גדול

10 עד מאד אשר לא ימד ולא יספר מרוב. ותעלה מרכבה מארצו

עשרת אלפי מרכבות ואיש רגלי מאה וארבעים אלף ופרשים מאה

וששים אלף, כולם אנשים גיבורים מלומדי מלחמה ונערי שרי המדינות

ועבדיהם בלי מספר. ויהי למחרת ויבוא אלכסנדרוס בשדה לקראתו

להלחם עמו. וירכב אלכסנדרוס על סוסו בוציפולס וירץ לקראת

15 דריוש כאיש גיבור ועז הולך ובא. ויראו אנשי פרס את אלכסנדרוס

וילעגו ממנו ויצעקו אחריו אמנם רובם פחדו ממנו בזכרם גבורתו.

ואנשי מקדוניאה היו שמחים על מלכם ואנשי פרס היו מקנאים עליהם

ויאמרו: טוב מותינו במלחמה ונגקמה מהם. ויתקעו בחצוצרות

אילו ואילו וילחמו בחזקה ויתערבו יחד, ובכלי זיין היו מריעים

20 בהכות איש אישו. והחרבות היו אורים כאור השמש ומבריקים כברק

וקול הנלחמים היה יותר חזק מקול החצוצרות. והמוכים היו נכאבים

ונאנחים וקולם היה חזק עד מאד. ורובי קשת היו רבים מאלה

ומאלה והחצים היו מכסים את אור השמש כעננים ביום הגשם.

ומהם היו נלחמים בחרבות ומהם ברמחים ואנשי המרכבות אשר

25 לדריוש היו משליכים באבנים ובילקוט. ויהי השדה מליאה חללים

והרוגים ותהי מרוצת הדם כנחל שוטף. ולא שקטה המלחמה מן

הבוקר ועד הערב ויפלו מאנשי פרס עם רב וכבד במלחמה ההיא.

וירא דריוש כי גיבוריו ואנשיו נופלים בשדה וירגז ויחרד פן יפול

גם הוא. ויהי בנשף בערב ויפן דריוש את ערפו לנוס וינס.

30 ויראו אנשי דריוש כי מלכם פנה ערפו וינס ויגוסו גם המה. ויהי

אלכסנדרוס ויגלה אליו כל הנסתרות והסודות מדריוש המלך ויאמר אליו: הנה דריוש אוסף חיל לרוב להלחם בך. וישלח אל פורו מלך אינדיאה לבוא אליו לעזרתו וידור דריוש אליו לתת לו משלל: מאה ושמונים נערות ומלובשות בגדי משי וכסף וזהב ואבנים יקרות אשר לא ישקל כסף מחירם ואת הסוס בוציפולוס עם כלי מלחמתך וכסף זהב לרוב לכל אנשיו אשר יבואו לעזרתו. וכל אשר ידע מדריוש, הכל גילה אל אלכסנדרוס ולא הסתיר דבר.

ויהי כשמוע אם דריוש את הדברים האלה ותתעצב האשה מאד. 58 ותשלח איגרת אל דריוש בנה ואלה דברי האיגרת: אל דריוש בני הנעים מאת דורואה אמך, שלום. ידוע יהיה לך כי שמעתי שהוגד לאלכסנדרוס אשר אספת חיל גדול ושמת מגמת פניך לבוא להלחם עם אלכסנדרוס. והגני מודיעך כי אם היית אוסף כל עממי הארץ לא תוכל להלחם אתו כי מאת אלוה הגדול אשר בשמים ניתן אליו הניצחון הזה. ולכן הנח את דעתך ואת רצונך והשפל עצמך וגדולתך. ואם לא תעשה את הדבר הזה ירע אליך ואלינו כי 15 הננו בידיו כאשר ידעת ולא יהיה אלינו כבוד לעולם ועד. הנה היה לך כבוד גדול בהלחמך נגד המול אשר הופצעת ונפלת בשדה כאחד מגיבוריך. ולכן אל תוסף להוריש אמך אנחה ואת אשר יורישך אלוה פרס אותו תירש. ואם תשמע לדבריי יורישו אליך ואלינו ותוכל להפיס דעתך על כל אשר תרצה כי אלכסנדרוס הוא 20 בעל רחמים וכשומעו דבריי יקשיב לקול תחינתי. ודע בני כי פרשיך ימסרוך. ויקרא דריוש את האיגרת ויבך במר נפש ויפול לארץ וישתאה ויפג לבו וירדם, ותשב רוחו אליו.

ויהי אחר הדברים האלה ויצו אלכסנדרוס לכל חילו לבלתי 59 יקראו אותו קיסר עד מולכו על מלכות פרס. ויסע ויבא עם 70 כל חילו לעיר אשר היה שם דריוש. ויראו הפרשים את ההרים אשר סביבות העיר והנם גבוהים עד לב השמים, ויאמרו אל אלכסנדרוס: אדונינו המלך, ואיך נעלה אל ההרים הגבוהים האלה? אם נוכל לעוף עליהם כאשר יעופו העופות? ויצו אלכסנדרוס לחתוך את פאורות האילנות ולקצור העשבים ויקשרום ברגלי הסוסים. 30

לכן דע כי לא נשלחה אתהן אליך עד בואך להלחם בנו. והנשים תעמודנה אצלי במלחמה ואם תוכל יותר ממני ולקחת אתהן בשלום. ויקראו מלאכי דריוש לפני אלכסנדרוס ויתן אליהם אלכסנדרוס את האגרת ומחנות נתן אליהם וישלחם.

69 ויבואו אל דריוש ויתנו לו את האגרת ויקראה דריוש ויחר אליו מאד על דברי האגרת ההיא. ויצו לאסוף חיל ולצאת למלחמה על אלכסנדרוס.

ויהי אחרי כן וישלח דריוש אגרת אל פורו מלך אינדיאה ואלה דברי האגרת: דריוש מלך פרס אל פורו מלך אינדיאה חברי 10 ואדוני, שלום. ידוע יהיה לך כי אספתי חיל גדול להלחם עם אלכסנדרוס. והנני מתחנן לפניך אשר תהיה בעזרתי פעם אחרת כי זה אלכסנדרוס הוא נער ואיש סכל כי בשיגעון ינהג. וכל מעשיו סכלות ודעת לו כבהמה ורעיוני לבבו נגדי כים סוער אשר יהמו גליו. וחפצתי לפדות את נשיי מידו ולא אבה, וגדרתי אליו 15 לתת לו חצי ממלכותי וימאן ולא הקשיב לדבריי. ולכן בהכרח אצטרך לאסוף עמים רבים וחיל גדול להלחם אתו עד המות כי טוב מותי במלחמה מלחיות בחרפה ולראות השחתת מלכותי וגלות אנשיי. על כן אחלה פניך אשר תבוא לעזרתי, ואל תשיב פניי ריקם כי לא אוכל שאת הקלון והבז הזה אשר עבד אחד ילעוג עלי. 20 ובבואי להלחם עמו אולי אוכל להלחם בו וגרשתיו. ופשעי גרמו לי והביאוני עד הנה. ועתה זכור נא את הברית ואת החסד אשר כרתו אבותינו בינם ועוד הם כתובים בלוח נחושת בהיכלות פרס ואינדיאה. והנני נודר לכל איש מאנשיך: איש רגלי פי שנים מחלקו אשר יבוא לחלקו משלל אויבינו ולכל פרש ורוכב סוס 25 חמש ידות. ואל כבודך ואל גדולתך הנני נודר לתת משלל אויבינו מאה ושמונים נערות מלובשות ומעוטרות בגדי משי וזהב אבנים טובות, והסוס בוציפלס אשר נחמד בעיני אלכסנדרוס יהיה לך למרכב וכל כלי מלחמה אשר על אלכסנדרוס גם כן. ואחרי קרותך את האגרת, מהרה חושה ותן לי עיזר ועיצה.

70 ויהי אחרי כן ויברח איש אחד משרי דריוש ויבוא אל

להשפיל ולהכניע את אויביו לא יגבה לבו ולא ישתרר עליהם ולא יעלה עליהם שררה אם חכם הוא. אמנם יחשוב על העתיד כי לא ידע מה יקרהו באחריתו. ועתה מדוע גבה לבבך עד רום ותאמר: 'אעלה על במתי עב ואמלוך על כל מלכי הארץ'.  
 5 אמנם חשוב כי דברריך דברי חכמה או דברי סכלות. הלא ידעת כי אני מלך גדול וחזק ועשיר אשר אוצרותנו לא יספרו ולא ימנו מרוב? הלא בהיותך בארצי בערמה ראית מהם? ואם מאת יי בא אליך הנצחון הזה ירח מנחה. שלח אלי אמי ואשתי ואחותי. ואחרי אשר ידעת גדולתי היה לך להיכנע מפני. ואם תשלחם אלי  
 10 הנני נודר אליך לתת לך מאוצרותיי אשר חבאו אבותי הקדמונים, ואתן לך ברכתי."

ויביאו מלאכי דריוש את האיגרת אל אלכסנדרוס בפני כל שריו 67 וישמעו כל השרים את דברי האיגרת וישמחו מאד. ויען אחד מן השרים ושמו פרמיניאוי ויאמר אליו: 'אדוני המלך, קח נא את האוצרות ואת העושר אשר נדר אליך לתת לך דריוש ושלחת אליו  
 15 אמו ואשתו ואחותו ובתו כי מה בצע יהיה אליך אם תחזיקם ולא תשלחם'. ויען אחד מן השרים: 'לא נכון יעצת כי טוב למלכנו להחזיקם ויותר כבוד מלשלחם בפדיון נפשם. והיה כשמוע המלכים והשרים ועמים אשר סביבותינו את הדבר הזה ואמרו: מבלתי יכולת  
 20 אלכסנדרוס להחזיקם שלחם ועני גדול הוא ודל ואין לו כסף וזהב בעבור אשר שלח אסיריו בפדיון נפשם'. ועתה אם יכשר בעיני המלך מאן ימאן לשלח אתהן הנפשות ולא יחפוץ בכסף וזהב, אמנם יחשוב אל כבודו ואל כבוד שריו ואנשיו". וייטב הדבר בעיני אלכסנדרוס.

ויצו להשיב אל דריוש, וישלח אליו איגרת ואלה דברי האיגרת: 25  
 'אלכסנדרוס ממקדוניהא בן המלכה אוליפיאדס אל דריוש מלך, שלום. ידוע יהיה אליך כי קבלתי איגרתך וקריתי אותה לפני כל שריי ופרשיי. ותמהנו מדברריך אשר תחפוץ לתת אלינו מאוצרותיך לפדות את נשיך. ועתה מה בצע לדבר כדברים האלה? אם תחפוץ  
 30 להלחם עמנו צא למלחמה עם חיליך ונלחמה יחד. ואם תנצחנו כאשר תאמין, מדוע תחפוץ לאבד אוצרותיך להעשיר דלים אויביך?



דבר ואלה דברי האיגרת אשר שלח אלכסנדרוס אל דריוש:  
 „אלכסנדרוס בן המלך פליפוס ובן המלכה אוליפיאדס אל דריוש  
 מלך פרס, שלום. ידוע יהיה לך כי קבלתי איגרתך וקריתי אותה.  
 ותמהתי על גבהות לבבך ועל סכלות מחשבותיך, כי שלשה פעמים  
 5 ניגפת לפניי במלחמה וברחת מפני ונחבאת בתוך הערים מפני יראתי  
 ופחדי אשר נפל עליך ועוד רם לבבך ולא קצת להלחם עד אשר  
 תהיה כאחד משריך אשר נפלו בשדה. ועל אשר הודעתני כי לא  
 תאהבני על אשר כבדתי שלוחיך ידוע תדע כי לא בעבור כבודך  
 כבדתי כי אם בעבור כבודי. והנני מודיעך כי שמתי נגמת פניי  
 10 לבוא אל ארצך בעזרת בוראי לדבר אתך. ודברי האיגרת הזאת  
 יהיו חקוקים על לבך למען תזכור אותם בבואי לדבר אתך.“  
 ויקראו לפני אלכסנדרוס את שלוחי דריוש ויתן אליהם את האיגרת  
 ומתנות נתן אליהם וישלחם ויבואו אל דריוש.

56 ויהי אחרי הדברים האלה ושר אחד משרי דריוש ושמו נוסטנטי  
 15 שלח איגרת אל המלך דריוש ואלה דברי האיגרת: „אל דריוש מלך  
 גדול ומלך מלכים מנוסטנטי עבדך, שלום. ידוע יהיה לך כי נלחמנו  
 עם אלכסנדרוס ונפנו לפניו וברחנו מפניו, אמת כי נלחמנו עמו  
 מלחמה חזקה ולא יכולנו להרע אליו. ושני שריך נפלו בקרב  
 ההוא וקונסאריאו הוכה והופצע ויברח אל ארצו. ורוב פרשיך  
 20 ושריך נתפשו, ויתן אליהם אלכסנדרוס מדינות ומתנות נתן להם וההיכל  
 שרף שרף.“

וישיבהו דריוש המלך ואלה דברי האגרת: „דריוש מלך פרס אל  
 נוסטני איש מלחמה, שלום. ידוע יהיה לך כי קבלתי איגרתך ודאגתי  
 על הרעה אשר קרה אתכם מאת אלכסנדרוס אשר נגפתם לפניו  
 25 ואשר נהרגו גיבורינו ואנשינו. ועתה חושה, אל תעמוד, אסוף כל  
 חיליך ואנשיך. ויבוא לקראת אנשי מקדוניאה אשר יוכלו לשמוח על  
 הרעה אשר עשה וארוב אותו בדרך ותתפשהו חי אם תוכל ושלחהו  
 אלי ואשלם אליו גמול אשר גמל את אנשינו.“

66 ויהי אחרי כן וישלח דריוש איגרת אל אלכסנדרוס ואלה דברי  
 30 האגרת: „דריוש מלך פרס אל אלכסנדרוס עבדי, שלום. ועתה  
 זכור נא מקדמוניך כי האיש אשר ינצח מלחמות והגלגל יעזרהו

- ויהי אחרי כן ויהי איש אחד משרי דריוש ויבוא אל אלכסנדרוס 51  
 ויאמר אליו: „אדוני המלך, טובות גמלתי את דריוש המלך והוא לא  
 גמלני על אחת מהם. ועתה אם יש את נפשך ואם יישר בעיניך  
 אדוני המלך, שלח עמי עשרת אלפים איש והנני מוסר בידיך את  
 5 דריוש ואת אנשיו ואת שריו.“ ויען אליו אלכסנדרוס: „בני, לך עבוד  
 את אדונך ואת מלכך כי לא אשגיח לדברייך למסור מלכך ואת  
 שריו בידי.“ ויגרשוהו מאת פניו ויאמר אליו: „השמר לך, אל תוסף  
 דבר אלי עוד בדבר הזה.“
- ויהי אחרי הדברים האלה ושני שרי דריוש שלחו אגרת אל 52  
 10 דריוש מלכם ואלה דברי האגרת: „אל דריוש מלך מלכים משריך  
 ומפרשיך, שלום. ידוע יהיה לך כי בא אלכסנדרוס ממקדוניה אל  
 ארצינו והשחיתה ויהרוס את מבצרינו ויהרוג מאנשינו רבים כחול  
 אשר על שפת הים ויכניענו עד עפר. והנה אנחנו מתחננים לפני  
 הדרתך לבוא לעזרתנו פן נאבד ותשחת כל המלכות. ואם תהיה  
 15 אלינו מעיר לעזור נוכל לעמוד לנגדו ולהלחם עם האיש אשר כילנו  
 ואשר השמידנו ואולי נגרשנו מעלינו. וטוב אלינו למות במלחמה  
 מלחיות בחרפה ובזו ולגלות מעל אדמתנו.“
- ויקרא דריוש את האגרת ויתבהל עד מאד ויצו לשלוח אגרת 53  
 אל אלכסנדרוס, ואלה דברי האגרת: „דריוש מלך פרס אל  
 20 אלכסנדרוס עבדי, שלום. ועתה הנני מצוה עליך אשר תשוב אחריו  
 אחרי אשר גבה לבבך ותשתורר עלינו, ואל תעשה כאיש סכל ונבזה;  
 כי אם את אלוהי מזרח יכזבו, ילכו וישבו בצפון אם אין בהם כח  
 וסגולה. והנה עלו דברים על לבבך וחשבת מחשבה רעה ואמרת:  
 הנה בידי אם דריוש ואחותו ואשתו ובתו. עתה אמלך על מלכותו.“  
 25 והנני מודיעך כי נתיאשתי כאלו עדיין לא היותם כגבורי ופרשי  
 אשר נפלו בשדה. ועוד יבוא זמן ואשלם לך גמול מאשר גמלתי  
 ואנקם נקמתי ממך. ושלחת לומר אלי כי כבדת את שלוחי. דע כי  
 לא אהיה אהוב לך על הדבר הזה אמנם אשנאך, ואם תעשה עמם  
 רעה לא אשנאך על כן אמנם אהבך. ועדיין אשלם לך על כל אשר  
 30 עשית.“
- ויקרא אלכסנדרוס את האגרת וישחק וילעג עליה. ויצו להשיבו 54

בראשו. ויהי כראות פרשי אלכסנדרוס את אשר עשה האיש ההוא ויקנאו על מלכם וירוצו אחריו ויתפשוהו ויביאוהו לפני אלכסנדרוס. ויאמר אלכסנדרוס: „מקדוני, למה הרעות לעשות כדבר הזה?” ויען האיש ויאמר: „אדוני המלך, אל תחשבני היותי מאנשי מקדוניה כי אם מאנשי פרס ונדרתי למלך להסיר את ראשך מעליך ולהוליכו אליו. ויאמר אלי דריוש: „אם תעשה לי הדבר הזה אתן לך את בתי לאשה.” ואני עשיתי כאשר ציוני והנני בידך, כטוב בעיניך לעשות לי עשה.” ויקרא אלכסנדרוס לכל שריו ופרשיו וגיבוריו וישם את האיש לפניו ויאמר: „מה משפט לעשות לאיש הזה?” ויענו כולם ויאמרו: „בן מות הוא תחת אשר הרים ידו במלך.” ויען אלכסנדרוס ויאמר: „שריי ופרשיי, לא טובה העיצה אשר יעצתם והמשפט אשר אמרתם. ועתה דעו וראו מה עשה האיש הזה אשר שם נפשו בכפו למלאת חפץ אדונו. ועתה למדו ממנו וקנאו על מלכם, בבואו להלחם עם אויביו עזרוהו ותחשב לכם לגדולה ולגבורה. ולא יפול לבבכם ארצה בבואכם להלחם עם אויביכם, אמנם חזקו כי טוב לכם למות בגבורה מלחיות בחרפה.” וידבר עוד כדברים האלה, כולם דברי תוכחות. וישלח אלכסנדרוס האיש אשר הכהו ויצו לפרשיו ללוותו ולא ירעו אליו.

66 ודריוש אשר הוכה והופצע במלחמה ההיא ויברח ויבוא בעיר פירסיפולי. ויעל אל ההיכל וישב על הארץ וישם עפר על ראשו ויפשט בגדי מלכותו. ויתעצב ויאנח ויבך במר נפשו וישא את קולו בקינה ויאמר: „אוי לי אמי כי ילדתי לראות עמל וכעס והשחתת מלכותי והריגת אנשי. מן השמים באה עלי הרעה הזאת. איך הושפל עד ארץ מלך מלכים אשר לכד והכניע ערים ואיי הים ולשונות ימים ומלכים אדירים? ועתה הנני בורח מפני עבד אחד. אויה לי כי לא ידעתי גבורתו וחכמתו כי הייתי נשמר ממנו, ולא היה אלי ללעג ממנו ולהחזיקו שפל ונבזה כי הנה הוא השפילני עד עפר ושמני במקום חושך ואפילה. ועתה הוא מולך על מלכותי ונצח כל המלכים והשרים אשר היו להם ברית עמי ויגבה לבו עד לשמים.” וישב דריוש דומם עד הצהרים ותשב רוחו אליו, ויקם מעל הארץ וישב על כסאו.

חמסו ירד על דבר אשר הוציא דבה על איש נקי.<sup>5</sup> ויצו אלכסנדרו' להביא לפניו פרמניאוני שולח האגרת. ויבוא פרמניאוני לפני אלכסנדרו' ויסיתהו בדבריו. ויכר אלכסנדרוס כי משנאתו את פליפוס הרופא הוציא עליו את הדבה ההיא. ויצו אלכסנדרוס להתיו את ראשו על עיסק דאכל קורציה דגבר וכאי.

ויהי אחרי כן ויאסוף דריוש חיל גדול, שלש מאות אלף רגלי<sup>492</sup> ומאה אלף פרשים. ויבוא בשדה לקראת אלכסנדרוס להלחם עמו ויגשו למלחמה אלה נוכח אלה. ויתקעו בחצוצרות ויריעו ויתנו אות המלחמה וירוצו אלה נוכח אלה. ותתגר המלחמה חזקה ביניהם, מן הבקר עד הערב לא שקטה. ויפלו מאנשי פרס עם רב. וירא דריוש כי גיבוריו נפלו בשדה ויפן ערפו לנוס וירדוף אלכסנדרוס אחריהם. ודריוש הוכה והופצע במלחמה ההיא. ויהי מספר חללי פרס ביום ההוא שלשים אלף רגלי ועשרת אלפים פרשים ונתפשו מהם חיים ארבעים אלף איש. ומאנשי אלכסנדרוס נפלו ביום ההוא מאה וחמשים איש. ועל חללי פרס נמצא זהב לרוב ואבנים טובות ובגדי משי. ואז נתפשו אם דריוש ואחותו ואשתו ובתו ויביאום לפני אלכסנדרוס.

וישלח אלכסנדרוס מקצת מפרשיו להשחית את אניות דריוש אשר היו בחוף הים. ויבואו פרשי אלכסנדרו' על חוף הים וימצאו את ספינות דריוש בחוף הים וישברום ויפזרום הנה והנה ולא נשאר מהם עד אחד.<sup>20</sup>

ויהי בהיות המלחמה נמצא איש אחד מאנשי פרס עז וגיבור ומלומד מלחמה מנעוריו. ויאמר אליו דריוש: „אם תכה אלכסנדרו' והסירות את ראשו מעליו אעשרך עושר גדול ואחן לך את בתי לאשה.“<sup>25</sup> ויתחפש האיש ההוא בערמה וילבש בגדי מקדוניה ויבוא ויתערב עם אנשי אלכסנדרוס. ויהי בהיות המלחמה חזקה ויגשו אל אלכסנדרוס וירק את חרבו ויך את אלכסנדרוס את ראשו וישבר כובע הברזל אשר על ראש אלכסנדרוס ויפצע אלכסנדרוס מעט

<sup>5</sup> בכת"י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: „צורת אלכסנדרוס מצוה להתיו את ראש פרמניאניו“.

<sup>17</sup> בכת"י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באות הכתובת: „צורת אלכסנדרוס רודף אחרי דריוש; צורת אם דריוש ואשתו ואחותו ובתו הבאות לפני אלכסנדרוס“.

אלכסנדרוס ויתבהלו ויחתו ויראו מאד ויאמרו: כשמוע דריוש כי חלה אלכסנדרוס יבוא עלינו למלחמה ויהרגנו. ויצו אלכסנדרוס להביא לפניו פליפוס הרופא. הוא היה בחור ונחמד ובקי במלאכת הרפואות וחביב בעיני אלכסנדרו'. ויאמר לאלכסנדרוס: רצוני 5 וחפצי לתת אליך סמים ומרקחים לשתות ותהיה מרופא בעזרת בוראי'.

ויהי שם שר אחד מושל בארץ אירמניאה ושמו פרמיניאויני, והיה האיש ההוא אויב ושונא את פליפוס הרופא בעבור ראותו כי אלכסנדרוס אהבהו מתמול שלשום. וישלח אגרת אל אלכסנדר לאמר: 10 השמר לך ושמור נפשך מאד מרפואות פליפוס ואל תשתה ממרקחיו ומסמיו כי יססור אותך ודריוש המלך נדר אליו לתת לו את בתו לאשה אם יהרגך. ויקרא אלכסנדרו' את האגרת ויחזיקה בידו ולא דבר עם הרופא מאומה כי הרופא היה נאמן אליו ונחמד בעיניו. ויקח פליפוס את המרקחת ויביאה אל אלכסנדרוס ויתנה בידו. ויקחה 15 אלכסנדר' בידו ובידו האחרת היתה האגרת. ויבט הרופא בפני אלכסנדר ויאמר: אדוני המלך, שתה ואל תירא מן המרקחת כי סגולה טובה יש בה. ושתה אלכסנדרו' את המרקחת.

ויהי אחרי שתות אלכסנדרוס את המרקחת ויתן את האגרת ביד פליפוס הרופא. ויקראה פליפוס ויתבהל ויחרד ויבך ויאמר: אדוני המלך, לא חטאתי על דברי האגרת הזאת. ויאמר אלכסנדרוס אל 20 פליפוס: גשה נא אלי. ויגש פליפוס ויפל לפני רגלי אלכסנדרוס. ויתפשהו אלכסנדרוס בידו ויחבקהו וישקהו ויאמר: ראה את האהבה אשר אהבתיך אשר שתיתי מידך את קובעת כוס המרקחת קודם הראיתי אותך את האגרת, ונתתי נפשי בידך אחרי אשר הלשינוך 25 שריי ולא האמנתי לדבריהם. ודע כי מרוב האהבה וחיבה היה. ויען פליפוס את אלכסנדרוס ויאמר: אדוני המלך, תפול נא תחינתי לפניך וצו להביא לפניך האיש אשר שלח את האגרת ותבחן האמת והנכון. ואם יש בי עוון המיתני, ואם לא ימצא בי עוון שלם תשלם לאיש כמעשהו וכפעולו אשר פעל. וישוב עמלו בראשו ועל קדקדו

17 בכת"י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: צורת אלכסנדרוס שותה המרקחת מיד פליפוס הרופא.

ויצו לקבור את החללים של אנשי פרס ואנשי מקדוניה. וישלח כל המוכים אל הערים אשר סביבותיהם לרפאותם.

ויהי אחרי כן וישלח אלכסנדרוס ספרים בכל מדינות מלכותו 55  
 ואלה דברי האגרת אשר שלח אלכסנדרוס אל שריו: „אלכסנדרו'  
 5 בן מלך פליפוס ובן המלכה אוליפיאדס לכל שריי וגבוריי היושבים  
 בארץ אשור ובקפיטוציאה ובקיליקיאה ובפיריקוניא ובארץ ערב  
 ולכל אנשי מלכותי, שלום. ידוע יהיה לכם כי נלחמתי עם דריוש  
 מלך פרס ונצחתי וגרשתי מן השדה. ולכן אצוה עליכם, רוצו  
 ואספו אלי אלף מלבושים מעורי חיות ואלף עורות מרוקמים  
 10 ושלחום אלי באנטוכיא והיו שם מוכנים כדי להלבישם לפרשי.  
 והנני שולח אליכם הגמלים כדי להביאם אלי אל נהר פרת.”

ויהי בברוח דריוש מפני אלכסנדרוס ויבוא אל עיר אשר שמה 57  
 פירסיפולי. וישלח אגרת אל פורו מלך אינדיאה לבוא אליו לעזרתו.  
 וישיבהו פורו מלך אינדיאה ואלה דברי האגרת אשר שלח מלך  
 15 פורו אל המלך דריוש: „פורו מלך אינדיאה אל דריוש מלך פרס,  
 שלום. ידוע יהיה לך כי קבלנו אגרתך, ועל אשר שלחת לבקש  
 ממנו עיזר הנני מוכן ואמלא את חפצך ורצונך. והנה אני וכל אנשי  
 מלכותי מתעצבים על הרעה אשר קרך מאת אלכסנדרו' ובכל צרתך  
 אלינו צר, והנני שולח אליך מפרשי ומגיבורי אשר יהיו לעזרתך.”

ויהי אחרי כן ויוגד לאלכסנדרוס לאמר: „הנה דריוש אוסף חיל 20  
 לרוב ושם בלבו לבוא אל הר טאורו ולארוב אותך בדרך ולהכותך  
 ולהחריד אותך ואת כל חילך.” ויהי כשמוע אלכסנדרוס את כל  
 הדברים האלה ויסע משם עם כל חילו ויעבור את הנהר וילך  
 בכח הדברים ההם שבעים מלים ביום אחד. ויתחמם אלכסנדרוס  
 25 ויזע בשרו מאד ויחפון לרחוץ בשרו במי הנהר מרוב החום והזיעה  
 אשר עליו. ושם הנהר מינו ומי הנהר היו קרים עד מאד. וירחץ  
 אלכסנדרוס את בשרו במי הנהר, והשחפת אחזתהו ויכאבו עליו כל  
 אבריו ויהי כפסע בינו ובין המות. ויראו אנשי מקדוניה כי חלה

2 בכת'י אחר הפסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: „צורת אלכסנדרוס רודף אחרי דריוש המלך.”

6 ובקיליקיאה צ, הן ובציילאה פ || 11 (פרת צ, ה) פ

אל תיראו ואל תערצו מאנשי פרס כי אנחנו רבים מהם, וחלילה אם היו הם יותר ממנו מאה פעמים אין לנו לחרד מהם כי השממיות הם מעטים והזבובים הם רבים ואין תקומה לזבובים מפני השממיות". וישמחו כל העם וימחאו כף ויאמרו: "יחי המלך! יחי המלך!"<sup>5</sup>

49<sup>י</sup> ויהי אחרי כן ויאסוף דריוש חיל לרוב כחול אשר על שפת הים וישם עליהם חמשת נסיכיו שרי צבאות. ויבא עם כל מחנהו ויאהלו על נהר לטירו. ויהי למחרת ויעברו שרי דריוש את הנהר ויבואו בשדה להלחם עם אלכסנדרו'. ויוגד לאלכסנדרוס לאמר: 10 הנה דריוש וכל חילו חונים על נהר לטירו ושריו עברו את הנהר ויחזיקו שם מעמד בשדה". ויבא אלכסנדרו' וכל חילו אל המקום אשר היו שם שרי דריוש ויחנו אלה נוכח אלה. ותתגר מלחמה ביניהם עד מאד ואין אחד נותן מקום לאחר כי היו נלחמים בחזקה. ויהי בערב ויגפו אנשי דריוש לפני אלכסנדרו' ויפנו אנשי דריוש את 15 ערפם וינסו. ויפלו מאנשי פרס עם רב עד מאד. ויראו אנשי ברברי את אחיהם נופלים בשדה כאשר יפיל הקוצר את אלומותיו ויחרדו מאד ויפנו גם הם את ערפם וינסו. ויזבח שם אלכסנדרו' אל האלוהיים ויצו לקבור את החללים.

50 ויהי כשמוע דריוש כי נצח אלכסנדרו' את שריו ויהרוג עם רב מחילו ויתעצב מאד. ויאסוף עוד חיל מאתים וששים אלף רגלי. 20 ואנשי אלכסנדרו' היו שלשים ושנים אלף רגלי ופרשים שלשה עשר אלף ושש מאות. ויעבור דריוש וכל חילו את הנהר ויבוא בשדה אל מקום המלחמה. ויבואו אלה נוכח אלה ויתקעו בחצוצרות ויתגרו למלחמה. ויפלו מאלה ומאלה רבים כי היתה המלחמה חזקה עד 25 מאד. ויהי כראות דריוש את עמו נופל בשדה ויפן ערפו לנוס. ויפלו בקרב ההוא מאנשי דריוש ארבעים אלף איש שולף חרב, ומאנשי אלכסנדרוס נפלו ביום ההוא מאה ועשרים פרשים ושמונה מאות איש רגלי. ויחזק אלכסנדרו' מעמד בשדה. ויזבח זבחים אל האלוהיים

18 בכת"י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: צורת אלכסנדרוס בהלחמו עם שרי דריוש'.

18 אלן בכת"י: את

את הנבלה הזאת לשים הכלים בחיקך? היעשה ככה במלכותך?" ויען אלכסנדרו' ויאמר: כה משפט מלכנו, כי כל השותים בכליו ישימו הכלים בחיקם. ויתמהו כל השרים ויאמרו: דבר גדול ומנהג טוב הוא."

- 5 ושם נמצא איש אחד משרי דריוש ושמו אמפולי. ודריוש שלחו 63 במקדוניה הרי ימים רבים אל המלך פליפוס לקחת המס מפליפוס. ויבט אמפולי בפני אלכסנדרו' ויכר דמותו וקולו ודבריו, ויחשוב בלבו ויאמר: זה ראיתי בהיכל המלך פליפוס בהיותי במקדוניה לבקש המס מפליפוס המלך ונראה אלי כי זה אלכסנדרו' בעצמו. ויקם ממקומו וילך לפני דריוש ויאמר אליו: אדוני המלך, זה האיש 10 אשר בא אליך מאת אלכסנדרוס הוא אלכסנדרוס בעצמו. ויבט אלכסנדרו' בפני השרים ויכר את לחישת השרים אשר היו מדברים איש אל רעהו כי ממנו היו אומרים. ויקם ממקומו וירד מן ההיכל, וימצא איש אחד מאנשי פרס ונר דונג בידו. ויחטוף אלכסנדרו' את 15 הנר מידו, וימצא שם סוס אחד וירכב על הסוס והנר בידו ויצא מן העיר. ויראו אנשי פרס ויצעקו אחריו: תפשוהו. וירכבו הפרשים על הסוסים וירדפו אחריו. ויהי ערב ויבא בתוך יער אחד. והאנשים אשר רדפו אחריו מקצתם היו מוכים ונתלים באילנות ומקצתם היו נופלים בגומות ובבורות ומתו מהם רבים ונשתברו 20 צלעותיהם וידיהם ורגליהם. ודריוש היה יושב בהיכלו דומם ומשתומם ומשתאה לדעת איך בא אלכסנדרוס יחיד בארץ פרס בערמה. וישא דריוש את עיניו וירא מצבה אחת מזהב יושבת על כסא המלוכה ותשב מעט ותפול לארץ ותשבר. ויהי כראות דריוש את המצבה נופלת ויתעצב ויאמר: זאת היא אות השחתת מלכותי. 25 ויהי בברוח אלכסנדרוס מפני שרי דריוש ויבא על שפת הנהר טירו ממחרת, וימצא את מי הנהר מוקפאים.

- ויהי ממחרת ויאסוף אלכסנדרוס את כל חילו ויעל במקום 64 גבוה וידבר באזני העם ויחזקם ויאמר אליהם: שריי ופרשיי וגבוריי,

24 בכתבי אחר הפסקה הזאת באות הכתובות: צורת דריוש סלך בראותו את הסצבה נופלת לארץ ותשברה; צורת הסלך דריוש בשבתו לאכול עם אלכסנדרוס; צורת המלך אלכסנדרו' בברחו מפני אנשי פרס ונר דונג בידו.



הערים וההרים אשר היו סביבות ארצו לאסוף חיל גדול לבוא על אלכסנדר' למלחמה. והיה בשוב דריוש אל העיר וימצא אלכסנדר' וישאלהו ויוליכהו עמו אל היכלו. ויתמה מאד עליו ויחשוב דמותו כדמות אלוה אפולונינו. ויאמר אליו דריוש: מי אתה ומאין תבוא? ויען אלכסנדר' ויאמר: אני מלאך אלכסנדר' ויצוה עלי לאמר: 5 בוא אל דריוש ודברת אליו לאמר, כה אמר אלכסנדרו: מדוע איחרת לצאת למלחמה ננדי? והנך עושה כאיש חרד וירא, או תצא למלחמה עמי או תעשה מצוותי ושלח אלי מס כאשר יעשו מלכי מזרח'. ויען דריוש ויאמר אליו: אתה אלכסנדרו' אשר תדבר בגובה לבך? ואינך מדבר כמו שליח. ועתה לך שוב אל אלכסנדרוס ואמרת אליו כי איני משגיח לדבריו ואיני ירא ממנו. ויצו דריוש לאשר על ביתו: לך הבא את האיש הביתה וטבוח והכן כי אתי יאכל האיש הזה בצהרים ומשלם אני לאלכסנדר' הגמול אשר נמל את שלוחי. ויתפוש דריוש את אלכסנדר' בידו הימנית 10 ויביאהו אל תוך חדר ויראהו את כל בית נכותו ואת אוצרותיו ואת הכסף ואת הזהב ואת הכלים ואת מקום מאכלו ומשתיו. ויחשוב אלכסנדרוס ויאמר בלבו: זאת היא לי אות למובה ועוד יבוא זמן וההיכל יהיה אלי אחרי אשר תפסני המלך בידי הימנית. 62 ויצאו דריוש ואלכסנדרו' מן החדר ויבואו בטרקלין וישב דריוש לאכל הוא וכל שריו, וישב גם אלכסנדר' עמהם. ובטרקלין היו 20 כלי כסף זהב ובנדי משי עם אבנים יקרות. וכל שרי דריוש היו מביטים אל צורת אלכסנדרוס והיו מבזים אותו ומלעיגים עליו כי היה קצר קומה, אמנם לא היו יודעים ערמתו וגבורתו וחכמתו. ושר האופים ושר המשקים היו משימים לפני אלכסנדרו' לאכול ולשתות בכלי זהב בקערות כפות וקשות הנסך כמצות דריוש אשר 25 צוה עליהם. ויגש שר המשקים לפני אלכסנדרו' ויתן אליו לשתות. וישתה אלכסנדר' ואחרי שתותו שם הגביע בחיקו, וכך היה עושה עד הפעם השלישית. וירא שר המשקים את כל אשר עשה אלכסנדרו' וילך ויגד לדריוש ויאמר אליו: כה עשה מלאך אלכסנדרו'. 30 ויקרא דריוש את אלכסנדרו' ויאמר אליו: איש מקדוני, מדוע עשית

ויסע משם וישם פניו לבוא בארץ פרס. ויבא ויחן על עיר אחת 60  
ושמה פרסיפוליס ויאהל שם עם כל מחנהו. ויצר על העיר ימים  
רבים ויכבשה וישימה תחתיו למס עובר. ככה עשה לכל עיר אשר  
היה להם ברית עם דריוש. ויהי אחרי כן ויועץ אלכסנדרוס עם  
5 שריו ופרשיו וידבר באזניהם ויאמר אליהם: הנמצא איש אחד ממנו  
אשר ידבנו לבו ללכת אל המלך דריוש ללמד אשר יצא אלינו  
להלחם עמנו או לעשות מצוותינו? ויהי בלילה ההוא וירא אלכסנדר'  
את אלוה אמן בדמות מרקורייו והיה נושא על שכמו אדרת אחת  
והאדרת היתה כדמות אדרת מלכות מקדוניה. ויאמר אליו: קח נא  
10 את אדרתי והנני מוכן לעזרתך תמיד. ומן המלאך אשר אמרת  
לשלוח אל דריוש, אל תשלחהו כי חפצי ורצוני לתת אליך דמותי  
וצלמי ולך אתה אליו ודבר עמו. ויודע אני כי קשה לאיש כמוך  
ללכת בשליחות כזאת, אמנם לא תירא ולא תחת כי אהיה לעזרתך  
ולא תוכל לסבול דבר נגדית. ויקץ אלכסנדרוס משנתו ויזכור את  
15 החלום אשר ראה וישמח מאד ויקרא ליועציו ויאמר אליהם: יעצוני  
אל החלום אשר חלמתי. ויענוהו ויאמרו: אדונינו המלך, עשה כטוב  
בעיניך וכאשר ראית בחלום. ויקרא אלכסנדר' לשר צבאו ושמו  
מילו והאיש היה גיבור ונאמן למלך אלכסנדר', ויצו אליו ללכת  
עמו. ויסע אלכסנדר' ממקום חנותן עם שר צבאו ויבואו על נהר  
20 טירו וימצאו את הנהר ההוא מקפא ומוקרח ככפור. ויקח אלכסנדרוס  
את האדרת אשר נתנה אליו ויעבור את הנהר, ושר צבאו הניח  
מעבר לנהר. ויזעק שר צבאו אחריו ויאמר: אדוני המלך, הניחני  
לעבור עמך כי הייתי חפץ למות קודם אשר יקרה אליך דבר נגדית.  
ויען אלכסנדר' ויאמר אליו: המתן ושב שם עם הסוסים עד אשר  
25 אשוב אליך כי האיש אשר ראיתי בחלום ילווני ויהיה עמי לעזרה  
לפה ולמליץ. והנהר אשר סיפרנו, כחום היום היה נמס ותהי  
מחבצת הנהר חזק וכבוא השמש היה נקפא ושב כבראשונה.

ויבא אלכסנדר' לבדו אל ארץ פרס. ויתמהו כל רואיו מצלמו 61  
ומדמותו ויחשבוהו היותו אלוה, וישאלוהו אנשי העיר על שריו ועל  
30 ארצו. ויען ויאמר: אני מלאך אלכסנדרוס. ואז היה דריוש על



ויצו אלכסנדרוס לתת כתר בראשו וירכיבהו על מרכבתו ויצו אל המכריו לקרוא לפניו: ככה יעשה לאיש גיבור ונוצח מלחמות אשר המלך חפץ ביקרו. והמכריו שאל את קליטומיקו על שמו ויאמר: שמי, אדם בלי עיר. ויאמר אלכסנדרו: איש גיבור ונוצח מלחמות, איך תאמר כי אתה ושמך אדם בלי עיר? לא נאה לגיבור כמון לעמוד בלי עיר וממשלה. ויען קליטומיקו ויאמר: אדוני המלך, קודם היותך היה לי עיר וממשלה ואחרי היותך לא היה לי עיר וממשלה. ויכר אלכסנדרוס את דבריו ויחשוב כי כל דבריו דבר על עיר טיבא. ויען אלכסנדרו אליו ויאמר: לך בנה את עיר טיבא ומשול עליה כרצונך. 10

ויסע משם אלכסנדרוס ויבוא בארץ ברבר. ויהי כשמוע דריוש 46 כי בא אלכסנדרוס ויחרד מאד, ויאסוף כל שריו וחכמיו ויועץ עמהם ויאמר: רואה אני כי זה אלכסנדרוס הוא איש מצליח ונוצח מלחמות מנעוריו, והאמנתי היותו כאחד הריקים וביזיתי מעשיו ולעגתי עליו וחשבתי משוגע איש הרוח. ועתה נצטרך להכנע מפניו ולא לעלות בשררה עמו כאשר עשינו עמו תמול שלשום כי הוא איש נבון וחכם ואיש מלחמה מנעוריו. ואני שלחתי אליו כדור אחד ומקל אחד כפוף מראשותיו בעבור אשר יצחק עמהם כמשפט הנערים, ויהי בראותם ויקבלם ויחשבם אליו לגדולה ולמלוכה ועדה שררה עד לבו יותר ממני אשר אמלוך על מלכות פרס. ועתה הבו לכם 20 דבר ועיצה הלום מה לעשות לאיש הזה אשר כילה את אנשינו והשחית את ארצינו. וגשובה אל עזרת בוראינו ואם מי יצא הדבר להמליכו על מלכות פרס לא נוכל דבר כי אם לרצון בוראינו. ויהי בדברו כדברים האלה ויען אחיו ויאמר: תמיה אני מאד מן המלך והשרים. איך זממתם ותחשבו כי יבוא אלכסנדר' ללכוד את מלכות פרס? ועתה אם יכשר בעיני המלך והסגנים והפחות והפרשים ואם יש את נפשכם אשר ישאר מלכות פרס בשלוה ושקט 25

10 בכת'י אחר הפסקה הזאת באות הכתובות: צורת קליטומיקו גיבור הנוצח שלשה מלחמות: צורת קליטומיקו רוכב על סוס והגור בראשו.

[illegible]

דריוש אשוב אליכם ואדבר באזניכם. ויסע משם אלכסנדרוס ויבוא בארץ קלידאופולי ויבוא על שפת הנהר ושם הנהר סני. וירעבו אנשי אלכסנדרוס ללחם ויזעקו ויאמרו: מי יתן מותינו בארצינו מלמות ברעב אנחנו ובהמתנו. וירא אלכסנדרוס את אנשיו מתאוננים ורעבים ויתפלל אלכסנדרו' אל יי ויזבח זבח לפניו. וישמע יי את תפלתו וימן להם צידה ויאכלו וישבעו. ויצעקו הפרשים ויאמרו: הנה סוסינו וגמלינו ימותו ברעב. ומה נעשה להם? ויען אלכסנדרוס ויאמר אליהם: אנשי ופרשיי הגיבורים, אם הסוסים ימותו מה נוכל לעשות להם? הנעזוב להלחם עם אויבינו? ואם נמות אנחנו מה יועילו אלינו הסוסים? לכן טוב לנו ללכת ולמצוא לנו מקום מנוחה ונאכלה ונשתה ונשמח שם אנחנו ובהמתנו. ויסע משם ויבוא אל מקום אחד ושמו לוקרוס וימצאו שם לאכול ולשתות וישבו שם ימים אחדים. ויסע משם ויבוא אל מקום אחד ושמו ראגטיה ויחן שם, וימצא שם היכל אחד של אפולונינה. ואלכסנדר רצה לזבוח וזבח בהיכל. ויען אחד מכהני ההיכל ושמו צוקנרא ויאמר לאלכסנדר: אין עת ואין זמן לזבוח זבח. ויהי ביום השני ויבוא אלכסנדרוס בתוך ההיכל ויזבח זבחים. ויקרא האלוה אפולוני את אלכסנדרוס ויאמר: איקולי. ויען אלכסנדרוס ויאמר: אפולוני, מדוע קראתני אירקולי? רואה אני כי נשחת סגולתך.

39 ויסע משם אלכסנדרו' ויבא ויאהל אל עיר ושמה טיבא. וישאל 20 אנשי העיר ויאמר אליהם: תנו לי ארבע מאות סוסים ובואו לעזרתי. ויהי כשמוע אנשי טיבא את מצות אלכסנדרו' ויסגרו את שערי העיר. ויעלו מאנשי העיר כארבעת אלפים איש על החומה ויקראו אל אלכסנדרו' ויאמרו אליו: אם לא תשוב מעלינו הנה אנחנו יוצאים אליך להלחם עמך. וישחק אלכסנדרו' וילעג על דבריהם ויאמר אליהם: מדוע סגרתם את שערי העיר ותאמרו כי חפצתם להלחם עמנו? דעו באמת כי לא אשוב מעליכם עד לוכדי את העיר ואכבשנה. ואם תאבו להלחם עמנו אל תסגרו בתוך העיר כבתולות הנסגרות בתוך החדר כי האנשים גבורי חיל לא יסגרו בתוך העיר,

אל אלכסנדרוס: דבר יותר גדול ונפלא נוכל להגיד ולספר ממך ומנבורותיך אשר עשית גבורות יותר על מה שעשו הצרים על טרויה והצלחת בגבורות ונצחת מלחמות והשפלת והכנעת כל הערים והאנשים העומדים נגדך מעורך עד היום הזה. ויען אלכסנדרו' 5 ויאמר: ומי יתן היותי מתלמידיו של הומירוס מהיות אלי שבח כאשר לאכילים.

38 ויסע משם ויבוא עם כל חילו במקדוניה וימצא את אוליפיאדס אמו מרופאה וקמה ממשכבה. וישמח אלכסנדרוס עמה ימים אחדים. ויסע אלכסנדרו' ממקדוניה עם כל חילו לבוא בארץ פרס. ויבא אל עיר אשר שמה אבדרא ויאהל עם כל מחניהו ויחן את פני העיר. 10 ויהי כראות אנשי אבדרא את אלכסנדרו' ויסגרו את שערי העיר וילחמו עם אלכסנדרו' מעל החומה. וישאל אליהם לשלום ויאמר אליהם: צאו אלי והשלמתם עמי, ועשו מצותי ועשו אתי ברכה בטרם אשחית את העיר ואשלח אתכם בגולה. ולא ישיא אתכם 15 דריוש לאמר: הלחמו את אלכסנדרוס וחזקו ואמצו עד בואי וגרשתי מעליכם. ויענהו אנשי בדרא: לא נוכל לצאת אליך לעשות מצותיך כי כרתנו ברית עם דריוש ולא נחלל את בריתנו, ועתה אם יכשר בעיניך לחת לנו ארוכה ימים עד אשר נשלח אל דריוש אם יחפוץ לבוא להושיענו מידך. ויקצוף אלכסנדרוס על הדברים 20 ויצו לפרשיו להצית את האש ולשרוף את שערי העיר. ויהי כראות אנשי בדרא את האש וייראו ויחתו ויאמרו אל אלכסנדרו': אדונינו המלך, ידוע תדע כי לא סגרנו שערי העיר למרוד בך ולהלחם בך ובעמך, אמנם יראנו מפני המלך דריוש פן ישלח שרים ופרשים וישחית את העיר בשומעו כי עשינו מצותיך. ויען אלכסנדרוס ויאמר אליהם: פתחו שערי העיר ועשו מצוותי כי לא יעלה על לב דריוש 25 לבוא עליכם למלחמה, ולא ישחית את העיר ולא יעשה מכם כלה ואני אושיע אתכם מיד כל אויביכם הקמים עליכם. ויהי כשמוע אנשי בדרא את דברי אלכסנדרוס ויפתחו את שערי העיר ויעשו את מצות אלכסנדרוס. ויאמר אליהם אלכסנדרוס: בשובי מהכות את

8-6 מתלמידיו... לאכילים צ. ה] אדון סיטיאופולו או היותי כאחד מאנשי מהיזת אלי שבח כאשר אליכם פ || 8 מרופאה] בכתי: מרופא

כי בחזקה היה נלחם אלכסנדרוס ומדלג על אנשי פרס כאריה על טרפו. ויהי כראות אמונטנא כי נפלו גיבוריו ופרשיו ויפן ערפו לנוס ויברח, ויבוא אל ארץ פרס לפני דריוש. ויהי בבואו ועוד היו לפני דריוש המלאכים אשר שבו מן אלכסנדרוס והיו קוראים לפניו איגרת אלכסנדרוס. ושאל המלך דריוש את המלאכים מה עשה המלך אלכסנדרוס מן הפאפאווורו [=פרג]. ויאמרו כי אכל ממנו ויהי באוכלו ויאמר: „עם רב אנשי פרס אמנם חלשים הם ואינם חזקים כמו שהפאפאווורו [=פרג] אינו חזק.“ ודריוש לקח מן הפלפל אשר שלח אליו אלכסנדרו' ויאכל ממנו ויאמר: „מתי מעט ומזער עמו אמנם חזקים הם כמו זה הפלפל.“ ויען אמונטנא ויאמר: „אדוני המלך, אמת כי מתי מעט אנשי אלכסנדרו' אמנם חזקים הם עד מאוד ואין מי יוכל לעמוד לפניהם. ואנחנו נלחמנו עמם ונגפנו לפניהם וברחנו מפניהם, ולא שקטנו להלחם שלשת ימים לילה ויום ולא יכולנו אליהם ונהרגו רוב גיבורינו ואנשינו.“

ויהי כנצוח אלכסנדרוס המלחמה לא גבה לבו ולא עלה שדרה 37 15 בלבו בעבור ניצוח המלחמה. וצוה לפרשיו לקבור את החללים אנשי פרס ומקדוניא.

ויסע משם אלכסנדרו' עם כל מחנהו ויבואו בארץ קיליקיאה ושם היו ערים רבות אשר היו נותנים מס למלך אלכסנדר. ויקח משם אלכסנדרו' חמש עשרה אלפים איש מלחמה ויסע משם ויבוא בארץ איסאוריאה וילחם עמם וישימם למס עובד. ויסע משם ויבוא בארץ פירסיפולי ושם היו תשע מחות. וינצחם ויכבשם וישימם תחתיו. ויקח משם פרשים ויבוא בארץ אסיאה וינצחם וישימה תחתיו למס עובד. ויאסוף פרשים רבים ויבוא בארץ פריגיאה. ויבוא אל היכל השמש ויזבח שם זבחים. ויסע משם ויבוא על שפת הנהר אשר שמו סקמאנדרו, ויהי עומק הנהר ההוא חמש עשרה אמה. ויאמר אלכסנדרו' אל האנשים העומדים שם: „אשריכם אשר יש לכם ברכת יי“. ויען אחד מן האנשים העומדים שם ושמו קליטומיקו ויאמר

17 בכת"י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: „צורת אלכסנדרו' בהלחמו עם אמונטנא שר צבא דריוש ויבריחהו.“

18 קיליקיאה צ' סיקיליאה פ' || 21 איסאוריאה צ' סוריאה פ' || 22 תשע מחות צ' תשעה נהרים פ'



35 ויבואו מלאכי דריוש אל אלכסנדר' והאיגרת והזרע פאפאוורו ו-פרגו. ויצו אלכסנדר' לקרוא את האיגרת. וישם את ידו בתוך אמתחת אחת אשר שם זרע הפאפאוורו ויקח ממנו וישם אותו בפיו ויאכלהו. ויאמר: רואה אני כי העם רב מאוד אמנם חלש הוא ואינינו חזק כאשר אינו חזק זה הזרע". ויהי בדבריו כדברים האלה ויבואו מלאכים אל אלכסנדר' ויאמרו אליו: הנה המלכה אוליפיאדס אמך חלתה ותחפוץ לראות פניך וצוותה עלינו לאמר: לכו בואו אל אלכסנדר' בני ואמרו אליו, מהרה חושה ואל תעמוד ובוא אלי כי תאבתי לראות את פניך בטרם אמות". ויהי כשמוע אלכסנדרו' 10 ויבך ויתעצב אל לבו, אמנם צוה להשיב אל דריוש. ואלה דברי האגרת אשר שלח אלכסנדרוס אל דריוש: אלכסנדרוס בן אוליפיאדס המלכה אל דריוש מלך פרס, שלום. ידוע יהיה לך כי קבלתי אגרתך ושלחת לומר אלינו לשוב אחרינו לביתינו. והגני מודיעך כי לא אשוב אחרי מפני פחדך ומוראך ובעבור כוחך 15 וחילך. אמנם הוכרחת והוצרכת לשוב לביתי אל אמי ולא לנשק חיקה ולניק דדיה כמשפט הנערים כי אם בעבור אשר חלתה ונפלה למשכב. ופקדתי וצוה עלי ללכת אליה, ובעזרת בוראי אשוב מהרה אל ארצך להלחם בך. והפאפאוורו ו-פרגו אשר שלחת אלי קבלתי ואכלתי ממנו ותהי בפי כדבש למתוק. והגני שולח אליך 20 תחתיו פלפל והוא מעט למען הודיעך כי כח הפלפל ינצח ריבוי הפאפאוורו ו-פרגו אשר הוא כנגד עמך אשר לא יוכל לספור". ויקראו מלאכי דריוש לפני אלכסנדרו' ויתן אלכסנדרוס אליהם מתנות והאיגרת והפלפל וישלחם אל דריוש.

ויסע משם אלכסנדרוס עם כל מחניהו לשוב במקדונאי.

36 ויהי בימים ההם ושר צבא דריוש היה על ארץ ערב בחיל גדול וחזק ושם שר הצבא אמנטנא. וישמע כי נסע אלכסנדרו' עם חילו ויבוא לקראת אלכסנדרו' להלחם עמו. ויחנו אלה נוכח אלה וילינו בלילה. ויהי בבוקר ויתנו אות המלחמה ויריעו בחצוצרות וילחמו יחד שלשת ימים ולא שקטו ולא נחו גם בלילה. ודמי 30 ההרגונים והנדקרים אשר שפכו כיסו את הארץ ויהי הדם כנחל שוטף. ויפלו מאנשי דריוש עם רב מאד ויגפּו לפני אלכסנדרוס

ייסר הנער. ואלבישהו כתונת פסים ואשלחהו אל אוליפיאדס אמו במקדוניה כי אינינו איש מלחמה כי אם נער לעמוד עם הנערים ולשחק עמהם.<sup>4</sup>

- ויהי כקראו אנטילוכוס ושרי דריוש את האגרת וישיבוהו דבר: <sup>33</sup>  
 5. אנטילוכוס וכל שריו אל דריוש מלך פרס, שלום. ידוע יהיה לך כי קיבלנו איגרתך וקרינו אותו. ומן הנער אשר שלחת לומר אלינו אשר נתפשה ונשלחהו אליך דע באמת כי אספנו חיל גדול ונלחמנו עמו מלחמה חזקה וניגפנו לפניו וברחנו מפניו בתוך הערים. ועל אשר שאלת ממנו עוזר גם אנחנו מבקשים ממך עוזר ועיצה, <sup>10</sup>  
 ועל אשר אמרת כי רצונך להלביש הנער כתונת פסים דע כי תפש עיר לטירו ויהרס ויהרוג את אנשיה על אשר כרתו ברית עמנו.<sup>5</sup>  
 ויהי כקראות דריוש את איגרת אנטילוכוס ויבוא המגיד ויאמר <sup>34</sup>  
 אליו: „אלכסנדרו' וכל חילו חונים על שפת הנהר הנקרא גרניקוס.“ ויצו דריוש לכתוב אגרת ולשלוח אותה אל אלכסנדרוס. ואלה דברי <sup>15</sup>  
 האגרת: „דריוש מלך פרס אל עבדי אלכסנדרוס, שלום. והנני מצוה עליך אשר לא תעבור בארצי פן בחרב אצא לקראתך. וכל מלכי מזרח ונתנים מס ומאשרים ומשבחים את שמי. ואיך <sup>20</sup>  
 עלה בלבבך לעבור ימים ונהרות והרים לנגדי? וידעתי כי לא מחכמה עשית כל זה וכבוד גדול יהיה לך אם תוכל להחזיק מלכות מקדוניה ולהציל אותה מידי. וגם עלתה שררה בלבבך, <sup>25</sup>  
 ועם אנשיך לכדת ערים ותהרסם ותתוץ חומותם ותהרוג את אנשיה. והיה לך לחזור אחריך ולהסתר ממנו אחרי אשר הריעות לעשות פן יתגלגלו עליך כל הרעות אשר פעלת מעודך עד היום הזה. ואנחנו רבים וגדולים ממך ומולכים על כל העולם. ומאין היה <sup>30</sup>  
 לך לקבל אגרות ממלך גדול כמוני? וקבלת אגרותי ולענת עליהם ובזית אותם. והנה רצוני וחפצי להראותך כחי וחילי. והנני שולח אליך זרע פאפארוורו נ-פרגו, אם תוכל לספור אותו כך תוכל לספור <sup>35</sup>  
 אנשי פרס ועבדי ואנשיי. ועתה איעצך עיצה נכונה, שוב לדרכך ולעולם לא יעלו על לבבך לעשות כדברים האלה אשר עשית.“

4 כקראו] בכת"י: כראות | אנטילוכוס צ. ה] אנטיכוס פ || 5 אנטילוכוס צ. ה] אנטיכוס פ ||  
 12 איגרת] בכת"י: האגרת | אנטילוכוס צ. ה] אנטיכוס פ || 13 והנקרא גרניקוס ה] פ ||  
 21 ותהרסם] בכת"י: ותהריסם

בידך. ויען אלכסנדר' ויאמר אליהם: חלילה לי מעשות כדבר הזה לשפוך דם נקי. אכלו ושתו וייטב לכם כי אינני חפץ לתת אליכם אחד מפרשי למסור מלככם.

31 ויהי ממחרת ויצו אלכסנדר' להשיב אל דריוש: אלכסנדרוס  
 5 בן המלך פליפוס ממקדוניה אל דריוש קיסר, שלום. ידוע יהיה  
 לך כי קבלנו האגרת והמקל והכדור והתיבה ביד מלאכך, והאגרת  
 קריתי ונראה אלי כי לא היה נאה ודבר הגון ונכון למלך גדול  
 כמוך לדבר כדברים ההם. אמנם היה לך לחרד כי שמענו  
 מקדמונינו וראינו בימינו כי איש קטן ונבזה ישב על כסא מלך  
 10 גדול וחזק, כי יבוא זמן אשר יתהפך הגלגל. ואם אתה מלך גדול  
 וחזק בבואיך להלחם עמנו ותהיה נוצח המלחמה לא נוכל לקום  
 מפניכם עוד. ואם תנצחני תנצח איש שפל ונבזה לפי דבריך,  
 ואם אנצחך יהיה לי כבוד גדול בנוצחי מלך גדול חזק כמוך.  
 ואם אני עני ודל כאשר אמרת, יבוא זמן ואעשיר ממלכותיך.  
 15 והכדור והמקל אשר שלחת אשר אשחק עמהם כמשפט הנערים הם  
 אלי אות לטובה, כי סימן הכדור אשר אמלוך על כל העולם;  
 והמקל אשר הוא כפוף מראשותיו סימן הוא כי כל מלכי הארץ  
 ישתחוו לפני ויהיו כפופים אלי, ותיבת הזהב היא סימן כי כל  
 מלכי הארץ ישלחו מנחה אלי. ואתה מלך אדיר החילות לתת אלי מס  
 20 על שולחך אלי תיבת הזהב. ויקראו מלאכי דריוש לפני אלכסנדר'  
 ויתן להם מתנות והאגרת נתן בידם וישלחם אל דריוש אדוניהם.  
 32 ויקראה דריוש ויחר אליו מאד. וישלח אגרת אל אנטיוכוס  
 ולכל שריו ואלה דברי האגרת: דריוש מלך פרס אל אנטיוכוס  
 ולכל שריו, שלום. ידוע יהיה אליכם כי שמענו כי אלכסנדר'  
 25 בן מלך פליפוס ממקדוניה בעבור סכלתו בא בארץ איסיה  
 וילכדה ויהרג את אנשיה והיא היתה תחתיו. והגני מצוה עליכם  
 כאנשים גיבורים ונדיבים ונכבדים וחכמים ואנשי חיל, מהרה חושו  
 וארבוהו בדרך ותפשוהו חי והביאוהו אליי ואני איסרהו כאשר

8 בכת' אחר הפיסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: צורת אלכסנדר' ומלאכי דריוש הסביאים אליו האגרת והמקל והכדור והתיבת.

וכל עממי הארץ לא תוכל להלחם עמנו ועם אנשי פרס אשר הם כחול אשר על שפת הים וככוכבי השמים לרוב. ולכן הנני מצוה עליך שתשוב ממחשבותיך וממשובתך, ושוב אחור ותחזור לביתך. והנני שולח אליך כדור אחד ומקל אחד כפוף מראשותיו 5 אשר תשחק עמהם כמשפט הנערים ותיבה אחת מזהב כי אתה נער עני ודל. ובארץ פרס ימצא זהב הרבה אשר ינצח מאור השמש ויחפור השמש לנדרו מזיוו. לכן שוב ממחשבותיך ומסכלותך ומעזרת השטנים אשר תבטח בהם.

30 ויבואו המלאכים אל אלכסנדרוס ויביאו אליו את האיגרת ואת הכדור ואת המקל והתיבה. ויצו אלכסנדרוס לקרוא האיגרת לפני כל שריו ועבדיו. ויהי כשמוע שרי אלכסנדרוס את דברי האיגרת ויתעצבו ויחר להם מאד. ויבט אלכסנדרו' בפני השרים והפרשים והנם זועפים ולא נשאר בהם דמות. ויאמר אליהם: שריי ופרשיי, מדוע פניכם זועפים וחרה לכם על דברי האיגרת הזאת? ועתה אל תעצבו ואל יחר בעיניכם. הלא ידעתם כי הכלב אשר ינבח הרבה וחרץ 15 לשונו ואין לו כח. חזקו ונתחזקה ונלכה אליהם ותחשב לנו לגבורה, ולא יפול לבינו על דברי הכלב הזה ובחכמה ובתחבולות נעשה עמו מלחמה.

ויצו אלכסנדרו' לתפוש מלאכי דריוש ולתלותם על העץ. ויצעקו מלאכי דריוש ויאמרו: אדונינו המלך, מה פשעינו ומה חטאותינו אשר צוית להרע אלינו? לא נאה למלך כמוך לעשות כדברים האלה. ויען אלכסנדרו' ויאמר: דברי מלככם הסיתוני להרע אליכם. ויענו ויאמרו: כי מלכנו לא ידע גדולתך וחכמתך, אמנם אנחנו אשר שמענו וראינו את חכמתך ומעלתך נוכל להגיד 25 כל דבר. ועתה תניחנו ללכת לארצינו ולביתינו. וישמע אליהם אלכסנדרו' ויתרצה לדבריהם, ויצו לתת אליהם לאכול ולשתות ולתת להם מתנות ולא יזיקו ולא ירעו להם. ויעשו הפרשים משרתי אלכסנדרוס את מצות אלכסנדרו' ויכינו את השלחן ויתנו אליהם לאכול ולשתות. ויהי הם אוכלים ושותים ויאמרו אל אלכסנדרוס: 30 אם ייטב בעיניך המלך, תנה לנו אלף פרשים ונתנה את דריוש

דריוש ואם יחדל. ויאמר אליו הכהן הגדול: לך כי נתן ינתן בידך.<sup>5</sup>  
ויביאו הכהנים לפניו את ספר דניאל ויראהו את הכתב אשר כתוב  
בו על דבר האיל המנח לכל רוח ועל דבר צפיר העזים אשר רץ על  
האיל וירמסוהו ארצה. ויאמר: אתה הוא צפיר העזים אשר רץ  
על האיל ודריוש הוא האיל ואתה תרמסוהו ותקח מלכותו.<sup>6</sup> ויחזקוהו  
הכהן (והגדול) ללכת על דריוש. ויהי כשמוע אלכסנדרוס את דברי  
החזון וישמח שמחה גדולה ויתן מתנות לכל הכהנים ויאמר אליהם:  
הרבו עלי מתן ושאלו ממני ברכה ותעש.<sup>7</sup> ושאלו ממנו ויאמרו:  
תנה לנו שאילתינו ותעש בקשתינו. ובזאת ידענו כי מצאנו חן  
בעיניך: כל היהודים הנמצאים בבבל ובארץ מדי ובכל מקום אשר  
תדרוך ותמלוך יהיו חופשים לבלתי יתנו מס ויוכלו לקיים דתם  
כרצונם.<sup>8</sup> ויצו אלכסנדרוס לכתוב הדברים על הספר לבלתי ישכחו  
ויהיו לזיכרון לעשות כל אשר שאלו. ויכתוב אלכסנדרוס ספרים  
ואגרות כאשר ראה המלאך בחזיון לילה וכאשר אמר לו הכהן (והגדול)  
וישלחם אל מקדוניה ואל רומא. ויסע אלכסנדרו' מירושלים.<sup>9</sup>

29 ובימים ההם ברחו מארץ לטירו אנשים מפני אלכסנדרוס ויבואו  
בארץ פרס אל המלך דריוש ויאמרו אליו ויגידו לו את כל אשר  
קדם מאת אלכסנדרו'. ויהי כשמוע דריוש את דבריהם וישאלם  
מצלמו ומדמותו. ויקחו אנשי לטירו אחת ויצייירו את צלם  
אלכסנדרוס ויביאוהו אל דריוש. וירא דריוש את הצורה ויבוזה וילעג  
על קטנות הצורה.<sup>10</sup>

ויהי אחרי כן ויקח דריוש כדור אחד ומקל אחד כפוף מראשותיו  
הנקרא בלשון יוון. צוקאני' למען ישחק בהם אלכסנדרו' כמשפט הנערים.  
וישימם בתוך תיבה אחת מזהב וישלחם אל אלכסנדרוס, ואיגרת אחת  
כתוב בה. ואלה דברי האיגרת אשר שלח המלך דריוש אל אלכסנדרוס  
לאמר: דריוש מלך מלכים אל עבדי אלכסנדרוס, שלום. ידוע יהיה  
אליך כי שמעתי שמעך ושמתי אל לבך לבוא אל ארצינו למלחמה  
ויתלקטו אליך אנשים רקים ופוחזים מעט מזער. ואיך תוכל לעמוד  
נגדינו למלחמה? ואם היית יכול לאסוף את כל אנשי העולם

18 בכת"י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: צורת אלכסנדרוס שסתתרה לחזיה הכהן הגדול.  
21 בכת"י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: צורת אנשי לטירו סצירים צורת אלכסנדרו' לפני דריוש.

והגדול. ויקנא איש אחד משרי המלך ושמו פרמיניאני ויאמר אליו: מלך גדול ומלך נצחי, מה עשית? תמיה אני למי השתחווית. וכל המלכים והעמים משתחווים אליך ומאשרים ומשבחים אותך ואתה השתחווית לאיש אשר אין לו כח לעמוד נדרך למלחמה. ויען 5 אלכסנדרוס ויאמר: „אל תתמהו כי לא לאדם השתחוויתי כי אם לי, כי דמותו ולבושו ראיתי בחזיון לילה בהיותי שוכב על מטתי בתוך אהלי ויאמר אלי: „בלכתך ארץ אסיא תלכדה ואת כל גאון פרס תכניע. וכל מקום אשר דרכנו לא ראיתי כדמותו וכתארו וכדמות הכתונת אשר עליו. והאיש אשר ראיתי בחזיון לילה דומה לאיש הזה והוא ההולך לפני להכניע המלכים והעמים. וכה צווני 10 האיש אשר ראיתי: „והיה בראותך איש אחד לבוש בדים כתוארי וכדמותי מהר נפול על פניך והשתחווית אליו, ועשה כל מה שמצוה עליך ולא תעבור את פיו. ועל כן בראותי אותו זכרתי את החזון אשר ראיתי ולכן השתחוויתי אליו, ובעוברו לפני בעזרת יוצרי אנצח דריוש המלך וכל גאון פרס ואכבוש הערים והעמים ואצלח בכל אשר אלך ובכל אשר אחפוץ. 15

ויהי אחרי כן ויבוא אלכסנדרוס עם הכהן והגדול והכהנים בתוך ירושלם ויבואו אל מקדש יי. ויראהו הכהן והגדול את ההיכל ואת חצרותיו ואת גזיו ואת אולמו ואת מקום קודש הקודשים ואת מקום המזבח ואת מקום העולה. ויאמר אלכסנדרוס אל הכהנים: „אעשה לי זיכר בבית הזה ואתן זהב לרוב לאומנים ויעשו את צלמי ויקימו אותה בין קודש הקודשים ובין הבית ויהיה צלמי לזיכרון בבית יי הגדול הזה. ויאמר חוניה אל אלכסנדרוס: „הזהב אשר נדבו שפתיך תן אותו למחיית כהני יי 25 ועניי עמו הבאים להשתחוות אליו בבית הזה. ואעשה לך זיכר טוב מאשר דברת. כל ילדי הכהנים אשר יוולדו בשנה הזאת בכל ארץ יהודה ובכל ארץ ירושלם יקראון בשמך אלכסנדרוס, ויהיה לך לזיכר כאשר יבואו לעבוד עבודתם בבית הזה כי אין לקבל בבית אלהים לא פסל וכל תמונה. ויעש אלכסנדרוס כן ויתן את הזהב. וישאל את הכהן והגדול לדרוש יי בעדו אם ילך למלחמה על 30

כדמות ברק אשר מבריק ביום הגשם. וירם חרבו על ראש אלכסנדרוס ויירא אלכסנדר' מאד ויאמר אליו: 'למה אדוני יכה את עבדו?' ויאמר האיש: 'כי שלחני יי' לכבוש לפניך מלכים גדולים ואדירים ואני ההולך לפניך לעזרתך. ועתה דע כי מות תמות על אשר מלאך לבך לעלות ירושלים להרע לכהני יי ולעמו.' ויען אלכסנדרו' 5 ויאמר: 'אנא שא נא לפשע עבדך. בי אדוני ואם רע בעיניך אשובה לי.' ויאמר לו האיש: 'אל תירא, הנה נשאתי פניך. קום לך לדרכך ירושלם והיה בבואך העיר וראית איש לבוש בדים כמוני והאיש כתוארי, מהר נפול על פניך והשתחווית לו. וכל אשר ידבר אליך עשה ואל תעבור את פיו כי ביום עוברך את פיו מות תמות.' וילך 10 אלכסנדרו' לדרכו לעלות ירושלם.

בלילה ההוא נראה יי אל חוניה הכהן הגדול ויאמר אליו: 'כה תאמר אל אנשי ירושל', 'אל תפחדו ואל תערצו מפני אלכסנדרו' ופתחו שער העיר.' והתחפש ולבש בגדי הכהונה 15 ותבוא עם הכהנים ועם אנשי ירושל' מלובשים בגדי לבן ובואו לקראת אלכסנדרוס.' ויקץ הכהן והגדול משנתו ויקרא אל הכהנים וכל העם ויספר להם את החלום אשר ראה ויצו אליהם לעשות כל אשר צווה. ויצא הכהן והגדול וכל הכהנים והעם כאשר צוה חניה הכהן ויבואו עד מקום אחד ושמו סקרופולו, והמקום 20 גבוה אשר משם יראה ירושלם וההיכל. ויחזיקו שם מעמד עד בוא אלכסנדרוס אליהם. ויהי כאשר קרב אלכסנדרו' אליהם וירא את הדרת העם מלובשים בגדי לבן והכהני' עם בגדי כהונה והכהן והגדול היה לבוש בדים וכתונת מטהרת ועל ראשו נזר הקודש אשר היה כתוב בו השם הנכבד והנורא, ויצו אלכסנדרו' לכל עמו לבלתי 25 יגשו ולא יזידו לעלות עליהם. וילך אלכסנדרו' אליהם לבדו וירד מעל המרכבה ויכרע על ברכיו וישתחוה לפני הכהן הגדול. ויברך את יי ויאמר: 'מה אדוני מצוה אל עבדו?' והכהנים וכל עם ירושלם שמחו בראותם ומקצתם היו בוכים מרוב השמחה. וישאו 30 העם את קולם ויברכו את אלכסנדרו' וימחאו כף ויאמרו: 'יחי המלך! יחי המלך!' ויתבהל אלכסנדרוס על קולם ויתמה מאד. וירגזו המלכים העומדים אתו בראותם כי השתחוה לפני הכהן

חניתי עם כל חילי ופרשי על לטירו העיר הגדולה, ועתה שלחו  
 אילנו צידה וכל מכר וכל דבר הצריך לאנשים היושבים בחילי.  
 ושלחו אילנו המס כי טוב לכם לעבוד אותנו ולתת לנו המס מתתו  
 לדריוש מלך פרס. ויענוהו אנשי ירושלם לאמר: כה תאמרו אל  
 אלכסנדרוס, כי היהודים מירושלם נשבעו לדריוש מלך פרס לבלתי  
 5 תת עזר ועיצה וכלי זין למלך אחר כי אליו רק ברשותו. לכן לא  
 יאה לנו לחלל בריתנו אשר כרתנו בינינו.

וישובו המלאכים אל אלכסנדרוס וישיבו אותו דבר ויספרו אליו  
 את כל דברי אנשי ירושלם. ויחר אל אלכסנדרוס מאד ויאמר:  
 10 בבואי אל ירושלם אעשה מהם נקמה עד כלותם והארץ תהיה שממה  
 וחרבה ולא יזכרו עוד בשמם. ויהי בלילה ויחלום אלכסנדרוס והנה  
 אשכולות בידיו ושליכם ארצה בחימה וישם רגליו עליהם וידרכם  
 ויוצא מהם יין. ויקץ משנתו ויצו לקרוא אאוריאולו הקוסם. ויבוא  
 אאוריאולו ויאמר אליו: אדוני המלך, ידוע תדע כי זה פתרונו.  
 15 הענבים אשר היו בידך היא העיר אשר תכבוש ואשר השלכתם ארצה,  
 תתוך חומותיה ותפילם ארצה; ואשר דרכת אותם ברגליך ויוצאים  
 מהם יין, הם דמי האנשים אשר יהרגו ואשר ישחטו בקרבה. ויהי  
 כשמוע אלכסנדרוס את פתרון החלום ואת סברו ויצו לכל חילו  
 לתת מצור על העיר לטירו ולהלחם בחזקה. ויצר עליה ויתפשנה  
 20 ויעלו העם העירה איש נגדו ויהרגו את אנשיה ויתצו חומותיה.  
 ויתפוש שתיים ערים אחרות ויתצם עד יסודותיהן. ויסע משם  
 אלכסנדרוס ללכת ירושלם בחרי אף.

28 ויהי כשמוע אנשי ירושלם כי אלכסנדרוס יבוא עליהם למלחמה  
 ויחרדו עד מאד. ויאסף חוגיה הכהן את כל אנשי ירושלם וידבר  
 באזניהם ויאמר אליהם: לכו צומו ואל תאכלו ואל תשתו שלשת  
 25 ימים לילה ויום ונשובה עד יי ונתפלל אל יי וישיענו מכף אלכסנדרוס  
 ומחילו. ויזבחו זבחים ויתפללו לפני יי הגדול והנורא. וישמע  
 יי את תפילתם ויתעשת האלהים וישיעם מצרתם.

ויהי אלכסנדרוס וכל מחנהו בדרך במלון ויחן עם כל מחנהו.  
 30 ויהי בלילה ההוא והוא שוכב על מטתו בתוך אהלו וישא עיניו וירא  
 והנה איש עומד עליו לבוש בדים וחרבו שלופה בידו ומראה החרב



וישבועו לו אנשי העיר. ויסע משם אלכסנדרוס וכל חילו ויבוא על שפת הים לעבור ארץ איטליה. ויועצי רומי שמעו את שמע אלכסנדרוס ויחרדו חרדה גדולה. ויועצו יחד וישלחו מנחה אל אלכסנדרוס ששת אלפים קערות זהב, משקלם שש מאות ליט' וששת אלפים עטרות זהב. ויבואו מלאכי רומיים ויביאו את המנחה אל אלכסנדרוס וישתחוו לפניו ויקבלם אלכסנדרוס בשמחה. ויתחננו אליו לבלתי יעבור עליהם למלחמה ולא ישחית את ארצם. וימלא אלכסנדרוס את שאילתם.

23 ויבוא אלכסנדרוס וכל חילו בספינות ויעברו בארץ אפריקה ויכניע את גאון אפריקה וישימה תחתיו למס עובד. ויסע משם אלכסנדרוס ויעבור אל אחת מאיי הים להשתחוות לפני האלוה אמן. ויעל אל היכל אמן אשר שם. והי בלכתו ויקר מקרהו את איל אחד ויצו אלכסנדרוס לפרשיו לדרוך קשתם ולירות בחצים ולא יכלו להכותו. ואלכסנדרוס דרך קשתו ויך את האיל וימיתהו. ויאמר 15 אלכסנדרוס לפרשיו: 'ראיתם מה עשיתי, עשו כמוני; ממני תראו וכן תעשו'. ומהיום ההוא והלאה החלו הפרשים לדרוך קשתם ולירות בחצים וכן נוסו. ויבוא אלכסנדרוס בתוך ההיכל להשתחוות לפני האלוה אמן ויזבח זבח לפניו.

24 ויסע משם אלכסנדרוס ויבוא אל מקום אחד ושמו תבוסירי והיו שם חמש עשרה ערים ושנים עשר נהרות ההולכים אל הים. ושם היה 20 היכל אחד ושערי ההיכל סגורים. ויזבח שם זבחים אל האלוהיים ויפגע על אשר יענוהו על כל אשר ישאל. והי בלילה ויראה אלכסנדרוס בחלום את האלוה שרף . . .

26 ויסע משם ויבוא אל דמשק. וילכוד את סדוניא ויכניעה וישימה 25 תחתיו למס עובד. ויסע משם ויבוא ויאהל על עיר ושמו למירו. וישלח אלכסנדרוס מלאכים אל ירושלים ואגרת בידם. ואלה דברי האגרת: 'אלכסנדרוס בן מלך פליפוס אל חוניא הכהן ולכל הכוהנים אשר בירושלים, שלום! ידוע יהיה לכם כי אני אלכסנדרוס

8 בכת"י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: 'צורת מלאכי רומיים המביאים המנחה אל אלכסנדרוס'.

18 בכת"י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: 'צורת אלכסנדר' מכה את האיל וימיתהו בבואו להשתחוות לפני האלוה אמן'.

אנשי מקדוניה והיונים, אל תיראו ואל תערצו מפני אויביכם כי יִי  
 יתן לי כח להושיע אתכם מיד שונאיכם והיו אלינו לעבדים ולמס  
 עובד. ועתה אם רצונכם אשר אמלוך עליכם כמצות פליפוס אבי  
 הודיעוני דעתכם, ואם לא תחפצו אשר אמלוך אחריי בחרו לכם  
 5 היום איש אשר ימלוך עליכם ויושיעכם מאויביכם. וישמחו כל העם  
 ויריעו וימחאו כף ויאמרו: יחי המלך! יחי המלך! ויאמר המלך  
 אלכסנדרוס אל כל העם: אחרי אשר בחרתם בי להיות מלך עליכם  
 עתה תכינו עצמיכם בכל מה שיצטרך אליכם וקחו לכם צידה לדרך  
 ונצא למלחמה על אויבינו. ויענו כל העם יחדו ויאמרו: מלך  
 10 אלכסנדרוס, שנים רבות נלחמנו עם אויבינו במצות המלך פליפוס  
 אביך, ועתה תשש כוחינו ולא נוכל לסבול עוד המלחמה. ועתה  
 יכשר בעיניך לתת עול המלחמה לבחורינו כי הם יכולים לסבול יותר  
 ממנו. ויען אלכסנדרוס ויאמר: לא יעשה כן ולא דברתם נכונה,  
 כי אתם אנשים חכמים ומלומדי מלחמה מנעורכם ועתה טוב לי  
 15 להיות עמכם במלחמה מהיות עם הבחורים אשר יחזיקו עצתם ואין  
 להם בינה והשכל ולא נוסו להלחם. ויתמהו איש אל רעהו על  
 דברי אלכסנדרוס ויברכוהו בקול רם. ויאמרו: כל איש אשר ימרה  
 את פיך ולא ישמע אל דבריך לכל אשר תצווהו יומת, רק חזק  
 ואמץ. וישב העם איש לביתו.  
 20 ויהי אחרי כן ויעש כל העם הזקנים והבחורים את מצות המלך  
 אלכסנדר'.

ויאסוף אלכסנדרוס חיל כבד מאד ויצאו לקראת ארץ איטליאה. 22  
 ויהי בבואו בארץ קלצידוניה ואהל שם וילחם עם אנשי קלצידוניה  
 וינוסו אנשי קלצידוניה מפני אלכסנדרוס ויעלו על החומה. ויאמר  
 25 אליהם אלכסנדרוס: מדוע עליכם על החומה? צאו למלחמה ונלחמה  
 יחד. ואם אין נפשכם להלחם עמנו עשו מצותי וחיו ולא תמותו,  
 והייתם לנו לעבדים ועבדתם אותנו. ויעשו אנשי קלצידוניה את  
 מצות אלכסנדרוס. ויבוא אלכסנדרוס בתוך העיר וישים למס עובד,

19 בכת"י אחר הפסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: צורת אלכסנדרוס מדבר אל העם.

ופאוסוניאה רדף אחריו ויכהו ויציעהו ארצה, ולא מת מיד אמנם  
 נשתומם ויהי כמת מושכב בשדה. ויחרד כל מלכות מקדוניה כי  
 היו סבורים אשר נהרג המלך פליפוס. וילך פאוסוניאה אל עיר  
 מקדוניה כאיש גיבור ונוצח מלחמת אויביו ויבוא אל היכל אוליפיאדס  
 5 לקחת אותה בחוקה ולהוליכה עמו אל ארצו. ותנס המלכה מפניו  
 ותעל על המגדל ותסגור אחריה. ויהי כשוב אלכסנדרוס מן ארמניאה  
 בכבוד גדול ועושר גדול וימצא כל אנשי מלכותו מתעצבים ומתאבלים  
 על פליפוס המלך. ותבט המלכה מרחוק ותכר את בנה אלכסנדרוס  
 ותצעק ותאמר: 'הושיעה בני אלכסנדרוס ונקום נקמת אביך. איה  
 10 גבורתך, בני?' ויהי כשמוע פאוסוניאה את צעקת המלכה וירד מן  
 ההיכל וילך עם פרשיו לקראת אלכסנדר' למלחמה. ויהי כראות  
 אלכסנדר את פאוסוניאה יוצא לקראתו עם חרבו שלופה ומליאה רב  
 חללים וירץ אלכסנדרוס עליו ויכהו וימיתו ויתזו את ראשו.  
 ויוגד לאלכסנדרוס לאמר, הנה פליפוס מוכה ומופצע וכמת מושכב  
 15 בשדה ועוד הוא בחיים. ויכמרו רחמי אלכסנדרוס עליו ויבך במר  
 נפשו. ויפקח המלך פליפוס עיניו ויכר את אלכסנדרוס ויאמר:  
 'אלכסנדרוס בני, שמח אני בראותי פניך כי יודע אני כי תנקום את  
 נקמתי'. ויאנח המלך פליפוס ויאמר אל אלכסנדרוס: 'חוק בני ולחום  
 מלחמות ונקום נקמת אביך'. ויהי כשמוע אלכסנדרוס את דברי המלך  
 20 ויבך ויאמר: 'אבי, חוק כי נקמתי נקמתך מיד הקמים עליך. ועתה  
 הרגתיו והנה הוא מת מושכב בשדה'. ויאמר פליפוס: 'אלכסנדרוס,  
 גשה נא ושקה לי בני'. ויגש אליו אלכסנדרוס ויחבקו וינשקו.  
 ויגווע וימת פליפוס בין ידי אלכסנדר'. ויבך עליו אלכסנדרוס במר  
 נפשו וישב אל היכלו ויצו לקבור את המלך בכבוד גדול.

21 ויעברו ימי בכי אבל פליפוס וינחם אלכסנדרוס. ויעביר קול בכל  
 מלכותו להתקבץ לפניו כל אנשי המלכות לחדש המלוכה. ויאספו  
 אליו כל אנשי המלכות, וישב אלכסנדרוס על כסא המלכות אשר  
 במקדוניה ויברך אלכסנדרוס את העם וידבר באזניהם ויאמר אליהם:

18 בכת"י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באות הכתובות: 'צורת פאוסניה בהלחמו עם המלך פליפוס ויהרגו;  
 צורת פאוסניה בלכתו לקחת את המלכה בחוקה; צורת אלכסנדרוס בהלחמו עם פאוסניא ויתח  
 את ראשו'.

24 בכת"י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: 'צורת המלך פליפוס מת'.

אל אלכסנדרוס: „לך והביאה אלי ועשה כטוב בעיניך.“ וירחץ אלכסנדרוס פניו ויצא, ויתאפק ויסר מן ההיכל וילך לדבר אל אוליפיאדס אמו ויאמר אליה: „אל תדאני ואל תשימי מחשבה בלבך על אשר עשה אליך כי דרך כל העולם למשול האיש על אשתו. ועתה קומי מהרי ובואי עמי.“ ויתפשה בידו וילכו שניהם יחד אל המלך פליפוס. ויהי כראות המלך פליפוס את המלכה אוליפיאדס ויחבקה בחשק גדול.

- אחר הדברים האלה באו מלאכי דריוש אל המלך פליפוס ויבקשו ממנו המס. ויהי כראות אלכסנדרוס את שלוחי דריוש ויען אותם ויאמר אליהם: „לכו אמרו לדריוש קיסר, כה אמר אלכסנדר“ בן המלך פליפוס: „ימים רבים היו לפליפוס שלא היה לו בן כי אם תרנגולת אחת אשר היתה יולדת ביצים זהב. ויהי כאשר נולד לו בן, התרנגולת לא ילדה לעולם.“ ויהי כשמוע מלאכי דריוש את אלכסנדרוס ויתמהו איש את רעהו על חכמתו ועל דבריו. וישובו המלאכים אל דריוש ויספרו אליו את כל המוצא אותם.
- ויהי אחרי הדברים האלה ויגד למלך פליפוס כי אנשי ארמניאה מרדו בו. ויאסוף פליפוס את כל חילו על ארמניאה ויבא אלכסנדר עליהם למלחמה. וילחמו יחד וינפּו אנשי ארמניאה לפני אלכסנדרוס ויגוסו מפניו. ויהרוג אלכסנדרוס מהם רבים וינצחם וישימם למס עובד תחת המלך פליפוס כבראשונה.

בימים ההם היה מלך אחד בארץ ביתניאה ושמו פאוסוניאה. והיה המלך ההוא גבור וחזק, אמנם היה נותן מס למלך פליפוס מדי שנה בשנה. וימים רבים חמד פאוסוניא את אוליפיאדס המלכה, אם אלכסנדרוס. וימרוד פאוסוניאה במלך פליפוס ויאסוף פרשים רבים וחיל גדול ויבוא בארץ מקדוניא. ויהי כשמוע המלך פליפוס כי פשע פאוסוניאה וימרוד בו ויבוא על ארצו, ויתעצב ויתאבל מאד אל לבו. ויצא לקראתו במתי מעט כי כל חילו שלח עם אלכסנדרוס להלחם עם אויביו. וילחמו יחדו אנשי פאוסוניאה ואנשי פליפוס וינפּו אנשי פליפוס לפני אנשי פאוסוניאה. ויפן ערפו פליפוס לנוס.

18 בכת"י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: „צורת המלך פליפוס בבוא מלאכי דריוש ויבקשו ממנו המס ואלכסנדרוס השיבם.“

מאד. ויגנופו אנשי ניקולאוס לפני אלכסנדרוס. ויפן ניקולאוס ערפו לנוס וירדוף אלכסנדרוס אחריו וישיגהו ויכהו ויתח את ראשו. ויהי כאשר נצח המלך אלכסנדר' את המלחמה ויתפוש את הערים וישבעו אליו כל אנשי ניקולאוס ופרשיו וימליכוהו עליהם. וישב אלכסנדרוס אל פליפוס בכבוד גדול.

18 וימצא את פליפוס אוכל עם אשתו החדשה כי בהיות אלכסנדרוס במלחמה גירש את אשתו אוליפיאדס, אם אלכסנדר', ויקח את בת איש אחר ושמה קליאופטרה. ויהי בבוא אלכסנדרוס לפני פליפוס וישתחוה לפניו ויאמר אליו: אבי, קח ממני נזר נצחית וראשית מלחמתי. ועתה מתי אעשה אנכי חרפת אמי? ושם נמצא איש אחד ושמו 10 לסיאה ויאמר אל המלך: מן קליאופטרה יולד לך בן בצלמך ובדמותך וימלוך אחרריך.

ויהי כשמוע אלכסנדר' את דברי ליסיאה ויחר אליו מאד וידלג על ליסיאה בחמה ויכהו בראשו במקל אשר בידו ויהרגהו. ויהי 15 כראות המלך פליפוס את אשר עשה אלכסנדרוס ויחר לו מאד ויקם מכסאו וירץ על אלכסנדר' וחרבו בידו. ויפול המלך פליפוס לארץ וחרבו נפל מידו. ויאמר אלכסנדרוס: מלך פליפוס, מדוע לא תקום? מה לך כי נזקת ורדפת אחרי להכותי בחרבך? וישתוק המלך פליפוס ולא ענהו דבר. ויהי לימים מעטים המלך פליפוס 20 נפל למשכב וילך אליו אלכסנדרוס בנו לבקרו ויאמר אליו: המלך פליפוס, יודע אני כי אינינו ראוי ולא דבר הגון לקרוא אותך בשם. אמנם לא אדבר עמך כבן לאביו אלא כמו אהוב לאהוב. ועתה אמור נא אלי אבי, עשית כטוב מאשתך אמי, אוליפיאדס, אשר גירשת? למה הריעות לעשות כדבר הזה? גם לא חקרת ודרשת על מיתת 25 ליסיאה. ויודע אני כי תודה על האמת כי הטוב עשיתי על אשר הרגתי. ורדפת אחרי בחרי אף להכותי וחרבך בידך, ולולי רחמי בוראי אשר לא הישגתני אז אבדתי. ויבך אלכסנדרוס בכי גדול. ויהי כשמוע פליפוס את דברי אלכסנדר' נכמרו רחמיו ויבך ויאמר

2 בכת"י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: צורת אלכסנדרוס בהלחמו עם ניקולאוס המלך ויהרגהו.

11 קליאופטרה] בכת"י: קולאומרה

וילך ויעל אל המרכבה ויולך עמו חפצים רבים וזהב לרוב ויבוא עם פרשיו בארץ פוליפונים.

וישמע ניקולאוס המלך כי בא אלכסנדרוס על ארצו ויחר לו 17  
מאד ויצא לקראתו בחיל כבד להלחם עמו. ויהי בבוא ניקולאוס  
אל המקום אשר חנה אלכסנדרוס ויקרא אל אלכסנדרוס ויאמר: מי 5  
אתה ומה לי ולך כי באת אלי להלחם בארצי? ויען אלכסנדרוס:  
„אני אלכסנדרוס בן מלך פליפוס ממקדוניה.“ ויאמר ניקולאוס: „הלא  
ידעת מי אני?“ ויאמר אלכסנדרוס: „ידעתי כי אתה ניקולאוס, אמנם  
אל תתנאה ואל יעלה שררה בלבך בעבור כוחך וחילך. הלא ידעת 10  
כי האדם הגדול ישפול והשפל ירומם.“ ויען ניקולאוס ויאמר: „אמת  
דברת, אמנם תחשוב על דבריך אשר יצאו מפִּיךָ. ועתה הגד לי  
האמת, מדוע באת אל הארץ הזאת?“ ויען אלכסנדרוס ויאמר: „כבר  
ידעת האמת והנכון כי אין לי לעשות עמך דבר ועמך עמי, רק אעברה  
בארצך אל מקום חפצי.“ ויהי כשמוע המלך ניקולאוס את דברי 15  
אלכסנדרוס ויחר אליו מאד ויאמר: „למי אני מדבר? כי במנוחת אבי,  
אם הייתי יורק בפניו בחוזק היה מת.“ ויהי כדברו כדברים האלה,  
יורק ירק בפני אלכסנדר ויאמר: „קח נא זה, בחור סכל, כי לא  
לכסיל כבוד. מדוע לא היה לך בושת לדבר בנאוה? כל זה גרמת  
לך.“

20 ואלכסנדרוס כבש את יצרו בחכמה ויאמר לניקולאוס: „כי על  
שלום אבי ואמי, שנינו נלחמה יחד. ואם תוכל להלחם אתי והכיתי  
והיינו לך לעבדים, ואם אני אוכל לך והכיתיך והייתם לנו לעבדים  
ועבדתם אותנו.“ ויען ניקולאוס ויאמר: „כן משפטִיךָ אתה חרצת.“  
ויתנדבו שניהם להלחם יחד ביום מועד. ויסע משם אלכסנדרוס וישב 25  
אל מקדוניה ויספר לפליפוס המלך את כל אשר קרהו. וניקולאוס  
שב להיכלו. ויום המלחמה הגיע, ויסע אלכסנדרוס ממקדוניה ויבוא  
אל מקום המלחמה והוא תקע אהלו בתחילה. ויבוא גם ניקולאוס עם  
חילו. ויתקעו בחצוצרות וילחמו יחד ותתגר המלחמה חזקה ועצומה

א בכתי"א אחר הפסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: „צורת אלכסנדרוס רוכב על הסוס ועולה על המרכבה וחרבו בידו.“

19 בכתי"א אחר הפסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: „צורת ניקולאוס אשר ירק בפני אלכסנדרוס.“

סוס אחד מנחה. והיה הסוס ההוא עייר בלתי מורגל ומלומד גדול למראה ונאה עד מאד, קשור ומסור בשלשלאות ברזל ובכבלי ברזל ולא היה אוכל כי אם בשר אדם. ושם הסוס ההוא בוציפלס, וראשו עגול כמו עגל וכמו אבנים טובות יוצאים ממצח ומאחוריו. ויהי כראות המלך פליפוס את יופי הסוס ויתמה מאד על יופיו. ויציו לעבדיו אשר יעשו ארות ברזל ויעמידו אותו שם, והאנשים חייבי מיתה יתכנסו למאכל אל הסוס.

אחרי הדברים האלה נאמר למלך פליפוס בחלום כי האיש אשר ירכב על הסוס ימלוך על מלכותו אחרי מותו. ועל כן היה יושב המלך לבטח על כסא מלכותו בחושבו כי האיש אשר ימלוך אחריו יהיה חכם וגיבור.

15 ויהי בהיות אלכסנדרוס בן חמש עשרה שנה היה עז וגיבור וחכם גדול מכל בני גילו והיה בקי בספרי אריסטוטלס החכם. ויהי היום ויעבור אלכסנדרוס על מקום הסוס ויבט וירא את הסוס. ויהי 15 בהיותו סגור בארוות ברזל ולפניו היה ידים ורגלים אשר נשארו ממאכלו, ויתמה מאוד וישם את ידיו בתוך הארווה. והסוס האריך צווארו וישם את ראשו בידיו ויכרע על ברכיו. ויהי בהסיר הסוס ראשו מתוך ידי אלכסנדרוס ויבט בפני אלכסנדרוס. ויכר אלכסנדרוס את רצון הסוס ויפתח את הפתח ויכנס וישם ידו הימנית על כתף הסוס 20 בנחת. אז הסוס בוציפלס הכיר את אלכסנדרוס אדונו כאשר יכיר הכלב את אדונו בראותו.

16 וירכב אלכסנדרוס על הסוס ויצא בתוך העיר. ויהי כראות המלך פליפוס את אלכסנדרוס מורכב על הסוס בוציפלס וישמח ויאמר: "בני אלכסנדרוס, יודע אני באמת כי תמלוך אחרי מותי". 25 ויען אלכסנדרוס ויאמר: "בזאת ידעתי כי תעשה לי הדבר הזה. אמנם עשה נא עמדי חסד והעליני אל המרכבה". ויאמר המלך: "גם את הדבר הזה אעשה אליך, רק חזק וקח עמך מאה פרשים וארבעים אלף ככרי זהב וצא לקראת אויבינו ועשה כל אשר צויתי אליך ואז תצליח את דרכיך". וישמע אלכסנדרוס אל מצות המלך

ז בכת"י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: "צורת האנשים מנהיגי הסוס מנחה אל המלך פליפוס".

ואמור לי מה יחשוב המלך פליפוס לעשות ממני בעבור אמרו  
לאלכסנדרוס בני: אהבתי גבורתך וערמותך אמנם דאנתי כי צלמך  
ודמותך אינם כצלמי ודמותי'. ויען נאטניפו ויאמר: מלכה, רעיוני  
לב המלך פליפוס נכונים עמך כי אני רואה אשר השמש זורח נגד כוכב  
5 אחד.

13 ואלכסנדרוס הקשיב וישמע דבריו ויאמר: אבי, זה הכוכב יראה  
בשמים? אם תוכל להראותו אלי? ויאמר נאטניפו: תבוא עמי אל  
מחוץ לעיר ואראהו אליך. ויאמר אלכסנדרוס: התדע היאך תמות?  
ויהאמר נטניפו: בני, כן. ויאמר אלכסנדרוס: דבר גדול הוא לדעת  
10 זמן חייתך והיאך יגיע אליך המות. ויאמר נאטניפו לאלכסנדרוס:  
בני הנעים, בן אחד יש לי והוא ימיתיני. ויהי אחרי כן וירד נאטניפו  
מן ההיכל וילך מחוץ לעיר לילה. וילך אלכסנדרוס אחריו. ויבואו  
שניהם עד קצה גומא אחת אשר היתה אצל קיר החומה. ויאמר  
נאטניפו: בני אלכסנדרוס, הבט בכוכבי השמים וראה כוכב אחד אשר  
15 קדר מאורו וכוכב מרקוליאן מאיר וכוכב יוביס זורח מאד. ובהבט  
נאטניפו בכוכבים ויגש אליו אלכסנדרוס וילחצהו ויפילהו בתוך הגומא.  
ויהאמר: כך תמות זקן, וזה ידעת? מדוע רצונך לדעת תעלומות  
השמים וכסיליהם? ויען נאטניפו ויאמר: ידעתי כל אשר קראני, הלא  
אמרתי אליך כי בני יהרגני. ויאמר אלכסנדרוס: באמת בנך אני?  
20 ויאמר נאטניפו אל אלכסנדר: באמת בני אתה ומחלצי יצאת. ויהי  
באמור נאטניפו הדברים האלה נכמרו רחמי אלכסנדרוס על אביו,  
וירד אל הבור ובהתקרבו אליו מצאו מת. ויקחהו אלכסנדרוס  
וישימהו על שכמו ויביאהו אל ההיכל. ויהי כראות המלכה אוליפיאדס  
את אלכסנדרוס בנה נושא את גוף נאטניפו ותצעק ותאמר: מה עשית?  
25 ויען אלכסנדרוס: אמי, ואיך מסרת עצמך אליו לרצונו? ותאמר  
המלכה: לא היה מרצוני וכנפשי.

14 בימים ההם היה שר אחד מקפוטוציא וישלח אל המלך פליפוס

26 בכת"י אחר הפסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: צורת אלכסנדרוס משליך נאטניפו בבור בהביטו  
בכוכבי השמים ונושא אותו על שכמו אל אמו.



המלך, ילד אחד יולד אליך וימלוך אחרי מותך וקודם שובו אל ארץ מולדתו יסוב כל העולם."

9 ויהי אחרי כן וימלאו ימי המלכה ללדת. והמלכה חלתה והגיעו אליה צירי הלידה וצותה לקרוא לפניו נאטניפו ותאמר אליו: "חליתי וצירי הלידה אחותני." ונטיפו חשב באיצטגנינות ואמר אל המלכה: 5 "קומי מעט ממקום מושבך בעבור כי היסודות נשתנו מכח השמש." ותקם המלכה ותנח מעט והצירים הניחוה. ויהי אחרי כן ויאמר אליה: "שבי במקומך." ותשב המלכה מעט ותלד בן. ויהי בנפול הילד לארץ 10 ותרעש הארץ וברקים ורעמים ואורות גדולות ונפלאות מן השמים היו בכל העולם, וקדר היום ויהי חשך וירד ברד מן השמים.

10 ויחרד המלך חרדה גדולה ויתבהל עד מאד ובהתבהלו הלך אל המלכה ויאמר אליה: "אדונתי, עליתי במחשבה וחשבתי כי זה הילד לא יגמל לעולם ולא יתגדל בעבור כי לא נולד ממני. אמנם חשבתי 15 כי נולד מן אלוה בעבור ראיתי אילו האורות והמופתים ואשר נשתנו היסודות. אמנם אצוה שיגמל הנער כדי שישאר אחרי לזכרון ואהבהו כמו בני." ויקרא את שמו אלכסנדרוס.

11 ויהי אחרי כן והנער נער עם עבדי המלך ועבדי המלך אהבוהו. וצלם אלכסנדרוס, דמותו לא היה כדמות המלך פליפוס ודמות המלכה אוליפיאדס. ושיער ראשו כשיער ראש האריה ועיניו גדולות 20 ומאירות ואינם שוות בדמות כי האחד שחור והשני אדום ושיניו חדים כשיני הזאב וחקו כחיק חזה האריה. ויהי כאשר הושב ללמוד היה מתוכח עם התלמידים והיה מנצח אותם בלימוד ובכח.

12 ויהי בהיותו בן שנים עשרה שנה היה מנהיג עצמו ומתלמד להלחם. כאשר היו עושים שרי אביו ופרשיו הוא היה עושה. ויהי כראות 25 המלך פליפוס כחו וגבורתו הוכשר בעיניו מאד ויאמר אליו: "בני אלכסנדרוס, אהבתי גבורותיך וערמתך אמנם דאגתי שאינך מתדמה אלי בצלם ובדמות." ויהי כשמוע המלכה את דברי המלך ותדאג עד מאד. ותשלח ותקרא לנאטאניפו ותאמר אליו: "הגר לי האמת והנכון

2 בכת"י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: "צורת המלך מספר לאאוריאלו החחה כל אשר קרהו."

16 בכת"י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: "צורת אלכסנדרוס בהולדו והמלך בא לפני המלכה."

מן המלכה יהיה גבור וחכם ויכבוש מלכים אדירים ויתפוש הערים וימשול עד המזרח וישם כל העמים תחתיו למס עובד.<sup>5</sup>

אחר הדברים האלה המלך פליפוס צוה לכל שריו ופרשיו ולכל 6 חילו לצאת למלחמה על אויביו. ויצא עם חילו וילחם עם אויביו וינצחם וישימם תחתיו למס עובד. והיה בהיותו בעומק המלחמה ראה 8 תנין אחד הולך לפניו והורג כל אויביו.

ויסע המלך פליפוס מן החיל ויבוא אל עיר מקדוניה. ויבוא אל היכל בחדר ותבוא המלכה לפניו. ויתפסה המלך ויחבקה וינשקה בחשק גדול ויאמר אליה: „אדונתי, נעימה וחכמה, למי מסרת עצמך, 10 אוליפיאדס? אשמת על אשר עשית? אמנם לא אשמת כי בחזקה הקרה אליך מן אלוה ולא מן אדם בעבור כי ראיתי בחלום כל אשר עשית. לכן לא אוכל לדבר אליך מאומה.“

ויתפשה בידה ויבואו שניהם אל שולחנם לאכל וכל שרי המלחמה 7 והפרשים היו אוכלים ושותים עמם.

ויעל נאטניפו בהיכל פליפוס בטרקלין בדמות תנין הולך וזועק 15 בגודל זעף. ויחורו כל האוכלים עם המלך והמלכה. וינש התנין עד המלכה וישם ראשו בחיקו וינשקה. ויאמר המלך: „זה ראיתי אני, אוליפיאדס המלכה. וכה אומר אליכם, שרי ופרשי, כי זה התנין ראיתי אני בהיותי במלחמה עם אויבי והיה הולך לפני והורג כל אויביו.“

ויהי אחרי כן לימים מועטים והמלך פליפוס היה יושב בחדר 8 משכבו ויבוא עוף אחד ותשב בין ברכי המלך. ותעשה ביצה אחת ותפול הביצה לארץ ותשבר ויצא ממנה נחש אחד קטן והנחש היה הולך וסובב סביב הביצה להכנס בתוכה כבראשונה. ויהי כאשר שם ראשו בביצה ומת. ויהי כאשר ראה המלך את המעשה הזה ויבהל ויחרד 25 חרדה גדולה עד מאוד ויצו לקרוא לפניו אאוריאלו החזקה. ויבוא אאוריאלו לפניו ויראהו המלך את הביצה שבורה והנחש אשר יצא ממנה ויספר אליו את כל אשר קרהו. ויען אאוריאלו, ויאמר: „אדוני

6 בכת"י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: „צורת המלך פליפוס והתנין הורג אויביו.“

10 בכת"י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: „צורת המלך והמלכה והפרשים אוכלים ושותים עמם והתנין בא וינשק את המלכה.“

אדם. ותען המלכה ותאמר: היטב דברת. בעת אשר תחפוץ תבוא ותעמוד בהיכל ואם זה אוכל לנסות באמת תהיה לו לאב. ותצוה המלכה אל עבדיה אשר יתן אליו מקום בחדר משכבה. ויציעו שם מטה אחת אצל מטת המלכה. ויהי בערב ונאטניפו התחיל לנחש במלאכת השטנים ונשתנה ונהפך לתנין. וילך אל מטת המלכה ויכנס במטתה ויחבקה וישכב עמה בלילה ההוא. ויהי בקומו ממטת יצועו וישם ידו על בטנה ויאמר אליה: מלכה, הרית הריון נצחית ואשר יולד ממך לא יושפל לפני אדם. כך הונתה המלכה אוליפיאדס בשוכבה עם אדם ותחשוב היות שכבתה עם אלוה אמן. ויהי בבקר ויקם נאטניפו בדמות תנין ממטת יצועו וירד מן ההיכל. והמלכה נשארה במטה הרה. ויהי בהגיע הזמן אשר צבתה בטנה להתראות מן ההריון ותצוה להביא לפניו נאטניפו ותאמר אליו: מה יאמר המלך פליפוס ממני בשובו מן החיל? ויען נאטניפו ויאמר: מלכה, אל תיראי כי אלוה אמן בעבורי יהיה לך לעזר ולכל אשר תחפוצי ולא יוכל המלך פליפוס לדבר עליך רעה. לכן תתחזקי כי האמת דברתי אליך.

אחר הדברים האלה יצא נאטניפו מן ההיכל וילך אל מחוץ לעיר, ויקח עשב ויכתשהו ויקח מיצו. ויתפוש עגל ימי והתחיל לנחש וללחש העשב והמיץ במלאכת הכשפים בעבור שיתראה האלוה אמן בחלום אל המלך פליפוס.

ויהי בלילה נראה אל המלך פליפוס בחלום האלוה אמן אשר היה שוכב עם המלכה אוליפיאדס אשתו והיה אומר: הנך הרה ויולדת בן והנער אשר יולד יפדה אותך ואת פליפוס אביו. ואחרי המשכב היה רואה בחיק המלכה טבעת אחת זהב ובאותה הטבעת היתה אבן אחת חרות בה ראש אריה ומהלך השמש וסבין אחד. ויהי בהקיץ המלך פליפוס משנתו ויצו לקרא לפניו אאוריאלו [קוסם] את המלך חזהו. ויבוא אאוריאלו לפני המלך ויספר אליו המלך את החלום אשר ראה. ויען אאוריאלו את המלך ויאמר אליו: אדוני המלך, דע באמת כי אשתך הרה אמנם לא מן אדם כי אם מן האלוה אמן. וראש האריה ומהלך השמש כה פתרונו, כי הילד אשר יולד

16 בכת"י אחר הפסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: צורת נאטניפו אשר נהפך לתנין ושוכב עם המלכה.

פתח תיבה אחד משן ויוצא ממנה שבעה כוכבים מאירים ושבע אבני משכית כנגד שבעה כוכבי לכת. ויהי כראות אוליפידס הפלאות ההם ותאמר: „אומן, אם רצונך שאאמין כל מה שתראני, אמור לי השנה והיום והשעה אשר נולד המלך פליפוס.“ ויהי כשמוע נאטיניפו מאמריה ויחשוב במלאכת האיציטגנינות והכישוף ויאמר אליה השנה והיום ושעת הולדת המלך פליפוס. ויהי בהשלימו את מלאכתו ויאמר אל המלכה: „אם רצונך לשמוע דבר אחר, שאלני נא.“ ותאמר המלכה: „הגד אלי מה יהיה ממני ומן המלך פליפוס כי שמעתי אומרים בשוב המלך פליפוס מן החיל יגרשני ויקח אשה אחרת.“ ויען נאטיניפו ויאמר אליה: „מלכה, כזבים הם ואינם אמיתיים עכשו. אמנם לבסוף שנים יהיה ולא במעט ימים וסוף סוף יקחך לו לאשה כבראשונה.“ ותאמר המלכה: „אומן, אתחננה לפניך והגד לי האמת.“ ויען נאטיניפו ויאמר: „מן האלהים ישכב עמך.“ ותאמר אליו: „מי הוא אלוה אשר ישכב אותי?“ ויען נאטיניפו ויאמר: „שמו אמן הגדול והוא נחמד והוא פלאי ויעשיר האנשים.“ ותאמר אליו: „הודיעני דמותו וצלמו, כי יבוא דברך וכיבדנוך.“ ויען נאטיניפו ויאמר: „איננו בחור ואיננו זקן אמנם אמצעי הוא בשנים ויש לו קרני עוזאזל חקנו לבן. ובחלום תראהו ובאותו החלום ישכב עמך.“ ותאמר המלכה: „אם הדבר אמת לא כמות נביא וכמות חוזה אתפללה לפניך כי אם כמות אלוה.“

ויוצא נאטיניפו מאת פני המלכה ויאמר אליה: „עמדי לשלום.“ וילך מחוץ לעיר אל מקום חרבה ויקח עשב ויכתשהו. וינחש וילחש למען תראה אוליפיאדס המלכה את אשר ספר לפניה. ויהי בלילה ותראה המלכה בחלום אלוה אמן אשר היה שוכב עמה, ובשוכבו עמה אמר: „אדונתי המלכה, הרית מן האלוה הפודך.“

ותקץ המלכה משנתה ותשמח מאד. ויהי באשמורת הבקר קמה 4 ממטתה ותצוה להביא לפניה נאטיניפו. ויבוא לפניה נאטיניפו ותאמר אליו ותספר לו כל אשר בחלום ראתה. ויען נאטיניפו ויאמר: „אם תתן לי מקום בהיכלך אראך הדבר יותר אמתי. וכך הוא האמת כי עדיין יבוא אליך זה האלוה בדמות תנין ואחר כך יתראה בדמות

פנים כאלו היה מחרטומי מצרים ויבוא אל מדינת מקדוניה וישב בלתי מוכר לפני עם ועדה וינחשו לכל איש ההולך לפניו.

ויהי כראות אנשי מצרים כי בושש נאטיניפו לשוב במצרים וילכו להתחנן לפני אלהיהם אשר שמו שרף. ויאמרו: הנה מלכינו נאטיניפו לא שב ולא ידענו מה היה לו. ויען שרף ויאמר אליהם: נאטיניפו מלכם ברח ממצרים מפני אנשי ארם אשר יבואו עליכם למלחמה. ומלכם ימלך עליכם ולימים רבים ישוב אליכם בנו אשר יצא מחלציו ויושיעכם מאויביכם ויהיו לכם לעבדים. ויעשו אנשי מצרים מצבה אחת מאבן שחורה על שם נאטיניפו ויכתבו על רגלי המצבה את דברי אלהיהם אשר ענם. ויעמוד נאטיניפו במקדוניה בלתי מוכר.

ויהי בהיות המלך פליפוס עם חילו ויעל נאטיניפו בהיכל המלך לראות המלכה. ויהי בראותה יפה ונעימה והדורה חשקה נפשו בה וכמעט נשרף לבו מן החשק. ויתקרב אל המלכה אוליפידס וישתחוה ויאמר: יי יושיעך, המלכה. וימאן לקרוא אותה: אדונתי. ותען המלכה ותאמר אליו: אומן וחרטום, גשה נא ושב. ויגש נאטיניפו אל המלכה. ותשאלהו המלכה ותאמר: האתה ממצרים? ויען נאטיניפו אל המלכה ויאמר: מלכה, דיבור נאה דיברת ואמת היא כי אני ממצרים אשר יש שם אנשים חכמים פותרים חלומות ומבינים קול עופות ויודעים הנסתרות ואומרים המולות מן הנולדים. ואני בקי וחכם באילו הענינים ואני יודע כמו נביא ומבין על כל אשר אמרתי. ויבט נאטיניפו בפני המלכה בחשק גדול. ויהי כשמוע המלכה את דבריו ובראותה כי הביט אליה ותאמר אליו: מה חשבת ממני בהביטך אלי? ויען נאטיניפו ויאמר: זוכר אני אמרים נאים מן האלהיים כי האלהיים אמרו אלי אשר הייתי מביט בפני המלכה אוליפידס.

ויהי בדברו הדברים האלה ויוצא מחיקו לוחות נחשת מעורבות בכסף ובוהב אשר יש בהם שלשה זירות. אל הראשון היו חקוקים שנים עשר מזלות, ובשני שנים עשר חיות, ובשלישי השמש והירח. ואחר כן

2 בכ"י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: צורת נאטיניפו ושער ראשו וזקנו מנלחים ולבוש בנדי לבן.

10 בכ"י אחר הפיסקה הזאת באה הכתובת: צורת אנשי מצרים פתחנים לפני אלהיהם וצורת מצבת נאטיניפו.

# ספר תולדות אלכסנדרוס המקדוני

## I

[רומאן אלכסנדרוס]

1 וחכמי מצרים אשר הבינו במדידת הארץ ומשלו בנלי הים והשכילו  
בחקת השמים, זאת אומרת, הם חשבו את מסלות הכוכבים, הנחילו  
לכל יושבי תבל את חכמתם בעזרת שיא הוראתם ומלאכת קסמם.  
מספרים על נאטיניפו מלכם כי היה איש מחונן בדעת, בקי בחכמת  
5 האצטגנינות... ומלומד במלאכת הקסמים. ויהי היום ויוגד לו כי  
ארתחשסתא מלך פרס יבוא עליו למלחמה בחיל אויב כבד, ונאטיניפו  
נמנע מלעורר את אנשי צבאו... וילך נאטיניפו לבדו ויבוא אל אחד  
מחדרי היכלו ויקח מזרק נחושת וימלא אותו מי גשמים. ויקח בידו  
מטה נחושת ועל ידי לחישת מלות קסמים... הביט וראה באותו  
10 מזרק מלוא המים צי אניות השטות כנגדו.

בימים ההם הציב נאטיניפו שרים משרי צבאו במדינות פרס  
ויצוה אותם לעמוד על משמרם. ויבוא לפני נאטיניפו אחד משריו  
ויאמר אליו: "נאטיניפו הנשגב! הנה ארתחשסתא מלך פרס יבוא עליך  
למלחמה בחיל כבד ועם רב מהמון גויים שונים...". כשמוע נאטיניפו  
15 את דבריו צחק ואמר לו: "...לא כשר צבא דברת אלי דברך כי  
אם כאיש ירא ורך לבב. הלא ידעת כי אין הגבורה ברוב חיל כי אם  
באומץ לב". ויהי ככלות נאטיניפו לדבר עם השר ויכנס עוד פעם אל  
ההיכל ויתבודד בחדרו ויקח דוגג ויעש ממנו אניות קטנות וישם אותן  
במזרק המלא מי גשמים. ויאחו בידו מטה של כפות חמרים ויסתכל  
20 באותו המזרק בכל מאדו. ויחל לנחש וללחש וירא את אלילי מצרים  
חובלים את אניות הברברים. ויחליף את בגדיו מיד ויגלח את ראשו  
ואת זקנו ויקח עמו זהב ככל אשר יכול לנשוא וגם את הכלים הנחוצים  
למלאכת האצטגנינות... או למלאכת הקסמים. ויברח בסתר  
ממצרים וינס אל פלוסיום ומשם לכוש. וילבש בגדי שש... ויעמיד

1 השורות מכאן ועד שורה 2, עמוד י', חסרות בכת'.

Hilka, A., *Der altfranzösische Prosa-Alexanderroman* (Halle, = ה= 1920).

מ-ספר מוסרי הפילוסופים, במהדורה של לעווענטהאל, פראנקפורט דמיין, תרנ"ו.

נ-M בספר מוסרי הפילוסופים במהדורה של לעווענטהאל בשביל כ"י מינכן 43, 210, 243.

ב-Br. בספר מוסרי הפילוסופים במהדורה של לעווענטהאל בשביל כ"י ברסלאו, Saraval 19.

ט-P בספר מוסרי הפילוסופים במהדורה של לעווענטהאל בשביל כ"י פאריס 894.

ג-יוסיפון, מהדורת מנטובה, בהוצאה של גינצבורג וכהנא, ברדיטשוב תרנ"ו-תרע"ג (1896-1913).

ס-יוסיפון, מהדורת ויניציאה, ד"ש (1544) המבוססת על מהדורת קושטא.

ך-הכרוניקה בכ"י די רוסי מס' 1087 שבפארמה.

א-אבסכיוס Eusebius, *Chronicon*, II, Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XIX, (1857).

] -הוספה.

( ) -השמטה.

[ -שנוי נוסחאות.

## האפאראט לטקסט העברי

כשהשוונו את חלק א' של הטקסט העברי עם הנוסח הלאטיני במהדורות של צינגערלע והילקא מצאנו לנחוץ בכמה מקומות לבחור בגירסא הלאטינית כדי לשפר את הבנת הענין. בקטע אחד בחלק א' המכיל את מכתבו של אריסטוטלים לאלכסנדרוס והמובא מספר מוסרי הפילוסופים (עיין הערה 55 בהערות לחלק א' של התרגום האנגלי) בחרנו בנוסחאות שונות מכתביהיד השונים שעליהם מבוססת המהדורה של לעווענטהאל. כמו כן בחלק ב' המבוסס כלו על ספר מוסרי הפילוסופים בחרנו בנוסחאות שונות מכתביהיד השונים של המהדורה הנ"ל של ספר זה. בחלק ג' הכנסנו כמה שנויי נוסחאות מהכרוניקה בספר יוסיפון, מהכרוניקה הנמצאת בכתבייד די רוסי מס' 1087 שבפארמה, ומהכרוניקון של אבסביוס.

בשנים מן המקומות שבהם היה לקוי הכתבייד שלנו בהשמטות, השלמנו את ההשמטות על יסוד המקור הלטיני כדי לעזור לקורא להבין את המשך הענין. במקום אחד נשמט הדף הראשון בכתבייד שלנו, המתאים לחומר הנמצא בסעיף הראשון של המקור הלטיני. את החומר הזה תרגמנו והכנסנו בסוגרים לתוך הטקסט העברי והאנגלי. במקום השני נשמט החומר המתאים לסעיפים 107, 108 וחלק מסעיף 109 של המקור הלטיני. מן החומר הזה עשינו פרפרוזות והכנסנו אותן בסוגרים לתוך הטקסט העברי והאנגלי.

במהדורה שלנו של הטקסט, בכל מקום שבחרנו בגירסא השונה מזו של הכתבייד העברי רשמנו את הגירסא של הכתבייד העברי באפאראט. וכן גם בכל מקום שהגירסא שהכנסנו במהדורה שלנו נבחרה מבין כמה מקורות אפשריים, ציינו את המקור שבחרנו בו באפאראט. ואלה הם הסימנים שהשתמשנו בהם באפאראט:

פ-כ"י פאריס, מס' 750 בקבץ כ"י העבריים בספריה הלאומית בפאריס, נושא המחקר שלנו.

Zingerle, O., *Die Quellen zum Alexander des Rudolf von Ems*, = *Germanistische Abhandlungen*, IV (Breslau, 1885).



לזכר נשמת אבי

ר' אליקים בן ר' יעקב יוסף, ז"ל

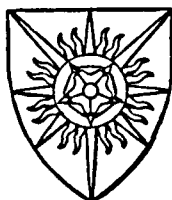
# ספר תולדות אלכסנדרוס המקדוני

לעמנואל בן יעקב בונפיש

ערוך בצרוף תרגום אנגלי  
והקדמה והערות באנגלית

בידי

ישראל יוסף קייזיס



הוצאת האקדמיה האמריקאית לימי הביניים

קמברידג', מאסס., תשכ"ב

ספר תולדות אלכסנדרוס המקדוני

לעמנואל בן יעקב בונפיש